

PROVIDING HOSPITALITY: 40 PROPOSALS FOR MIGRATION POLICY

Summary

Preamble

1. For the right to mobility
2. For the obligation to protect asylum applicants
3. For a hospitality policy: principle and practice
4. Against detention and deportation
5. Living together as citizens

PREAMBLE

The Debate

The purpose of this document is to present a series of 40 proposals for migration policy, based on La Cimade's work with migrants in France. These proposals are based on clear principles. Both the proposals and the principles behind them are intended to inform short term, medium term and long-term action.

Five of these proposals are highlighted in the text (see box). We think that they can function as catalysts. A government determined to transform migration policy can use these six proposals as levers, to jump-start major changes in outlook, policy and behaviour – the subject of the remaining thirty-six proposals.

For the short term, we propose practical solutions to current problems. For the medium and long term, we propose new foundations for public policy on migrants and migration, with specific reference to France but also with reference to Europe.

With these proposals, we aim to engage in France's electoral politics during the coming two years, when elections to the French Senate, Presidency, Regional Councils and European Parliament will be held. In these upcoming elections, urgent questions related to immigration and to life in French society will clearly be in the forefront of public debate. We want to make a significant contribution to that debate.

This note is also and equally part of our long-standing effort to engage with civil society, and to contribute to a new approach to the political treatment of migration in France and in Europe. It is a contribution to our dialogue with current and future partners

To leverage a new migration policy

1. The right to mobility (lever n°1):

Stop the blackmail. Put an end to the bilateral agreements on the management of "migration flows" which currently make French development aid contingent on the signatory country's acceptance of "readmission clauses". These conditions include commitments to monitor migration flows and to send back migrants attempting to enter Europe or simply "suspected" of wanting to do so.

2. The obligation to protect (lever n° 2):

Establish a single procedure for the treatment of asylum applications, which includes the right to work during the period of examination.

3. The right to "come and go", based on respect for private and family life (lever n° 3):

Deliver visas to all individuals who justify their request on the basis of their private and family life, consistent with their rights as safeguarded by international conventions¹.

4. The right to mediation with government authorities and to fair treatment, under the effective control of the judiciary (lever n°4):

- Make administrative detention an exceptional measure and:
- Prohibit the detention of families, with or without children; of pregnant women; of vulnerable women and men (with problems related to health, age, or handicap).
- Reduce the maximum allowed period of detention
- Close permanent detention centres and prohibit their temporary establishment.

5. The emergence of a society based on broad citizenship (lever n°5):

- Grant the right to vote in local and regional elections to "resident citizens"- i.e. migrants who hold stable residence permits. Grant resident citizens the right to stand for local and regional elections.

¹ Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights; Article 3 of the International Convention on the rights of children

Toward a reversal of current policies

Two and a half millennia ago, the book of Leviticus set forth the following commandment: "The stranger that sojourns among you shall be as the home-born among you, and you shall love him as yourself, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Women and men have been on the move since the beginning of human history. Everyone comes from "somewhere else". Today's newcomer, like yesterday's, is necessarily "at home" wherever he or she may happen to be.

Hence La Cimade's conviction that "there are no strangers on this earth". The spirit of this conviction, which has also become our byword, is in diametrical opposition to the inhospitable spirit of current policies and laws related to migration and to migrants in France.

We aim to convince our readers that the opposite spirit, a spirit of hospitality, is the right approach to migrants and migration, and the right basis for a major policy reversal. We argue on the basis of the facts, on the basis of lessons learnt from experience, and on the basis of our values.

- **Facts:** Migration today is different from what it was twenty years ago. The profiles of migrants have changed. So have their itineraries, their ambitions, and their desires. Their mobility has increased; they come and go much more frequently than they did in the past. French society has also changed. It is more and more "mixed", and there can be no going back on this heterogeneity.
- **Lessons:** Experience shows that when rights are not guaranteed, when laws are not applied, and when government administrations interpret them in restrictive and repressive ways, people go underground. Insecurity, vulnerability and misery are the result for individuals when they have no choice but to engage in clandestine activities and practices. The result for society as a whole is disastrous.
- **Values:** The fundamental principles of political ethics need to be reaffirmed. From time immemorial, hospitality for strangers has been the underpinning of social life. The same can be said about help for the vulnerable members of society. Together with hospitality for strangers, social inclusion and equal rights are fundamental principles of political ethics, and must be at the core of effective migration policy.

