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ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION AND CRISIS IN THE EU

Abstract

This paper indicates several framoworks of importance for understanding and evaluating political and security consequences of the migration crisis that escalated in Europe in 2015, and will continue to be developed in the within the Union. The aforementioned frameworks can be used in the formulation of political and security measures. The conclusion is that the political activities of EU member states with regard to migration flows – despite the possible pressures and demands of individual countries – will be determined by their current definition of national interest. The European Union constantly strives to adopt the principles of immigration policy, on both national and the supranational level, which will be directed to the true integration of immigrant populations. Alon with the principles of rocky European multiculturalism, that integration would in some aspects tacitly imply the coexistence of two civilian entities within one administrative or supranational entity. It is assumed that relationship between community members – immigrants and host population – will be based on mutual understanding and tolerance, especially in case of population of the Muslim.

Keywords: immigration policy, security measures, public opinion, integration, terrorism.

INTRODUCTION

In 2015 the EU faced a number of burdening processes, complex institutional strategic activities and important events, but along with growing crisis: by its importance and consequences, along with Greek debt crisis there was the refugee/migrant crisis[1]. *Many processes and activities within the EU in 2015 were:*

- *partly related to migrant issues* ("The year 2015 was officially designated European

Year for Development by the European Commission, focused on different themes each month. These included .... demography and migration... as well as Europe in the world"[2]),

- *significantly related to migrant issues* (negotiations to reconfigure the UK–EU relationship – four areas or 'baskets' of issues[3]),

- *to a certain extent, reflection or indirect concequence of migrant crisis* ("On 3 December

Danish voters rejected a government proposal to opt into twenty-two pieces of legislation in respect of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA)... In the referendum 53 per cent voted No while 47 per cent voted Yes, with a 72 per cent turnout. The No vote meant that Denmark would remain exempt from large parts of JHA matters. The vote was widely interpreted as a reflection of general Euroscepticism amongst Danish voters at a time when the EU seemed to be struggling with, inter alia, the refugee/migrant crisis and the Greek debt crisis"[4]),

- more or less direct consequence of migrant crisis which affected political and security *areas* („On 29 November, at an EU–Turkey summit, agreement was

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1 See closer: Malone Margaret Mary, „European Union, 2015", *Administration, vol. 63, no. 4 (2016),* pp. 81–94.

2 Ibidem*, p. 93.

3 Ibidem*, pp. 82-83: "Immigration: this area included a UK proposal that migrant workers must live in the UK and contribute to its economy for four years before they qualify for in-work benefits and social housing. This issue was always likely to be the most difficult issue to address satisfactorily for all parties. It was hoped that a deal could be agreed in December. However, in an unexpected twist, Mr Cameron, shortly after detailing his requests, reverted to his previous demand that the EU treaties be changed to allow Britain to impose a four-year delay before paying in-work benefits to migrant workers".

4 Ibidem*, p. 87.

reached on Turkey's role in stemming the flow of refugees to Europe. Turkey agreed to strengthen its borders... As part of the deal the EU offered €3 billion to increase resources to support the refugees staying in Turkey. The EU also agreed that Turkish citizens will be given the right to travel throughout the Schengen area without a visa from October 2016. In addition the EU gave an undertaking that talks on Turkey's bid to join the EU would be revived"[5]),

• *direct results of migrant crisis.*

Namely, EU political activities were intensified, new security mechanisms were formed ('European Border and Coast Guard'[6]), action plans were adopted/ migration packages, financial means were allocated for aiding the mifgrants (in September, the European Council agreed to allow €1 billion in aid for Syrian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey), and rescue operations were undertaken, as the EU had been pressured by a huge number of refugees from Africa and the Middle East, and all that trying to relax the consequences of humanitarian crisis. Measures were aimed at enhancing rescues, suppressing people-smuggling and spreadin the burden of taking in refugees. Besides, Germany undertook a large portion of the burdon, while according to reactions member states (especially at new emergency relocation mechanisms / a quota distribution system) it was obvious that national interests were very important factor in determining attitudes and activities in external relations of the states[7].

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5 Ibidem, p. 93.

6 Ibidem, p. 87: "On 15 December Jean-Claude Juncker unveiled the Commission's proposal for a new border security agency, essentially an upgraded Frontex. The role of the new European Border and Coast Guard would be to ensure that all member states adequately police the EU's external border. The agency... would have a right to intervene in exceptional circumstances where a member state could not cope alone. If the agency identifies shortcomings in a member state's border security arrangements, it may recommend corrective measures. If a member state fails to take such measures, the Commission could adopt an 'implementing decision' enabling the agency to act on the ground, even if the country concerned made no request for help. The proposal divided opinion... advocates saw the proposal as a necessary measure to safeguard Schengen... in the face of the unprecedented influx of migrants and possible future terrorist threats. On the other hand, others were concerned that the powers of the new agency would involve a transfer of national sovereignty in respect of land and sea borders to the EU level".

7 Ibidem, pp. 85-86. We may note: "Angela Merkel took the decision to suspend the Dublin Regulation, which provides that migrants must remain in the member state that they first enter... As the number of refugees arriving in Germany rose to more than one million, Merkel, on 14 December at her CDU Party conference in Karlsruhe, defended her migration policy as a moral duty in the face of a humanitarian crisis but also promised that there would be a noticeable reduction in the number of refugees to be taken in by Germany... In September the Council of Justice ministers voted for this proposal by qualified majority. This meant that the new system

Some European countries do not have pronounced problems with immigration / asylum seekers, which is not primarily caused by their geographical position, even more with level of their economic development and life perspectives that provide for immigrants.[8]

However, Mohler Markus correctly points out that current mass migration raises disturbing questions:

"There is the constricting question whether the current and now foreseeable migration problems triggered elsewhere and out of reach for being addressed at their very roots can be solved, under the given international law and national state policies parameter, in a defendable way respecting the European canon of values and the human rights and fundamental freedoms. Or has the normative power of facts become so strong that this fundament of developed civilized democracies cannot resist against formally democratic or populist demands to stop the immigration of people fleeing from persecution or frombattlefields of armed conflicts? Another conflict between the respect for democracy and respect for the rule of law including fundamental rights? Or – where is a reasonably and ethically defendable limit of such immigration?".[9]

In the NATO study *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism* explore the factors and conditions "that may contribute to sympathy but not necessarily support for radicalization and terrorist behavior". From the psychological perspective, key findings are first) that "loss of identity leads to an intense struggle to re-create an identity" whereat "radical ideology may provide an attractive framework for

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is binding on those who voted against it, namely the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania and Hungary. Finland abstained".

