

# A RELATIONAL VISION FOR AGRICULTURE

SALLUX BRIEFING PAPER FOR ECPM

Edited by: Dr Matthew N. Williams



This briefing paper has been produced by Sallux in its capacity as the political foundation for the European Christian Political Movement (ECPM). It is a shortened version of a forthcoming project report on agriculture and EU policy (co-written with Drs Ştefan Bătrîna and Rebecca Stevenson) that contributes to the political debate from the distinctive basis of relational thinking



### INTRODUCTION

Agriculture has always been a central concern of EU politics, but it is especially important today. Thousands of farmers and their supporters are protesting across the continent about suffocating market conditions as well as national and European-level legislation that they see to be threatening their livelihoods. These protests have brought several major cities to a standstill and have already drawn a response from policy-makers that includes legislative concessions.

Whilst the protests have subsided, a fundamental rupture between much of the agricultural community and the power-holders in European society has been exposed. In light of this, it is important to understand and respond to the relational dynamics at work by establishing a new vision for agriculture in the EU. This goes beyond the quick fixes and ad hoc structural adjustments being offered in the run-in to the European parliamentary elections in June 2024.

This paper outlines key challenges EU agriculture, casts a relational vision equipped to address these challenges and highlights important but overlooked policy areas that will be key in making progress towards this vision.

#### **EUROPEAN AGRICULTURE IN CRISIS**

On one level, the agricultural sector is one of Europe's greatest strengths. It ranks highly in natural resources, technical facility and market infrastructure, trading millions of tonnes per year domestically and internationally. EU support helps make farming and food production far more lucrative than it is in most of the world.<sup>3</sup> But European agriculture is facing an unprecedented combination of challenges that amount to the crisis being played out in the political arena.



#### 1. Undervaluing farmers in the food chain: economic challenges

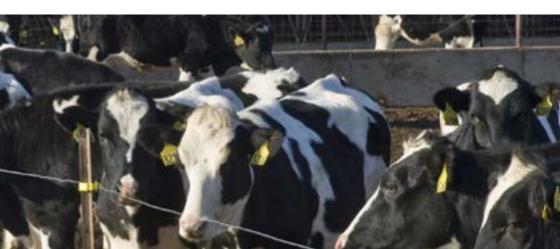
- Farming is economically unproductive and accounts for only around 1.4% of the EU's GDP.5
- Numbers of agricultural sector workers in employment or training are declining sharply.6
- Global forces are increasingly determinative and, at the same time, unpredictable (e.g. cheaper imports and blocked supply chains due to military or political conflict).

#### 2. Increasingly poor conditions for growth: environmental challenges

- Topsoil degradation and erosion is first and foremost a problem for farmers themselves. Loss of good soil is accelerating with urban growth as well as certain agricultural practices.6
- The climate is becoming hotter and drier in Southern Europe and wetter in the north.7

#### 3. Working on laptops in coffee shops: socio-cultural challenges

- Social aspirations (as expressed through the education system) are for jobs with flexibility and digital interaction, with manual (especially agricultural) skills systemically undervalued. 8
- Food consumption is determined by convenience rather than nutrition or local culture. 9
- As a corollary of the two factors above, people are increasingly disconnected from the sources of their own food and from local farms (both farmers and the land tself).10





# BEWARE THE GAP: A RELATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE CRISIS

Political debates around the crisis in European agriculture and attempts to solve it through technical means generally focus on its economic and environmental elements. However, socio-cultural factors are equally as important. Relational thinking takes all these factors into account, analysing the situation on the basis of the whole human person so as to address it fully. The dynamics underlying the crisis in European agriculture are summed up in this relational reality:

There is a growing gap between the leaders of mainstream society who control urban financial or administrative institutions and the farming communities in Europe's regions.

This gap is social and cultural as well as economic and political and must be analysed relationally. The European Green Deal (EGD) focus on environment (Biodiversity Strategy), food justice (Farm

to Fork Strategy) and local development (via CAP and Cohesion Policy within the EU Rural Vision) has not addressed this relational disconnect and will continue to have limited success as a result.

