CULTURAL SECURITY AS A PARADIGM OF MIGRATION POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND IN 2015-2018

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ABSTRACT

Migration, as a phenomenon being at the same time a challenge and a threat to cultural security, lays within the social potential of security and is conditioned by the national identity and national heritage. Hosting migrants from a different cultural-religious area in reference to the improvement of the economic potential being a challenge, and at the same time having assimilation mechanisms, which do not function properly, is a threat. What is to be understood under „efficient assimilation mechanisms"? It seems that it is not only an issue of efficient and proper procedures. The problem with this mechanism lays in the readiness of the society to host migrants and include them into the social and cultural paradigms of a hosting society.

KEY WORDS
Migration, migration crisis, securitisation.

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Preface

Cultural security is the ability of the state to create the foundation and security of cultural identity, cultural goods and national heritage, under circumstances allowing to be open to the world (also to join international structures) and enabling the development of culture through the internalization of values being not contradictory to one's own identity. Migration in this context, especially the one from other cultures and religions, can be treated by the ruling elites after the elections in 2018 as a substantial threat to the state interests. Regardless the perception and discourse regarding the so called migration crisis, a challenge that all states have to encounter is the introduction process of migrants not only into the social structures, but also to create proper possibilities of acculturation and adaptation, including at least the process of learning a language and functional abilities in the hosting society. Poland is becoming attractive for migrants, not only refugees coming from conflict areas, but also for economic

migrants. Ideal circumstances granting cultural security is not only the fact of reaching a satisfactory level of cultural identity of own citizens, but also the assimilation of migrants. It seems obvious that migration from the same civilizational-cultural area will be more accepted. Such an approach can be found in the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland where one can read that "it lays in the interest of Poland to have a EU migration policy not discriminating the Eastern Partnership and to enable an influx of highly qualified workers" (Strategy, 2014:23). On the one hand, this is an approach directed at securing the economic development, on the other hand, it shows concern regarding the attempt of an efficient and effective assimilation and acculturation process.

It seems that migration, as a phenomenon being at the same time a challenge and a threat to cultural security, lays within the social potential of security and is conditioned by the national identity and national heritage. Hosting migrants from a different cultural-religious area in reference to the improvement of the economic potential being a challenge, and at the same time having assimilation mechanisms, which do not function properly, is a threat. What is to be understood under „efficient assimilation mechanisms"? It seems that it is not only an issue of efficient and proper procedures. The problem with this mechanism lays in the readiness of the society to host migrants and include them into the social and cultural paradigms of a hosting society. "Every nation develops and cultivates the values and remembrance about its history, which distinguishes it from others and are the foundation, on which the belief about its distinctiveness from others is being created and, on the other hand, the sense of belonging to a particular community, which has its own awareness and

historical experience. This is referred to as national identity, an important indicator of which is national heritage (national culture) and the feeling of necessity to commemorate this and pass on to next generations" (BiałaKsięga, 2013:73). The crux of the matter is to convince migrants to participate in this paradigm, which is especially a matter of psychology. This publication deals with the research issue being the description of the policy of Law and Justice (PrawoiSprawiedliwość) party in the case of migrants coming to Europe as part of the so called migration crisis in 2015, and the decision of the EU Commission concerning the implementation by EU countries of the relocation mechanism.

Subjective components of cultural security reception

The fundamental issue of creating the object of cognition, in an epistemological sense, is especially complex, the limits are blurry, hence they do not fully convey the meaning of the phenomenon. The subject has to strive to constitute the object of cognition in a correct way, which would include the relation between cognitive powers and the recognized objects (Ziarko, 2010:63--64). Hence, two substantial components are part of security: subjective and objective ones. The first one has a subjective character and is described as a feeling of security, an internal conviction that there is nothing to be afraid of. The latter one is external with reference to the entity and means no threats for life (health, wealth). Security is a complex structure, consisting of psychological and non-psychological components. In some cases security (objective element) can be inadequate to the feeling of security (subjective element). If this lack of relations can't be explained in a rational way, then one deals with the case of pathology. The roots of this might

be in the human psyche (anxiety, psychosis, mental illness) or in the pathology and social culture deviations (e.g. escalation of terror and uncertainty by the media).