8 See closer: Gmaj Katarzyna, Chechens in Poland – Life in a Vacuum or on the Highway to the West, in: *Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and in Members of Minority Groups As a Factor of Terrorist Behavior,* edited by Michal Finklestein and Kim Dent-Brown, NATO Science for Peace and Security Series, E, Human and Societal Dynamics, v. 40. Amsterdam, Netherlands: IOS Press. 2008, Database: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost), pp. 71-77. Specifically: "Final Remarks on Chechens Presence in Poland and on Future Challenges Permanent employment and reasonable salaries or economic prosperity are important factors leading not only to immigrants' but also hosting society members' full participation in the society. Poland is not perceived as a destination country by majority of asylum seekers because they face the same problems as Polish citizens: • lack of social housing • scarce financial resources for social benefits • difficulties accessing specialized medical service • low salaries in comparison to costs of maintenance".

9 See closer: Mohler Markus H.F., REFLECTIONS ON THE SCHENGEN BORDERS CODE AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF CHECKS AT INTERNAL BORDERS, *Наука и друштво*, Issue 2, 2015 (winter), pp. 35-52.

developing an identity that is distinct from" new identity and the ancestral identity; secondly) that prior trauma and exposure to violence, especially among young people, frequently related to the immigration experience, may be either experienced with their country prior to migration or may be experienced in their new home post-migration. From the other side sociopolitical and cultural perspectives warn about "divergent developmental pathways is whether the immigrant sticks to other immigrants from their ancestral culture or seeks to align with the ancestral culture". Whereby: "A key social element of the immigrant experience alluded to earlier is the loss of socioeconomic status and position... Attempts to recoup their ancestral social position may focus on regaining this position within the immigrant community or within the dominant culture... The non-immigrant culture may not react favorably contributing to the immigrants sense of alienation and isolation. An important consequence of some of these struggles may the experience of disillusionment and affective experiences such as depression and anger"[10].

The aforementioned factors and conditions correlate directly to problem frames that may occur in the eventual exploration and understanding of the political, especially security, the result of the migration crisis that escalated in Europe in 2015, and will continue to be developed in the bosom of the Union.

In the sources we find more complex research endeavors that can help us to indicate certain possible modalities of development directions, demographic trends and the status of immigrant population in EU, both of importance to the political and security aspects. We may only mentions alienation within immigrant populations, the pressure of social problems as an dam for successful integration of Muslim – social and economic exclusion, psychological distress of asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants, media discourse, attitudes towards refugees, negative portrayals of refugees in social media, and so on.

In this article the author will indicate certain phenomena and processes set forth in the theoretical sources and researches, which can be mark off as important factors,

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10 *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, G.M. Ruggiero et al. (Eds.), NATO Science for Peace and Security Series, Series E, Human and Societal Dynamics, v. 78. Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2011. eBook., Introduction, p. V: "According to the majority of the speakers, predictors of sympathy for radicalization and radical behavior could be categorized into a) pasychological individual variables; b) socio-cultural contextual variables. Within these two main areas two dimensions of human experience were identified - suffering versus empowerment... The overarching theme of both sections is that sympathy for radicalism and/or terrorist behavior needs to include the experience of frustration, desperation, identification with a larger goal, and identifiable conditions that contribute (e.g., money)".

or possibly in the future be expressed as dimensions relevant for evaluating political problems and security risks due to the continuation of the mass migration and the EU. Therefore, this paper indicated somewhat issues and theoretical framoworks significant for understanding and evaluating political and security consequence of the migration crisis in Europe, whereby the aforementioned frameworks can be used in the formulation of political and security measures.

2. IMMIGRATION AS SECURITY ISSUE

One can easy to notice multiple linkages between migration and security (and studies of this links ought to involve multidisciplinary approach). Certainly, the authors point out different aspects of the aforementioned connections, likewise, abstracting and allocating various significance of certain aspects, consideration of them in different ways, and rendering analyzes with different theoretical models. As Sebesta Lorenza notes: "Migrants that want to escape the lack of security in their origin countries, may find new problems in their countries of destination. Neither the realistic nor the liberal approach provide satisfactory answers to this question. A third approach is possible, as shown by official EU strategy, but it is complicated. This third approach deals with a new concept of security, differentiating state and societal security and analysing the root causes of migrations"[11].

Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane and Reich Simon point out: "The contributors to this book identify at least four such threats: (1) the threat to national security posed by enlarged borders; (2) the threat to political and civil rights posed by an unprecedented number of noncitizen residents; (3) the threat to racial, ethnic, and religious tolerance in civil societies posed by a potential "enemy inside"; and (4) the threat to the capacities of these countries' economies to generate wealth and redistribute it through effective social policies for second- and third-generation immigrants.." [12].