Between reform and utopia

The framework for this discussion is provided by the need for practical reforms in the short term but also by more utopian ideals, which can only be realized over the long term. For example - even though we do not accept the prevailing logic of repression and control related to migration flows, we do not advocate complete and immediate freedom of circulation and residence.

We propose to change the tenor of the current debate. It should explicitly refer to the universal right to mobility and resettlement, even as it should acknowledge the need for a phased approach to legislation and rule setting. Acknowledgement of the right to mobility presupposes the existence of rules which are respected by sovereign states.

In the absence of global governance, it will be some time before the right to mobility can be fully effective. But this will only happen if recognition of the right to mobility is declared to be

an attainable goal. As Max Weber wrote, "people would never have attained anything in this world if they had not continuously and obstinately strived to achieve the impossible."

Aspirations like this, with reference to a dynamic goal, have inspired the work of La Cimade throughout its history, which began in internment camps in France in the 1930s. They continue to inspire its action today.

An ethic of conviction and responsibility

La Cimade has been working with migrants since 1939. Our commitment to migrants reflects our convictions. Our convictions entail our responsibility.

The context: crisis and fear

The international context is marked by the crises of globalization: the global economic and financial crisis, social crises, the demographic crisis, political crises related to corrupt regimes. All of these crises give rise to complex migratory movements.

In turn, these global crises shape the European context for migration policy. Policies based on the rejection of newcomers from other continents, cultures and religions, are inimical to the founding values of the European Union.

On the national level, the "immigration issue" has become a political instrument. With significant sectors of public opinion broadly receptive to "securitarian" appeals that stigmatize foreigners, utmost vigilance is required against xenophobia, appeals to nationality based on "blood", and fear of the newcomer. But such fears do exist in France, in broad sectors of the population. They feed upon economic crisis and its social consequences (unemployment, insecurity, desocialisation), as well as the crisis of the nation-state and political representation.

National migration policies cannot be considered separately from this context of crisis and from the broader economic and social policy response. Effective national migration policies cannot be elaborated in a vacuum, isolated from other policies (potentially affecting all members of society) to reduce inequality – whether related to education, to employment, to urban development or to housing.

The platform: mobility, hospitality, citizenship

For a limited number of men and women, international mobility has always existed (today it involves no more than 3% of the world population). With globalization it has become a social fact. The right to mobility, encompassing the right to circulation and settlement, must be universal.

Providing hospitality is not the same thing as providing assistance or charity. For newcomers, its meaning lies in the reception and welcome they receive. The newcomer is neither a "foreigner", nor a welfare claimant on the margins of society, but a human being on a meaningful journey, with his or her place in society. A human being with rights, whose status in society and whose stability of livelihood need to be ensured, in the name of the basic principles of life in society.

Citizenship, like integration, is the fruit of daily efforts. Active citizenship can only exist within a secular society, based on solidarity and on the equality of rights and obligations. A robust

society based on active citizenship presupposes the recognition of diversity and the absolute rejection of all forms of discrimination and racism.

A policy of providing hospitality is not a pipedream.

Hospitality is based on the recognition of a right. It is not philanthropy. In this perspective, it is interesting to note that the word "hôte", in French, means both "host" and "guest". By using this word, the text of the original French version of these propositions deliberately incorporates this duality.

Kant appealed to "the right of a stranger, upon his arrival on others' territory, not to be treated as an enemy... in virtue of the right of common possession of the sphere of the earth, where people cannot be endlessly scattered apart but must ultimately live together with one another." This concept of hospitality is the basis of the following propositions.

I. FOR THE RIGHT TO MOBILITY

The mobility of human beings is a social fact – normal, ordinary, and necessary.

Academic research and international organisations concur that mobility, today, is intimately related to massive change around the world. Whether of economic, political or environmental origin, migrations today are consequences of global disorder. Political and economic divergences between rich and poor countries or regions amplify this disorder, and mobility is an essential response. War (including civil war) is one cause of migration as people are forced to flee battlegrounds. Similarly, undemocratic or repressive regimes and violent unrest can push people to migrate. Economic globalisation is a further cause, as it is often takes place in the context of the exploitation of countries of the South and the exacerbation of development differentials, often with dire consequences for people's lives and livelihoods.

Instead of building walls against migratory flows, states need to devise policies of hospitality that face up to this mobility without destroying the social balance in host countries – policies which both offer hospitality to newcomers *and* reassure fellow citizens.

The right principles for any migration policy are those which are the core of any social project, because they are directly concerned with justice and equality. Seen from the global perspective, they take shape at the crossroads between North and South, between rich countries and poor countries, between countries at peace and regions at war.

