

POLITICALLY CORRECT By Jim Huber WHEN THOSE SAT. QUESTIONS WERE BRUTAL WHAT DID YOU THINK? I GOT THE ONE WHERE I CHECK OFF MY THINCITY, SO KNOW

Picture source:

https://changefromwithin.org/2012/06/06/are-whitestudents-being-disadvantaged-by-affirmative-action/

EU& THICS Jean Monnet Prof. M. Frischhut

# **EU INTEGRATION & ETHICS**

Affirmative action (2<sup>nd</sup> session)



Co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union

#### Picture source: https://www.theodysseyonline.com/shortcomin gs-affirmative-action



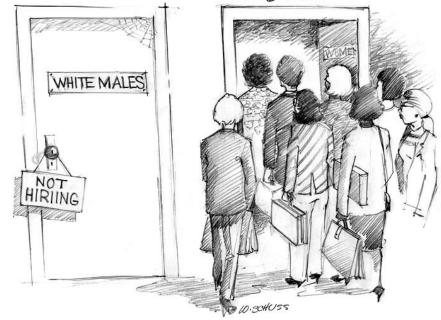
#### **Affirmative action**





Picture source: https://changefromwithin.org/2012/06/06/are-white-students-being-disadvantaged-by-affirmative-action/

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY



Picture source: https://www.theodysseyonline.com/shortcomings-affirmative-action

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#### Agenda – 2<sup>nd</sup> session





#### Synchronous\* Learning

Webinars Chats

Input, Lectures

Brainstorming

FAQs

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> session (online): affirmative action | 17:00 - 19:15h

- Getting started
- Non-discrimination: general introduction (partly repetition)
- Case study US
- Break
  - Summary of case study
- Case study EU
  - Comparing cases &
  - Summary of case study
- Summary of this topic

# Equal treatment / no discrimination (repetition)



"In that respect, it should be noted that, according to settled case-law, **discrimination** can arise only through the application of **different rules to comparable situations** or the application of the **same rule to different situations** [...]."

CJEU judgment in *Commission v the Netherlands* (three out of six years' rule), C-542/09, EU:C:2012:346, para. 41

"It should be recalled that the requirement relating to the **comparability of the situations** for the purpose of determining whether there is a breach of the principle of equal treatment must be **assessed in the light of all the elements which characterise them** [...]."

CJEU judgment in *CHEZ* Razpredelenie Bulgaria , C-83/14, EU:C:2015:480, para. 89

A = B => treat A like B

 $A \neq B \Rightarrow$  don't treat A like B

- Should women earn as much as men?
- Should women pay equally less at the hairdressers, such as men?
- Should Germans pay the same price for skiing in Austria, and Austrians the same price for swimming in Germany?
- Should homosexuals be treated in the same way as heterosexuals (e.g. also have access to Assisted Reproductive technologies, such as IVF, surrogacy)?
- Should young workers earn as much as older ones?
- Should Italians be treated like French people (i.e. they get cheaper tickets) in Disneyland Paris?



A = B => treat A like B

 $A \neq B \Rightarrow$  don't treat A like B

"Furthermore, Article 21 of the Charter, serving as the basis of the plea relating to the **prohibition of discrimination** on grounds of nationality or ethnic origin, is a **particular expression of the principle of equal treatment** (see, to that effect, judgment of 29 April 2015, *Léger*, C-528/13, EU:C:2015:288, paragraph 48) and **both that principle and the prohibition of any discrimination are simply two labels for a single general principle of law**, which prohibits both treating similar situations differently and treating different situations in the same way **unless** there are objective reasons for such treatment [...]."

General Court judgment in Voigt, T-618/15, EU:T:2017:821, para. 98

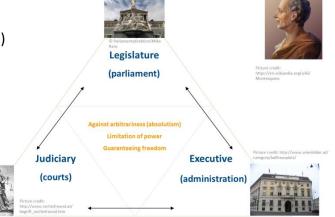
# **Discrimination: criteria (repetition)**

- EU citizenship & fundamental freedoms (negative integration)
  - Non discrimination based on citizenship
- Harmonization of national law (positive integration)
  - No discrimination based on "sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation"
- Case-law vs. policy
  - Negative integration (i.e. application of fundamental freedoms):
    - By national courts (bottom-up) and CJEU (supporting national courts with interpretation of EU law)