11 Sebesta Lorenza, A New Grammar for a Common Understanding. The Concept of Security Between the State and the Individual: Security as Socially Embedded, in: *Security and Migrations in the Mediterranean: Playing with Fire*, By: Henriques Mendo Castro and Khachani Mohamed. Series: NATO Science Series. Series V, Science and Technology Policy, v. 50. Amsterdam: IOS Press. 2006. eBook., Database: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost), pp. 101-106.
12 Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane and Reich Simon, The Securitization of Immigration Multiple Countries, Multiple Dimensions, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe*

Also:

- "Martin Schain's chapter focuses on the linkage between anti-terrorism policy (both the legislative creation and administrative application of extralegal powers) and immigration at the level of national governments..."[13],

"Schain suggests, "anti-terrorism actions are also actions that inevitably implicate immigrant populations." He concludes that the European countries have converged in their concerns about terrorism, while the United States has changed the most in this regard through the use of executive powers. The greatest areas of convergence have been the surveillance of and actions taken against immigrant populations. In Europe, immigration has thus perhaps been replaced by integration as a central security issue"[14],

- "... Friman points out that "immigration" as a term has been used loosely, having been linked to legal permanent residents and individuals in a variety of situations, including persons who overstay their visas or gain entry illegally"[15],

- "Aspects of immigration and security have become synonymous in Europe and the

United States since 2001. There is a temptation to link them through the singular dimension of border control... The London and Madrid transit bombings provide strong evidence that while border control may be indispensable as a policy tool, finding ways to reconcile differing communities complements these efforts in the battle against transnational terrorism"[16].

In the NATO study *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism* one of articles is directed towards determinating of key "factors of ideological opposition against western societies"[17], and wherein, in addition to radicalization, the focus is on

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in comparative perspective, edited by Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia and Simon Reich, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008, p. 2.
13 Ibidem, p. 13.
14 Ibidem, p. 14.
15 Ibidem.
16 Ibidem, p. 21.
17 Ruggiero Giovanni Maria and Sassaroli Sandra, Psychological Aspects of Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, p. 1.

the risk of terrorism, factors that can encourage or support terrorism[18]. Identified factors are:

- perceived injustice[19];

- individual's search for identity and need of belonging, wherein we can observe the the statement that "social-cultural exclusion seems to be higher in Europe than in USA (Sageman, 2008)"[20];

- cultural clash[21];

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18 Ruggiero Giovanni Maria and Sassaroli Sandra, Psychological Aspects of Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, pp. 1-2: "... some researchers notice that, in terms of instrumental rationality, the behaviors and ideas of terrorists are subjectively motivated... Actually, terrorism can be subjectively evaluated by terrorists as an efficacious tool to increase sense of belonging in their communities... this connection is often accompanied by social rewards, in that the social community tend to confer prestige and an elevation of status on the family members of terrorists (Pedahzur, 2005)".

19 Ruggiero Giovanni Maria and Sassaroli Sandra, Psychological Aspects of Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, p. 2-3: "However, it is important to stress that there is no evidence supporting the assumption that terrorism is driven by direct experiences of injustice... Perceived injustice generates feelings of humiliation and develop the thought of being degraded, put down, subjugated, and oppressed (Lindner, 2001). The humiliation can be the core affect of populations which recognize themselves as vulnerable or defeated and try to regain respect and solve depression in nationalist movements (Margalit, 1996; Scheler, 1928-1961)".

20 Ruggiero Giovanni Maria and Sassaroli Sandra, Psychological Aspects of Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism,* p. 2: "In radical extremist groups, many potential terrorists find a sense of meaning, belonging, connectedness, and affiliation (Luckabaugh et al, 1997; Post 1984). The dychotomic nature of most extremist ideologies is often attractive to those individuals who feel overwhelmed by the complexity and stress of modern world and society. Another possible factor is a condition and social exclusion, loss of cultural patterns which may regulate behavior and life (Khosrokhavar, 2005)".

21 Ruggiero Giovanni Maria and Sassaroli Sandra, Psychological Aspects of Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, pp. 2-3: "In fact, traditional society would privilege submission, obedience to community goals, religious respect to stable social and sexual role, confidence in higher non personal "spiritual" meanings, and acceptance of hierarchical modes of organizations. Modern world would pursue autonomy, self-confidence, search of personal goals, and functional associations between peers to achieve concrete goals. It is possible that the cultural clash may generate feelings of socio-cultural disconnection in controlling and perfectionistic personalities... may generate either a reaction of acceptance of westernisation and modernization... or an opposite reaction of rejection of any form of non communtarian modern society and culture".

- difficult integration of second generation of immigrants (in Europe)[22]. It is necessary accompany the sustainability of statement, or to determine whether to continue trend that "... A growing number of second-generation youngsters are opting for a more secular way of life, while an increasingly large group is choosing Islamist ideologies or at least a more conscious form of Islam. For young people of the second generation, Islam can provide a supportive and all-embracing frame of reference (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, Crul, 2003)"[23].

Namely, it is very interesant and significant content of the NATO studies *Security and Migrations in the Mediterranean: Playing with Fire* (2006)*, Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and in Members of Minority Groups As a Factor of Terrorist Behavior* (2008) and *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism* (2011). The above-mentioned studies, across multiple disciplines, scrutinize a variety of dimensions and factors that can produce security risks and thus the complex requirements for security policy of EU and Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) matters. We can highlight a larger number of phenomena and processes analyzed, or researched in this sources, which are important, or will in the future make relevant factors and dimensions for assessing political and security risks (in particular terrorism) that carry the migratory flows in the EU. For example: phenomena of radicalization and Islamist terrorism in Europe[24], or "immigration as a possible trajectory for

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22 Ruggiero Giovanni Maria and Sassaroli Sandra, Psychological Aspects of Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism,* p. 3: "These people seem caught between the demands of their parents, who are more motivated in the aim to be accepted in the new society, and a perceived hostility and cultural discomfort with the values of the new country, in deep contrast with the traditional values received from the parents. Thus, parents may express a mixed and ambivalent message, of encouraging and discouraging integration... Bisin*,* Patacchini,Verdier, and Zenou (2007) found that Muslims show a difficult and slower integration in Europe in comparison to other groups. This difficult integration is not related with poverty or social exclusion... Despite their increased participation in education, second-generation immigrants are still not well represented in the labor market and they are, moreover, employed mostly in less favorable segments of that market".