Our societies face multiple challenges, currently exacerbated by the global financial and economic crisis. These challenges are daunting and often seem to defy solution. Yet recognizing others as human beings like ourselves is, in fact, one of the surest ways to find constructive, effective solutions to many of our current difficulties.

The right to mobility necessarily entails freedom of movement and freedom of settlement.

PRINCIPLES

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, every human being in the world has the right to live with dignity. Inter alia, this entails:

- The right to "enjoy civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights" in his/her country of origin;
- The right to an adequate livelihood for her/himself and her/his family;
- The right to leave any country, including his/her own, and to return;
- The right to seek asylum from persecution and to benefit from asylum in other countries (article 14 of the UDHR)

The right to seek the political, economic, social or cultural conditions for a life with dignity can be deduced from this fundamental text. This right can be exercised, temporarily or permanently, in countries other than an individual's country of origin. Wherever a person may happen to be, her or his basic human rights must be recognized and protected, in conformity with international commitments.

The right to mobility is based on international law, which provides the framework for state sovereignty. This right exists for all, not just for a few privileged individuals.

- Citizens of the Schengen zone in Europe and other regional groups, like the Community of West African states, already enjoy the right to mobility.
- In practice, freedom of movement and settlement presents no problems for the wealthy and for the citizens of rich countries.

It is not acceptable that such freedom be denied to the poor and to citizens of poor countries, held under house arrest in their countries of origin. As the World Charter of Migrants (proclaimed on February 4 in Goree, Senegal) has declared, the right to mobility is a precondition of equality and the exercise of solidarity.

The European Union must put an end to the securitarian, utilitarian approach behind its policies related to migration.

Defensive, repressive and selective migration policies lead to the criminalization of migratory flows originating in poor countries. The result is massive violations of the basic human rights of people on the routes of migration, which consequently become more complicated and dangerous.

In European countries, such policies have given rise to a siege mentality, leading to xenophobia and to the proliferation of fears across societies in crisis. The securitarian approach must be replaced with a realistic long-term alternative.

A new approach will require broad-based consent in the destination countries.

Changing the fearful, negative perspective on international migration has become a matter of urgency. Authorities in the destination countries need to understand that international migration is an irreducible aspect of the economic, environmental, demographic, social and cultural transformations taking place in the world today.

The right to mobility for all can be achieved through a phased approach to policy change.

On the EU level, Member States should set up a coordinated, coherent policy plan:

- which facilitates the freedom of movement to Europe of third country nationals (taking into account the interests of migrants, as well as the countries of origin and the countries of destination, on the basis of criteria which include public order);
- which allows for freedom of settlement, with commensurate and equal rights and obligations;
- which strictly respects the obligations that Member States have incurred under international law and European treaties.

PROPOSALS TO BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY

To open the way to this new mindset and new policies, France and all the EU Member States must begin by dismantling the rules, regulations and legislative dispositions concerning asylum and immigration that hamper the realization of the right to mobility for all.

1. Stop the blackmail. Put an end to the bilateral agreements on the "management of migration flows" which currently make French development aid contingent on the signatory country's acceptance of "readmission clauses". These conditions include commitments to monitor migration flows and to send back migrants attempting to enter Europe or simply "suspected" of wanting to do so.

2. Stop outsourcing the control and repression of migrants seeking entry to Europe. For countries south and east of Europe, as well as transit countries, such policies pressure them into playing the role of a European police.

3. Close Frontex. Its only purpose is to prevent migration to Europe. Its border activities are increasingly military in character and increasingly costly in taxpayer money. They are also increasingly costly in terms of violations of the right to asylum, and in terms of lives lost on needlessly perilous migration routes. Re-allocate the Frontex budget to the fight against human trafficking and to support for its victims.

4. Adopt new European legislation founded upon:

- the respect for the founding values of the European Union (Article 2 of the European Union Treaty)
- the strict application of international and European treaties (particularly: treaties on refugees, children's rights, human rights, and the fight against human trafficking).
- the recognition of a right of circulation/movement and settlement for extra-European nationals, as is already the case for European nationals in the Schengen zone, to come into effect progressively. This would presuppose the "harmonization from above" of policies and practices with regard to the delivery of visas and residence permits.

5. Stop the use of official development assistance (ODA) to finance the control and repression of migrants in transit to Europe.

6. Reinforce the role of civil society actors. In origin and transit countries, they should be empowered to play an enhanced role in providing information to migrants and in monitoring the respect of human rights in those countries.