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- Judiciary
- Positive integration (i.e. harmonization of national law):
  - By EP and Council, based on a proposal of the Commission (top-down)
  - Legislative
  - Maybe followed by court cases, if necessary



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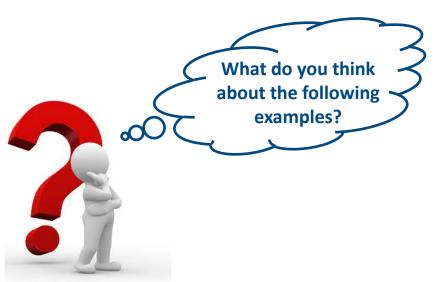
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# Food for thought





- Should someone who can get pregnant earn less?
  - At the hairdressers, should someone with **long hair** pay more than someone with short hair, such as men?
- Should there be a reduction for ski resorts or swimming pools for local residents?

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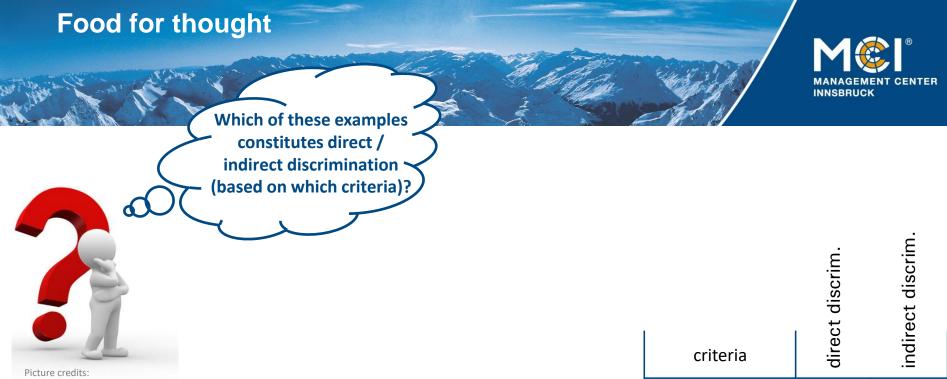


- EU citizenship & fundamental freedoms (negative integration)
  - No open discrimination based on citizenship
  - But also disguised discrimination based on residence, language etc. either
- Harmonization of national law (positive integration)
  - No open discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation
  - But also no disguised discrimination either
- CJEU judgment in *Commission v the Netherlands (three out of six years' rule),* C-542/09, EU:C:2012:346, para. 37: In that respect, it should be noted that the equal treatment rule laid down both in Article 45 TFEU and in Article 7 of Regulation No 1612/68 prohibits **not only overt** discrimination on grounds of nationality **but also** all **covert** forms of discrimination which, through the application of other criteria of differentiation, lead in fact to the same result [...].

#### CJEU judgment in D, C-167/12, EU:C:2014:169, para. 48:

The Court has consistently held that **indirect discrimination** on grounds of **sex** arises where a national measure, **albeit** formulated in **neutral** terms, puts **considerably** more workers of one sex at a **disadvantage than** the **other** [...].





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- Should someone who can get pregnant earn less?
- At the hairdressers, should someone with **long hair** pay more than someone with short hair, such as men?
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criteriato<br/>to<br/>ipsexImage: sexsexImage: sexcitizenshipImage: sex





CJEU judgment in *Z*, C-363/12, EU:C:2014:159, para. 6:

Under Article 5 of the **[United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities]**, headed 'Equality and non-discrimination':

'1. States Parties recognise that all persons are **equal** before and under the law and are entitled **without any discrimination** to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law.

2. States Parties shall **prohibit all discrimination** on the basis of disability and guarantee to persons with disabilities equal and **effective legal protection** against discrimination on all grounds.

3. In order to promote equality and eliminate discrimination, States Parties shall **take** all **appropriate steps** to ensure that **reasonable accommodation** is provided.

4. **Specific measures** which are necessary to **accelerate or achieve de facto equality** of persons with disabilities shall not be considered discrimination under the terms of the present Convention.'