23 Ruggiero Giovanni Maria and Sassaroli Sandra, Psychological Aspects of Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism,* p. 4.

24 Mark Sedgwick, Defining Objectives for Future Research into Radicalization and Terrorism, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, op. cit., p. 17-22. We can single out conclusion that "... there are direct security threats posed by a small number of individual Europeans with immigration backgrounds. On the other hand, there is the much larger milieu from which such individuals emerge. This distinction makes possible the identification of two sets of factors and processes: those producing the milieu and those producing the direct security threats, which do not benefit from this law".

political radicalism and the use of political violence and terror... especially from a psychological point of view"[25]. We highlight the following:

• Peter Achterberg et al. considers "how people deal with loss of meaning due to a key

process of modernization – that of secularization" and "how religious people respond to the growing pressures of the process of secularization around them"[26]. Similarly, Willem van de Put explores importance category of 'meaning' and he writes that: "... 'project of modernity' in the west included secularization, rationalization, scientific progress, and disenchantment... The world is seen as a place that can be controlled and understood – but has no more meaning". The phenomenon of the loss of meaning in the western world has clear implications and significance in the understanding the problems of migration: "Only a West, as Habermas says, that has more to offer than the ideology of consumerism, only a West that revives its universal normative ideal of self-determination and formal equality as means to allow differences in culture and personality will be able to overcome the deep-rooted resentment of (especially Arab and Muslim) non-Western peoples at having been materially expropriated and culturally corrupted... Others, such as islamists, also deny attachment to western society. These are issues of 'exclusion' and 'meaning'... Exclusion has become the term for people who are not allowed to participate in a society of their choice. Immigrants in western countries may feel this, but there is also a generation from middle classes in countries with growing economies, that feel excluded from western society. Among them are the perpetrators of recent terrorist attacks"[27];

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25 Shaul Kimhi, Immigration as a Possible Trajectory for Political Radicalism and Terror, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, op. cit., p. 36-41.
26 Peter Achterberg et al., Religious Revitalization in the West, in: *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, op. cit., p. 6-16: "Our conclusion that Christian religion can become a more salient identity in contexts where Christian identities are numerically less plausible can be transferred onto other contexts. For non-Christian immigrants, for instance, who have settled in Western countries the same mechanism will most probably also apply. They too are numerically underrepresented, and for them too their religious identities are not dominant in these largely Christian or atheist contexts. The cultural heterogeneity in these modernized western contexts may hence also lead to anxieties and a lower sense of belonging among immigrants, leading them to respond in exactly the same way Christians respond to secularism. Consequently, immigrants may start to adhere to fundamentalism, traditionalism or increase their aspirations for a public Islam".
27 Willem van de Put, Communication and Social Engineering: Addressing Terrorism and Social Suffering, in: *Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and in Members of Minority Groups As a Factor of Terrorist Behavior*, op. cit., pp. 155-167.

- Alonso Rogelio This delineate the key patterns in the process of radicalisation and

recruitment of individuals who have been associated with jihadist terrorism in Spain. He concludes that "the importance of religious, cultural, social, economic and political factors varies according to the individuals but a common thread can be appreciated since all of them espouse a radical neosalafist ideology based on a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. ... Imams and other charismatic leaders have played a pivotal role in the process of radicalisation of jihadist terrorists in Spain"[28].

Some authors has paid special attention at highlighting the importance of attitudes of European public opinion toward immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Conclusions that can be reached on the basis of data that give the Eurobarometer (EB) surveys and the European Social Surveys (ESS), which relate to the European public opinion, regarding the negative attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic minorities, are disturbing. Highlights following conclusions / indicators of current European "ethnic exclusivism"[29]:

- public opinion constantly "express strong anti-immigrant feelings... feelings are increasing but are now coupled with strong xenophobic attitudes";

- "resistance to a new influx of immigrants is linked to a growing intolerance of asylum seekers... the scope of xenophobia is now both much wider (in terms of targeted populations) and broader (in relation to the other dimensions of "ethnic exclusivism")...";

- "Today, the distinction between legal and illegal migrant populations has become blurred... Xenophobic feelings now target all categories of "foreigners" without distinction";

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28 Alonso Rogelio, Jihadist Terrorism and the Radicalization Process of Muslim Immigrants in Spain, in: *Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and in Members of Minority Groups As a Factor of Terrorist Behavior*, op. cit., pp. 109-121. We can extract the data: "A Pew Research Survey published in June 2006 pointed out that 16 % of Spanish Muslims 'sometimes' justified violence against civilian targets in order to defend Islam, whereas according to 9 % of those polled the use of violence was 'rarely' justified, while 69 % considered that such a course of action was 'never' justified".

29 See closer: Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane, Immigration, Security, and Integration in the European Union, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in comparative perspective*, op. cit., pp. 220-222.

- "the notion of "civic integration" supporting a successful socioeconomic integration is losing ground"[30];

- "resistance to diversity appears linked to the widening influence of xenophobic feelings and attitudes, with a growing preference for a homogeneous society... Resistance to multicultural society implies that people oppose the idea that cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity enriches society as a whole"[31];

- "resistance to multiculturalism is complemented by the increasing feeling, shared by a large majority of Europeans, that their country has reached the limits of cultural or ethnic diversity...[32] This result is consistent with the ESS findings in which 58 percent of respondents expressed the belief that immigrants constitute a "collective ethnic threat"...".