The relations between the subjective and objective scope of security have a theoretic value and do not have to be reflected in reality. They do highlight the role of psychology and subjective reception of social reality in the general creation of security. Those relations can be explained through the exposition of emotions and personal aspects of security understanding, as well as through highlighting motives, showing how the issue of security is perceived, experienced and explained-finally- how the individual behaves. Security, from a psychological point of view, has to be understood totally subjectively, as an interactively perceived stability, certainty in various interpersonal agreements, which are based on the relation of the individual with the environment (Marciniak, 2009:56-65). The feeling of security of an individual is a very complex category. The structure of sense of security is shaped by a dynamic arrangement of a series of feelings, e.g. sense of information, sense of certainty/stabilization, sense of belonging to the social environment, sense of authorship. It is exactly a subjective creation, through psychological criteria, which conditions the perception of a threat as an existential one, which is a precondition for the securitization process of important safety problems, as the issue of migrants and other religious-cultural areas, to be successful. Security can be understood by the individual as subjective and mean something completely different for another individual. It is exactly the cultural-religious representation which has a vital meaning in the process of creating the feeling of security and refers directly to cultural safety of an individual and its subjective perception of migration crisis as a major threat. The

most general statements of social constructivism are being build based on that – there are many different (often contradictory) social realities. Constructivists say that people do not discover knowledge, but they do construct it – "they define the reality". There is no single interpretation of any phenomenon, which might be superior to any other, as well as there is never a single answer to a given question. The reality is a result of social processes, accepted as normal in the specific context. The issue of knowledge being the mirror of reality is replaced with "social construction of reality", which puts emphasis on interpretation and negotiation of the senses of the social world. Hence, security is a construction evolving together with the social and historical context shaped in the process of social interaction between actors.

Security in the migration context, and cultural threats stemming from them, is conditioned in constructivism by identity relations. In the conventional stream of constructivism, in the relations of security and identity, what is being highlighted is that national identity is a certain constant matter, which consists of certain historical and cultural experience, it shapes the national interests and directions of its activity in international policy. Critical constructivism perceives national identity as a merger of various identity narrations, which are dominant according to the context, and this again translates into the limits of entitled and meaningful political acting. In this perspective, the identity is un stable, relative and is shaped as a result of constant political rivalry (Williams, 2012:62-63). The reception of security and threat is defined on the basis of the identity „we" and „they", from which one has to protect oneself. E.Machut- Mendecka, however, rightly shows that the contemporary Arab world, or Muslim world, is strongly diversified, hence

it is difficult to determine one's own identity. The habitant of those areas is inflicted in a network of relations, out of which some are in an opposition to another, and the most visible one is the opposition of tradition vs. modernity. In the attempt to search for the identity it is suggested to compare various cultural models (even different ones) depending on the own needs and the needs of the environment. She says that "many young inhabitants of the Islamic world do this without any effort. What is characteristic is that while belonging to two cultures, they can instantly switch from one identity to another in the same pace as they swap jeans with jellabiyas and milayas, and they also switch from English or French into Arabic" (Machut-Mendecka, 2006:151-153). It seems however that such "changes" of identity do not apply to the entire population of migrants and works as a radicalization mechanism, return to religious and cultural sources and can be based on the search for an immanent identity perceived as the truth.

