

edited by
Barbara Kromolicka
Anna Linka

Social services in work with refugees on polish german cross-border region

Szczecin 2018

**SOCIAL SERVICES IN WORK WITH
REFUGEES ON POLISH GERMAN
CROSS-BORDER REGION**

edited by

Barbara Kromolicka
Anna Linka

Szczecin 2018

Editet by:
Prof. Tit DSc Barbara Kromolicka
PhD Anna Linka

Reviewed by:
DSc Janusz Mieczkowski Prof. US

Technical editor:
Jerzy Chrapowicki

Proofreading:
Teresa Jasiunas

Typesetting, cover design:
Paweł Hładoń

The publication has been supported by the funds of statutory research of the Department of Social Pedagogy, Institute of Pedagogy, The Faculty of Humanities, University of Szczecin. No part of this publication may be reproduced, copied or used without written permission of the Head of Social Pedagogy Department, Institute of Pedagogy, The Faculty of Humanities, University of Szczecin.

Copyright by Barbara Kromolicka, Anna Linka, Szczecin 2018
Copyright by Uniwersytet Szczeciński 2018



Polskie Stowarzyszenie Szkół Pracy Socjalnej



ISBN (online)
978-83-7867-773-4

Print and publisher:
Volumina.pl Daniel Krzanowski
ul. Ks. Witolda 7–9
71-063 Szczecin
Tel./fax: 91 812 09 08

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Refugees on Polish German cross-border region. Introduction 5

Marek Rymsza

Ethical and effective aid: Europe and Poland facing the refugee issue 13

Fuad Jomma

**From passive to active social policy. The shift in the Swedish
refugee assistance system... 27**

Rafał Iwański

**Migration and the ageing of the Polish population: challenges
and consequences 39**

Piotr Briks

Clash of civilisations – an aspect of the migration crisis in Europe 49

Claudia Schippel

**Refugees’ Guarding and Mentoring Programs: legal guardianships
for unaccompanied minors, coaching qualification programs and
professional guidance for volunteers working with refugees 63**

Filip Przytułski

**Work for refugees. Motives, goals, activities of an informal
Refugees Szczecin group 75**

Monika Grotzinger

**Working with Victims of Human Trafficking from Africa –
An example of the SOLWODI organization..... 91**

Anna Linka	
Hostpitality – Kana Theatre Centre and the issue of refugees and “migration crisis”. A pedagogical perspective	99
Romuald Zańko	
Aid to the civilian victims of the war in Syria as a “Living Monument” of the Warsaw Uprising.....	117
Hamad Alramadan	
My way from Syria to Germany.....	125
Agnieszka Radłowska	
Challenges of teaching a language in a multicultural refugee group	129
Paweł Glapiński	
Objectives, foundations, and activities of the Polish Social Council in Berlin	133
Joanna Smagło-Yildirim	
Volunteering for refugees at the Polish Social Council – „Gemeinsam Schaffen”	137
Kerstin Zablocki	
From German classes to thorough aid for refugees.....	141
Anna Linka	
Report of the conference “In search of the Perfect Balance. Poland and Europe in the face of the Migration Crisis” and the project “Earnestly about refugees: more knowledge, less emotions”	147
Autor’s note	153

REFUGEES ON POLISH-GERMAN CROSS-BORDER. INTRODUCTION

Following the Second World War, Europe, in particular the countries of “old Europe” became a destination for immigrants. It was only after the events of 2014–2015 that the so-called “migration crisis” became a mainstream issue. Demographic, economic and environmental problems, as well as political and military conflicts in the Middle East, Central Asia, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa had triggered increased migration from these areas to the countries of the European Union. In 2015, the extent of the migration coupled with the failure to come up with a joint political and institutional solution to the problems caused by it prompted some to refer to the issue as the “migrant crisis”, “immigration crisis” or „refugee crisis”. Greece, Italy and Germany were the countries that had received the largest number of immigrants since 2015, and, so as to resolve the crisis, the EU proposed to relocate the refugees from these countries to other EU member states. This solution, however, was met with resistance from some member states, including Poland, which refused to receive refugees on grounds of claimed threats to safety and fact, that country is receiving a large number of migrants from Ukraine¹. Regardless of, however, our attitude towards the subject matter, it has to be acknowledged, that for the first time since 1989 the migration policy become a topic of heated public debate at the level of both the European Union and Poland.

Migrations are part of the region of West Pomerania. After 1945 Polish from different regions of pre war Poland, Ukrainians, Lemks, Jewish, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Greeks, Macedonians and Kucovlachs settled or were forcibly settled in this region. They coexisted with German autochthons and regardless of difficult times, those minorities managed to establish their own religious churches, associations and schools. What is more Greeks, Macedonians and Kucovlachs were treated as political refugees and they received from government financial assistance, social

1 It is estimated that during last 2 years about 2 millions of Ukrainian citizens has arrived to Poland: Gazeta prawna.pl [access 25.03.2018].

and educational support. After 1989, when specific „loosening” of border control happened, there appeared in Western Pomerania new groups of foreigners coming from Far East – Vietnamese and citizens of former USSR. Studies conducted by Izabela Grabowska – Lusińska and Anna Janicka – Żylicz shows that West Pomeranian Voivodeship has one of the highest in Poland migration potential. It is assumed that in the next five years we will observe a significant growth of migrants in Polish territory². Probably the clear division between sending and receiving countries will also disappear. „Instead there will appear temporary, transit, pendulum and circulate migrations. Short – term, multiple migrations, that are not entailing rooting in one place will become part of everyday life³”. Regardless, however which type of migration we are dealing the movement of people always evokes changes in societies, in which people live and in their way of life. While staying in culture in which they had not been brought up migrants, soon or later, will experience encounter with its stranger and incomprehensible regulations. Jurgen Bolten states that „at the latest with the moment of leaving the building of airport migrant is confronted with a lot of visual impressions, noises and smells, which he does not know and which he is not able to *assigned*. [...] Initially observed differences may seem fascinating [...] but everyday functioning in strange country exposes migrant to contact with deeper and deeper, increasingly difficult to grasp principles of culture [...] this condition leads to acculturative stress, in its advanced form called culture shock”⁴.

Migrants require support from receiving country and therefore they need professional social services prepared to work in this specific environment. Social services should be understood here as “a network of offices, non-governmental organisations, informal task forces, or individuals connected by personal or functional or complementary relations, who, following their professional duties, as volunteers, or on their own free will and with their own money, carry out, within the limits of their competences, pursuant to applicable provisions, or guided by conscience, carry out activities consisting in helping individuals and social groups to regain their self-esteem, prevent the effects of helplessness, improve or regain the ability to function in a society by providing adequately chosen tasks involving support, care, protection, rehabilitation or correction, as well as establishing macro-structural and environmental conditions that are the prerequisites to

2 A Górny, I. Grabowska-Lusińska et al., *Transformacja nieoczywista. Polska jako kraj imigracji*, Warszawa 2010, p. 32–33.

3 S. Castels, M. Miller., *Migracje we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa, p. 24.

4 A. Linka, *Kompetencja międzykulturowa pracowników służb społecznych.*, nieopublikowana dyseratacja doktorska obroniona na Wydziale Humanistycznym Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego w 2017, p. 51–52.

achieve these goals⁵. It was necessary to apply such a broad definition of social services due to the interdisciplinary nature of migration issues, because of the fact that immigrants require multilateral support, and because social workers who assist migrants are required to closely cooperate with other professionals and activists working in this area⁶. The article presents some examples of academic communities, NGOs, cultural and education institutions, and volunteers.

The attitudes of social services of the Polish-German border to the migration crisis are interesting for several reasons. Poland and Germany assumed completely different approaches to resolving the crisis. Although the former had not received any refugee under the relocation effort, and a large part of the Polish public opinion had turned out to be wary of this solution, the border city of Szczecin witnessed important initiatives manifesting support for the reception of refugees and for the refugees themselves. Secondly, there are constantly organized in Poland numerous lectures, discussions, debates, meetings, seminars, and scientific conferences on migration, refugees and the migration crisis. At the same time, on the German side of the border a number of Polish people undertook to assist refugees, and Polish migrant organisations joined the effort to implement integration programmes for refugees. This monograph is an attempt to discern and document these processes. As the aim of the editors of the monograph was to present it using a “bottom-up” approach, it comprises theoretical articles with insights on the support system and the model of integrating immigrants, articles with scientific analyses of the activities of selected organisations, and articles with personal accounts of the employees and activists of these organisations on their own activities and experiences.

-
- 5 M. Porowski (1999), *Służba społeczna*, [in:] D. Lalak, T. Pilch (eds.), *Elementarne pojęcia pedagogiki i pracy socjalnej*, Warszawa, p. 270; M. Porowski (1998), *Organizacje pozarządowe w instytucjonalnej strukturze państwa*, [in:] T. Pilch, I. Lepalczyk (eds), *Pedagogika Społeczna*, Warszawa 1995, p. 455–466; M. Porowski (1998), *Służba społeczna – zakres pojęcia*, [in:] W. Kaczyńska (ed.), *O etyce służb społecznych*, Warszawa, p. 33–35; K. Kamiński (1982), *Funkcje pedagogiki społecznej. Praca socjalna i kulturalna*, Warszawa, p. 82–87; L. Malinowski, M. Orłowska (1982), *Praca socjalna służbą człowiekowi*, Warszawa.
- 6 M.P. Malinowski-Rubio (2013), *Imigranci a komunikacja międzykulturowa w sferze usług publicznych w Polsce*, Kraków, p. 77, 79, 80; K. Evans (2008), *Gaining Cultural Competence in Career Counseling*, Boston–New York, p. 8, 13, 29; L.D. Adams, K.M. Shambleau (2007), *Teachers’, Children’s, and Parents’ Perspectives on Newly Arrived Children’s Adjustment to Elementary School*, [in:] L.D. Adams, A. Kirova (Eds.), *Global Migration and Education. Schools, Children and Families...*, op. cit., Mahwah-New Jersey – London 2007 p. 101; S. Furness, P. Gilligan (2010), *Religion, belief and social work*, Bristol.

The volume begins with an article by Marek Rymysza: “Ethical and effective aid: Europe and Poland facing the refugee issue”. The author draws attention to the diversity within the migration wave, which includes refugees as defined in the Geneva Convention, as well as economic and ecological migrants. He asks why, whom and whether to help. He remarks that the answer to this question depends on the “ethical sensitivity” and the “definition of the situation”, which, in turn, are determined by the outcome of political interests. The author notes the polarisation of positions, mainly due to the manner in which the media present the “migration crisis” hinders the common acceptance of an objective and agreed (socially legitimised) definition of the situation. Different assessment of the situation by the governments and societies of Eastern and Western Europe also prevents both sides from reaching an agreement. The author maintains that to establish a consistent policy of solving the refugee issue it is necessary to overcome the polarisation of these stances. However, the sides of the European discourse offer a misdiagnosed view of the migration problem, i.e. they fail to take into consideration that its roots are outside Europe and the problem itself has a global dimension. Rymysza presents and evaluates the ethical models of hospitality present in the European discourse – those stemming from the teachings of the Catholic Church and those relating to a left-wing multi-kulti movement. At the same time, he emphasises the Eurocentrism of the European societies and elites, which were indifferent to the victims of wars and the situation of refugees in the Middle East until the refugees arrived in Europe. The author indicates the instrumentalisation of ethical standards applied to immigrants. This is often done by receiving countries, which seek a solution to their demographic shortages. The states which are willing to offer aid on the site of the conflict are not guided by the responsibility for the victims, but by the fear that they might arrive at their doorstep. At the same time, Rymysza maintains that the mechanism of forced relocation is a mistake, as integration cannot be decreed. Integration is a long-term social process, which can and must be fostered. The author criticises both political “correctness” and “incorrectness” in approaching the issue of mass immigration. In his conclusion, the author postulates that we should overcome Eurocentrism, which will make it possible to see the refugee problem in real light and will also make it possible to provide adequate assistance to refugees both in Europe and in the Middle East (by disarming the so-called “Islamic State”, among other things). At the same time, the author points out that Europe will remain a destination for migrants, and thus it is necessary to establish clear principles of integration based on ethics.

The issue of refugee integration is also addressed by Fuad Jomma in his article “From active to passive social policy. The shift in the Swedish refugee assistance system”. The author describes the impact of the shift in the Swedish welfare state model on the immigrant integration policy of the country. Drawing from his own experience, the author describes the pros and the cons of the Swedish universal model of welfare state, which, on the one hand, offered a wide range of political and social rights. While on the other hand, it resulted in learned helplessness among refugees, as well as their separation from the majority of the society. The author then presents a shift towards active social policy involving, in particular, new forms of making refugees active on the labour market by encouraging them to take up professional activity at early stages. The author also cites his own research carried out with participation of experts on the integration of refugees into the Swedish labour market, who positively assess the implemented changes. The author also praises the changes and notes that it is professional activity that offers refugees the greatest opportunities for integration in a society.

The ageing Swedish population and demographic problems of the country was one of the reasons for which Sweden had decided to receive immigrants. The progress of these processes in Poland is presented in an article by Rafał Iwański: “Migration and the ageing of the Polish population: challenges and consequences”. The author presents demographic forecasts for both Europe and Poland, which indicate that the Polish population is among the fastest ageing ones and ones with have the lowest rate of demographic growth rate in Europe. Thus, in the near future, Poland will need a large number of employees to take care of its senior citizens. The Polish labour market, however, will be able unable to provide such a workforce. It is therefore necessary to accept foreign workers, and establish solutions at an institutional level so as to attract foreign workers to come to Poland.