3. INTEGRATION AS A KEY QUESTION

Stevan Hobfoll[33] exposes four modalities of immigrants integration in their new homeland, and those are:

- assimilation-immersion ("For this route, immigrants are expected to lose their cultural

- identity, language, and linkages... This was the American ideal in many ways... This path is decidedly not the one advocated by Muslim immigrant groups, nor is it considered to be the social-psychological optimum path");

- "... blending without losing traditions, although traditions certainly tend to weaken over time ... this path allows for intermixing, while preserving cultural

30 Ibidem: "...60 percent of the respondents disagreed in 1997 that members of minority groups "are so different" that they could never be fully integrated, and only 14 percent said there were "too many" people from minority groups living in their countries. By 2003, 39 percent opposed the idea that "legal TCNs should have the same rights as the national citizens"...".
31 Ibidem: "In 2003, 48 percent of European respondents expressed resistance to diversity, registering a strong preference for a monocultural society in which the majority of people share the same values and traditions. Furthermore, 21 percent suggested they wished to avoid social interaction with members of minority groups"..
32 Ibidem: "... believed that "there is a limit to how many people of other races, religions, or cultures a society can accept" and "if there were to be more people belonging to these minority groups, we would have problems"....".
33 Hobfoll Stevan E., "You Just 'Gotta' love baseball." The Ecology of Stress of Immigration and the Consequences for Security, in: *Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and in Members of Minority Groups As a Factor of Terrorist Behavior*, op. cit., pp. 3-15.

traditions. It is a workable pathway for the first generation, and allows for enough familiarity for the second generation not only to blend, but to succeed";

* separate co-existence, that is "one of the pathways chosen for and by Muslims in many European cities"[34];

* revolution as "linked with great social unrest and will predictably include terrorist actions by at least fringe elements of the Muslim community".[35] This pathway has a destructive or, at least, very pronounced and long-term destabilizing effects. Rather, it can not be the basis for successful integration and requires security measures.

Hobfoll shows the importance of *Conservation of Resources Theory*[36] in the analysis of the problems of immigration, for example: "Many Muslim immigrants will, therefore, already be experiencing much psychological distress... COR theory would predict high levels of depression, anxiety disorders, posttraumatic stress disorder and associated social disorder as a product of this combination of personal and social-structural circumstances"). Afterwards the significance of the

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34 More precisely: "It is possible to be born, live and die in such communities without ever knowing the host country's languages and without ever adopting their norms of behavior. At its best, this pathway includes a full array of opportunities and cultural wealth in terms of schools, religious institutions, and banking and commerce... also occurs when the greater culture does not accept and will not absorb the immigrant group or where the immigrant group has deep suspicions or discomfort with the greater culture... respect is not offered, jobs are not available, and both host and Immigrants retain great suspicion and separateness".

35 Namely: "Alternatively, in this pathway the immigrant group demands that its laws become the law of the land, or at least the law of their world within the host country... It is the type of path that is seen by the host culture and its institutions as treasonous and a perversion of the welcome mat of the host country toward the immigrant; no matter that the welcome mat may, in fact, offer a rather limited welcome... Almost a quarter of British Muslims said the 7/7 London bombings were justified because of the British government's support for the war on terror. Further, young Muslims were about twice as likely as those over aged 45 years to justify the 7/7 attacks. In a perversion of all known evidence and logic, 45 percent believed that the 9/11 WTC attacks were a conspiracy between the United States and Israel. Most revealing, a third of those questioned said they would rather live under Sharia law in the UK than British law and 28 percent hoped for the UK to become a fundamentalist Islamic state".

36 More precisely:: "The basic tenet of COR theory is that *individuals strive to obtain, retain, foster, and protect that which they value.* Therefore, people are directed to cultivate resources even when stress is not occurring. When threat of resource loss or actual loss occurs, people mobilize resources to offset, limit, or reverse impending or actualized loss. COR theory argues that because resource loss meant a threat to survival in evolutionary history and due to social conflict and issues of territoriality *we are tuned to be in a defensive mode regarding resource protection and fear of loss.* This loss sensitivity is a primary axis for the problem of the immigrant and for the host culture toward the immigrant".

FALLS Model[37], for instance: "Limitations take many forms. A job skill must be "licensable" people with accents, or certain accents may not be accepted for certain kinds of work, and young people may be forbidden from some neighborhoods where work might be more available". Among others, Hobfoll concludes that "nations not only demand adaptation, but the willingness to sacrifice for the host nation. This may prove the ultimate test for Muslims in Europe, as nations will only tolerate a "guest" under limited conditions and for a limited time. This will challenge both Muslim separateness and militancy, as it will demand the standard in the end of "you're either fully with us, or you're against us"... The threat of Islamic terrorism and the interpretations of Islamic Jihad toward the West are so great as to result in a cultural rift that will not inevitably be tolerated. Before this kind of judgment occurs, the logic in this chapter would predict increased militancy and terrorism in Europe".

Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane points out that immigration policy in Europe is characterized by several paradoxes causing, or confirm constantius that "more security creates more insecurity" and "more security leads to fewer civil libertie". Paradoxes are:

"First, European governments... support policies designed to lower overall immigration levels. But immigration is crucial to Europe for demographic and economic reasons... the population of the EU is projected to decline by forty-one million between 2005 and 2050. The contribution of immigrants to sustaining the size of the labor force and the solvency of European welfare systems is therefore crucial. The second paradox... While focusing on lowering overall immigration levels in order to stabilize resident foreign populations, European governments allowed family reunification, which encouraged immigrants to adapt to their new host society... The main results were restrictive immigration policies unable to curb legal immigration and unanticipated flows of asylum seekers and refugees, inefficient (if not ineffective) integration policies for existing minority groups, and the politicization of "immigration issues" fueled by anti-migrant groups. The third paradox... EU member states were so obsessed by the regulation of immigration flows that they neglected to consider what needs to happen after immigration: the management of migrant stocks in order to enhance their integration. The issue of integration goes far beyond the regulation of immigration and asylum policy, as

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37 Namely: "FALLS being an acronym for: •Fitting •Adaptation •Limitations •Leniency •Selection".

illustrated by the London bombings of 2005... a new catchphrase for frequent use in the media and a new priority for national policy agendas: the "enemy inside"[38].