The issue of multiculturalism lies not only and exclusively in the demographic statistical data, because the cultural involvementis the main issues there. Cultural involvement means an organization of the adaptation, acculturation and finally, assimilation process and convincing the migrants to participate in that process. In such case the migrants of the first, second and third generation are becoming an integral part of the dominant culture stream in the given country, thanks to assimilation which they have chosen. However, there is an alternative, where the migrants can create their own cultural enclaves. In this manner adaptation is perceived as adjusting to conditions which make it possible to institutionally and psychologically function in a foreign society; assimilation is a stage of embedding into a new culture, which is

a kind of end-result of the adaptation and acculturation process "(Nowicka-Rusek 2004: 128-129). The process of "becoming a citizen of a foreign culture" is a long-lasting and very complex process, not always conclusive, and the most important issue remains the answer to the question to what extent and in what way representatives of other cultures adapt to Western societies.

The constantly repeated creation of own identity means in practice that in the contemporary world we are dealing with a co-existence of many different identities. Undoubtedly, this requires from us far reaching tolerance and liberalism- regardless if tolerance has its source in respect towards distinctiveness, or indifference to it. Distinctiveness, a deviation from the "canon" is a standard of liberal, western societies. This situation is a result of the individual searching for freedom, and on the other hand, it is a migration reality, which paradoxically has to do with the search for the desired "freedom". In the post-modern pluralism "cultural interaction is a dynamic process, which is visible through cultural synthesis, diffusion and co-existence, and all those phenomena are under the umbrella of joint values, to which every group can contribute" (Smolicz, 2004:60-61). A relative identity in the context of multiculturalism has its special, ethnic dimension. Every individual has the right to cultivate its ethnic identity.

The countries of Western Europe, where the percentage of Muslims in the population exceeds a couple of percent (e.g. France, Italy, Great Britain) come very often to the conclusion that the assimilation policy of groups directed at imposing a dominant cultural discourse did not bring any results, and they agree to cultural pluralism, where the major party of the output culture remains, however, within the confines of a national society or a broader European normative-axiological system.

The problem is which control mechanism should be used and where to "draw the line". Even Sweden, which used to be open for Muslim migrants, noticed this problem when Muslims went on the streets after decreasing the social welfare. This shows that as long as the standard of living from state subventions was affluent, there were no problems with the Muslim diaspora. The issue of assimilation in this case is totally non-existent.

The policy of the government regarding Arab-Islamic migrants

In 2015 Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) won the elections and received a majority in the Parliament and Senate, and hence created the majority government and started to implement the programme from 2014. The programme of the party defines the nation as a community of cultures, language, historical experience, political traditions and civilizational values, as well as faith. This party perceives the nation as the broadest social group being an efficient basis for democratic political communities. One can read further that Law and Justice does not define the nation "in an ethnic sense- not only due to our negative approach to national superstitions, also due to the knowledge of Polish history. Polish nation was shaped and matured due to the fact that people created a community with different ethnical membership. Affirmation of national belonging means for us a complete readiness to recognize the subjectivity of other national communities. We do not assume also that the existence of nations must lead to destructive conflicts, however, t the same time we do see, that the competition between nations is a feature of reality important for entities, which can lead to drastic consequences. The affiliation to the Polish nation is treated by us as a value

not only because it was given to us by birth, as well as cultural heritage, but this also results from the features of our tradition. This has to do directly with Christianity and is an extremely strong attachment to freedom and equality" (Programme, 2014:9). This definition has important consequences in the perception of threat from the side of migrants from the Arabic-Islamic culture and determines the policy of the government in this respect.

One can notice that the policy of the government regarding the influx of migrants, as part of the so called migration crisis, has undergone a significant change together with the parliamentary elections 2015. The commitments of the Government of the Republic of Poland concerning the participation in the relocation programme of migrants was adopted in September 2015. Based on the Decision of the Council (UE) no. 2015/1523 from 14.09.2015 1.100 people (660 people from Italy and 440 from Greece) should have been relocated up to 17.09.2017. However, by virtue of the Decision of the Council (UE) no. 2015/1601 from 22.09.2015, which set temporary regulations in the area of international protection for Italy and Greece, a total of 5082 people should have been relocated until 26.09.2017 (1201 from Italy and 3881 from Greece). In addition to that, based on the conclusion of the Representatives of Government implemented during the meeting of the Justice and Internal Affairs Council on 20.07.2015, Poland decided to resettle 900 refugees which were located in camps of third countries. The current government, elected in 2015, has not made any new commitment in the abovementioned scope.