The article “Clash of civilisations – an aspect of the migration crisis in Europe” by Piotr Briks touches on the problems that may arise as a result of the mass immigration of people with different other civilisational backgrounds. The author analyses the cultural and civilisational differences between the Middle East (or, more broadly, Muslim countries) and Europe. The author presents the background of the migration crisis, which comprises “push factors” (desertification of the Middle East and North Africa, political instability in these regions, popularisation of consumption-oriented lifestyle by mass media) and “pull factors” (immigration of “gastarbeiters” of the 1960s and 1970s, social policies, and the demographic decline that resulted in workforce shortage in Western countries). The author notes that some problems relating to the migration have

become taboo issues in the public debate. These include, among others, cultural differences relating to religion and history, different approaches to family life, and what comprises proper and improper conduct. The European elites' disregard of the problems that arise from these differences, as well as the reluctance of Muslims to assimilate, may, in the long term, lead to civilisational conflicts in Europe.

The authors of the subsequent articles attempt to provide a scientific analysis of selected organisations.

Claudia Schippel, shared her experiences of many years in organising volunteering actions for underage refugees with no caregivers within the AKINDA and HÎNBÛN organisations. The author has provided a comprehensive description of her training qualifications programs and professional guidelines for volunteers who work with refugees.

In the article "Work for refugees. Motives, goals, activities of an informal Refugees Szczecin group". Filip Przytulski presents the activities of "Refugees Szczecin" – a group that emerged from a wider grass-roots movement in response to the hostilities towards the reception of refugees and the xenophobia of some part of the Polish society. The author notes that it was the realisation of the group members that there is an "us and them" division that prompted them to form the group. Its activities are based on opposing the part of the Polish population that is intolerant or indifferent to the tragedies of the victims of the wars in the Middle East. Filip Przytulski names some of the objectives of the group, i.e. promoting the vision of Poland as a democratic and multicultural country. The author also lists numerous activities of the group: collections, discussions, lectures, meetings, film screenings, demonstrations, dedicated classes in schools. These activities were carried out in cooperation with various institutions and organisations of the city of Szczecin, which, according to the author, attests to the emergence of social movement in the city. The fact that the activities of the group were met with interest by the inhabitants of Szczecin attests to the existence of a social resonance between "Refugees Szczecin" and the city dwellers.

Underage migrants who have no caregivers also face the threats related to human trafficking. This issue was elaborated on by Monika Grötzinger in her article "Working with the victims of human trafficking on the example of the SOLWODI organisation". The author described some areas of the organisation's activity including public relations, psychosocial counselling and support, establishing local and international networks of contacts, creative activities, and the implementation of the follow-up project.

Theatre Centre in Szczecin is one of the institutions referred to by Filip Przytułski. In the article „Hostipitality – *Kana* Theatre Centre and the issue of refugees and *migration crisis*” Anna Linka presents the educational dimension of the activities realised by the theatre. The author sets the activities in the context of, among other things, the traditions of non-directive, social, intercultural, global, regional, and cultural pedagogy, and the concept of lifelong learning. The author situates a series of projects realised under the “Hospitality” and “Hostipitality” activities within the framework of Julia Kristeva’s philosophy of acknowledgment of the concept of intercultural education as the art of entering the borderland. Anna Linka remarks that one of the main themes of the theatre’s activities are “silenced stories”. They include, among others, the conflicting world views that divide the Polish society, recently manifested by the dispute over the reception of refugees.

The subsequent authors made attempts to describe their own activities and the activities of their organisations. In the article “Aid to the civilian victims of the war in Syria as a *Living Monument* of the Warsaw Uprising” Romuald Zańko presented the activities of the Foundation under Gowns to the benefit of the victims of the war in Syria. The author detailed the actions “Burning City”, and “I am Rewriting this Poem”, and gave account of his journey to offer toys at refugee camps in Lebanon. The actions were inspired by the words of Warsaw Uprising insurgents, who wanted the uprising to become a living symbol for Poles, which will make them help the victims of wars around the world. By means of the actions, the author promoted the Middle East activities of PAH, Caritas, PMM and PCPM charity organisations.

Another author, Hamad Alramadan, a journalist from Syria is one of the civilian victims of the war in Syria. He gave the account of his experiences as a refugee – persecution by the Assad regime, ISIS, Al-Qaeda, his way from Syria to Germany, problems in dealings with the aid system in Europe, and difficulties in integrating with German society.

Teachers of German are also among those who support refugees in their integration in German society. Agnieszka Radłowska in her article “Challenges of teaching a language in a multicultural refugee group”, and Kerstin Zablocki in her article “From German classes to thorough aid for refugees” described their experiences gained during teaching German to refugees from the Middle East. The latter author also presented about her activities for refugees within the “Pasewalk Hilft!” organisation.

It turns out that also Polish organisations in Germany get involved in aiding refugees. Paweł Glapiński described the many activities of the Polish Social

Council in Berlin, consisting of providing advice on migration, legal, social, psychological, family, educational, and vocational issues as well as providing trainings, teaching German language, offering vocational courses, lectures, thematic meetings, cultural activities, and cooperating with other institutions in Germany and Poland. Joanna Smagło-Yıldırım presented the project “Gemeinsam Schaffen” aimed at underage refugees and realised by the organisation.

The last speaker, Anna Linka, gave the account of the conference “In search of the Perfect Balance. Poland and Europe in the face of the Migration Crisis” and the project “Earnestly about refugees: more knowledge, less emotions” by the “Kreatywni dla Szczecina i Regionu” association. The project included trainings for employees of public institutions, meetings and debates at schools, and the conference. Within the project an online database was created, and educational materials were drafted and sent to schools and public institutions.

The monograph is an attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the responses of the social services of the German-Polish border to the migration crisis. Due to the dynamics of the issue, such an attempt should be made again in the near future. The presented material demonstrates that although Poland and Germany have failed to come to an agreement on a common solution to the migration crisis, organisations and activists from both sides of the border managed to establish cooperation on this issue. And considering that forecasts of migration show that immigration potential of Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship is one of the largest in Poland, these experiences may prove to be valuable in the future⁷.

Editors of the volume, who – on behalf of Institute of Education and Faculty of Humanities of Szczecin University – were organizers with Section of Social Work of Polish Sociological Association of international scientific seminar „Social Work with Refugees and (I)migrants” consider as nice duty to thank Professor Marek Rymsza, who was a guest of the seminar, for initiative of organizing exactly in Szczecin the seminar on this issue.

We thank Dean of Faculty of Humanities, Professor Urszula Chęcińska and Polish Association of Schools of Social Work for granting patronage of this undertaking.

We also thank to all authors from both sides of the border for labor of preparation of texts for publishing of this monograph.

Barbara Kromolicka

7 A. Górny, I. Grabowska-Lusińska et al. (2010), *Transformacja nieoczywista. Polska jako kraj imigracji*, Warszawa, p. 257.

Marek Rymśza
University of Warsaw
Institute of Applied Social Sciences

ETHICAL AND EFFECTIVE AID: EUROPE AND POLAND FACING THE REFUGEE ISSUE¹

The influx of refugees and migrants mostly from (but not limited to) Muslim countries of North Africa and Asia Minor to Europe has been the focus of public debate on Europe and its future². The manner of managing this issue also reveals much about the condition of the European Union as a political project, as well as about the mechanisms of making key decisions in EU institutions. The issue, however (or most importantly), is an ethical one: whom should we aid and how, and who should be refused or denied aid? And if so, why? The answers to these questions depend not only on our ethical sensitivity, but also on the view of the situation and its initial "definition". My intention is to characterise the inconsistencies in European perception and approach to the refugee issue, which are a consequence not only of the power games or differences in ethical sensitivities, but also of the lack of an objective and agreed-upon (i.e. socially legitimised) "definition of the situation"³.

Polarisation of positions

It is estimated that from January to October 2015 alone, 630 000 migrants arrived in our continent, about half of whom were children. This "migration

-
- 1 The author has published basic version of this text (under the same title) in quarterly „Więź” 2016, No. 1, p. 121–130. The version presented here is enriched by footnotes and small additions.
 - 2 See M. Duszczuk, *Kryzys migracyjny 2015/2016*, text available online <http://iminteg.uw.edu.pl>, [access 22.0.2017].
 - 3 On the meaning of definition of situation – see A. Manterys, *Klasyczna idea definicji sytuacji*, ISNS Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa 2000.

of peoples” to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea and the Aegean Sea is the aftermath of the Arab Spring in the Maghreb, and the following destabilisation of this region. It was, however, the military operations conducted, mainly in Syria and Iraq, by a terrorist organisation referred to as the Islamic State, which precipitated the refugee influx. In Syria alone, half of the population (of 11 million before the conflict) fled the country as a consequence of the fighting, and most of those who had fled from warfare areas emigrated from the country⁴. Even though the basic facts are well known to basically everyone, the public discourse in Europe on refugee issues becomes increasingly polarised in several aspects and at several levels. The axes of this polarisation are as follows:

1. The increasing gap between the stances expressed by politicians and the public opinion, with a peculiar ambivalence in the media, which have a problem with choosing sides: whether to educate the society in line with the scenarios established at the political level (opinion-forming role of the media) or to expose, or even foster social sentiments that are not necessarily in line with the educational function (expressive function of the media).
2. The increasing gap between the stances of the “West” EU (the “old 15” member states of the European Union, including Germany) and the “East” (new member states, including Poland), which, on the one hand, sets in motion the political identity of the “Eastern Alliance” and, on the other hand, revisits the concept of the inner EU core comprising the EEC founding countries i.e. the establishment of the “small Schengen area”.
3. Polarisation at the social level – between the supporters of “open hospitality” towards newcomers and the supporters of radical “separation”.

These three debate axes overlap. Western Europe is characterised by greater social openness to refugees and immigrants, its media mostly side with political decision-makers, and the radical movements of anti-immigrant protests are confronted with solid public acceptance of refugee reception (“culture of hospitality”). It is the opposite in our part of Europe: protests of the public against receiving refugees and immigrants overwhelm the instances of the “culture of

4 See A. Skowron-Nalborczyk, *Syria gaśnie*, „Więź” 2015 nr 4. The author estimates that 2,1 millions of Syrians got to Turkey, 1,4 millions – to Jordan, 1,2 millions to Lebanon, 250 thousands to Iraq (Syrian Kurds), 250 thousands to United Arab Emirates. Part of this population, mainly from Turkey, was making and is still making attempts to get from Turkish refugee camps to Europe.

hospitality”, governments are much more sceptical of the EU proposals, and the media are more willing to reflect the ongoing dynamics of the changes in social sentiment.

A global issue

I believe that these polarising tendencies are, to a large extent, the outcome of the application of defensive mechanisms: the refusal of our continent (with Poland by no means being an exception) to consistently participate in resolving the refugee issue i.e. a manifold of global problems and to bear the related costs. This, in turn, triggers cognitive dissonance reduced by collective practices of denying inconvenient facts accompanied by instrumentalisation of ethical norms⁵. Overcoming this polarisation of stances is an obvious prerequisite for the establishment of a consistent policy for the resolution of the refugee issue: any policy lacking consistency cannot be effective. I believe, however, that this polarisation can be overcome not by way of more or less forced political compromises, but by agreeing on the “definition of the situation”, taking its ethical aspect into account.

In my opinion, the opposing sides of European discourse are failing to notice that they suggest different ways of treating a (jointly) misdiagnosed disease. Both sides attempt – in a more or less wishful manner – to solve the refugee issue as if it were an European issue. This is not the case.

It is not Europe that is at the centre of events, it is not Europe that the issue is mostly about, and it is not within Europe that the solution can be found. Europe has only suffered the consequences of the unresolved refugee issue. If the problem is not addressed at the global level, it will remain unresolved. This is impossible, however, without a wise and fair involvement of Europe.

5 The concept of cognitive dissonance and mechanisms for its reduction was introduced to social sciences by Leon Festinger (See also *A theory of cognitive dissonance*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA 1957). Festinger as a social psychologist, starting from analysis of individual behaviors explained process of bottom-up shaping collective views. It seems that, reference to this concept allows to explain also processes of top-down shaping collective views by public decision makers, experts and opinion-forming media. Behaviors and views of journalists, experts and politicians are subjected to similar defense mechanisms and rationalizations, like in case of „ordinary” citizens.

Inevitable migrations

Historically speaking, migrations, including intercontinental (global) ones, are a natural phenomenon. It is worth noting that according to the United Nations forecasts the world's population might increase by 2 billion by 2050, half of which is likely to occur in Sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, according to long-term weather forecasts, the detrimental changes in these areas of Africa will continue, further intensifying the already severe shortages of drinking water and making farming extremely difficult.

Is it no surprise then that the inhabitants of these areas emigrate and will continue to emigrate to seek a more friendly place to live?⁶ And can one assume that these migrations will evade Europe in particular – a continent with exceptionally favourable climatic conditions (even considering the steppe formation in its southern areas), with high living standard of the indigenous inhabitants, and, on top of that, whose population continues to decline? It is very likely that, in the long term, people will migrate to Europe by one way or another: whether from Africa, Asia Minor or other areas, regardless of political developments, including the emergence and course of armed conflicts. A belief that these migrations can be stopped by erecting walls and fences along national borders attests to a lack of imagination and to wishful thinking. It suffices to take a closer look at the population processes in Siberia, where a border guarded from both sides by the armies of Russia and China – two countries with pronounced totalitarian features – does not prevent the movement of the members of the increasing Chinese population to the areas of Russia that become desolate as a consequence of negative natural growth and domestic migration.