In the context of the EU's Responses to "Immigration Issues" Chebel outlines legislative provisions that relate to discrimination, respectively: "prohibited discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin... in broad areas (such as employment, education, access to goods and services, social protection, and social security)...". Chebel notes EU's long-standing and indubitable devotion to equal treatment, but ascertains that antidiscrimination framework, however, reflect serious limitations both at the level of the Union as well as at the national levels[39]. Chebel note that "despite the EU's improved legislation in the field of anti-discrimination, these efforts have failed to integrate all ethnic minorities... Nonetheless, they are insufficient to remedy the problem because discrimination is based on prejudices that... fuel a new "xenophobic culture"... This culture is rooted in a series of factors: dissatisfaction with life circumstances, fear of unemployment, insecurity about the future, and a low confidence in public authorities"[40]. Chebel discusses to what extent the current EU's "comprehensive approach" able to contribute to greater integration of immigrants. She considers that approach has advantages[41], besides that the concept has several limitations:

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38 Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane, Immigration, Security, and Integration in the European Union, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in comparative perspective*, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

39 We can extract, Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane, Immigration, Security, and Integration in the European Union, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in comparative perspective*, op. cit., p. 218: "The second limitation of the EU legal framework for equal treatment involves the stance of national governments. The directives of 2000 clearly emphasized that all the provisions on legal action and enforcement are "without prejudice to national rules of procedure concerning representation and defense before the courts." They are also "without prejudice to national rules relating to time limits for bringing actions as regards the principle of equality of treatment". Member states adopted different means by which to implement the two directives, with the result being very different legal provisions... Exceptions to the principle of equal treatment permitted under the two directives were generally integrated into national laws".

40 Ibidem, p. 219.

41 Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane, Immigration, Security, and Integration in the European Union, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in comparative perspective*, op. cit., p. 225: "... it takes into account not only the economic and social aspects of integration but also issues related to cultural and religious diversity, citizenship, participation, and political rights... it offers a systematic and comprehensive categorization of immigrants: labor migrants, family members admitted under family arrangements, asylum seekers, refugees, and persons enjoying international protection. The third advantage is that this new approach underscores the fact that integration is a two-way process. This process involves not only the characteristics, attitudes,

"There is no agreement about the criteria for evaluating sociological or functional integration/segregation among the member states. Is integration to be measured in economic or noneconomic terms? Is cultural diversity the best way to promote integration, or is integration better achieved by means of "assimilation," defined as cultural and religious homogeneity? Furthermore, should policymakers aim for national integration?... In 2005, the Commission adopted a communication on the "factors contributing to violent radicalization", which clearly recognized the significance of the relationship between failed integration and terrorist recruitment in Europe. However, its scope is limited to "soft measures", such as intercultural exchanges among young people, rather than tackling the harder tasks of cultural regulation, political representation, and social acceptance".[42]

Chebel considers that EU states established restrictive and incoherent, ambivalent immigration policies. She thinks that such policies are dysfunctional because they can not strengthen either internal or external security, odnosno effectively integrate immigrants, and: "Furthermore, in implementing these policies, governmental authorities have unintentionally encouraged discriminatory attitudes and introduced measures that have eroded the civil and human rights of asylum seekers, immigrants, and their descendants. This trend, in turn, undermines integration and fuels terrorist recruitment"[43].

Chebel scrutinize integration policy and its impact on suppression of terrorism and concludes that: "new security measures are ineffectual and counterproductive; they fail to address the issue of internal security while undermining the integration of some targeted minority groups. Integration involves not only access to some formal rights but also effective economic and social integration. It therefore raises the issues of poverty, social and urban exclusion, unemployment, civic participation, education, and religion... The failure of integration thus reflects the failure of these governments to maintain national cohesion, social equity, economic equity, and respect for

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and behaviors of immigrants but also those of the members of the receiving society... The EU's "comprehensive approach" recognizes that institutional structures, the perception of immigrants, and patterns of socialization all matter. Furthermore... the EU directly addresses the problems of the secondand third-generation descendants of migrants...".

42 Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane, Immigration, Security, and Integration in the European Union, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in comparative perspective*, op. cit., pp. 226-227.

43 Ibidem, p. 204.

fundamental rights"[44]. Likewise: "doubts about the efficiency of the security measures adopted, both at the EU and the national level... The EU's recent initiatives regarding integration have been notable for a lack of coordination with the efforts of national governments. This is not to suggest that policymakers have not tried".[45]

Alami Houria[46] asserts that, with regard to migration and integration in Europe, Islam is the central issues - becouse migrations lead to cultural confrontation. Therefore, according to his opinion, a central question is creating the conditions for dialogue and comprehension between people and cultures. Houria note: "However, the concept of security, such as it has been developed in recent years, has muddled the objectives of integration: it has transformed the question of immigration into a problem of security, which has imposed limits on the concept of integration"[47]. Apart from the aforementioned, reminds Houria, the image of the Muslim world is to a great extent negative and "vision of the Moslem world creates doubt about the ability of Moslem populations to integrate into modern societies". Therefore, immigrants have become challenge for European identity - "which help to reinforce perceptions of insecurity". Houria considers: "Consequently, the question is not: how can one reject universal value? But, why does one appear to reject them?".