The current migration policy carried out on behalf of the Government of The Republic of Poland by the Minister of Interior and Administration allows to see declarative actions on accepting the relocated and reset-

tled ones, and on the other hand, it conditions this declaration with the necessity to verify those people in terms of security.

The official standpoint of the Minister of Interior and Administration points to an institutional mechanism of decision about migrants. The head of The Office for Foreigners, as the right entity to make decisions concerning relocations, announced on 16.12.2015 in the Dublinet system via the National Contact Point on Relocation, announced the readiness do accept 65 people from Greece and 35 from Italy. Those people, after coming to Poland, were supposed to be lodged in a facility of the Office for Foreigners in Dębak, near Warsaw. The justification follows: "the procedures, which started 2015/2016, had to face a series of difficulties, regardless the Polish institutions engaged in the relocation process, which have to deal, among others, with wrong functioning of the so called *hotspots* and an insufficient implementation of proper security measures aimed at verifying the identity of those people, who were supposed to enter our country, by Italy and Greece. From the point of view of practical decision, a political decision was made to accept not more than 400 foreigners in Poland, which would be relocated from Italy and Greece and the Ministry of Interior and Administration started preparations to participate in the relocation programme in 2016 to execute the abovementioned decision. The Government of the Republic of Poland is aware of its commitment, made on the EU forum by the Council of Ministers, in terms of resettling and relocation. The issue of relocating foreigners from Greece and Italy, however, is still dependent from the possibilities of conducting a proper verification of those people, which is especially important in the context of the terror attacks in Europe, e.g. in Paris, Berlin, Ansbach, Nice or Brussels. As long as people coming

from the Middle East to Europe will not be verified thoroughly, the threat remains that there might be people connected to terrorist groups among the relocated ones" (Ministry of Interior and Administration 2017).

Up to now, the Republic of Poland has not accepted any foreigner but still- if decisions are made, a proper agenda of work is being processed. In light of the current procedure, Poland, after receiving a list of foreigners qualified as candidates for relocation, verifies if their stay in Poland might be a threat for the defence or security of the state or if it is a threat to public order. In order to do that, The National Contact Point of Relocation turns for advice to the Chief of Border Guard, Chief of Police and Head of the Internal Security Agency. After receiving their opinions, the Head of the Office for Foreigners makes the decision on granting or forbidding to give permission for those people to be relocated to Poland. The procedure of permittingor forbidding the access concerns the verification of data of the foreigners in available data bases, as well as holding a conversation with the foreigners by liaison officers with the participation of a cultural expert, who is responsible for the identification of nationality of the person qualified as candidate for relocation. The liaison officers appointed by the Border Guard to Italy and Greece have been active since December 2015 and are already involved in the verification process. The controlling procedures are conducted to the moment where certainty is reached that the candidates to be relocated do not pose any threat to the defence or security of the state of security of the public order. In reference to people to be verified, such certainty was not achieved because to the last day, when the decision of the EC was in force, no person from the list of foreigners to be relocated was accepted in Poland, at the same time quoting the act of law

from June 01, 2003 about granting foreigners shelter on the territory of the Republic of Poland (Office of Journals 1836), which states that a person is refused shelter and protection if this person poses a threat to the security of the state and society. Verification whether the particular foreigner is a threat to the security and defence of the state and security of the public order lies within the competences of services mentioned in art. 86f of this act of law.