Hospitality of a host

A reflection on global migrations must take the ethical perspective into consideration, which should include the social teachings of the Church.

The Church acknowledges and respects the right to private property – including the right to own land, means of production, and various manufactured goods, as well as socially-owned property (goods owned by states, public goods). However, as pope John Paul II emphasised, above the property right there is a principle of the universal destination of earthly goods⁷. From

6 In 2015 UN estimated a global number of migrants at 250 millions of people.

7 See John Paul II, *Centessimus annus*, rozdz. 4 [in:] *Encykliki ojca Świętego Jana Pawła II*, t. II, Wydawnictwo św. Stanisława B.M. Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, Kraków 1996.

the transcendent perspective we are but the users of these goods – and this perspective is the basic foundation of social justice, which in the teachings of the Church includes making basic civilisational goods accessible to all. In extreme situations, i.e. when an innocent person suffers from hunger, one has a moral right to violate someone else's property to get food. The teachings of the Church also address the unique case of refugees fleeing from war-ridden areas, and prioritise the satisfaction of their basic life needs over the comfort or even fears of the societies among which they seek refuge. The nations and societies of Europe have everything they need to live. We live in prosperity and relative peace. Can a Christian claim that these goods are reserved only for us, Europeans, while the fate of other nations and societies is irrelevant, as they are a threat to us? This threat, note, has a number of different definitions: from a conformist concern about losing one's high standard of living as a result of sharing the prosperity with others, to existential dread of terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists.

Helping people in need and offering hospitality to newcomers are biblical attitudes presented in evangelical parables by the Good Samaritan and the good host. Both these attitudes represent Christian openness to others as fellow human beings, and to their needs. There is surely no isolation or separation in these attitudes.

It is worth noting, however, that hospitality does not prevent one from being a host, in fact the opposite is true – it further confirms one as a host. A host who opens the door of his house to guests and visitors is still the host, as it is him who sets the rules of *savoir-vivre* and makes sure that they are followed. Therefore the Christian attitude of openness to others, manifested by hospitality, among others, should not be confused with the realisation of an far-leftist “multi-kulti” ideology based on ethical relativism, which assumes that anyone who has been invited is by definition “at home” and can follow their own rules of social conduct whatever they may be, as all rules are equally good, no matter how different. In this view there are no better or worse cultures, just as there are no objective moral norms; the only thing that can be objectively said to be superior is the practice of mixing cultures over their separation.

It is worth bearing in mind, however, that numerous inhabitants of Western European countries spontaneously expressed hospitality towards immigrants. Perhaps it is thus the culture of secularising Austria or Germany manifests more Christianity than it might to both the supporters and critics of the idea of “secular Europe?” On the other hand, the willingness to surrender the

attributes of Christianity, e.g. the cross, so as not to “offend” newcomers attests to post-Christian nature of Western culture, whose imponderables are already in line with other values and symbols.

Powerlessness of European policy

For several years there have been large-scale military operations in Iraq and Syria, mostly targeting the civilian population. The criminal activities of the organisation that refers to itself as the Islamic State casts a grim shadow on the international community. It is not just about the criminal nature of this organisation and its genocidal plans, it is about the fact that these terrorists have access to assets enabling them to put these plans into practice. It is about the fact that they have buyers for their oil, they trade in robbed art objects, drugs, and even people, and that are able buy weapons (which they do not make on their own).

For a long time European societies and European public opinion have been, in essence, passively acknowledging the information about the crimes of Islamic terrorists against Christians and followers of other religions (e.g. Yazidis) committed in these territories. As Europeans, we also have little knowledge of the complexity of the Islamic world, and we struggle to understand the violence of terrorists who follow the radical Sunni denomination of Islam, who are also violent against the followers of Shia Islam or other Islamic branches⁸. Since the very beginning of the military operations, civilians have been fleeing from Africa and Asia Minor, as mentioned above, mainly to the neighbouring countries: Lebanon, Turkey, and others. Syrians amount to as much as a quarter of the population of Lebanon. Almost two million Syrians moved to camps in Turkey. The circumstances that triggered the process of migration from these camps to Europe – first by sea (Mediterranean Sea, Aegean Sea), and then by crossing the external borders of the European Union – are an issue that should be covered in a separate write-up. It is not my intention to provide a simplified account of the state of affairs, but it is undisputable that the following conditions contributed, among many others, to the development of this influx:

1. decisions of politicians who represent the international community to reduce funding for refugee camps located in territories in direct vicinity of military operation areas;

⁸ See: A. Skowron-Nalborczyk, *Syria gaśnie...*, op. cit., p. 33–34.

2. operation of organised criminal groups profiting from trafficking people to Europe, and the possible connections of these groups not only with mafias, but also with terrorist hubs;
3. real helplessness of the EU administration in the face of the developing migration crisis in the southern EU countries, such as Greece and Italy, which preceded the “migration of peoples” on the European continent⁹. This is evidenced, among others, by the events during the “negotiations” of the EU *establishment* with indebted Greece, which completely disregarded the migration issue, or the failure of the EU effort to solve the so-called problem of Lampedusa – a small Italian island, whose geographical location made it a destination of choice for a large number of boats from Libya engulfed in a civil war.

The most important task that the international community is facing is undoubtedly bringing about the collapse of the Islamic State and ending military operations in Syria and Iraq and in the vicinity of these countries (*vide* Libya). Europe i.e. primarily the European Union should be one of the key architects of the solution to this global problem, and should participate in the implementation of the necessary measures. The failure to undertake effective action¹⁰ not only leads to further violence on the territory occupied by Islamic State, but also increases the risk of acts of terrorism in Europe, either committed by the Islamic State or inspired by its successes. The Paris 2015 terrorist attacks explicitly confirm this.

Not whether but how to help

The way Europe handles this political and military problem (or, to put it differently, the extent of revealed helplessness) does not in any way nullifies the obligation to provide aid to refugees.

9 A significant cause of mentioned helplessness stems from assumptions of European migration policy that were operating before migratory crisis. They assumed, among others, full control of flow of people on external borders of UE and facilitation of movement between states of European Union (it appeals particularly to free flow of employees). See also: M. Duszczyk, *Polityka imigracyjna Unii Europejskiej oraz swobodny przepływ pracowników – ewolucja i teraźniejszość*, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warszawa 2010/2011.

10 In 2016 extensive, Russian and American military interventions were held. However – due to different interests of both powers – they did not solved „Syria issue”, but consolidated divisions and cemented (changeable in their extent) spheres of influences.

The right to such aid is the essence of having a refugee status guaranteed by international law ratified by a number European countries, including Poland, and the ability to enable the exercise of this right is one of the most important elements of collective order on a global scale¹¹. To challenge the obligation to provide refuge to refugees is, in fact, to challenge the foundations of this order and the universal right of people to live in peace. The axis of the public debate should then not whether to aid refugees, but how to do it in both ethical and effective manner. Unfortunately, the public debate, both at the European and Polish level (even though the reasons are different in either case), does not bring us any closer to precisising the prerequisites of such ethical and effective aid. In fact the opposite is true.

Who is a refugee

The initial flaw of the European discourse on the immigration influx is the lack of distinction between economic immigrants and refugees.

The increasing influx of economic immigrants is the outcome of the inevitable migratory processes mentioned above, while the increase in the number of refugees is the (obvious, but long overlooked) result of military operations on territories located not so far from Europe. The increasing migration wave is the outcome of the continuation of these armed conflict (overpopulation of refugee camps, no chances to return “home” in the near future, etc.) and of the sociotechnical – to some extent controlled, and to some extent spontaneous – “attaching” by economic immigrants to actual refugees.

There were attempts to “cover” in the discourse the organisational inability of the European institutions and public services to make such distinction at the stage of crossing the external EU borders by extending the ethical obligation to accept refugees to include all migrants *en bloc*. The decision-makers – also those who explicitly advocate the “humanitarian solution” – had become increasingly aware (in the face of the size of influx) of the inevitability of deporting migrants who do not have asylum rights. Hence the plans for mass deportations, also from Germany – a country most open to new immigrants. This also emphasised the key issue in distinguishing between economic immigrants and refugees: do people who escaped from armed conflict areas and were subsequently sent to refugee camps which they left on a voluntary basis to find a better life somewhere else have refugee status or not?

11 The key issues is here, according to international law, refugee’s right to asylum, i.e. temporary stay in another country, which is regulated by UN *Convention on Refugee Status* (so called Geneva Convention) from 1951, ratified by Poland in 1991.

This initial flaw in the official definition of the situation (not immigrants, but refugees) – a flaw the introduction of which the opinion-forming elites still fail to acknowledge – produced the following cognitive dissonance at the social perception level: who are the newcomers? Some media depicted them as “refugees from war-ridden areas” (mothers with children clad in traditional Arabic clothes, people with noticeable disabilities), while others showed “demanding immigrants” (young men dressed in fashionable European clothes and with decent amounts of money). It was a typical argument about semantics, that would not have existed, if the official discourse had simply acknowledged the diversity of the migrant migratory community from the very beginning. Considering all migrants to be refugees has also triggered a simple denial mechanism in many people, who responded with distrust and fear of strangers, which led them to believe that there were practically no refugees among the newcomers, and thus they can be denied aid as there is no such obligation to non-refugees.

When it became clear that this one-dimensional picture of the influx of illegal newcomers crossing the borders of European countries cannot be further maintained, the hypocrisy in distinguishing between refugees and economic immigrants became apparent. To give an example: the participants of the “migration of peoples” who left the refugee camps in Turkey are regarded as refugees, and as such are entitled to aid, instead of being deported when crossing the EU external borders. But when they are allocated to an immigrant centre within Europe under the planned quota system they actually lose their refugee status – they are to be deported to where they came from if they leave the centre and move to a country of their preference. While it is the eventuality of being deported that distinguishes an “ordinary” immigrant from a refugee. The latter cannot be deported, and must be given refuge instead, at least until the objective causes that made them leave their home disappear. This begs the question: why one is a refugee after leaving one camp (e. g. in Turkey), and ceases to be a refugee after leaving another one? It is worth noting that in some countries – e.g. in Macedonia, a typical transit state – the opposite is true: migrants from territories with no armed conflicts (Congo, Yemen, etc.) are not allowed to leave the camps.

These inconsistencies reveal that ethical standards underlying the obligation to provide aid to refugees are treated as means to an end: in some cases they are overextended, while in others they are excessively narrowed, depending on political interests or economic capabilities. Such “utilitarian” ethics cannot be axiological foundations for an effective migration policy.

Integration cannot be decreed

Forcing the proposal for allocating refugees based on quotas is a faulty solution for a yet another reason, if a stay in an immigrant centre is regarded not as a temporary refuge, but the outset of the process of integrating those in the centres “with Europe”. This is, in fact, an attempt to exercise bureaucratic control of a process that either develops on a society level, or does not develop at all. The essence of integration process is the gradual bringing closer of immigrant and host communities encouraged by public services and NGOs¹². This requires the positive attitude on both sides – a mutual “yes”. However, the concept of the allocation algorithm pushed by the German government and German high EU officials triggers, in fact, a mutual “no” scenario. In this scenario the opinion of immigrants on where they would like to live, nor the opinion of host societies on how many and who they would like to receive do not matter. How then one can expect that such a scenario will trigger integration processes?

Financial allocation, i.e. “money following a migrant” will not make any difference. Just as the integration process cannot be decreed by government, it cannot be purchased on the market of public services – integration is neither an administrative procedure nor a market transaction. It is a social process. It can and should be stimulated (by facilitating language learning, raising awareness, explaining cultural differences, etc.). In this case, however, organisations and public agencies act only as intermediaries.

Political correctness and incorrectness

The unwillingness to officially admit that not all participants of the “migration of peoples” are refugees combined with *ex post* initiation of procedures for distinguishing between refugees and economic migrants is just one of the manifestations of the hypocrisy and political correctness of European opinion-forming elites and decision-makers. This became more pronounced following the terrorist attacks in Paris, which severely undermined the sense of security of Europeans, and shaken the foundations of the official EU migration policy expressed by the motto “receiving refugees does not and will not be detrimental to our security”.

12 See description of integration activities towards immigrants undertaken in Poland by non governmental organizations in: quarterly „Trzeci Sektor” 2015, no. 35.

In politically correct terms terrorists are just terrorists: a separate species, people without culture, background, devoid (by politically correct descriptions) of any features pointing to their social identity and defined almost entirely by their terrorist actions. These terrorists appeared in Europe more or less the way Nazis emerged, in the politically correct take on the World War II, in Europe in the 1930s: they were manufactured by Adolf Hitler alone, while their nationality and the fact that they loyally contributed to the German Reich is not of significant relevance in this narrative. Similarly, the so-called Islamic State taking credit for the attacks is not relevant in determining the identity of the perpetrators the acts. It is also irrelevant that this terrorist organisation intends to use violence to establish a great caliphate with Sharia law, and haughty threatens Europe with war.

On the other hand, there are manifestations of political incorrectness that are equally blatant, when questionable behaviour of immigrants – such as the harassment and assaults on women on New Year’s Eve in Cologne and other German cities – is reduced to one aspect and related to the culture and religion of the perpetrators, while extending the responsibility to the entire population of migrant and ignoring the fact that many immigrant have explicitly dissociated themselves from this behaviour. In this view either Arabs or Muslims (at one’s discretion) are to blame, as, after, it is just the way they all are. There also seems to be a note of satisfaction in such views: as if finally, the cat is out of the bag.

