

*Discussion of Prof. J. Zubrzycki's paper*

ARROW

A question frequently raised is the effect on the cohesion of the country in which migration takes place, particularly when the groups involved are somewhat heterogeneous in terms of culture. This issue is raised in the United States quite a bit. Since you have the experience of a country which has done the same thing on a much more massive scale than we have, I am wondering if, in your opinion, this a legitimate concern.

ZUBRZYCKI

This is precisely a topic which has been central to my own activity as a scholar and adviser to a succession of governments in Australia. There the change brought by about migration has occurred within a very short space of time. The transition from a virtually homogeneous Anglo-Celtic society into a multi-ethnic, and now multi-racial, society took one and a half generations. Comparable transition in the United States took six generations and in Canada possibly three generations. In both of these countries the process of change was not without some negative effects especially in the segregation of immigrant communities into ethnic ghettos and economic and social marginalization.

In Australia we have been very conscious of the lessons derived from the immigration experience of the USA and Canada (and increasingly so the experience of Great Britain, France and Germany). During the '70s we adopted the ideology and policy of multiculturalism, formally conceptualized in the four basic principles which are essential for a successful multicultural society: social cohesion; respect for cultural identity and awareness of Australia's cultural diversity; equal opportunity and access for all Australians; and equal responsibility for commitment to, and participation in, Australian society. So defined multiculturalism is for all Australians and applies as much to the Anglo-Australian majority as it does to other ethnic groups.

The debate in Australia is about the social organization of cultural difference. It is about the possibility of reconciling the need for the rule of law — for legitimate authority which in a political democracy is ultimately based on support and consent of the people — with the preservation of ethnic groupings.

These objectives are promoted in Australia through a range of affirmative action programs. In doing so we are conscious of the fact that government intervention touching on so many areas of social life will only be effective if its scale does not affect the underlying consensus about multiculturalism. In other words we follow Karl Popper's precept of piecemeal social engineering. I believe that this approach offers the best safeguard to the maintenance of social cohesion. I myself have promoted the motto "Many cultures, one Australia".

BONY

Votre document a retenu toute mon attention parce qu'au XXème siècle le problème des émigrés occupe une grande place.

La Côte d'Ivoire, mon pays, que vous avez eu la bonté de citer, accueille effectivement de nombreux ressortissants de la sous-région Ouest africaine. Vous avez mentionné que 22% de la population ivoirienne est étrangère. En fait, c'est le quart. Depuis quelques années la guerre civile au Libéria a provoqué un flux continu d'émigrés libériens chez nous. Ces "frères étrangers" que nous refusons de parquer dans des camps vivent dans nos villages avec les autochtones. Certes, le nombre élevé d'arrivants pose quelques problèmes. Mais jusqu'à présent, grâce à notre politique de tolérance, de solidarité, de paix et d'intégration, ces problèmes trouvent solution.

MALINVAUD

Il est indiscutable que vous traitez d'un problème majeur de l'avenir, celui de l'importance des migrations potentielles sur la planète. Nous, économistes, pensons qu'il y a une relation entre la migration des travailleurs et la liberté du commerce. Une réaction naturelle vis-à-vis de la pression des pays en développement, vous le laissez entendre dans la dernière phrase de votre texte, consiste à prôner une stratégie générale de développement. Quelle relation existe à votre avis entre libéralisation du commerce et politique de migration?

ZUBRZYCKI

Yes, I think there is a relationship of cause and effect, by which I mean that any liberalization of trade will, other things being equal, lead to migration streams of one kind or another. However, that phrase, other things being equal, *ceteris paribus*, is one which must be taken into account. And the reality is that in the contemporary world any liberalization of trade does not necessarily lend to freer migration. But during the nineteenth

century and certainly since the abolition of the Corn Law in Britain, the massive transatlantic migration proceeded with few restrictions because trade was free.