Despite the declarative approach, the Government, in this respect, consequently refuses to accept the relocation mechanism. This makes Poland stand in opposition to the proclaimed by the EU solidarity with migrants from military conflict areas in Syria and Iraq. The statements by the Polish political elites clearly show that Poland will not accept the automatic relocation mechanism. "This mechanism will attract further migration waves to Europe and gives the possibility for terrorist groups to act, which make major profit on human trafficking'- said the Minister of Interior and Administration Mariusz Błaszczak during the Justice and Internal Affairs Council in Brussels (Błaszczak, 2017). In response to the EC it was stated that Poland does not agree with the EC exceeding its treaty powers to intervene in the national competences in the area of security, integration and social issues. The Treaty on the Functioning of the European union (TFUE) unequivocally confirms that national security remains in the exclusive area of the particular member state. The Court of Justice also said many times that the member countries have the duty to conduct the measures aiming and guaranteeing external and internal security and that only member states are competent to maintain public order and guarantee internal security. The security policy belongs to particular countries and not to the community policy.

This consequent approach in terms of migration was also clearly stated during the speech of Secretary of State at the Ministry of Interior and Administration Jakub Skiba during the Economic Forum in Krynica on September 6, 2017, who said "today the well-being of the community of European countries, its integrity and security are to a large extent endangered." The task of Poland in Europe and the task of all countries of the region is to do everything for the EU to become a tool of efficient execution of the common well-being. Deputy Minister Skiba reminded that Poland will not allow for an imposed, apparent solidarity, which leads to the execution of unclear attempts and is a threat to the foundations of the EU and its future. One has to clearly show the contradictions and shortfalls of those EU proposals, which can have many negative consequences, and might increase the migration pressure, as well as the feeling of danger, and introduce irreversible changes in the community structure, at the same time not negating the need of a mutual support for the EU in necessary efforts undertaken in order to normalize the migration situation. And in the longer-run: to rebuild resilience and permanent mechanisms allowing for dealing with migration pressure in future" (Skiba, 2017). The statement of the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda could also be heard, who pointed to direct connections between migration and terrorism, at the same time joining the securitization discourse. "Poland is open to help other EU countries solve the migration crisis, as well as all countries, which will be in need of such help- Andrzej Duda declared in Malta, during the meeting of 13 president of the Arraiolos group: "I clearly said and declared, on behalf of my country, that we are always open to help all countries of the EU, if they need such help, e.g. via activities of Frontex. Just as this year,

when Poland sent over 400 officers of the border guard to Frontex missions in other countries to protect their borders. There is no doubt that the wave of terrorism is connected with migration" (Prezydent, 2017).

One has to note that the consequent refusal of the implementation of the relocation mechanism is connected with the declaration of help in sealing the external borders and is being consequently realized by the engagement of officers of the Border Patrol and Police in bilateral missions in Hungary, Slovenia and Macedonia, as well as EU coordinated actions through Frontex. In the aspect of consequent securitization policy and migration those actions are also important, which activate the countries of the region which do not want to accept the relocation mechanism but, what is more important, perceive the migration crisis as a vital threat to the security. In the above-mentioned document the Ministry of Interior and Administration explains that" having in mind the instable situation in some regions in the vicinity of the EU, the result of which is humanitarian crisis resulting in a rapid increase of migrants leaving their place of living and attempt to find shelter, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration made the decision to reinforce the cooperation with the V4 Group in order to increase joint reaction possibilities to such situations. During the meeting of V4 ministers of interior in Warsaw on 21.11.2016, it was by the initiative of Minister Mariusz Błaszczak to sign a joint declaration committing V4 countries to create a Crisis Migration Mechanism. This mechanism is to play a role of a permanent platform of cooperation, open to all EU member states, facilitating coordination of actions of those states. Its aim is to use the synergy to increase the scale of response and achieving better results in the areas included in the Mechanism. The planned areas of activity

of the Crisis Migration Mechanism are as follows: the improvement of information exchange and identification of key needs in the area of migration; the development of competences and possibilities to act jointly, through joint trainings and exchange of experience; the coordinated use of resources of participating countries in order to support the refugees in third party countries and reinforce the cooperation with third party countries, which are located on the migration paths in order to eliminate the initial reasons of the migration and resettlement, but especially to support refugees outside of the EU. In order to do that there will be bilateral missions organized, where contingents of the Polish Border Guard and Police (Macedonia, Hungary and Slovenia) will participate and eliminate initial reasons of the migration and support third countries located on the migration path where there are also major groups of refugees".