### 1. SOCIO-CULTURAL LACK OF VALUE

EU policy treats agriculture only in terms of economic and environmental cost or benefit; there is no need for farmers in a certain area if food can be produced more sustainably and cheaply elsewhere. This may sound reasonable, but the implication is that farms can be taken away from any particular community, region or even nation without harming the social fabric. However, farmers value their way of life beyond its instrumental value and farming, together with local food culture, is a key aspect of regional identity (hence geographical indication protections).12 This value goes unrecognised when agriculture is treated as a form of activity that people need to progress away from instead of potentially being one of the healthiest, most fulfilling and most valuable forms of work possible.<sup>13</sup> And this is not all. We know that if we voluntarily rely on others to do everything for us (even if we pay them to do it), our human dignity is compromised. It is the same at a community level when we become completely reliant on being fed from elsewhere. Local food sovereignty (to at least some degree) is a matter of human dignity.

We are not raising culture over material reality. Long-term, it is beneficial both environmentally and economically necessary to have higher levels of local food sovereignty. This should mean we prioritise farming communities, but these are not even mentioned in key EU agricultural policy documents.14 Prevailing socio-cultural values place freedom of movement (often to the economic centres) over attachment to particular places with the result that local communities' natural and cultural heritage are unprotected and eventually lost, with serious consequences. 15

#### 2. POLITICAL POWER IMBALANCE

This relational gap is not only 'soft' but constitutes a political power imbalance. Such imbalance causes resistance even to regulations that would improve farmers' long-term outlook (as GAECs would). This is compounded by the fact that none of the EGD regulations are managed by DG Agri, which had developed a working relationship with the farm unions. <sup>16</sup> There is even suspicion that the technical, administrative and

financial demands of keeping them are not just the unrealistic expectations of bureaucrats but are deliberately designed to put them out of business and give up their land to the agri-businesses allied to the political leadership.<sup>17</sup> This is not a 'conspiracy theory' but a legitimate concern based on common patterns of power accumulation.

## 3. ECONOMIC EXTRACTION FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

Our economic system operates by treating land, labour and capital as commodities to be traded. Though there is some regulatory control over environmental and human mistreatment, profit is still valued over the often immeasurable wellbeing of people and planet. Farms (both the workers and the land itself) are treated as resources from which value can be extracted by value-adding industries and ultimately the shareholders. This is the general problem that the unique contribution of relational thinking around stakeholder economy addresses. <sup>18</sup>

Economic disparity is a relational issue and the gap between the top and bottom of the value chain is part of what farmer protests expose. In fact, the three factors highlighted here cannot be separated from one another. If farming communities are devalued, they are kept economically poor and politically disenfranchised, which undermines any (necessarily collaborative) efforts to conserve local natural ecosystems. Thus our relationship to each other – sociocultural, political and economic life – is



connected to our relationship to the environment, and current relational dynamics widens this gap. Can we offer a better vision?

Farms provide a unique context in which people can exercise their relationship to the land and animals that sustain them. Humans have no choice but to cultivate the limited amount of soil we have so that it yields food; the only reason it seems limitless is because we have not quite reached its limits on a global scale. Rather than being constraining and draining, <sup>19</sup> the repeated processes of farming one's own place is life-giving is regenerative for both people and planet.<sup>20</sup> When managed properly (which includes periods of rest for all involved), farms can ensure flourishing for all

involved perpetually.<sup>21</sup> A place where humans work in partnership and live with the myriad non-human creatures in harmonious relationships from generation to generation is what we call 'home'. This is way of functioning is not a utopian eco-dream but is written into our humanity, as the creation stories ascribed to most of the world's population make clear.<sup>22</sup> Christianity recognises the work of Jesus Christ in restoring this reality back to human reach. <sup>23</sup>

Farms are already a 'common home' for its occupants, but its relational network stretches to additional stakeholders. This directly includes employees and consumers as well as those involved in related secondary or tertiary industries and the local community as a whole. Decisions on how farmers manage the

land (e.g. conserving biodiversity and discharging agricultural waste) are of public interest, since whole regional ecosystems benefit from increased biodiversity, soil health and purity of water sources. But equally of public interest is the existence of farms as providers of healthy food, employment and connection to nature. As such, farms could ideally act as community hubs where people learn to relate well to people and planet.