Overcoming Eurocentrism

Considering the polarisation of views outlined above, and in view of the lack of consistency and the ineffectiveness of actions taken so far, in my opinion there are no other ways than to reject, in an intellectually and ethically sensitive way, and with a sense of responsibility for both the fate of refugees and the security of the citizens, the one-sided definitions of the situation, both “correct” and “incorrect”. Most importantly, as far the attitude towards the refugee issue is concerned, Eurocentrism and treating ethical norms as means to an end must be overcome.

What exactly is this Eurocentrism and “utilitarian” approach to ethics of each of the opposing sides? First, let’s examine these flaws on the side which refuses to receive refugees. It is easier to do so in this case. The refusal to receive refugees does not make them vanish. Consequently, proposals need to be made to pay Turkey for maintaining the refugees or for providing aid to

Syrians in their home country, which might even include military intervention, so as to keep the refugees away. The problem is that by refusing asylum to refugees, we give up our moral right to intervene at the site of the conflict, as such an intervention would serve our own interests only, and not those of the suffering Syrians or Iraqis.

On the other hand, the “hospitable” side does not express notable interest in intervention on the conflict site, as it would be a dangerous operation with active involvement in the armed conflict, while receiving refugees is regarded as a profitable investment: a remedy for a country’s own demographic issues, a way of acquiring new workforce to make efficient use of, and a means of cultural enrichment (a multi-kulti ideology). Such “utilitarian” approach combined with a sense of moral superiority (we are the “open” ones) leads to clearly paradoxical suggestions like shutting away from the “new” Europe (the “small Schengen” concept) in response to its shutting away, to some extent, from migrants¹³. Here, closing becomes a manifestation of openness.

Reciprocity is a prerequisite

Overcoming each version of Eurocentrism will make it possible to define the refugee issue in the right proportions (the “definition of the situation” introduced at the beginning of the article) and take adequate action taking into account: a) base the aid to refugees – both in the areas of armed conflict and in Europe – on solid humanitarian foundations; b) real involvement of Europe, in cooperation with the Muslim world, in the political and military process leading to complete “disarming” of the so-called Islamic State.

This peaceful solution should also guarantee the right to live in dignity, freedom and peace to Christians and followers of other religions in Syria, Iraq and all places where the Muslim population is predominant. At the same time, we must be prepared to receive Muslims on similar, fair and honest terms. These are two sides of the same coin.

I do not know what is the optimal variant of this “coexistence of cultures”. I know, however, that it must be founded on reciprocity¹⁴. Also, we should be

13 In 2017 differences in approach to refugee issue are strengthening support of decision makers of Old EU for officially reported proposal of Two Speed Europe. However it must be noted that key issue here is economic dimension connected with UE functioning in Eurozone.

14 Reciprocity seems to be a basic principle of social order and its validity. It is essential in difficult, conflict situations, while disclosing different and particularly contradicting interests.

prepared that that the volume of migration will be different depending on the direction. “Natural” migration flows are determined by population growth rates (positive in the Muslim world and, more broadly, in developing countries, and negative in prosperous Europe) and climate change referred to at the beginning of the article. We Europeans we will be hosts rather than migrants, and for this exact reason we have the right (and even a duty) to make sure that the principles of reciprocity are applied at the crossroads of cultures. This is Europe’s key civilisational task. To put it as briefly as possible, guaranteeing the right to life for Christians in Iraq or Syria is in this view a crucial part of establishing security and peace in Europe, while Europe’s aid to refugees from Iraq and Syria is essential for securing peace in Asia Minor and North Africa.

FROM PASSIVE TO ACTIVE SOCIAL POLICY. THE SHIFT IN THE SWEDISH REFUGEE ASSISTANCE SYSTEM

Introduction

The social security that European countries offer is one of the factors that attract refugees. The bases of this security are the Geneva Convention¹ signed by the EU member states, as well as the “welfare state” model prevalent in the countries of the West. This model emerged in western liberal democracies of the twentieth century, and is characterised by social and economic security provided by the institutions of the state². It should be borne in mind, however, that the concept of welfare includes a wide range of various aid systems, methods, and tools for implementing social policy. Generally speaking, there is a range of solutions spanning between universal welfare systems and residual social welfare systems.

In the former, all citizens are entitled to benefits, whose purpose is to provide an opportunity for development and enable living at a satisfying level. Such benefits are therefore long-term in nature. In the latter, benefits are available only to those in emergency situations, and cease to be provided as soon as the situation is resolved. The aim is to prevent the beneficiaries from becoming dependent on the aid³. A number of various types of welfare states span between

1 Convention on Refugee Status, signed in Geneva, July 28th, 1951 r., DzU 1991, nr 119, poz. 515.

2 H. Vad Jonsson, E. Onasch, S. Pellander, A. Wickstrom (ed.), *Migrations and welfare states: Policies, discourses and institutions*, „NordWel Studies in Historical Welfare State Research 3”, Nordic Centre of Excellence Nordwell, Helsinki, 2013, p. 11.

3 T. Hammar (2008), *Immigration to a Scandinavian welfare state: the case of Sweden*, [in:] Blomberg H. et al. (ed.) *Samaness and Diversity. The Nordic welfare State Model and Integration of Immigrants on the Labour Market*, SSKH Skriffter No. 21, Helsinki.

these two extremes. Gosta Esping-Andersen distinguishes the following types of welfare policies: the liberal one, which focuses on the responsibility and agency of an individual, and in which the role of the state is to prevent poverty, relying on the forces of the free market. This solution is characterised by a low level of decommodification and minimum social benefits. The conservative/Christian-democratic policy derives social security from the family, and therefore provides economic assistance on a family level, and intervenes only if a family and civil society are unable to fulfil their roles. This approach rejects the primacy of free market and bases social policy on the Catholic doctrine of social solidarity. The social-democratic policy is characterised by a high level of social security encompassing many aspects of the lives of citizens. Here, the security system is geared towards satisfying the needs of individuals and replaces families in their roles as caregivers and providers (*defamilisation*), and promotes solidarity and equality by counteracting free-market forces⁴. Nevertheless, many emphasise that these types of welfare states should be regarded as notional ones. Welfare states are in fact dynamic phenomena, and the solutions they apply undergo modifications and hybridisation processes in response to systemic, political, social, and economic developments⁵. Migration is one of the factors precipitating the transformation of welfare states. One example is the shift of emphasis of welfare states from rights to obligations, brought about, among others, by globalisation and mass character of immigration⁶. On the other hand, the type of social policy pursued by a welfare state affects its policy for the integration of immigrants and refugees⁷. The author of this article had an opportunity to observe the changes that have taken place over the last 30 years in the model of social policy and integration policy of Sweden – a country, which, until recently, was among the EU leaders in the number of received refugees, and which boasts the highest number of refugees per million inhabitants among the EU states⁸.

4 G. Esping-Andersen (1990), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princetown, N.J: Princetown University, p. 20–31; S. Rudolf (1974), *Ogólna charakterystyka koncepcji „państwa dobrobytu”*, Zeszyty Naukowe UŁ, „Nauki Ekonomiczne”, Seria III, z. 42, p. 15–17, p.21–22.

5 P. Kettun, K. Pettersen (2011), *Introduction: Rethinking Welfare State Models*, [in:] Kettun P., Pettersen K. (ed.), *Beyond Welfare State Models: Transnational Historical Perspective on Social Policy*, Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, p. 1–15.

6 A. Morissen, D. Sainsbury (2005), *Migrants Social Rights, Ethnicity and Welfare Regimes*, „Journal of Social Policy”, Vol. 34, Issue 4, p. 637–660.

7 D. Sainsbury (2006), *Immigrants’ Social Rights in Comparative Perspective: Welfare Regimes, Forms of Immigration and Immigration Policy Regimes*, „Journal of European Social Policy” 16 (3), p. 229–244.

8 C. A. Archer (2015) *The Welfare State and the Social Rights of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Comparative Perspective: The Cases of Sweden, Germany, and the United Kingdom*,

These observations prompted the author to enquire what is the impact of the characteristics of Swedish culture and the resulting models and tools of social policy on the integration of refugees. This article is an attempt to answer this question. To provide the answer, the author applied ethnographic methods of data collection: participant observation, interviews and autoethnography.

In Swedish universal welfare state

Swedish social policy has traditionally followed the social-democratic model. For years, it has been considered to be almost an exemplary universal welfare state. The Swedish model was founded on solidarity, redistribution, equality and universality. Following the principle of social solidarity, it was believed that the national income should be redistributed among all members of the society. It was maintained that benefits should not be used only as an aid in abandoning the social minimum. In the social-democratic model all citizens are entitled to social benefits (which are much more diverse than those in the residual model, as they include, e.g. education, training, etc.), whose purpose was to enable live at a satisfying level⁹. This goal was attempted by social protectionism: generous benefits, high minimum wages, a tax system geared towards universal welfare state structure, high involvement of trade unions, high levels of female employment, and gender equality¹⁰. The state was also regarded as an institution whose aim is to provide the citizens with the prerequisites for individual self-development. And so, in the 1960s and 1970s a number of reforms were implemented in Sweden with an aim to establish a society that guarantees fundamental freedom to an individual. This was to be accomplished by eliminating the economic constraints and dependencies between women and men, children and parents, older and younger generations. The reforms addressed the lives of students, young parents, older people and children (among others, corporal punishment was prohibited)¹¹.

[in:] <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/.../uuid:aafaf13b-5c53-4764-8224-94f5a8b>, [access 01.05.2017], p. 3, 72.

9 G. Brochman, A. Hagelund (ed.), (2010), *Velferdens grenser: Innvandringspolitikk og velferdsstat i Skandinavia 1945-2010*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, p. 30–40.

10 A. Morissens, D. Sainsbury (2005), „Migrants” *Social Rights...*, op. cit., p. 637–660.

11 A. Bielak (2017), *Sztokholm – europejska stolica samotnych. Jak Szwedzi stali się zakładnikami własnej niezależności*, Gazeta Wyborcza, [in:] <http://weekend.gazeta.pl/weekend/1,152121,20064106,sztokholm-europejska-stolica-samotnych-jak-szwedzi-stali.html>, [access 07.06.2017]; A. Kryszczuk [01.03.2017] *Szwedzka teoria miłości*, Polska The Times, [in:] <http://www.polskatimes.pl/kultura/film/a/szwedzka-teoria-milosci,11839729/>, [access 01.05.2017]; M. Piwowar [07.02.2017]

This led to *defamilisation*, i.e. replacing the caregiving and aid role of a family by the state¹².

This universal model of social policy affected the policy for the integration of immigrants, who began to arrive in Sweden after World War II, when new labour was required for the dynamically developing economy. At the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, Sweden became the fourth richest country in the world. As early as in 1946 an organised hiring effort of workers from Western Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium and Greece was made. Between 1969 and 1970, approximately 100,000 workers from Finland arrived in Sweden. During this period, families of the economic migrants began to arrive, as well as refugees from, among others, the Czech Republic, Poland, Chile, Iraq, Uganda, Vietnam, and the former Yugoslavia. Refugee status was also granted to a large number of Kurds, and refugees from African countries. The immigration peaked in the 1980s¹³.

Since the post-WW II period, these groups were integrated with the Swedish society in an inclusive manner, based on the *ius domicilii*¹⁴ law. It was relatively easy to obtain a residence permit, and the process was quick, while the definition of a refugee was broad and included both the Geneva Convention criteria, and the criterium of protection for humanitarian reasons, while the law enabled various family reunification possibilities. The economic success brought forward the expansion of the social system, which also included newcomers from abroad. The Swedish state provided immigrants and refugees with housing, health insurance, language courses, as well as a whole range of social benefits. The state also funded learning mother tongue in Swedish schools, and subsidised cultural and religious activities¹⁵. A special law was introduced, which provided immigrants the right to learn Swedish at work free of charge for 240 hours of work, and the right for their children to learn their mother tongue. Sweden was the first country in the world to grant the right to vote in local elections to immigrants, and the right to an interpreter and to information in official institutions. These actions were accompanied by coordinated social campaigns aimed at the society, and by public

Dokument. Szwedzka teoria miłości, Rzeczpospolita, (in:) <http://www.rp.pl/Film/30207990-9-Dokument-Szwedzka-teoria-milosci.html#ap-1>, [access 01.05.2017].

12 G. Esping-Andersen (1990), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princetown, NJ: Princetown University, p. 20–31.

13 E. Muciek (2009), *Wielokulturowość w Szwecji – projekt polityczny i praktyka społeczna*, TeKa Komitatu Politologii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych – OLP PAN, 4, 52–62.

14 Condition for naturalization is to inhabit a given country for a certain amount of time.

15 D. Sainsbury (2012), *Welfare States and Immigrant Rights: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., p. 85.

consultations, which also included immigrant organisations. Anti-discrimination laws – a law prohibiting discrimination and incitement to ethnic hatred – were also introduced. Labour market regulations were adjusted to the needs of the immigration state: the state immigration authority, agencies for immigrants, and the council of immigrants were established, among others. Newspapers and magazines started to be issued in 60 languages, including “simple Swedish” (*Pa latt svenska*). Immigrant radio and television stations were also established. The outcome was a coordinated system of legal protection of immigrants comprising parliamentary committees, notices, draft acts, a social insurance parliamentary committee, laws, regulations, and provisions of the state immigration authority. This established the principles of migration and asylum policy to be implemented at the municipality level¹⁶.