Furthermore, there should be systematic provisions for consultation with civil society representatives in both the North and the South concerning migration policy, and for civil society monitoring and evaluation of the impact of these policies on human rights.

In general, there should be much greater transparency concerning the content of agreements related to migration, whether prepared on the EU level or by Member States.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE

7. Ratify the International Migration Convention². Ratification should be negotiated on the EU level, and be binding for all the Member States. This convention is currently the best international legal instrument for the protection of migrants in a globalized economy.

8. Develop a new EU Neighborhood Policy in partnership with the EU's neighbouring countries. The aim should be to foster the cross-border movement of people and of cultural and technical exchanges, through new regimes related to long-term visas.

The EU cannot simultaneously implement one set of policies that causes migration in third countries, and another set which seeks to staunch migratory flows from those same countries through repressive measures. EU policies concerning human rights, trade, agricultural policy, environmental protection and development assistance all have significant impact on vulnerable people in neighbouring countries who then become candidates for migration or asylum.

Furthermore, the EU and its Member States (and particularly France) cannot simultaneously support regimes that impoverish their citizens and/or deny them basic liberties, and then also deny the small proportion of those citizens who seek to emigrate their legitimate right to do so.

² The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families entered into force in July 2003.

II. FOR THE OBLIGATION TO PROTECT ASYLUM APPLICANTS

PRINCIPLES

Respect the spirit and the letter of the Geneva Convention on Refugees³:

- Prioritize the protection of people who flee persecution and all violations of human rights caused by global upheavals.
- Observe absolute respect for the principle of not forcing people to return to their countries when their security is at risk.
- Presume all asylum applicants to be refugees and recognize their economic, political and cultural rights, as laid down in the Convention.

PROPOSALS TO BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY

9. Establish a single procedure for the treatment of asylum applications, which includes the right to work during the period of examination.

This single procedure should include:

- the opportunity for applicants to choose the country in the EU where they apply for asylum, rather than the current system, which compels them to apply in the country of entry with no consideration of familial or cultural ties. The so-called "Dublin II" system should be abolished.
- the guarantee that every asylum applicant will be examined by OFPRA according to clear and simple procedures, in the presence of an interpreter and of legal counsel.
- The abolition of the so-called "priority procedure" in France. Every applicant should be given permission to remain in France during the examination of her or his asylum application, and should have suspensive appeal rights.
- The interpretation of the criteria of the Geneva Convention by OFPRA and other European asylum agencies to take new causes of forced exile into account, which affect entire population groups.

10. Ensure that the treatment of applications guarantees the respect of the basic rights and dignity of asylum applicants. Ensure that they receive support to facilitate their social integration. This will entail:

- the right to reside and to work in France for the duration of the asylum procedure; the right to health care; effective access to language and professional training
- in-depth reform of the current system to guarantee the dignity of all applicants, including special support for women who are victims of violence and for people who are victims of torture or degrading treatment.

PROPOSAL FOR THE FUTURE

11. Work toward the creation of new international instruments for the protection of environmental refugees.

III. FOR A HOSPITALITY POLICY: PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE

³ United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, July 1951.

The right to “come and go”, and to reside in the destination country, must be grounded in basic human rights, and recognized for every individual

The right to respect for private and family life is enshrined in Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. This basic right should be affirmed and explicitly acknowledged in laws and regulations related to migration. The legitimacy of decisions to migrate and to reside in destination countries needs to be reaffirmed at the present time.

The right to respect for private and family life needs to be defined holistically. Family ties should not be considered to be more important than individual choice. Private life includes intimate relations (the right to physical and moral integrity; the right to sexual freedom) as well as social relationships (the right to develop social relations, the right to personal development). Host country authorities should consider long-term residence as a positive factor.

A migrant is a person with rights.

Based on the distinction between “familial immigration” and “economic immigration”, two broad categories currently determine the status of migrants in France: “private and family life” and “wage earner”. This false dichotomy should be abandoned. All human beings, whether migrants or not, are characterized by both their private relationships and their economic activity.

Contributions of immigration

Immigration has always been an integral part of French society. It has made major contributions to France’s demographic, economic and cultural vitality. Today as in the past, migrants are making multiple, indispensable contributions to France. They are part of France and its history.

Equal rights for migrants in overseas departments and territories

Specific laws and regulations related to Guyana, Guadeloupe and Mayotte are the cause, whether direct or indirect, of many abuses of human rights in France. All French departments and territories must be subject to the same laws and regulations concerning migrants and asylum-seekers.