For society as a whole to benefit, farming communities need to be promoted universally and networked for trade and knowledge exchange. It is naïve to imagine that such transformation could be total or immediate and it would politically, environmentally economically disastrous to force sudden change. But human factors rather than insufficient natural resources limit the scale of Europe's local food systems.<sup>24</sup> And the 'normal' scale of production is very inefficient (the EU already wastes more food than it imports). 25 Change is not beyond our reach.

# POLICIES TOWARDS HEALTHY FARMING COMMUNITIES FOR A HEALTHY EUROPEAN SOCIETY

In the political arena it can be tempting to move straight to policy development as the instrument for change. But for the relational vision of agriculture to take root in Europe, there must first be a fundamental shift in perspective. We must orientate our thinking around the value of farming communities rather than considering farms and farmers merely as units of (economic) production or (environmental) cost. The key message - that healthy farming communities are essential for healthy society - should form the backbone for our thinking on social reform. For this relational vision to move from abstract ideals into the reality of European life it must be worked out and communicated through concrete policies.

The three chief areas within which this relational vision for European agriculture can be put into action are economic, environmental and socio-cultural policy. 26

#### 1.ECONOMIC POLICY:

# INCENTIVISE LOCALLY BASED STAKEHOLDER BUSINESS MODELS

An economic paradigm shift seems daunting, but it can be achieved through a series of changes. To move from a shareholder-dominated economy value extraction towards a stakeholderled economy of mutual value creation, the first change needed is the nature of business itself. There are already a number of models and legal forms that are designed with stakeholders, rather than primarily shareholders, in mind. It should be stressed that these do not negate profit, decent remuneration and share dividend receipt, but only restrict disproportionate gains in these areas. Such stakeholder models belong in the broad category of social enterprise, within

which farm businesses could function if their holistic benefits are pursued. Farms are especially suited to operate as social enterprises given that the majority of them are small and still often family owned (although their contribution to agricultural sector GDP and receipt of CAP funds is far less than large farms). 27 Adopting co-operative ownership within farms as well as co-operative structures between them increases both local stakeholder participation and market power.<sup>28</sup> Farms could also diversify their income through multifunctional agriculture, offering socially oriented services (such as care farming alternative educational provision)29 or having other food-related (primary, secondary tertiary) enterprises or operating out of their farm. Practices this kind of would have the added advantage of connecting the public to local farms.

A wide range of measures should be used to incentivise farms' adoption of locally based stakeholder business models. These range from tax exemption, simplification of bureaucratic processes in registration, prioritised access to funding and investment (including allowing charitable giving for specifically social purposes) 30 and extending financial reporting to more holistic and relational conceptions of human progress (which make social enterprises more competitive since they are already established with this purpose). Some of these measures are already being developed at EU level, but could be taken further. For example, the current benefits around corporate tax, VAT and income tax for donors could be extended

across all member states and additional VAT reduction could be applied to locally produced food and drink that is also sold locally (extending the use of GIs to promote community food sovereignty by having a similar function as a food miles tax, which is much more challenging to administer). <sup>31</sup>

#### 2. Environmental policy: PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE SUSTAINABLY

At the heart of relational thinking is the prioritisation of people and planet and the conviction that they do not present mutually incompatible demands. In the long-term, what is good for the economy is good for the environment and vice versa. The EU was set up with the economy primarily in mind and the risk of ecological damage was subordinated to the need for rapid post-war recovery. Agriculture is key in redressing this balance towards sustainability and the broad aims to make it more beneficial for biodiversity, soil health and animal welfare whilst relying increasingly on renewable energy should be supported by all (and are not generally opposed by farmers).32 The problem is that the change towards more sustainable agriculture is itself not being pursued sustainably. Two policy goals should be adopted for managing this change.

Firstly, a roadmap for ecological transition must be established through proper engagement with stakeholders before targets are set so as to avoid making concessions after the fact. This relational process must be tied to permanent local forums for sustainable agriculture rather than being focused in one centralised strategic dialogue geared to an election cycle. <sup>33</sup>

A viable roadmap must incorporate benchmark targets as well as regional adaptability. Timeframes for change (infrastructure development and alternative land management require a lot of labour), budgetary support needed and areas in which administrative burdens can be streamlined are only realistically assessed in close collaboration with farmers who understand these processes.