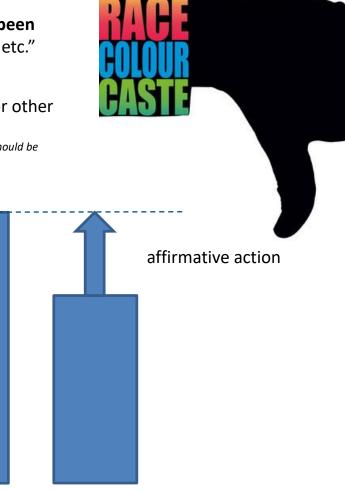
#### **Affirmative action**



"the **practice of improving** the educational and job opportunities of members of **groups** that have **not been treated fairly in the past** because of their race, sex, etc." http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/affirmative%20action

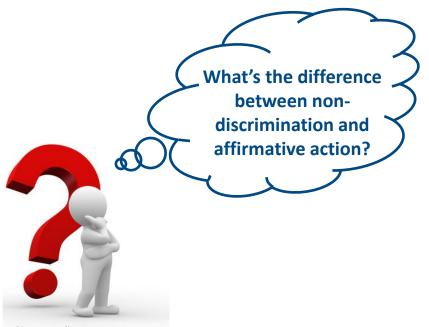
# "[...] a **leg-up** to members of **certain** racial, ethnic, or other **groups** by holding them to different standards"

The Economist (Apr 27<sup>th</sup> 2013). *Time to scrap affirmative action: Governments should be colour-blind*.



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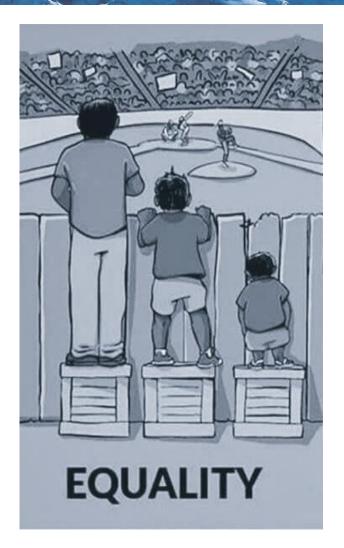
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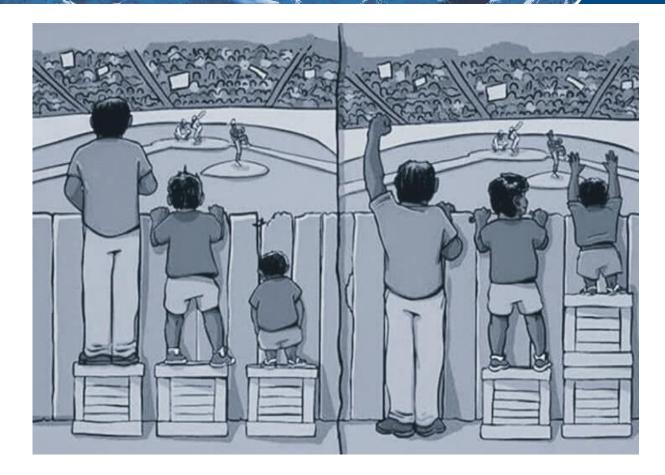
- Not an issue of discrimination.
- Maybe they brought those boxes themselves.





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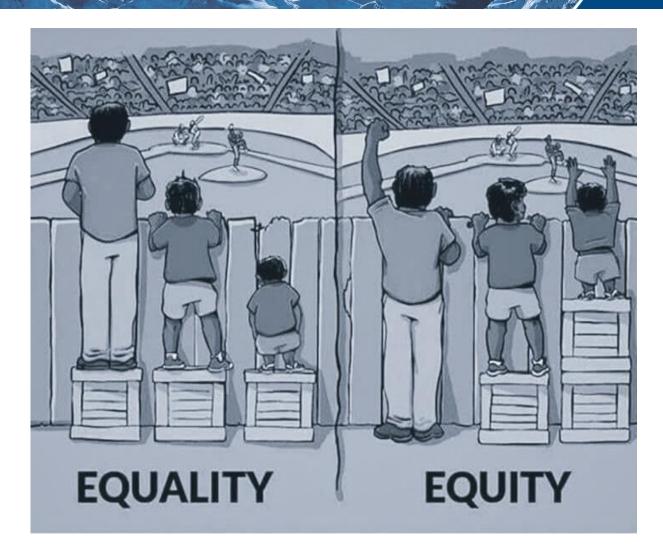




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#### **Case study US**



What do you think about the following – case study?