III.1. UPON ARRIVAL

PRINCIPLES

Policies concerning visas must respect basic human rights. Nothing can justify decisions related to visas taken in disregard of the safeguards in French law against arbitrary practices on the part of the administration, or in disregard of international human rights conventions.

Individuals have the right to decide to leave their countries of birth for personal or professional reasons. Such decisions are a matter of legitimate individual choice.

PROPOSALS TO BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY

12. Deliver visas, consistent with the rights protected by international conventions⁴, to all individuals who can justify their requests on the basis of their private and family life.

13. Establish criteria that can serve as a basis for decisions concerning other applicants.

14. Implement European regulations related to visa applications notably related to: supporting documents; the obligation to deliver receipts for deposit; time-limits for response; explanation of refusal; time-limits for appeal; abolition of the visa requirement for French overseas departments.

PROPOSALS TO BE DELIVERED IN THE FUTURE:

15. Promote legal entry, in the context of the progressive harmonization of European Union Member States' visa policies

III.2. RESIDENCE

PRINCIPLES

The stability of temporary and long-term residence and the right to work are the preconditions for successful mobility, residence and integration in the destination country.

Explicit criteria for delivery of residence permits must be established, ending all arbitrary decision-making and establishing a rights-based approach to residency.

PROPOSALS TO BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY

To induce rapid and tangible change in current policy, the most arbitrary dispositions and practices, as well as those that are most responsible for precariousness, should be abolished or reformed. Residence permits must become the key tools for social integration.

⁴ E.g. Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights; Article 3 of the International Convention on the rights of children

16. Deliver 10-year residence permits, following the first one-year temporary permit delivered in recognition of the right to respect for private and family life.

For other migrants, notably the employed, deliver 10-year residence permits as a matter of right following the delivery of three successive temporary residence permits. Abolish preposterous conditions (e.g. related to resources and housing) and abusive practices (e.g. related to exorbitant demands for documentation and proof) in the delivery of residency permits.

17. Systematically grant the right to work along with residence. Deliver residence permits to migrants who are ill and have begun medical treatment in France that they are effectively unable to pursue in their countries of origin.

18. Abolish the "Obligation to Leave French Territory" (OQTF), which currently accompanies refusal of a residence permit.

19. Reinstate dialogue between migrants and the administration – before decisions are made on applications for residence permits - through consultative committees (such as those which functioned before the creation of the OQTF on January 1, 2007). Committees should be composed of recognized authorities and/or eminent persons; representatives of unions and representatives of social organisms (with the exception of associations and/or NGOs whose roles are to accompany and to advise migrants). Members should be selected on the basis of their expertise, whether in areas related to employment or to social integration.

20. Ensure that migrants whose applications have been rejected preserve their rights if they decide to appeal the decision.

21. With a one-off, exceptional measure, regularize those illegal migrants whose applications meet new criteria related to their family situation; their presence in France over a significant period; their age at entry; employment status; health status, etc.

22. Improve the quality of services and information provided to migrants, through better recruitment and training of prefectural personnel, time-limits on case treatment, etc.

PROPOSALS TO BE DELIVERED IN THE FUTURE:

23. Establish a regime based on two residence permits, both of which will include the permission to work: (1) a three-year permit for all individuals who enter France with a passport and a long-term visa; and (2) a ten-year residency permit, delivered as right after the initial three-year period.

Residence permits that ensure the effective realization of the right to settle, permanently or temporarily, are the precondition for a policy based on hospitality. Permits should be designed to guarantee migrants a measure of stability. They should also be designed to facilitate flexibility with regard to the length of stay, including for reasons related to personal career paths and personal development.

IV. AGAINST DETENTION AND DEPORTATION

PRINCIPLES

Put an end to the systematic detention of illegal migrants. Initially conceived as an exceptional measure, detention has become commonplace. It should once again become the exception to the rule.

Mediation and judicial control should always come into play before measures of expulsion are taken. The ultimate aim should be the end to all deportation.

PROPOSALS TO BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY

24. Make administrative detention an exceptional measure and:

- prohibit the detention of families, with or without children; of pregnant women; of vulnerable women and men (with problems related to health, age, or handicap).
- reduce the maximum allowed period of detention
- close permanent detention centres and prohibit their temporary establishment

25. Ensure the effective monitoring of detention ("special zones" as well as detention centres) by human rights organizations, together with the establishment of free, permanent visiting rights.

26 Abolish statistical targets for expulsion. Such targets, imposed upon the administration (prefectures), encourage the police to seek out and interrogate "foreigners", in disregard of their basic rights.