MALINVAUD

Oui, justement ce que je voulais suggérer c'est que la libéralisation du commerce pourrait être un moyen pour rendre la restriction des migrations plus tolérable du point de vue des pays en développement.

Par exemple, si l'Europe Occidentale ouvrait davantage son commerce aux produits de l'Europe Orientale qu'elle ne le fait aujourd'hui, ceci pourrait ralentir le flux d'émigrants de l'Est vers l'Ouest. Je sais que l'exemple n'est peut-être pas transposable à une autre échelle. Mais partagez-vous cette opinion?

ZUBRZYCKI

Yes, I would agree with this outlook. Undoubtely, there is a potential for considerable lessening of migration pressure if trade is liberalized, and the example that you have in mind is, I think, very pertinent. However, I think the key word, the key phrase is the potential for lessening migration pressures. The reality may well prove that the potential will not be realized in practice.

ARCHER

Professor Zubrzycki, I know you have an immense amount of experience in advising governments on multiculturalism. Drawing upon this experience, would you mind being bold enough to fill in one phrase in your last paragraph, which is very interesting, where you say that migration should be treated in a holistic manner. I would very much like to hear what your ideal would be, maybe one that has never been attempted by any of the governments you have worked with; but what would be the ideal in your view? Would you care to speculate?

ZUBRZYCKI

My personal experience applies primarily to Australia, secondly to Canada and thirdly to Sweden. In these three countries I have played a part, in one way or another, in advising, researching, and writing policy papers to guide politicians. In every one of these instances there was an element of holistic approach, in which a particular policy was seen to be aiming at the provision of better services and better reception facilities for immigrants. But in looking at the whole plethora of post migration

settlement programs, we were becoming very conscious that they are all interlinked, that it is no use working on, say, the improvement of health services, without at the same time providing a range of educational services such as, for example, the training of staff, provision of interpreters and translators, the provision of educational programs through the media and a lot of other services, all of which are linked. And once you begin to look at it in this holistic way, there is no way of limiting your horizons. An essential element of this approach must be the provision of systematic evolution and monitoring of all affirmative action programs to estimate their impact on society.

ESPING-ANDERSEN

One of the great dilemmas of advanced countries is the fall in fertility, particularly in Southern Europe, with its consequences in terms of population ageing and the future of social protection. One solution, that seems on the surface to be positive-sum, would be to attract immigration so as to compensate for the population shortfall. However, this would present a new dilemma: a large proportion of the potential immigration to Europe would be made of relatively low-skilled workers, adding to the existing pool of the unemployed, especially in this group.

Our preference would be highly-trained, highly-qualified, immigrants, but this would be a negative-sum solution for the sender countries. In this sense we have a double trade-off.

ZUBRZYCKI

You are obviously pin-pointing an extraordinary drama, if not absurdity, of the situation in developed countries, where a deficit in the birth rate in the years to come will produce shortage of people in particular age groups, making the need for offsetting migration patently obvious. And yet, governments in the developed countries do not allow these gaps to be filled through immigration. They are relying rather on the people whom I jokingly call "cyclical-shock absorbers", or the migrants who come at the time of prosperity, and are pushed out at the time of downturn in the trade cycle. The shortages in the workforce are filled only on a temporary basis. But time will come, in the next century, when certain developed countries, particularly in Western Europe, will have to face up to this situation. Precisely how it is going to operate, and how the rhythm of that replacement, if any, would be linked to increased productivity, remains to be seen. And here I am in the hands of my fellow econometricians, who are capable of measuring these issues. All I can say is that the immensity of these

problems has to be faced up to. Any short-term solution relying on seasonal workers, or temporary entrance to the work force, just does not produce satisfactory results. We also know that the so-called temporary migrants become really permanent migrants, but marginal people, denied the privilege of citizenship and the ability of competing for jobs on the basis of equality. So, here is another source of instability in the next century, with increasing marginalization of some minority groups in developed societies.