Besevegis Elias and Pavlopoulos Vassilis research is about "the acculturation patterns of immigrants in Greece in relation to their economic and psychological

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44 Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane, Immigration, Security, and Integration in the European Union, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in comparative perspective*, op. cit., p. 219. An illustrative quote, Ibidem p. 205: "Trevor Phillips... argued that integration "will prove to be our best defense against the extremists' assaults." He further noted that "it is a disgrace that in 2003 there were fewer ethnic minority people on public bodies than previously, and that in 2004 there were fewer local councilors than in 2001"...".

45 Reminds us, among other things: in 2000 the European Council of Lisbon launched the EU strategy against poverty and social exclusion and the EU Commission focused on the Action Program (2002–2006) - the main financial instrument of the mentioned strategy; European Employment Strategy; the NAPs/incl (national action plans to fight poverty and promote social inclusion); programs managed by the Commission (URBAN II, EQUAL, CULTURE); Athens Migration Policy Initiative and the European Social Forum. See closer: Ibidem, pp. 224-225.

46 Alami Houria, Integration, Security and Migration, in: *Security and Migrations in the Mediterranean: Playing with Fire*, op. cit., pp. 71-74.

47 Houria also rightfully observes that "Integration has several dimensions: at host-country level, brings the destination country and migrants face to face; at international level, it forms part of cooperation agreements between destination countries and countries of origin. Finally, it has a trans-frontier dimension because of the bonds established between the migrants across borders... integration policies vary considerably from one country to another".

adaptation"[48]. These authors note: "Acculturation strategies were related to the quality of adaptation, i.e. integration and assimilation yielded the most positive outcomes and separation the most negative... two questions are of specific interest for immigrants: (a) how important is it to maintain heritage culture and identity? and (b) how important is it to maintain contact with larger society? The combined answers to the above questions result in four acculturation strategies, namely integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. From the perspective of the larger society, these correspond to multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, and exclusion, respectively". What is of particular interest is the following:

 - "The present study aimed at exploring adaptation levels, acculturation patterns, and the relationship between acculturation and adaptation of adult immigrants living in Greece. As it was hypothesised, such a relationship was confirmed. Adaptation was found to correlate positively with host-national involvement and negatively with ethnic involvement. Moreover, the acculturative strategies of integration and assimilation had the most favourable outcomes, while separation was related to low levels of adaptation, independent of country of origin and controlling for length of time in the host country. These results are in line with previous research";

 - "Previous research has shown that ethnic involvement, rather than hostnational involvement, is supposed to have a positive effect on subjective well-being... In the structural equation model that we tested, ethnic involvement had a negative, though indirect, effect on adaptation. Moreover, assimilation and integration yielded equally positive outcomes although they differ in the frequency of contacts with compatriots";

- "mere contact is not enough to reduce negative stereotypes; instead, certain prerequisites need to be met in order to promote positive group attitudes, such

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48 Besevegis Elias and Pavlopoulos Vassilis, Acculturation Patterns and Adaptation of Immigrants in Greece, in: *Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and in Members of Minority Groups As a Factor of Terrorist Behavior*, op. cit., pp. 23-34. It seems of importance to quote:"So, our research questions and the respective hypotheses were formatted as follows: (a) What is the level of adaptation of immigrants in Greece? Data collected for this study allowed for the examination of two domains of adaptation, i.e., socioeconomic and psychological... (b) What strategies are adopted by immigrants in order to deal with the multiple challenges of acculturation? ... However, assimilation or even separation may be quite frequent, either because of the assimilative policies of the Greek state or due to negative attitudes towards immigrants. (c) What is the relationship between acculturation strategies and immigrant adaptation? In general, integration and even assimilation were expected to yield the most positive outcomes. A similar (positive) trend was expected between adaptation and length of stay in the host country".

as equal status of participants, conditions of co-operation and clear institutional support for integration policies".

Dokter Ditty highlight that the specific stresses of migration are due to stresses in cultural transition and that pathways which can be reaction to divergent value systems in host country are isolation in the own subculture, immersion in the main stream or integration of the two[49]. Ditty concludes: "Locating the problem in the relationship between community members rather than in 'the other' may help us facilitate a coming to terms with the effects of gobalisation, without repeating past historical patterns of oppression, exploitation and discrimination... Some minority groups may still use terrorist means to achieve their goals, but the wider segregated community's tacit support base will be undermined, thus decreasing the opportunities for terrorism".

While Prize Ilya[50] *inter alia* starts by emphasizing that "Europe demographically mutated from the world's largest exporter of people to a continent with a rapidly shrinking population, making it increasingly dependent on immigrants, who have experienced far greater difficulty finding a cultural symbiosis with the host culture than have immigrants to the United States". However, that is particularly important that Prize draws attention to the changes in discourse on immigration[51]. Specifically

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49 Dokter Ditty, Immigrant Mental Health; Acculturation Stress and the Response of the UK 'Host', in: *Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and in Members of Minority Groups As a Factor of Terrorist Behavior*, op. cit., pp. 168-178. Ditty also consider: "For the individual immigrant the possibility of a multiple identity and being heard by 'the other' may prevent the isolationist and essentialist splitting between us and them. For the host society member an awareness of the own identity and a willingness to hear and understand the other and question ones own beliefs, assumptions and idealisations, may allow a meeting and greater experience of security and basic trust".

50 PRIZEL ILYA, Identity Discourse in Western Europe and the United Statesin the Aftermath of 9/11, in: *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in comparative perspective*, op. cit., p. 26.