It is estimated that despite these facilitations it took a foreigner as much as about seven years on average to relatively adjust to living in Sweden. It is believed that the roots of this problem lie in the deep individualism of Swedish society, deepened even more by the universal welfare state policy¹⁷. In their pursuit of economic independence and self-fulfilment Swedes have become a society of loners, where every other member of the population lives alone, and one in four dies alone¹⁸. It is difficult for a newcomer to integrate into such a society. As Erik Gandini, the director of the famous documentary “The Swedish Theory of Love” puts it:

Immigrants arriving in Sweden get accommodation and health insurance, and start to learn the language. They lack just one thing: flesh and bone Swedes. These, in turn, pay taxes, some of which goes to help immigrants. This paying makes them believe that they care. This approach is most often alien to immigrants, who then feel lost in the Swedish reality. On the one hand, they see that they are welcome, on the other hand, this institutional hospitality is to some extent depersonalised.

16 J. W Dacyl (2000), *Podstawy prawne szwedzkiej polityki migracyjnej i uchodźczej*, [in:] „Imigranci i społeczeństwa przyjmujące”, J. Zamojski (ed.), Warszawa, p. 76–106; *Szwecja – kraj i ludzie. Informacja dla imigrantów*, SIV, Varnamo, 1989, p. 47; M. Cuttus (2000), *Uchodźcy świata 2000 – 50 lat pomocy humanitarnej*, UNHCR, Warszawa, p. 350–356.

17 Ch. Hampten-Turner (2003) *Siedem kultur kapitalizmu*, Kraków, p. 246–269.

18 M. Piwowar [07.02.2017], *Dokument „Szwedzka teoria miłości”*, [in:] <http://www.rp.pl/Film/302079909-Dokument-Szwedzka-teoria-milosci.html#ap-1>, [access 01.05.2017].

At the same time, the author emphasises that the lone Swede is, in a way, the guarantee of tolerance:

Even though xenophobia is on the increase in Sweden – the right-wing Sweden Democrats has the more than twenty percent support – the majority of the population continue to maintain left-wing views and respect the otherness of their neighbours. “You are free be a Muslim or gay or whoever you want to be, as long as this does not affect me”¹⁹.

This attitude is typical of societies referred to by Geert Hofstede as individualistic. Such societies are open and tolerate diversity, but limit these attitudes to public life. In private life, the “my house is my castle” policy applies²⁰.

The author of this article had the opportunity to experience the problems with integration in Sweden noted above. In 1989 he applied for refugee status in Sweden²¹. He was accommodated, together with other refugees, in a centre, where he and his family were provided with all the necessary facilities and social benefits. The refugees had plenty of everything except contact with Swedes, which was reduced to extremely rare events of encountering someone in the street and exchanging greetings. Extensive studies revealed, in fact, that the feeling of isolation is a common experience among immigrants in Sweden. It particularly affects those that come from collectivist cultures, like the people of the Middle East. The people of the East are open and outgoing, and highly appreciate extensive family and social relationships. Swedes, on the other hand, are privacy-valuing individualists who, apart from closest family, maintain in adult life close contacts with one or two school friends on average. This makes integration much more difficult, despite the high acceptance of cultural diversity by Swedes and the high standard of social security offered to newcomers²².

19 A. Bielak (2017), *Sztokholm – europejska stolica samotnych. Jak Szwedzi stali się zakładnikami własnej niezależności*, Gazeta Wyborcza, [w:] <http://weekend.gazeta.pl/weekend/1,152121,20064106,sztokholm-europejska-stolica-samotnych-jak-szwedzi-stali.html>, [access 01.05.2017].

20 G. Hofstede, G.J. Hofstede (2007), *Kultury i organizacje*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, Warszawa, p. 66–77.

21 I came to study in Poland at the end of 1987. At an early date pressure of regimes in Syria and Iraq caused, that Kurds from that countries started to have in Poland visa nad passport problems. Elections in 1989 did not improve our situations because in result of them Poland withdrew support for socialist developing countries and thereby limited support for students from Middle East. Since my last visit at home was disturbed by Assad’s secret police, I knew I can not go back to Syria. I went to Sweden where I applied for a refugee status.

22 M. Woźniak (2014), *Współcześni Asyryjczycy i Aramejczycy. Bliskowschodni chrześcijanie w poszukiwaniu tożsamości narodowej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź, p. 130–157.

During his stay in Sweden, the author of the article also realised that the individualism of Swedes is one among many barriers to integration. As he observed, another impediment had the form of wrapping the refugees in a cocoon of institutional and social support, which made them lose their motivation to take up employment. And it is the workplace that is the key area where refugees have the chance to get to know the natives of the host country and the basic code of behaviour, so as to integrate with the society of the new home country. This problem deepened even more with the children of immigrants. The state supported refugee parents with generous family allowances, which prompted some to be parents for a living, which demotivated them even more to take up any job. This passiveness was further increased by the “institutionalisation of refugees”²³, i.e. a whole range of government agencies and NGOs seeking to help newcomers to best adapt to living in Sweden. Regrettably, this often made institutions replace the refugees in coping with life tasks, which resulted in dependence on institutional support and learned helplessness²⁴.

These experiences prompted the author to return to a country where he saw empty shelves and bleak streets and yet a country that was closer to collectivist Middle Eastern cultures. He returned to Poland, which was a cultural bridge between the individualistic west and the collective east²⁵. This experience made the author realise that it is the cultural proximity between the host country and the origin country, and the willingness of both the newcomers and the hosts to establish private relationships that is one of the key prerequisites for successful cultural integration. The author interviewed people from the Middle East who live in Poland, and concluded that it is by entering into private relationships with Poles, getting married and entering Polish families they feel integrated with the European culture. At the same time, their Western counterparts often do not integrate: they are tolerated of course, they are provided with financial support, but they keep living in Middle Eastern enclaves, in cultural ghettos with no deeper contact with the natives of the host countries. Living in immigrant families they are not motivated to make effort towards full integration, And the extensive social support often discourages them from undertaking professional activity, which is the prerequisite for integration in a new society²⁶.

23 D. Wozniak (2014), *Institutionalization in the Palestinian Refugee Camps of Lebanon*, „Anthos”, Vol. 6, Issue 1.

24 E. Muciek (2009), *Wielokulturowość w Szwecji – projekt polityczny i praktyka społeczna*, Teza Komitetu Politologii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych – OLP PAN, 4., p. 55–62.

25 M. Kamiński (2015), *Koniec syryjskiego marzenia*, CHIDUSZ Magazyn żydowski, 21 – 8/2015 <https://chidusz.com/koniec-syryjskiego-marzenia/>, [access 10.09.2017].

26 F. Jomma (2001), *Kurdowie i Kurdystan*, Wydawnictwo L&L i DJ, Gdańsk, p. 129–134, 153–179.

Swedish shift towards active social policy

The above shortcomings of universal social policy prompted Swedes to introduce to their model some elements of active social policy characteristic for the residual model of social aid. An attempt was made to replace the long-term material aid that promoted dependence with short-term support that encouraged activity. The provision of new benefits was contingent on taking up education, improving professional skills, or demonstrating effort in searching for a job. More attention was paid to participation in social life and, in particular, in professional life (e.g. by recognising the educational background of refugees acquired in the countries of origin) instead of providing them with cash benefits²⁷. This shift was a long-term process. In the 1980s, i.e. the peak of immigrant influx to Sweden, the country entered economic recession, and opinions that the social policy model needs to change become more widespread. The foundations Swedish universal social welfare model were first challenged in 1991-1994 when a centre-right coalition held office. At that time, the issue of dependence on social welfare and prevalence of immigrants among beneficiaries of social welfare became a topic of public debate²⁸. This brought forward reforms, such as limiting daily cash benefits for refugees (it is worth noting, however, that the cuts in social aid were simultaneous with the economic slowdown of the Swedish economy and also affected other Swedish citizens)²⁹. The accession of Sweden to the European Union was perceived to be a way out of the economic crisis. Sweden became a member of the EU in 1995, and this year is considered to be the starting date of the process of shifting away from the Swedish welfare state model, and the beginning of the end of the policy of generosity towards immigrants³⁰.

The issue started to re-emerge with increasing intensity together with the economic crisis of the 2000s. Since 2008, anti-immigrant and anti-refugee opinions have been present in the Swedish political discourse. This led to the entrance

27 M. Rymśa (2004), *Reformy społeczne lat dziewięćdziesiątych*, [in:] M. Rymśa (ed.), *Reformy społeczne. Bilans dekady*, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa, p. 223–261.

28 K.N. Bredihal (2011), *Ethnic diversity, social policy and the Scandinavian welfare states: Similar or different policy responses?*, Aalborg University, p. 3.

29 D. Sainsbury (2012), *Welfare States and Immigrant Rights: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., p. 93–100.

30 R.M. Czarny (2002), *Szwecja w Unii Europejskiej*, Kielce, p. 167; D. Mitrega (1996), *Czy nadal państwo dobrobytu – zagrożenia i wyzwania dla modelu szwedzkiego*, [in:] E. Okońska-Horodyńska (ed.), *Socjalne aspekty społecznej gospodarki rynkowej*”, Akademia im. Karola Adamięckiego, Katowice, p. 131.

of Sweden Democrats, a right-wing party, to the parliament in 2014, first time in the post-war history of Sweden³¹. This was also a period of initiating a public debate on the dependency of immigrants on social welfare. In 2008–2009 a draft reform of the system of aid for refugees and immigrants was debated, and the reform entered into force in December 2010 with the name “Introduction of newly arrived immigrants to the labour market – individual responsibility with occupational support”. The reform introduced the so-called introductory benefit that the Swedish Government presented as *a new benefit identical for everyone regardless of the location they live in Sweden, and paid to newcomers if they actively participate in the introductory activities*³².

The author of this article interviewed Swedish employment services specialists who had worked in the implementation of this reform among refugees and immigrants. The interviewees specialise in occupational integration of individuals who were granted national or international protection in Sweden (a refugee status, tolerated stay, temporary protection, and others). Depending on the type of protection, the specialists decide on the type of assistance available to their clients. The interviewees emphasised that within the reform, a system of integration of refugees referred to as “Heteblaring” (*establishment*) was introduced in 2010. It was no longer sufficient to be an asylum seeker To participate in this system. One had to receive a refugee status instead. This system regards the situation of a refugee as a whole, that is if a refugee is in Sweden with relatives, the specialist works with the entire family, not with the individual alone. First the specialist determines a culturegram unique for each refugee, i.e. a map of plans, formal qualifications, professional experience, current mental, intellectual and physical abilities and limitations, age, origin, relations with family, relations with members of his or her religious and national group in Sweden, as well as other points important in terms of effective integration. The integration specialist assists families with children in getting allowance, helps persons who live alone with housing problems (renting a flat in Sweden is very costly, a refugee living alone would not be able to pay the rent on his/her own), and assists in recognising diplomas. The interviewees also pointed out that another key aspect of “Heteblaring” is to

31 C A. Archer (2015), *The Welfare State and the Social Rights of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Comparative Perspective: The Cases of Sweden, Germany, and the United Kingdom*, [in:] <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/.../uuid:aafaf13b-5c53-4764-8224-94f5a8b>, [access 01.05.2017, p. 6].

32 K.N. Bredihal (2011), *Ethnic diversity, social policy and the Scandinavian welfare states: Similar or different policy responses?*, Aalborg University, p. 9, see: Government Offices of Sweden, December 2009.

reinforce the assets of a refugee so as to facilitate the entry to the labour market. The task of integration specialists is to assist refugees in the recognition of their diplomas, which is much easier for those with higher education today than in the 1990s. Most professional certificates need to be approved by the Swedish Ministry of Higher Education. Diplomas issued in the European Union states are an exception as they are automatically recognised by the ministry. This also applies to some fields of study taken outside the EU (e.g. a medical diploma from a Syrian university does not need additional recognition)³³. Nevertheless, vast majority of diplomas issued outside the European Union require recognition in Sweden. Still, the Swedish system is here to assist as well. A dedicated unit in the ministry analyses the diploma, evaluates its adequacy relative to a Swedish diploma, identifies which subjects are missing in the refugee's diploma, and suggests specific supplementary education. That way the refugee does not need to graduate once again, but instead completes appropriate supplementary courses.

The interviewees noted that following a positive verification of educational background, refugees are enrolled in a two-year vocational language course. They are paid a bonus to their salary for participating in the course and making progress in learning. The salary is funded by the state as a remuneration for work. It needs to be emphasised that in the today's Swedish assistance system refugees are no longer passive beneficiaries of aid, but are given benefits as a salary the work they perform. The system also makes sure that it is also profitable for an employer to hire an entry level job refugee. The government funds 100% of a refugee's salary during the first two years of employment, and 85% during the third year. First two years constitute apprenticeship, i.e. the employer is required to train the refugee during this period. The apprenticeship is particularly useful for refugees with no qualifications. The employer is required to provide training, while government covers the costs of it. If the refugee is hired by the employer following three years of apprenticeship, and continues to work at least for another six months, the refugee is regarded to be an integrated professional and is not reassigned to a refugee program in case of losing a job, but has a right to receive unemployment benefits on the same grounds as Swedish nationals. As employers are able to hire an employee for three years without any costs, it is not difficult for a refugee to find a job.