Secondly, regulations making agriculture more sustainable must be consistent with policies in other sectors to avoid unfairly targeting farmers. This is most obviously the case with areas that affect farmers economically (e.g. regulations on food imports, preference in public procurement for sustainable European agriculture agricultural and input companies).34 But it is also true for the public sector and especially for those in political leadership. If they cannot lead by example and demonstrate more sustainable ways to do their jobs (by cutting down on carbon-emitting travel, for instance), why should others be expected to do so?

3. SOCIO-CULTURAL POLICY: GEAR EDUCATION TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE

As it stands, the ideal to which children

in Europe are geared to aspire makes farming careers seem like a second-rate option at best. This can only be changed by a broader shift in attitude across the board but education is a key sector to target. A deliberate effort to move farming into the centre of the curriculum, ideally visiting local farmers and farms, would build understanding and positively shape social perceptions. Not only so, but such engagement would benefit physical and mental health by greater engagement with food choices and the natural world. A new French Law proposed in the National Assembly on safeguarding agricultural sovereignty and promoting generational renewal in agriculture already makes steps in this direction.35 Other member states already have schemes that connect farms to education (which is part of the diversification of income streams already mentioned above).

In terms of training, there is a need to better integrate the sustainable and social aspects of agriculture into tertiary education curricula.<sup>36</sup> In addition, farmers who have already trained (or not undergone formal training) need a cost and time efficient way to train in recently developed methods of farming, social engagement and business practice through extension services.<sup>37</sup>



Farms are not just businesses that happens to be located in a certain place; they are at the heart of society. People are made to be connected to land for sustenance and a sense of belonging within community. When cultivated by skilled farmers in an economically and environmentally sustainable way, farms bring a diverse range of benefits to local human and natural ecosystems. The left-wing drive for economic justice and the right-wing commitment to specific place should both be equally mobilised by a social vision in which farming communities have inherent (not just instrumental) value and farmers are not at risk of losing their livelihoods and way of life.

Dr Matthew N. Williams, Lead Project Researcher

#### **ENDNOTES**

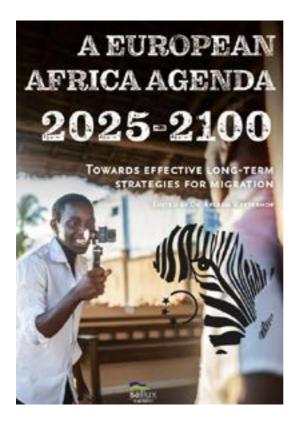
- An overview of the issue is found at https://www.politico.eu/article/farmer-protest-europe-map-france-siege-paris-germany-poland/, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>2</sup> Key concessions are detailed in various media articles, e.g. https://www.dw.com/en/eu-commission-unveils-concessions-for-farmers-after-protests/a-68566472, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>3</sup> For the 2021-2027 period, €387 billion in EU funding has been allocated to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). See https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu/common-agricultural-policy/cap-overview/cap-2023-27\_en, accessed 10.4.24.
- 4 https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Performance\_of\_the\_agricultural\_sector#:~:text=The%2oEU's%2oagricultural%2oindustry%2ocreated,EUR%2o222.3%2obillion%2oin%2o2022.&text=Agriculture%2ocontributed%201.4%20%25%20to%2othe%2oEU's%2oGDP%2oin%2o2022, accessed 10.4.24.
- 5 https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Farmers\_and\_the\_agricultural\_labour\_force\_-\_statistics#:~:text=Between%202005%20and%202020%2C%20the,(about%20%2D36%20%25), (accessed 10.4.24).
- 6 https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Agri-environmental\_indicator\_-\_soil\_erosion&oldid=627451#:~:text=erosion%2oby%2owater-,Soil%2oerosion%2oby%2owater%2ois%2oone%2oof%2othe%2omost%2owidespread,This%2oconcerned%2o43%2omillion%2ohectares, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>7</sup> The European Environment Agency places these within a bigger picture of climate change; see https://www.eea.europa.eu/en/topics/in-depth/climate-change-impacts-risks-and-adaptation?activeTab=o7e5ob68-8bf2-4641-ba6b-eda1afd544be, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>8</sup> David Goodhart's study of tertiary education reveals this problem, particularly serious in the UK but true of Europe as a whole (Head Hand Heart: The Struggle for Dignity and Status in the 21st Century (London: Penguin, 2020)).
- <sup>9</sup> This tendency has severe health consequences. EU-funded project Foodshift 2030 highlight the fact that '70% of all deaths in Europe can be ascribed to non-communicable diseases that are affected by what and how much we eat' (https://foodshift2030.eu/about/, accessed 15.12.23). <sup>10</sup> This is part of a concerning trend towards a general disconnection between people and
- nature; see https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13280-022-01744-w, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>11</sup> Such a view can be recognised even in research that does not take a relational approach, e.g. Jean Andrei and Mihaela Drăgoi, The Common Agriculture Policy and Romanian Agriculture (Boston, MA: CAB International, 2019): 'The role of agriculture in the economy as a whole must be analysed not only from the perspective of exploiting the existing agricultural and rural potential, or from the perspective of agricultural producers, but including the entire system of relations and determinations generated by this economic branch' (p. 1).
- <sup>12</sup>https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu/farming/geographical-indications-and-quality-schemes/geographical-indications-and-quality-schemes-explained\_en, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>13</sup>Nowhere is a negative view of agriculture actually stated within EU communications, but it lies under the surface and is implied in the view of 'developing countries' where 'two thirds of the world's poor depend on agriculture for their livelihoods' ("European Consensus