During the meeting of V4 Group representatives in Warsaw on November 26, 2016 in an extended group with the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, but also with Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia and Slovenia Minister Mariusz Błaszczak pointed to the necessity to regain control over the current migration movements. In the opinion of Poland, the EU should work on efficient methods of preventing negative effects of a sudden increase of migrants in the years to come. The Ministers agreed that the agreement between EU and Turkey, and the protection of borders of countries being on the so called West-Balkan route contributed to an improvement of the situation. However, further steps are necessary to improve security. Poland also noted that there is no control over who enters the EU. This is a threat to all citizens- part of the terrorists, who conducted attacks in France and Belgium, came to Europe together with the migration wave (Migracyjny 2017).

The Visegrad Group has become a regional security complex against permanent relocation mechanism suggested by the EU. Despite the fact that the Czech Republic and Slovakia accepted a couple of migrants, they also introduced the securitization discourse with reference to the so called migration crisis and in the same manner, contributed to the regional security complex. Slovakia and Hungary, which- just as the Czech Republic and Romania- voted in the Council against the relocation, filed a motion to the Court of Justice to state its invalidity stating, first of all, accusations aiming at proving that the actions concerning the acceptance of refugees was full of procedural errors,or a wrong choice of legal basis. Secondly- the decision allowed neither efficient activities as a response to the migration crisis, nor is it necessary to achieve this goal. Poland was given access to this court case as an intervenor supporting Slovakia and Hungary. Belgium, Germany, Greece, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Sweden and the Commission were not given access to the case in the form of an intervenor supporting the Council. By virtue of sentence from September 17, 2017 the Tribunal dismissed the complaints of Slovakia and Hungary (Trybunał, 2017)

Argumentation

The policy of refusing the acceptance of migrants from the Arab-Islamic culture required justification. As it was mentioned already, the securitisation issue of migration seems to be part of the subjective perception of security. The arguments of the Polish Government oscillate around the approach of the incoming groups and not respecting the basic values of hosting societies based on the rules of liberal democracy, where the most important one is freedom and security of the individual.

Concrete behaviour of migrants was adopted in the conclusions, which very often turned out to be a major media event consistent with the stereotypical social phenomenontriggering in Europe resilience, such asterrorism, discrimination of gender orinfringement of rules of the legal system.

The attacks in Belgium in 2016 at the airport and subway in Brussels, and then the anti-terrorist operations lead afterwards show how much more serious the problem concerning the Islamic enclaves is. This is not only a manifestation of dissatisfaction with the social policy of the state, but also an activity aiming at the total destruction of the country and national community. No efficient control mechanisms, and in many cases, fully conscious policy with reference to diasporas' living in those enclaves, lead to the creation of an environmentfavouring incubators of radical Islam. This environment can be seen in two aspects: orthodox and fundamentalist. The first one will concern believers, practitioners and those who treat the Islam as the right path in life and as a way to determine, in a eschatological manner, why this is done according to some fixed religious norms. The second one is a Salafi jihad, which is able to generate an atmosphere at the same time demagogically opening the door to immanent Islamicidentity. The propaganda of the Salafi jihad, represented today by the strongest terrorist organization- Islamic State, points to fighters as if they were icons of pop culture. At the same time,they give the youth and their parents a narration of identity. A narration which is nowadays missing in Europe, which glorifies multiculturalism, criticizes national and Christian tendencies in national policy of member states, not wanting to accept jointChristian heritage, but what is worse, not suggesting anything in return. In this clash the European axiological neutrality and world view loses with the Islamic total narration. It is also interest-