33 It stems from the fact that medical studies in Syria are run at high level, i.e. equal or higher than at Swedish universities. It is a big convenience for educated refugees who are trying to enter Swedish labour market. However this situation is an exception.

The refugee, in turn, is not exposed to the devastating effects of long-term unemployment, has an opportunity to learn Swedish professional culture, gets to know new people at work, integrates with new culture, keeps up to date his/her professional skills, and acquires new ones. This greatly increases his/her future chances in the open labour market. The interviewed specialists, who had been working with refugees for many years (some of them had been refugees themselves) speak highly of the new system. They remark that the government, employers, and refugees are satisfied with it, and there is no shortage of people willing to hire and to work. They say that many of those who work with refugees maintain that the new system works. Naturally, there will always be some refugees who, for various reasons (contingencies, health, personality, age) will not find any job that suits them. Such people are obviously provided with financial aid, but in a much lower amount compared to a salary.

Summary

The author of this article has attempted to answer the question what is the impact of the characteristics of Swedish culture and the resulting models and tools of social policy on the integration of refugees. In the Swedish social-democratic model of social policy the aim of the state was to guarantee economic independence of the citizens from traditional social structures so as to provide them with the prerequisites for broadly defined self-fulfilment. These assumptions were rooted in the individualism of Swedish society, and their implementation made it even more profound. While individualistic societies are very tolerant to diversity and are open to others, this is limited only to the public sphere. The private sphere is reserved for a small group of closest friends and family members. Thus, despite the tolerance, it is difficult for strangers to fully integrate into such societies. This is also true in case of immigrants in Sweden. Its extensive network universal social assistance, which demotivates immigrants to enter the labour market is yet another barrier to integration. After all, it is the workplace that is an environment where an immigrant has an opportunity to interact with native Swedes and integrate with their culture. The relationship between a social policy model and immigration is reciprocal – the social policy model impacts the immigrant and refugee integration policy, and immigration affects the social policy. This is also true in case in Sweden, where some aspects of a universal model of social aid prevented immigrants from fully integrating,

which, coupled with mass immigration, prompted a policy shift towards active solutions. The author evaluates this Swedish shift towards active social policy to be a successful one. It encourages refugees to enter the labour market fast, and consequently become an independent individual in a new society, while establishing relationships with its members. This facilitates the integration of refugees in Sweden.

MIGRATION AND THE AGEING OF THE POLISH POPULATION: CHALLENGES AND CONSEQUENCES

Introduction

The recent decades have witnessed an increase in migrations from North Africa, Central Asia, and Middle East to the countries of the European Union. This increase can be attributed to a number of factors of various background: globalisation, some countries undergoing demographic transition, armed conflicts, and social and political changes¹.

Migrations to Europe from the Middle East and North Africa were the outcome of armed conflicts, ethnic and religious persecution, and natural disasters². Escalation of armed conflicts and political strife devastates the economies of affected countries, which degrades the conditions of living, which in turn further boosts migration. As Fuad Jomma points out, since the beginning of the conflict as many as 8 million citizens of Syria alone have become refugees both internally and externally displaced³. Some of those who were forced to leave their home countries as a result of war, poverty, hunger, or persecution seek help, safety, and, in some cases, a new place to live in the countries of the European Union.

1 R. Majewski (2016), *Wektory współczesnych migracji międzynarodowych*, [in:] F. Jomma, A. Linka (ed.), *Polska i Europa wobec kryzysu imigracyjnego. W poszukiwaniu złotego środka*, Szczecin, p. 13.

2 F. Jomma (2016), *Společno-ekonomiczne i polityczne przyczyny uchodźstwa do Europy na przykładzie wybranych państw Bliskiego Wschodu*, [in:] F. Jomma, A. Linka (ed.), *Polska i Europa wobec kryzysu imigracyjnego. W poszukiwaniu złotego środka*, Szczecin, p. 97.

3 Ibidem, p. 96.

At the same time, European countries struggle with the problem of population ageing, with fertility rates for many years being below the replacement rate, coupled with increasing life expectancy. According to demographic forecasts Europe will be the only continent whose population will continue to decline in the next decades.

Poland is among the countries whose population ageing will become most severe. To maintain the current pace of economic development, and to meet the increasing need for care services for dependent seniors will force a shift away from the homogeneous structure of the society by receiving immigrants from various parts of the world. Compared to its neighbouring countries Poland is not a particularly attractive destination for economic migrants, as salaries are lower and living standards are generally inferior to those in the countries of the "old EU". Furthermore, the Polish social welfare system does not provide aid to immigrants to the extent available in the countries of Western Europe. Polish refugee policy is also very restrictive: it is difficult for immigrants in Poland, in particular those coming from Asia and North Africa, to legalise their stay or obtain a status that would enable normal social and economic life⁴.

This article presents different dimensions of migrations, and the consequences of the selected aspects of this process in Poland. It analyses issues relating to the necessity to supplement insufficient labour force, including the need for the carers for seniors.

Ageing of the Polish population

Ageing of a population is triggered by two key factors: increasing life expectancy, and fertility falling below the replacement rate. Since 1990 Poland has been in a sub-replacement fertility period: the fertility rate has ranged between 1.22 and 1.4 for the last 27 years⁵. In the 1960s, Polish women gave birth to approximately three children on average, while in the 1980s 2.42 children on average⁶. While the average life expectancy substantially increased in the 20th century, since births surpassed deaths the population balance was significantly positive. Post-war baby boomers are now becoming old, and those born in 1975–1985 had not followed the model of reproduction of their parents and grandparents, which substantially increases the percentage of the elderly in Poland's population.

4 A. Górny, I. Grabowska-Lusińska et al. (2010), *Transformacja nieoczywista. Polska jako kraj imigracji*, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, p. 16, 103–105.

5 GUS (2016), *Małżeństwa oraz dzietność w Polsce*.

6 World Bank Data (2016), <http://data.worldbank.org/>, [access 10.02.2017].

In the middle of the second decade of the 21st century, there are more than 508 million people living in the European Union. Children and youth (0–19 years old) comprise almost 21% of the population, people of working age (20–64 years old) account for 60%, and people over 65 years old constitute 18.9% of the population⁷. While seniors accounted for approximately 16% of the total population of Poland in the same period, by 2035 the percentage of the elderly will increase to more than 24%, and, according to demographic forecasts, this percentage will reach as much as 32.7% in 2050⁸.

Population ageing is a typical feature of highly developed and developing countries. In 2050, the median age in the European Union countries will be 46.2 years old. Poland will be among the countries with the highest level of this factor. According to demographic forecasts the highest median age will be in Germany (50), Slovakia (51), Portugal (51) and Poland (49)⁹.

The reversal of these projected demographic trends is contingent upon the following three factors: fertility rate increase, decrease in life expectancy, or positive balance of external migration of Poland at a level substantial enough so that it affects the demographics. The majority of forecasts maintain that the first two factors are unlikely to occur. According to the second demographic transition theory the population will continue to decline, and by the middle of the 21st century, there will be almost 4 million fewer people living in Poland compared to 2016. This theory maintains that the populations of developed countries undergo a change in migration patterns – the directions reverse, and a country from which emigrants leave becomes a country that receives immigrants¹⁰.

Migration structure

An analysis of the structure of migrations of the last 50 years reveals a substantial negative migration balance. After 1990, there has been a noticeable immigration trend inbound to Poland, even though this period also witnessed high

7 Eurostat (2017) http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Population_statistics_at_regional_level/pl#.C5.9Arednie_trwanie_.C5.BCycia, [access 01.05.2017].

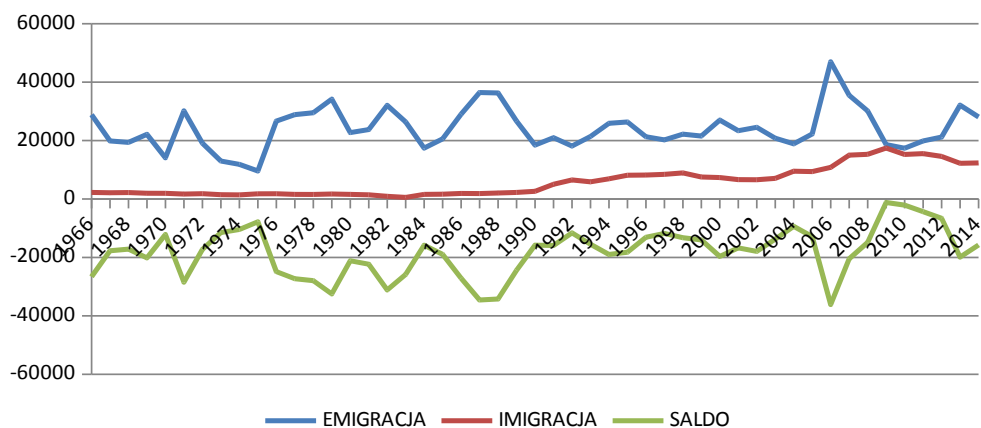
8 GUS (2014), *Prognoza ludności na lata 2014–2050*.

9 Ibidem.

10 „The demographic transition means specific, historic process of changes – reproduction of the population connected with modernization of societies. In the narrower sense, emphasizing the quantitative aspect of this phenomenon, the demographic transition depends on radical lowering of the birth and death rates, initially accompanied by increase in the natural population growth rate, and next in its systematic decline”, Okólski M. (2005), *Demografia*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, p. 125.

emigration of Polish citizens to foreign countries. The greatest outflux in the last 20 years occurred following Poland's accession to the European Union. This migration was economic in nature, and is thus different from migrations in the 1980s, which were also politically motivated to some extent. According to a report by Polish Central Statistical Office (GUS), in 2015 more than 2.3 million Polish citizens lived outside Poland. The vast majority of emigrants were staying in the countries of the European Union, and the main destinations included Great Britain – 720 000, Germany – 655 000, Holland – 112 000, and Ireland – 111 000¹¹.

Chart 1. External migration balance in Poland in 1966–2014



Source: Polish Central Statistical Office (2015) *Main directions of emigration and immigration in 1966–2014* (permanent residence migrations).

Table 1. Number of persons with valid documents confirming the right to stay on the territory of the Republic of Poland (as at 1.01.2017)

CITIZENSHIP ¹²	CHN	ITA	VNM	RUS	BLR	DEU	UKR	OTHER	TOTAL
PERMANENT STAY	561	198	2419	3646	7716	530	24322	11816	51,208
EU LONG-TERM RESIDENT	894	-	2192	489	490	-	3183	3350	10,598
TEMPORARY	5523	-	5333	3655	3009	-	75404	27224	120,148
EU CIT. PERM. RES.	-	780	-	-	-	1848	-	4,772	7,400
EU CIT. STAY REGISTRATION	-	6343	-	-	-	21546	-	42836	70,725

11 GUS (2016), *Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach czasowej emigracji z Polski w latach 2004–2015*.

12 Three-letter shortcuts of states names according to ISO 3166-1 alfa-3 norms.

EU CIT. FAMILY MEMBER PERMANENT STAY	-	-	-	12	16	-	22	28	78
EU CIT. FAMILY MEMBER STAY	45	-	7	79	26	-	137	404	698
CITIZENSHIP	CHN	ITA	VNM	RUS	BLR	DEU	UKR	OTHER	TOTAL
ASYLUM	-	-	-	-	1	-	-		1
REFUGEE STATUS	12	-	4	415	115	-	22	738	1,306
SUBSIDIARY PROTECTION	1	-	1	1587	8	-	75	239	1,911
TOLERATED STAY	3	-	220	2	2	-	6	75	308
STAY DUE TO HUMANITARIAN REASONS	3	-	93	698	45	-	286	709	1,837

Source: compilation of data of the Office for Foreigners on the number of procedures involving foreigners in 2016. <https://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/zestawienia-roczne/>

According to the data of the Office for Foreigners, at the beginning of 2017 there were 266 218 foreigners in Poland who applied for legalisation of their stay. The most numerous group comprises those who obtained the right to temporary stay; among more than 120 000 immigrants Ukrainians account for more than a half. More than 51 000 foreigners obtained permanent stay permit. This also includes people from Ukraine and Belarus. 70 000 approved applications related to the registration of stay of the citizens of European Union countries.

As of 1st January 2017, 1306 people enjoy refugee status, 415 of whom were the citizens of the Russian Federation, and 115 were Belarusians. Subsidiary protection was granted to 1911 people, vast majority of whom were the citizens of Russia. For humanitarian reasons, 1837 people were granted a residence permit. In 2016, chiefs of Border Guard Units issued 103,986 refusals to enter to the territory of the Republic of Poland. The largest number of refusals applied to Russian citizens: more than 64 000 decisions, which accounted for 62% of all refusals. Ukrainians are the second most numerous group of nationals who were refused entry to Poland. They comprise 22% (22,865) of the total number of refusals¹³.

Not all foreigners who intend to legalise their stay are granted positive decisions. In 2016 alone, voivodes of Polish provinces issued a total of 9527 refusals

13 The Foreigners Issues Office, figures concerning proceedings conducted towards foreigners in 2016.

of temporary stay. The refusals were most often given to Ukrainian citizens – a total of 5882 negative decisions. It is worth noting that the citizens of this country submitted the most applications¹⁴. The remaining countries with the greatest numbers of refusals are India, China, Pakistan and Vietnam. Ukrainian citizens are also the most numerous group when it comes to refusals of permanent stay, followed by the citizens of Belarus, and Russia. It is worth noting that the number of refusals is generally proportional to the number of submitted applications, i.e. there is no nationality group which is particularly marginalised.