Picture credits: http://www.geocaching.com/seek/cache\_details. aspx?wp=GC30GNP Assume, there is a white young lady coming from a rather poor family. Raised by a single mother, she struggled hard in school to achieve good grades and then applied at a University for admission as a student. Although she performed very well in the admission test, she was not admitted.

- However, the University had admitted several applicants belonging to certain minorities who had worse school grades and lower test scores than our young lady.
- As she argued to be discriminated, the University responded that they apply an "affirmative action policy" that should give preference to minority applicants. The University also referred to its mission, which was to increase racial and ethnic diversity not only at University, but also later on in the respective professional fields, where graduates would afterwards work.

Source: inspired by *Cheryl Hopwood v. Texas*, 78 F.3d 932 (5th Cir. 1996); see Sandel, 2010, pp. 168-9

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# Case study US: poll







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### **Case study US: find arguments**



Try to find reasons, why you argue that she should / should not have been admitted? (30 min. time)

#### Adobe Connect Break Out Session

- Use the abridged version published on Sakai for your group work.
  - If you fall out of the breakout room you will end up in the main room (and I will put you back into your group).
- 8 groups (à approx. 5 participants)
- Same task for all groups
- N.B. for this task you have slightly more time, as this is your first group work
- At the end, one participant (having a functioning microphone) should be able to present the bottom line of the discussion.
- One group can be randomly chosen by lecturer
- To be presented at the end:
  - Whether in favour or against affirmative action
  - Short argumentation (approx. 50 words)

Picture credits: http://www.geocaching.com/seek/cache\_details. aspx?wp=GC30GNP

- 1. Try to find pros
- Try to find cons both concerning her case, as well as in general
- 3. Try to find a joint solution

#### Agenda – 2<sup>nd</sup> session





#### Synchronous\* Learning

Webinars Chats

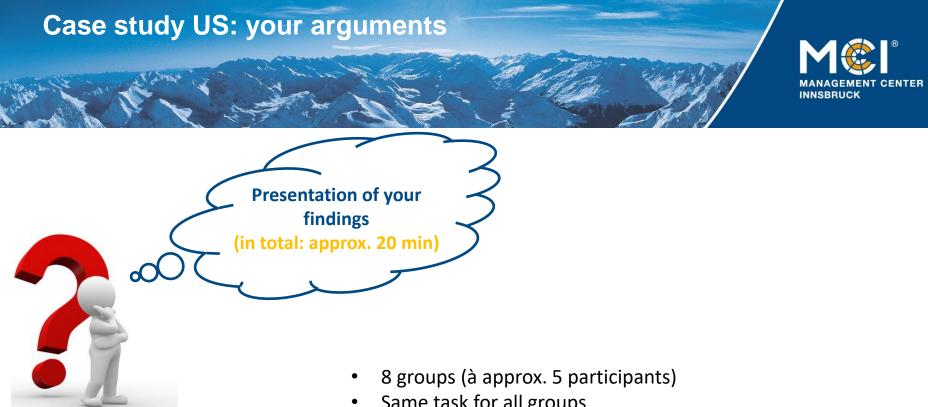
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#### 2<sup>nd</sup> session (online): affirmative action | 17:00 - 19:15h

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- Try to find **pros** 1.
- 2. Try to find **cons** both concerning her case, as well as in general
- Try to find a joint solution 3.

- Same task for all groups
- N.B. for this task you have slightly more time, as this is your first group work
- At the end, one participant (having a functioning microphone) should be able to present the bottom line of the discussion.
- One group can be randomly chosen by lecturer
- To be presented at the end:
  - Whether in favour or against affirmative action
  - Short argumentation (approx. 50 words)

# Arguments affirmative action (summary discuss.)









- **Correcting of insufficiencies** of the facts that have been taken into account for the decision
  - Assuming that minorities don't have access to same quality schools, thus resulting in worse grades (if school grades taken into account for admission) ...
  - ... and at the same time, minorities might be worse prepared for admission tests
  - Compensation for past injustices
    - Assuming that minorities have been discriminated in the past, ...
    - ... they should now be favoured over others
- Diversity argument
  - Both at university, ...
  - ... as well as in the relevant professions (after graduation) ...
  - ... and for society at large

#### Picture credits:

- Correction: https://pixabay.com/de/pr%C3%BCfung-hausaufgaben-korrektur-154709/
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#### **Case study EU**



What do you think about the following case study?