ing to see that the jihadist total narration is not only the readiness to kill. It is the readiness for death. It would be exaggerated to say that the Islamic enclaves in Europe are full of terrorists. According to analysis from terrorist attacks in London, Paris or Brussels the conclusion arises that those are migrants of the 2nd of 3rd generation, who radicalized due to social problems. Paradoxically, the resistance towards acculturation and assimilation of Muslims, which are separated in Muslim enclaves, has a decisive influence on social issues, lack of perspectives and a difficult material situation. It also seems that despite the frustration, criminal indicators from the past can be an additional catalyst for terrorists to participate in such missions with the ideology of jihad, although such connections were not found in the past. Such a case was the attack in Nice, south of France, when during the Bastille Day in 2016 a truck, driven by a migrant from Tunisia, drove into a crowd of people on a promenade. 84 people died and over 200 were injured.

The issues of migrant enclaves concerns also media reports about the simultaneous normative system (sharia) forcing the axiology of the initial culture or religion, in the majority of cases, and this generates anxiety and even resistance or aggression towards the hosting societies. Attempts to introduce Islamic order took place in the district of London through a propaganda action conducted by Islamic extremists. Public places were full of posters with following information for pedestrians "You are entering a controlled sharia zone- Islamic rules are to be respected here" Light-yellow posters included graphical signs of alcohol ban, gambling ban, prostitution ban and public games ban. One has to note that sharia can't be accepted in democratic countries as source of law. The European Court of Human Rights stated in many decrees that sharia is contradictory to the basic rules of democracy.

The cultural issues of self-marginalization are visible in the statement of Bassam Tibi, who says that assimilation or even acculturation are totally absent in groups of migrants coming to Europe. In an article, under the famous title "I give up" he wrote: "I question the Islamic uniform. The dual function of the scarf lies in the fact than on the one hand it expresses the sharia worldview and on the other hand it is a decisive, civilizational isolation from everything which is European and secular. Scarf-Islam means isolation and Euro-Islam wants to build bridges. 2015 was an end to my hopes about the Europeanization of Islam. Over 1.5 million refugees from the Islamic world, the majority of which came from my fatherland Syria, came to Europe this year. I did not see even one woman, dressed in an European style, amongst them. When I saw those bearded man and Islamic women I felt defeated" (Tibi, 2016).

Sexual harassment of women in Cologne during New Year's Eve is a clear example of a cultural-personality condition which is not a potential but real attempt to grab the public domain. This situation shows that the *human security policy* with reference to migrants, based on a recognition of basic human rights, as it is typical for liberalism- right to live, right to freedom, gender equality and pursue of happiness- all this can paradoxically lead to a depravation or limitation of those rights for members of the EU. Security dilemmas which are visible at present are not only connected with the security of borders and military defence but are far more complex in the area of social security, cultural security, demographic security, economical security and political security of particular countries and the entire EU. The "open doors" policy of chancellor Angela Merkel was not only irresponsi-

ble, but also brought actual threats for all member states. It was not preceded by any agreements concerning a decision on suspending the European visa and border security policy, not mentioning the negative experiences of some member states with multiculturalism.

Summary

Opinion polls show clearly that the securitization achieved its desirable effect. Negative attitudes concerning the acceptance of refugees are omnipresent in countries describing their social values in axiological-normative categories, stemming from Christianity. What is interesting- the attitude to relocation of refugees flowing to the EU is connected with opinions on how the EU is functioning. The respondents who think that each country should have the possibility to determine its migration and asylum policy by itself, definitely more seldom are willing to accept relocation (9%) than those, who would like those issues to be decided on the EU level. Amongst people who say that it is the EU that should decide about migration policy, the level of agreement towards accepting part of the refugees is definitely higher (38%), and among those, who would prefer the policy to be fully common, it exceeds a half (53%). Respondents, who would like that the EU deepens the integration of all member states are more eager to accept the relocation project (34%) (CBOS, 2017:3).

In this context it has to be concluded that the securitization of the migration problem in the policy of the government has reached a result desired by the politicians of the ruling party.

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