Bearing in mind that it is not likely that the main reasons for increased migration to Poland will be eliminated, it can be expected that the today's migratory trends continue in the next years. It is crucial to establish a system of social assistance and health care relating to the reception, aid and, and integration of a growing number of foreigners¹⁵.

Migration and the labour market

Economic migration is undertaken mostly by young people who can afford to take the related risks. Older people and people of working age whose jobs are not mobile in the labour market remain in the home country. 1970s and 1980s baby boomers left Poland, while their parents, who are entering or will soon enter old age remained in the country.

The demand for care services for post-war baby boomers will increase over the years. As caretaking requires direct contact and the presence of the carer, in the event of a health crisis the following scenarios may occur. The first scenario assumes that the emigrants will return to Poland to take care of the members of their families. The period of providing care depends on the nature of the condition of the caretaker and the resources available, and may span from a few months to as many as several years¹⁶. Another scenario assumes that the care will be provided by adequate professionals or companies, and the costs will be borne by the senior or the members of his/her family. Yet another proposal assumes that the provision of care will be delegated to social or health care institutions. Regardless of the solution, adequate resources must be provided to enable the provision of care services. While funds and facilities are necessary prerequisites,

14 Ibidem.

15 S. Castels, M.J. Miller (2011), *Migracje we współczesnym świecie...*, op. cit., p. 24–25.

16 For more information see at Iwański R., (2016), *Opieka długoterminowa nad osobami starszymi.*, CeDeWu, Warszawa.

human resources are the key factor. Even though professional providers of social care and professionals employed in nursing homes are required to have adequate qualifications, the public sector labour market values such jobs at a very low level. Professional caretakers employed in the social aid sector usually earn salaries slightly higher than the minimum salary for a full-time job. The situation is slightly better for nurses employed at health care units which provide treatment and care services for people over 65 years of age¹⁷.

If care is not provided directly by family members, a caretaker needs to be hired, which requires adequate financial resources paid either from private or public funds. There are two types of service providers on the private market for care services. The first type comprises businesses, either one-person or multi-person, which pay the necessary taxes and contributions. The second type includes caregivers who provide services without registering their businesses. The latter includes certain percentage of immigrants, mainly from Ukraine¹⁸. Similarly, thousands of Polish citizens (mostly women) provide such services in Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and other Western European markets¹⁹.

The public sector is based on people providing work pursuant to an employment agreement. In large cities there is a noticeable issue with finding an adequate number of people willing to work in aid and care institutions. This is due mainly due to low salaries. The remunerations are not appealing, in particular in large agglomerations, where unemployment is low and the labour market offers less demanding and stressful jobs that pay more. The gap in this segment of the labour market can be filled by economic immigrants. The structure of the labour market in highly developed countries shows that wage demands rise when the unemployment rate decreases, and those sectors that are unable to compete for an employee start to face the problem of staff shortages. The experiences of countries at a higher stage of economic development, including the experiences with the labour market, indicate that economic immigrants, coming mainly from countries with a similar education system and cultural background, fill this gap in the labour market²⁰.

17 GUS (2016), The structure of remuneration according to professions.

18 M. Kindler (2008), „Niewidoczna” praca – ukraińskie migrantki pracujące w charakterze pomocy domowych w Polsce, [in:] Słany K. (ed.), *Migracje kobiet. Perspektywa wielowymiarowa*, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 209–221.

19 Z. Kawczyńska-Butrym (2008,) *Polskie emigrantki we Włoszech*, [w:] Bryk D., Rożnowski B., Zięba M.St. (ed.), *Migracja do Włoch. Próba podejścia interdyscyplinarnego*, Migravalue, Lublin, p. 61–70.

20 A. Górny, I. Grabowska-Lusińska et al. (2010), *Transformacja nieoczywista...*, op. cit., p. 23–25. S. Castels, M.J. Miller (2011), *Migracje we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa, p. 24–25.

The citizens of the countries of our region (Belarus, Ukraine) supplement the existing and future shortages in some sectors of the economy – construction, agriculture, horticulture and care services. It is crucial to adopt adequate policy relating to economic migrants – a policy that will counteract the formation of ghettos while promoting integration and preventing crimes and violations relating to working conditions and the payment of salaries²¹.

The anticipated process of further aging of the Polish population will bring forth an increase in the average age of the population in the coming years. Moreover, due to the low fertility rate, which has remained unchanged since the 1990s, the population of Poland will decrease in the coming decades. The age structure will undergo a substantial change, following which older people will be the most numerous group in the society. This will have far-reaching consequences to the economy in terms of less available labour, thus the costs of paying pensions and the cost of providing medical and care services will increase. Without tapping into foreign human resources, which will fill the gap in the labour market, not only economic growth will be possible, but also the maintenance of the current standard of living. Some demographic forecasts state that the process of population ageing may contribute to a decrease in GDP, increase of tax rates (including VAT), and significant decrease of pensions and social transfers to those of oldest age categories²².

Summary

There are different types and levels of migration, and the factors that contribute to its intensification. Movements of people within a political and economic structure (e. g. the EU) vary in terms of aspects and nature from migrations from countries with significant disparities in economic, political and social development (e. g. migration from the Middle East to the EU). The nature of economic migrations and migrations resulting from persecution and war varies even more. However, as the author of the article has tried to demonstrate, all the above migration types may be an answer to Poland's long-term demographic issues. Forecasts show that

21 M. Kulesza (2008), *Pracodawcy i kadra zarządzająca wobec imigrantów na rynku pracy w świetle badań własnych*, [in:] J. Surzykiewicz, M. Kulesza (ed.), *Integracja w świecie powszechnej migracji. Otwarte pytania pedagogiki społecznej*, Warszawa, p. 185–189.

22 A. Ruzik-Sierdzińska (2016), *O zmianach wieku emerytalnego w Polsce*, Instytut Obywatelski, p. 8–12, <http://www.institutobywatelski.pl/25212/publikacje/analizy/rynek-pracy-analizy/analiz-a-czy-rzad-chce-skazac-emerytow-na-ubostwo>, [access 12.05.2017].

in the near future the domestic labour market will need workforce (this includes the segment of care services for the elderly), and the ageing Polish society will be unable to provide itself. The most likely remedy to this problem may be immigrant workers. Despite this solution, Polish migration policy and social aid system fail to establish an environment that would encourage foreigners to integrate and work in Poland. Refugees, and, to a lesser extent, persons who were granted national and international protection are the only groups of foreigners whose integration is supported. As the research shows, however, even this support is insufficient. Educational programmes should be developed to provide those working with refugees with adequate skills, and programmes should be developed to prevent isolation, developing a demanding attitude, learned helplessness, and other behaviours typical for individuals who suffer the consequences of a prolonged lack of or incompetent care by the institutions responsible for supporting and integrating tasks²³.

In addition to persons covered by national and international protection, EU citizens are yet another group of migrants who may benefit from some social support and labour market institutions in Poland. The currently largest group of migrants in Poland, however, are economic immigrants from outside the European Union, mainly from Ukraine. Poland does not offer them any support in integration, which could encourage them to consider our country as something more than an area of circular transit migration.

Considering that humanitarian considerations are not, in today's public debate, a compelling argument for the establishment of consistent long-term migration policy suited to actual needs, special attention should be paid to the economic aspect. Those who will intend to live in Poland, regardless of their reasons, should be provided with aid, mostly in the form of services and, to a lesser extent, financial benefits. The critical aspect is economic activation of immigrants, with particular attention to providing opportunities to take up legal employment. Moreover, as occupational development should include both men and women, it is essential to provide pre-school care for children. It is important to make special effort to help immigrants improve their language skills and the knowledge of the culture, laws and customs of Poland. Failure to make integration and legalisation efforts may contribute to the occurrence of dysfunctional and pathological effects among the groups of newcomers, i.e. the formation of national enclaves, criminalisation, low employment, dependence on state and local government aid, etc.

23 A. Linka (2011), *Positioning and Conceptualizing Adult Education and Learning within Local Development*, [in:] Özlem Ünlühisarcikli, Gökçe Güvercin, Onur Seçkin, Işık Sabirli (ed.), *Between Global and Local: Adult Learning and Development*, Bogaziçi University, Stambul, p. 291–304.

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS – AN ASPECT OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS IN EUROPE

Migration is not a new phenomenon. Since the beginning of humankind migrations, more or less violent, changed the course of history, sometimes striking with a power of a typhoon, as in the case of the invasion of the Sea Peoples on Levant and Egypt; Avars or Turks on the Byzantine Empire; Huns, Goths, Vandals and other barbaric peoples on; like the movements during the Migration Period in the 4th–7th century, the explosion of Islam in the 7th–8th century, or the settlement of the newly discovered continents by Europeans. These are just a few examples and, at the same time, a proof that phenomena related to migration may grow to proportions that are completely unpredictable and uncontrollable. Moreover, the course of migration events is rarely determined by causes or even the stage of development, but by the strength, vitality, and determination of the clashing sides.

Single event or long-term process?

There are many indications that we are on a threshold of one of Europe's most serious migration crises¹. Despite the appearances, it did not start as a result of the outbreak of war in Syria in 2011, or even the so-called Arab Spring, i.e. wave of

1 Though of course not the only one, even in recent decades. See: D. Hamilton, *Die Suche nach einem Kompromiß für eine internationale Ordnung*, „WeltTrends. Internationale Politik und vergleichende Studien“ No. 1/1993, p. 15. Mass migration movements of years 1917-51 are also worth noting. According to Gotthold Rhode they covered about 55 millions of people in 117 different types of population transfer (*Völker auf dem Wege...Verschiebungen der Bevölkerung in Ostdeutschland und Osteuropa seit 1917*, Kiel 1952). Displacements in following years were not so massive anymore, but still they covered a considerable number of about 9 million of forcibly displaced. A. Sakson, *Migracje w XX wieku*, <http://jazon.hist.uj.edu.pl/zjazd/materialy/sakson.pdf>, p. 11–12, [access 22.06.2017].

social protests and political upheavals in the countries of North Africa and the Middle East in 2011–2013. Its beginnings date much more back. Without going back to the colonial times, one may dare to claim that if not for the 1960s–1970s wave of economic emigration to the Western Europe there would not only be so many Muslim immigrants in Western Europe in recent years, but also their arrival would not cause social turbulences to such extent. It is plausible that that the immigrants from Algiers, Morocco, Tunisia or the German “gastarbeiters” from Turkey not only broke initial cultural barriers, but also established the conditions for much easier penetration of the current immigrants into Western societies. There is even a kind of reinforcing feedback loop – today’s immigrants contribute to the radicalisation of the views and attitudes of Muslims who already live in Europe.

The current crisis is escalating gradually, and even though its dynamics are unpredictable, the increase is apparent. The fundamental factors that force migrants out of their homelands in the Middle East or Africa will continue to last for a long time, and at least some of these factors will escalate. The first of these factors is the drought encompassing more and more areas of Africa and the Middle East (and slowly spreading to the southern edges of Europe). What is not a big challenge for the developed agricultural economies of relatively rich countries of southern Europe, is an outset of a catastrophe for the primitive African that struggle to survive².

The second factor is the serious destabilisation of the political situation in this region. It is difficult to say that there were any complete stability in this area. There certainly were certainly long periods of relative peace. These regions apply their own laws, violent ones from the perspective of Europeans. Local conflicts did not escalate (mostly due to limited resources) to large-scale humanitarian crises. This had changed due to the progress of military technology and, to a large extent, colonial

2 See: K. Zajączkowski (2015), *Rozwój i zmiany klimatu w polityce zewnętrznej UE na przykładzie Afryki*, „Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej” 9, p. 399–425; Z.W. Kundzewicz, K. Juda-Rezler (2010), *Zagrożenia związane ze zmianami klimatu*, „Nauka” 4, p. 69–76; *Zmiany klimatu a bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe: Dokument Wysokiego Przedstawiciela i Komisji Europejskiej skierowany do Rady Europejskiej*, S113/08 14.03.2008 ([www.natolin.edu.pl/wsisw/wsisw.nsf/viewDOC/AGRK-7CWSGR/\\$FILE/UE-zmiany_klimatu+bezpieczeństwo_międzynarodowe.pdf](http://www.natolin.edu.pl/wsisw/wsisw.nsf/viewDOC/AGRK-7CWSGR/$FILE/UE-zmiany_klimatu+bezpieczeństwo_międzynarodowe.pdf)); *Zmiany klimatu: Biuletyn Informacyjny Instytutu Ochrony Środowiska nr 16/17.2007* (www.mos.gov.pl/g2/big/2009_10/a9399291337d00a2a9a0f4baae0d254f.pdf); K. Watkins (ed.) et al., *Zmiany klimatyczne zagrożeniem dla rozwoju społecznego: niezależne opracowanie zlecone przez Program Narodów Zjednoczonych ds. Rozwoju 2007/2008* (wersja oryg.: hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/268/hdr_20072008_en_complete.pdf, oprac. polskie: www.unic.un.org.pl/hdr/hdr2007/informacja_prasowa_HDR2007.pdf); D. Dobrowolski, *Świat a zmiany klimatyczne*, www.ceo.org.pl/sites/default/files/news-files/m4_swiat_a_zmiany_klimatycznex.pdf, [30.06.2017].

or protectoral rule³, followed by the political arrangements of the superpowers as an aftermath of the First and Second World Wars, and finally by the recent military interventions. The nominal withdrawal of the Western countries from the territories that had been under their control brought forward complete chaos, artificial divisions and new dictatorships. It should be noted at this point that this region witnesses numerous conflicts and clashes between ethnic groups, tribes or military organisations even in the absence of any interventions by Western powers. Natural disasters magnified by military crises lead to hopelessness and a desire to escape to a different place. There is also an increasing sense of injustice, and, in many groups, a desire of retribution. The more and more accessible media (satellite TV and Internet) seem to be the immediate cause of the rapid changes. The media present, among other things, the wealth and lifestyle of Europe, which triggers an increasing wave of dissatisfaction with the position and economic status of the inhabitants of the region, as well as scorn and, in extreme cases, contempt for the present condition of the Western civilisation. All of this is simultaneous with the “shrinking of the world”. Mental barriers that prevent people from travelling disappear.