- on Development", articles 55-56, https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/european-development-policy/european-consensus-development\_en, accessed 10.4.24). To be 'developed' is, on this account, to have fewer people directly dependent on agriculture (of course, we are all completely dependent on agriculture indirectly).
- 14 I am referring to the Farm to Fork Strategy and the summary of the CAP 2023-2027 National Strategic Plans (https://food.ec.europa.eu/document/download/472acca8-7f7b-4171-98bo-ed76720d68d3\_en?filename=f2f\_action-plan\_2020\_strategy-info\_en.pdf and https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu/cap-my-country/cap-strategic-plans\_en#assessment, both accessed 10.4.24).
- <sup>15</sup> This issue is drawn attention to in the ECPM Political Program 2024 2029, where it is noted that 'the neglect of rural schools and the brain drain toward urban areas particularly worries us' (p. 10, https://ecpm.info/2024-2029%20ECPM%20political%20program.pdf, accessed 10.4.24).
- <sup>16</sup> My thanks to Prof Alan Matthews for drawing my attention to the significance of this point. To what extent the union leadership itself represents the average farmer's best interest is another question (see the critical assessment of Copa-Cogeca, https://www.politico.eu/article/copa-cogeca-farmering-lobby-europe/, accessed 9.4.24).
- <sup>17</sup> Yanis Varoufakis sees this tendency in the very DNA of the EU (https://unherd.com/2024/02/the-eu-cartel-was-designed-to-crush-farmers/, accessed 10.4.24).
- <sup>18</sup> https://ecpm.info/an-economy-that-works-for-people-and-planet.html, accessed 10.4.24. For a more expanded argument see From Extraction to Creation (Sallux, 2021).
- <sup>19</sup> Mental health issues and 'burnout' are worryingly common amongst farmers according to research (https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/So743016722002765, accessed 10.4.24).
- <sup>20</sup> Wendell Berry is the most well-known exponent of this agrarian view. A recent profile of his work is here: https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/02/28/wendell-berrys-advice-for-acataclysmic-age, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>21</sup> This is why 'agriculture, fishery and nature conservation can go hand in hand' (ECPM Political Program 2024 2029, p. 14, https://ecpm.info/2024-2029%20ECPM%20political%20 program.pdf, accessed 10.4.24).
- <sup>22</sup> The Torah, which Christians and Jews share as Scripture, sees God create people in order to cultivate a garden with all its plants and animals in partnership together (Genesis 1-2 the Qu'ran refers to the same story), a paradigm which is reinstated in the Jubilee legislation of Leviticus 25, which maintains family land perpetually.
- <sup>23</sup> Within the Greek New Testament we find the affirmation of Christ's restoration of all things in his sacrificial death (Colossians 1:15-20) as well as the promise of the completion of new creation at his return (Revelation 21-22).
- <sup>24</sup> This is what drives the Foodshift 2030 programme (https://foodshift2030.eu/labs/, accessed 10.4.24).
- <sup>25</sup> https://eeb.org/eu-wastes-more-food-than-it-imports-says-new-report/, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>26</sup>The recommendations below are in line with those previously published by Sallux in A