51 Ibidem, pp. 31-32: "Discussion of immigration to Europe, which accelerated in the 1960s, became essentially taboo within Europe's traditional discourse. Political elites minimized the significance of the migrant inflows. In France, elites argued that immigrants would adopt the "republican tradition" and become French; Germany's elite perpetuated the myth that the immigrants were "guests" who would go home; early immigrants to Britain were treated as part of the "Commonwealth" project. Given the new discourse of identity promulgated by the Generation of 1968, the dominant position adopted in most European countries was a relativist policy of "multicultural" social structure, often perceiving the notion of "functional assimilation" as a form of cultural oppression... Another contributing factor in the demise of the Generation of 1968's paradigm and its ideas about identity was the collapse of the left as a viable political force in European politics".

noteworthy is the statement: "Multiculturalism, which was previously the sacred cow of Europe's political discourse, is now increasingly perceived as a failed policy that poses a long-term danger to Europe's culture and values".[52] Posledice nisu bezazlene po imigraciju: "If the collapse of the multicultural relativist paradigm has disoriented Europe's left, it has energized its right. The European right has been galvanized by the events of 9/11, the murder of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, the transit bombings in Madrid and London, and the suburban riots in Paris. The apparent radicalization of groups of Muslim youth across Europe, along with the potential membership of Turkey in the EU, has further fueled this rightist fire"[53].

4. CONCLUSIONS

Migrant crisis whose causes blaze along the borders of the European Union, which is transferred to its territory, will have long-term consequences. Analyses of political consequences, as well as security challenges and risks of demographic processes and pressures in the world are very complex and comprehensive (not just those specifically directed to the area of the EU) and give a strong and clear scientific basis for understanding social, political, economic, security and ethical aspects of the refugee/migrant crisis in the EU.

The science has developed theoretical assumptions and methodological tools to explore animosities, conflicts and violence that can occur, or which occur legitimately in certain circumstances and at narrow social categories. In the processes that contain broad demographic movements, especially those caused by specific emergency and crisis factors, plans, doctrinal and strategic settings aimed at their regulation fail, including prevention from their associated and side effects. It has put the effectiveness of the normative framework in question, as well as the proclaimed objectives and purpose of laws, freedoms that they want to achieve

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52 Ibidem, p. 33.

53 Ibidem, p. 35. It is useful to note, Ibidem, p. 36: "A third new grouping on the right to emerge in the twenty-first century mainly clusters around the German Christian Democratic Union Party. They attempt to reconcile the concept of multiculturalism with that of *Leitkultur* (leading culture). According to advocates, while European polities must accept the heterogeneous nature of their populations and be tolerant of immigrants, minority cultures must conform to basic native cultural mores. From this perspective came Jacques Chirac's move to ban head scarves in French schools and David Cameron's statement that British society cannot tolerate the oppression of Muslim women "behind a screen of cultural sensitivity." In Bavaria, following the notions of *Leitkultur,* the state insisted that in deference to Bavarian cultural heritage crucifixes would continue to hang in every classroom, even if much of the student body is not Christian".

and the establish, along with restrictions on these freedoms. The analysis clearly shows that the political and security issues related to immigrating population are primarily associated with the problems with integration processes. Therefore, there is a strong need for constant design, innovation and implementation of active preventive measures that should primarily be focused on the integration of the newly arrived population and on counter-radicalization risk stratum. In the political sense they can provide results (at least formal). These measures, however, will not be able to stop any security implications, sometimes not even difficult security implications – especially terrorist acts – but they are necessary to prevent from the expansion of security challenges and threats.

Besides, the EU member states practice different immigration policies and integration strategies, adopting different means and tools, and thus very different legal provisions.

Activities of EU member states in respect of immigration, especially in critical situations and disputable and difficult issues – despite the pressure and demands they may face – will be defined by their specific national interests, values that tend to protect and thereby establish instruments. The pressure of public opinion and the right political, radical and extremist groups also have clear specific weight. Any imposed solution will not bear efficient internal immigration policy. The states will be neither willing nor able to facilitate the integration of migrants in the new, undisposed social environment. While the strongest security challenges require a small percentage of those who would define their (sacred) duty to make things change, regardless of the efforts and directives of the central EU institutions and external relations of the Member States.

What remains is to react to situations wisely, constantly striving toward acceptance of principles of immigration policy, at national as well as at supranational levels, which will be aimed at true integration of immigrant populations. Even though this integration – especially in case of population of the Muslim, in some aspects, with rocky principles of European multiculturalism –may imply on the coexistence of two civilian entities within an administrative or supranational one. It is assumed that these entities (identities) understand each other, and that just on the basis of that understanding tolerate each other. After all, Europe needs migration, at least for economic reasons.

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ANALIZA POLITIČKIH I BEZBEDNOSNIH ASPEKATA SAVREMENIH MIGRACIJA I KRIZA U EU

Apstrakt

U radu je naznačeno nekoliko problemskih okvira od značaja za razumevanje i procenu političkih i bezbednosnih posledica migracione krize koja je eskalirala u Evropi 2015. godine, a nastaviće da se razvija u nedrima Unije. Pomenuti okviri mogu biti od koristi pri uobličavanju političkih i bezbednosnih mera. Zaključuje se da će političke aktivnosti država-članica EU po pitanju migracionih pomeranja – i pored pritiska i zahteva koji pojedinim državama mogu biti upućeni – biti određene njihovim trenutnim definisanjem nacionalnih interesa. Konstantno

nastojanje Evropske unije da se na nacionalnom, kao i na nadnacionalnom nivou, prihvate principi imigracione politike koji će biti usmereni na istinsku integraciju imigracione populacije bio bi nužan odgovor. Uz postavke poljuljanog evropskog multikulturalizma, ova integracija podrazumevala bi u nekim aspektima i prećutno paralelno postojanje dva civilna entiteta u okviru jednog administrativnog ili nadnacionalnog. Pretpostavka je da odnosi članova zajednice – imigracione i domaće populacije – budu zasnivani na međusobnom razumeju i toleranciji, posebno u slučaju muslimanske populacije.

Кључне речи*: imigraciona politika, mere bezbednosti, javno mnjenje, integracija, terorizam.*