Picture credits: http://www.geocaching.com/seek/cache\_details. aspx?wp=GC30GNP Hellmut Marschall applied for promotion to an A 13 post at the comprehensive school Schwerte.

The German law at the time provided as follows: "Where, in the sector of the authority responsible for promotion, there are *fewer* women than men in the particular higher grade post in the career bracket, women are to be given priority for promotion in the event of equal suitability, competence and professional performance, unless reasons specific to an individual [male] candidate tilt the balance in his favour."

- The competent District Authority informed him that it intended to appoint a female candidate to the position.
- The German court concluded that Mr Marschall and the woman candidate selected were equally qualified for the post.

CJEU judgment in Marschall, C-409/95, EU:C:1997:533



Picture credits: http://www.geocaching.com/seek/cache\_details. aspx?wp=GC30GNP

- At the end, one participant (having a functioning microphone) should be able to present the bottom line of the discussion.
- One group can be randomly chosen by lecturer
- To be presented at the end:
  - Whether affirmative action in case of the situation discussed before the break can also be applied to discrimination based on sex
  - Short argumentation (approx. 40 words)

## **Arguments for affirmative action (based on sex)**









#### **Correcting of insufficiencies**

- Ethnic minorities
- Women

#### Compensation for past injustices

- Ethnic minorities
- Women
- Diversity argument
  - Ethnic minorities
  - Women

Picture credits:

- Correction: https://pixabay.com/de/pr%C3%BCfung-hausaufgaben-korrektur-154709/
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# Case study EU

What was the solution to the Marschall case?



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EU law **allows** affirmative action for **women** in employment, because there are **actual inequalities** 

- EU law "authorize[s] measures which, although discriminatory in appearance, are in fact intended to **eliminate or reduce actual** instances of **inequality** which may exist in the reality of social life". (para. 26)
- "It thus authorizes national measures relating to access to employment, including promotion, which give a specific advantage to women with a view to improving their ability to compete on the labour market and to pursue a career on an equal footing with men". (para. 27)
- Reference to a recommendation of the Council of the EU, according to which existing legal provisions are **not enough** to eliminate inequalities between men and women. (para. 28)
- "it appears that even where male and female candidates are equally qualified, male candidates tend to be promoted in preference to female candidates particularly because of **prejudices** and **stereotypes** concerning the role and capacities of women in working life and the fear, for example, that women will interrupt their careers more frequently, that owing to household and family duties they will be less flexible in their working hours, or that they will be absent from work more frequently because of pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding". (para. 29)

CJEU judgment in *Marschall*, C-409/95, EU:C:1997:533 (Link)

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## Case study EU

What was the solution to the Marschall case?



Picture credits: http://www.geocaching.com/seek/cache\_details. aspx?wp=GC30GNP



- "However, [...] such a national measure specifically favouring female candidates cannot guarantee **absolute and unconditional priority** for women in the event of a promotion [...]". (para. 32)
- Prerequisites: if "it provides for male candidates who are equally as qualified as the female candidates a guarantee that the candidatures will be the subject of an objective assessment which will take account of all criteria specific to the individual candidates and will override the priority accorded to female candidates where one or more of those criteria tilts the balance in favour of the male candidate. In this respect, however, it should be remembered that those criteria must not be such as to discriminate against female candidates". (para. 33)

CJEU judgment in Marschall, C-409/95, EU:C:1997:533 (Link)

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## Affirmative action and EU law

• EU social policy

• • •

Article 157 TFEU (opening clause):

1. Each Member State shall ensure that the **principle** of **equal pay** for male and female workers for equal work or work of equal value is applied.

4. With a view to ensuring full equality in practice between men and women in working life, the **principle** of equal treatment shall **not prevent** any **Member State** from **maintaining or adopting** measures providing for specific **advantages** in order to make it easier for the **underrepresented sex** to [1.] pursue a vocational activity or [2.] to prevent or compensate for disadvantages in professional careers.



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# Food for thought





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- Who can take such "positive measures"?
- ... also social partners and companies?
- In which field does this apply?
- Who benefits from this treatment?
- Is there a subjective right for workers on a respective decision of MS?
- What are the prerequisites?
- What degree of under-representation has to exist?
- What kind of measures can be taken?