- Relational Response to Climate Change (2021), 67-68 and Thoughtful Eating (2019), 70-73.

  27 See, for these two points, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.
- php?title=Farms\_and\_farmland\_in\_the\_European\_Union\_-\_statistics and https://eufactcheck.eu/factcheck/true-8o-percent-of-the-european-money-for-agriculture-goes-to-the-2o-percent-largest-farmers/, both accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>28</sup> ECPM Political Program 2024 2029, p. 12, https://ecpm.info/2024-2029%20ECPM%20 political%20program.pdf, accessed 10.4.24
- <sup>29</sup> These are well researched in The Netherlands (https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/12/9/3811, accessed 10.4.24).
- <sup>30</sup> ECPM recommends redirecting cohesion policies towards these aims (ECPM Political Program 2024 2029, p. 13, https://ecpm.info/2024-2029%20ECPM%20political%20program.pdf, accessed 10.4.24).
- 31 "Relevant taxation frameworks for Social Economy Entities", https://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=26937&langId=en#:~:text=Tax%2obenefits%2ogranted%2oto%2osocial,is%2osubject%2oto%2ovarious%2olimitations, accessed 10.4.24.
- <sup>32</sup> A poll of French farmers, some of the most virulent protesters, found a majority in support of ecological transition (https://www.bva-xsight.com/sondages/crise-agricole-sondage-bvaxsight-collectifnourrir/, accessed 11.4.24).
- <sup>33</sup> The Strategic Dialogue on the future of EU agriculture is a welcome idea but its introduction at this stage suggests that stakeholder involvement is a token measure for political gain rather than genuinely collaborative change (https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-deal/agriculture-and-green-deal/strategic-dialogue-future-eu-agriculture\_en, accessed 11.4.24).
- <sup>34</sup>Similar suggestions were recently made by Laurence Tubiana (https://www.politico.eu/article/fair-future-europe-farmers-green-deal-climate-economy/, accessed 11.4.24). Rules for fertilisers have been in place since 2022, though companies have three years to make the necessary changes (https://single-market-economy.ec.europa.eu/news/new-eu-rules-prepare-ground-more-use-organic-and-waste-based-fertilisers-2022-07-15\_en#:~:text=The%20new%20 rules%20will%3A&text=They%20address%20safety%2C%20quality%20and,the%20EU%20 without%20additional%20formalities., accessed 11.4.24).
- <sup>35</sup>https://agriculture.gouv.fr/presentation-en-conseil-des-ministres-du-projet-de-loi-dorientation-pour-la-souverainete-agricole, accessed 9.4.24. My thanks to Prof Alan Matthews for pointing this out to me.
- <sup>36</sup> Research has already been done on this (https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/16/7/2893, accessed 11.4.24).
- <sup>37</sup> Clear incentives are needed to engage farmers (see "Agricultural Training in the EU", 2017, p. 8, accessed 11.4.24).

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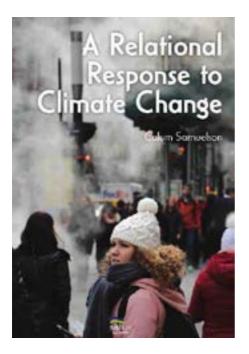


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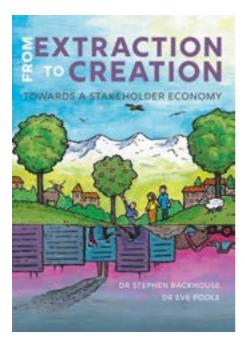


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