27. Institute mandatory judicial referral and review before the execution of any deportation measure.

28. Ensure that all appeals against expulsion decisions preserve existing rights.

29. Put an end to all "exceptions" related to detention and expulsion in overseas departments and territories.

30. Put an end to "double punishment": according to the principle of equality before the law, penal sanctions must be identical for all, whether French citizens or migrants. Double punishment in the form of deportation and penal banishment should not be inflicted on migrants who have committed penal offenses.

31. Decriminalize illegal residence.

32. Put an end to mandatory "voluntary returns". These are expulsions which are voluntary in name only, and are part of the system created by statistical targets.

33. Challenge the "Return Directive"⁵ on the EU level, and prohibit all measures of banishment.

⁵ DIRECTIVE 2008/115/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL, 16 December 2008 on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE

34. Prohibit all forms of detention that are specific to migrants.

V. LIVING TOGETHER AS CITIZENS

PRINCIPLES

With a policy goal of integration and citizenship, conditions for living together can only be the same for migrants and French nationals. This non-discriminatory policy goal can only be reached on the basis of the equality of rights, solidarity, recognition of diversity and secular respect for varieties of religious belief. It must be based on justice, respect, and trust, and should aim to ground citizenship in relationships based on reciprocity.

Migration policy can only take shape within the broader context of social and economic policy. More precisely, policy efforts against inequality must also be concerned with employment, education, housing, urbanism, health, and social protection – and against discrimination and racism.

Obtaining a residence permit, and hence stability of residence, is the key condition and vector of integration – and should not be considered as a “reward”.

The right to stable residence should confer stable civil status – along the lines of the citizenship based on residence enjoyed by citizens of the European Union.

Acquisition of French nationality is not the only sign of successful integration. Citizens of other European Member States who have settled in France have civil rights, without necessarily choosing to acquire French nationality. Likewise, other migrants should also be able to settle in France and become full members of the French society without necessarily becoming French nationals.

At the same time, for those who wish to acquire French nationality, there should be a clear process based on transparent criteria.

The integration of newcomers into a society takes place in a dynamic exchange. It cannot be the result of an injunction. It is inevitably a progressive, long-term process, unfolding within the lives of individuals, through personal choices that command respect. Public policies should foster this process.

These public policies, which necessarily are concerned with long-term social dynamics, should be evaluated on a regular basis by independent bodies which include politicians, academic researchers, and NGO representatives – all chosen on the basis of clear and transparent criteria. Policy evaluations and recommendations should be made public. Governments should be held responsible for acting on them.

35. To leverage the emergence of a society based on broad citizenship:

Grant the right to vote in local and regional elections to "resident citizens"- i.e. migrants who hold stable residence permits. Grant resident citizens the right to stand for local and regional elections.

Recognition of a form of citizenship based on residence presupposes the strict equality of economic, social and cultural rights – in private and family life; work; health and social protection; primary, secondary, higher and professional education and training; housing; cultural expression; religious expression. It will imply the negotiation of conventions facilitating portable retirement pensions and other accrued rights and benefits, and their transfer to countries of origin or third countries.

36. Decriminalize assistance to and accompaniment of illegal migrants. Abolish the "Solidarity Crime" which currently exists in France.

37. Base the acquisition of French nationality from birth unconditionally on birthright (*jus soli*).

38. Favour, through public policy, the representation of migrants in local councils and in the media, thereby highlighting their roles as social actors.

39. Complement these broad public policy orientations with specific policies to accompany and foster the integration of newcomers:

- French language training which takes individual context and professional needs into account, and which transmits the rules and codes that prevail in French society. This training should be delivered locally – whether in cultural centres, city halls, public interest associations.
- Training and support specifically designed for women, to enhance and facilitate their role in social transformation within the family, the neighbourhood, and town.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE

40. Fight against inequality and causes of social disintegration through economic and social policy. As a matter of priority, in the following areas:

- reducing unemployment, particularly for low-income earners
- ending discrimination related to access to employment and choice of profession
- bringing public services and infrastructure (social, cultural, sport) back to low-income neighbourhoods
- increasing budget allocations to improve education and training in low-income areas
- increasing support for grassroots social initiatives, and particularly for women's groups.

Hospitality and the policies it requires are not just a question of promoting social exchange.

What is urgently at stake is the development of a new, revitalized "commons" in France. With a new migration policy in the toolkit, we aim to work, together with other partners in France and Europe, toward a more hospitable world in which everyone has her/his place.