#### Member States [MS], not EU

- No, only MS
- working life
- the underrepresented sex, not only women
- no
- needs to be proportional, and specific; cf. CJEU: not automatic, but opening clause
- not defined, but the bigger the gap, the more measures are possible; i.e. proportionality
- "advantages"

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•	Where:	US	EU
•	Criteria:	ethnicity etc.	sex
•	Field	University access	employment
•	Prerequisites	strict scrutiny test, special state interests	no automatic priority and opening clause



- All invited to participate
- Same task for everyone
- If you have a good contribution, just raise your hand

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# Follow-up (some more food for thought)





#### Asynchronous\* Selfpaced Learning

Websites, Readings Webcasts, Screencasts Videos, Podcasts Simulations, Multimedia Tests & Quizzes

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- What would be a utilitarian ("the greatest good for the greatest number") answer to affirmative action?
- Do we need to assess these questions from a collective, or from an individual perspective?
- What would be an answer following the idea of "distributive justice"?

# Philosophers

#### John Rawls (1921-2002): A Theory of Justice (1999)

- On distributive justice
- Rawls sees society as a system of collaboration, which shall foster the interests of every single member – not only of some of them (Luf, 2014, p. 90)
- In this system, justice shall be established by fairness; this can result in advantages or disadvantages for the individual (Luf, 2014, p. 90)
- Important that there is consensus about the fundamental structure of a society (Luf, 2014, p. 91)
- Based on the classical social contract theories of Rousseau and Kant, he creates a thought experiment of a "original position", where people forget about certain standpoints that support their actual situation; i.e. the hypothetical situation of the "veil of ignorance" (Luf, 2014, p. 92)



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\_Ra



Sandel, M. J. (2010). *Justice*: Lecture 17 (before: part 9); <u>http://justiceharvard.org/lecture-17-arguing-affirmative-action/</u>

- Sandel, M. J. (2010). Justice: What's the right thing to do? (1<sup>st</sup> ed.). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 167-183
- Boxill, B. (2010). Discrimination, Affirmative Action, and Diversity in Business: Chapter 18. In G. G. Brenkert & T. L. Beauchamp (Eds.), [Oxford handbooks]. The Oxford Handbook of Business Ethics (pp. 535–562). Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.



# **Preparation for next session | print this slide**

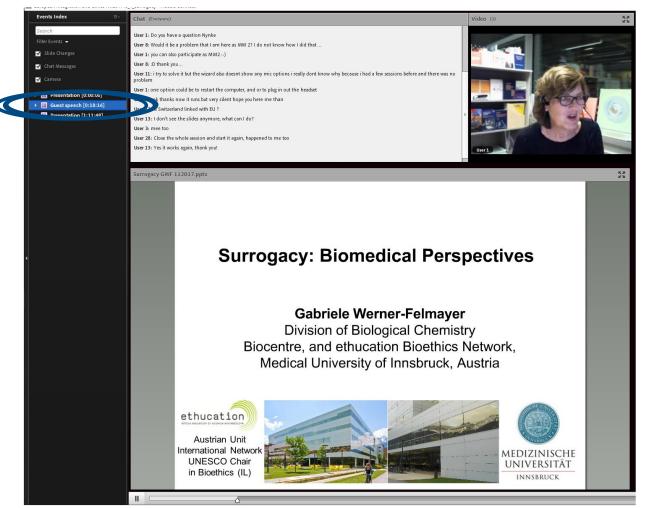


٠	Case D							
	•	Surrogacy is regulated in the UK:	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para )			
	٠	In this case the partner's sperm was used:	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para )			
	•	In this case the woman's eggs were used:	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para )			
	٠	Has she (Ms D) been pregnant herself?	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para)			
	٠	What was the legal problem in this case?			(para)			
•	Case	Case Z						
	٠	Surrogacy is regulated in Ireland:	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para )			
	٠	Surrogacy is regulated in California (US):	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para )			
	٠	Where did IVF / the egg transfer take place?			(para )			
	٠	In this case the partner's sperm was used:	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para )			
	٠	In this case the woman's eggs were used:	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	(para )			
	•	What was the medical problem in this case?			(para)			
	•	What was the legal problem in this case?			(para)			
	•	Which additional legal problem was addressed in this case?			(para)			

#### **Preparation for next session | watch video**



#### https://mci.adobeconnect.com/ a854146041/pnejv5tefkdv/?proto=true



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# Thank you for your attention!

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