Among the negative economic factors which exacerbate discontent and fuel the desire to escape, there is a recent decrease in the price of crude oil, which has had a very painful impact not only on the balance of accounts of oil barons, but also on the lives of ordinary citizens of the countries that used to make money on exporting of this material. Ishac Diwan⁴ writes: “Between 2014 and 2016, the revenues of the oil-exporting Middle East countries decreased by over a third on average – it accounts for 15 percent of gross domestic product, and, consequently, current account surpluses rapidly turned into double-digit deficits. Despite the recent minimum increase in prices, most forecasts maintain that oil prices will remain at their current levels for a longer time. If this will be the case, it will trigger an unprecedented macroeconomic shock that will fundamentally change the Middle East”⁵.

In addition to the above factors that force migrants out of their homelands, the “appealing” welfare policy of Western European countries has also a huge

3 I am not deciding here whether final result of Western interference in those countries was positive or negative.

4 Professor of Harvard University, expert on Middle East issues, Head of The Chair of Socio – Economy of Arab World in Paris Sciences et Lettres (see: scholar.harvard.edu/idiwan/home).

5 I. Diwan, *Tania ropa a przyszłość Bliskiego Wschodu*, [biznes.onet.pl/wiadomosci/swiat/tania-ropa-a-a-przyszlosc-bliskiego-wschodu/69g4dl](http://biznes.onet.pl/wiadomosci/swiat/tania-ropa-a-przyszlosc-bliskiego-wschodu/69g4dl), [access 30.06.2017]. Regarding effects of low oil prices for its exporters see also: O. Blanchard, R. Arezki, *Tania ropa wstrząśnie finansami świata*, www.obserwatorfinansowy.pl/tematyka/makroekonomia/tania-ropa-wstrzasnie-finansami-swiata/: 25.01.2015, [access 30.06.2017].

impact on the intensification of migration. Refugees and immigrant do not choose as their destinations countries where there is little or no chance to claim generous welfare benefits. Migration influxes target countries at least associated (or designated) as those having best conditions for financial start. Countries that accept immigrants and establish good conditions may face subsequent influx.

Demographic trends, which have been steady for a long time are a yet another factor. On the one hand, the rapid population growth in the countries affected by various crises intensifies the existing problems even further, and increases the number of people willing to emigrate. On the other hand, the much higher birth rate in Muslim families in Europe paints a different picture of the estimated numbers of Muslims in Europe in a few dozen years' time. According to a recent report by Pew Research Center "The Changing Global Religious Landscape" (5.04.2017)⁶, Muslims are not only characterised by the highest birth rate but also the increase of this rate is the highest. In 2010-2015, 31% of all children were born in Muslim families, while Muslims accounted for approximately 24% of the world's population⁷. The report also showed that Muslims are statistically youngest religious group in the world (with average age of 24)⁸. The authors of the report maintain that if these trends continue, the number of Muslims in the world will increase by 70% by 2060 (while, for example, the number of Christians will increase by 34%). The disparities in the natural growth dynamics are particularly noticeable in Western Europe. The interviewees of opinion polls maintain that the forecasts of researchers are substantially underestimated. According to, for example, *the Guardian*, interviewed French nationals expect that by 2020 the Muslim population in France will reach up to 40% (the Pew Research Center report estimate is 8.3%⁹), while Germans respond with 31% (compared to PRC's 7%¹⁰). Despite the appearances, these discrepancies between scientific research and opinion polls are

6 Full report available on the web site: assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2017/04/07092755/FULL-REPORT-WITH-APPENDIXES-A-AND-B-APRIL-3.pdf, [access 30.06.2017].

7 For comparison in christian families, which in mentioned years covered 31% of world population, 33% children were born. However it must be noted that this data do not concern the whole world population and they do not coincide with the data from Europe, and they are even less adequate for Western Europe.

8 The average age for world is 30 years. Christians forms 37% of deceaseds (31% of population), whereas merely 21% are muslims (24% of population). In all in years 2010-15 the number of Christians increased by 107 milion (116 milion birthrate, 9 milion of conversions), number of Muslims increased by 152,5 milion (152 mln birthrate +0,5 milion conversions). Raport p. 14.

9 This and next examples do not take into account migration.

10 P. Duncan, *Europeans greatly overestimate Muslim population, poll shows*, www.theguardian.com/society/datablog/2016/dec/13/europeans-massively-overestimate-muslim-population-poll-shows: 13.12.2016, [access 30.06.2017].

not, most of all, the proof of ignorance of the interviewees, but rather uncover their feelings and subjective evaluations, which may be of greater importance to social processes than research results. These feelings do not seem to be completely disconnected from reality. In 2008, in France, “indigenous” French women gave birth to 1.7 children on average, while this rate for women from Algeria is 3.5, and from Morocco and Tunisia 3.3. In 2010, approximately 20% of all babies were born to mothers born outside France (it is unknown how many of the remaining children were born to Muslim mothers born in France are unknown)¹¹.

All these factors¹² contribute to the increasing influx of dissatisfied and demanding mostly young people from poor countries. It is also clear to everyone who is familiar with the actualities of the cultures of this region of the world that the next wave of newcomers will also include the families of the men, who will have, by that time, prepared the conditions for their closest relatives to settle in Europe. How many newcomers can we expect? While it is impossible to answer this question, the number will certainly not be a small one. The estimates are as high as tens of millions over the next 20-30 years¹³. M. Møller, Director General of the United Nations Office in Geneva¹⁴, said for *The Times*: “What we observe is one of the greatest migrations in history. And it is still growing”¹⁵. This observation is confirmed by German Development Minister Gerd Müller: “The greatest migration is in progress. The population of Africa will double in the coming decades. Egypt will have a population of 100 millions, Nigeria of 400 millions. In our electronic age of the Internet and mobile phones, everyone knows our wealth and lifestyle [...] Eight to ten million migrants have already set out”¹⁶. There is no doubt that we are facing a phenomenon that will change Europe in the near future.

11 Insee, Statistique d'état civil sur les naissances en 2011, www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=sd20111, [access 28.06.2017].

12 It can not be excluded that there are also other factors stimulating migrations. It can be assumed that not only mentioned above factors caused such a massive and rapid migration movement. What was its catalyst (or even a detonator) should be analyzed in separate study.

13 S. Kern, *Europe: More Migrants Coming*, www.gatestoneinstitute.org/10307/europe-more-migrants: 5.05.2017, access 30.06.2017; *Millions at EU Borders: Leaked Report Poses New Challenges for Germany*: jepnews.de/english/365-millions-at-eu-borders-leaked-report-poses-new-challenges-for-germany, [access 30.06.2017].

14 www.un.org/sg/en/content/profiles/michael-møller-0

15 B. Pancevski, *Millions more coming — deal with it, UN chief tells EU*, “The Sunday Times” 29.05.2016: www.thetimes.co.uk/article/millions-more-coming-deal-with-it-un-chief-tells-eu-mjwrtf9xq, [access 30.06.2017].

16 „Bild”, 09.01.2016, *Entwicklungsminister Müller im Interview „Erst 10 Prozent der Fluchtwelle bei uns“ Der CSU-Minister über wirkungslose Obergrenzen und das Versagen der EU*: www.

Clash of civilisations

Today's numerous discussions on migration tend to focus mainly on the economic aspects of this process and, even more frequently, on terrorist threats. The civilisational perspective is given less attention. This perspective transcends individual cases and broadens the field of observation to also include the changes of people's views, as well as social, ethical, religious, legal, etc changes. These changes do not need to be implemented via terror. The very presence of a person with a strong identity makes others change their behaviour, in particular if the group has a very weak sense of own identity and is not closely attached to identity-strengthening factors, which is exactly the case in today's Western Europe. Despite the rapidly growing problem, calm scientific discussion about the situation and role of Muslim migration to Western Europe is currently extremely hindered, sometimes even made impossible. First, there is the lack of reliable data. Almost every research or government centre provides different figures, and the discrepancies, sometimes extreme, give the impression that all the presented information is merely estimates or the results of calculations made with the application of extremely flawed methodology. In France, it is prohibited to carry out research whose criteria would include religion or racial origin. Thus, there can be hardly any scientific approach to this issue. Many Europeans do not believe the results of research. As a consequence, the inhabitants of almost all Western European countries greatly overestimate the number of their fellow Muslim citizens. French citizens, for example, maintain (according to a survey by British Ipsos Mori) that the percentage of Muslims is as much as 31%, while in fact it is likely not less than 7–8%¹⁷. It is typical to overestimate the number of Muslim fellow citizens by a factor of three or four. Such high overestimations may attest to complete ignorance of the survey participants, or may be an expression of a social feeling about the impact of Muslims on the environment.

The second problem is the enormous political resonance to this issue. Many of those who had never interacted with refugees or had been interested in their fate, are now taking very radical positions, influenced by the activities and stances of the political parties they follow. The third problem involves natural human emotions – we are not discussing potato harvest, but the fate of millions

bild.de/politik/inland/dr-gerd-mueller/erst-zehn-prozent-der-fluchtwelle-ist-bei-uns-angekommen-44081514.bild.html, [access 30.06.2017].

17 pikio.pl/wiemy-ilu-muzulmanow-mieszka-w-europejskich-krajach-zaskakujace-dane/#, [access 22.06.2017]. Results for Italy are respectively 20% (actual 3,7%); for Germany 21% (actual 5%), for Sweden 17% (actual 4,6%). Even than it is puzzling why people's feelings are so far from facts resulting from statistic data.

of people, at least some of whom go to Europe to seek refuge from actual threats, we are talking about people that Europeans meet on the streets and sometimes judge them extremely differently, depending on their own subjective experiences. Scientists are also prone to all these biases, who cannot reach consensus on even seemingly quantifiable economic matters. Also the political correctness very prevalent in the scientific circles of Western Europe needs to be taken into account. Even a shadow of a suspicion of racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, etc. (and it takes very little to be accused of such) results in being an outcast in the scientific community and losing a job. It is no wonder that the scientists who do not share the enthusiasm of EU officials and the communities that promote welcoming immigrants from Islamic countries most often do not speak up.

Regardless of its reliable or unreliable analysis, the problem keeps growing. One of the fundamental aspect, and, at the same time the most difficult to research, of migration is its influence on culture, customs, tradition and, finally, on social and political relations in the coming decades. This is a problem that escapes any quantitative analysis. It is even difficult to define it in even simplest terms. There is no homogeneity neither in relation to “Europe” nor, even more so, in relation to the “world of Islam”¹⁸. They both comprise an extremely complex compilation of attitudes, values, references (historical, religious, political, ethical, aesthetic, geographical, etc.). On the other hand, the sphere of these conditions differs for each of these worlds, which makes it possible to refer to them as “civilisations”. Throughout history both civilisations repeatedly interacted with each other, permeated and influenced each other, but they have retained their distinctiveness.

What are the differences?

A great number of Europeans, when referring to the problems and perspectives of immigration from the Islamic world make an erroneous assumption that Syrians, Iraqis, Algerians, Tunisians and others who come to Europe feel, think and judge just like us, and the only differences relate to minor aspects, such as

18 Perceived by many as monolith Islam is divided on many levels. Starting from differences between, combating themselves in different regions, Sunnizm and Shiism (and other fractions), throughout ethnic and geographic differences. And ending with lack of any official interpretation of Koran, which leads to almost total freedom in its interpretation. It is needless to say that in fights between different religious groups and militias thousands of Muslims are dying, mosques and other places of Muslim worship are being destroyed. The aspect of Muslim immigrants influx to Europe that is not discussed in this paper is possibility of bringing with them to Europe inter-Muslim (religious, ethnic or politic) conflicts.

skin colour or place of birth. Nothing could be more wrong. Even though it sounds great at salons and in television studios, there is not much truth to it, particularly when describing not individuals, but entire communities. Despite their great diversity, these communities are organised very differently, and function on a different basis than European countries. Despite their inner diversity (I would like to emphasise it once again), these communities follow a different hierarchy of values and their ways of thinking are based on different than European ones.

I would like to list below some of the fundamental differences between the civilisation of Islam and the civilization of Europe (despite the arbitrariness of such terms).

Religion

First and most important difference relates to the attitudes toward religion. For Europeans, religion is a sphere of (private) human activity and, what's more, a sphere largely autonomous compared to others. For many European countries the separation of religion and state is a fundamental principle of political order, and political involvement of the clergy is considered to be highly inappropriate. Religious argumentation in legal or political debates is considered to be unacceptable. It is not proper to ask someone about his or her faith, and manifesting one's religion in the institutions of the state, or even in public life in general, is considered by many to be highly objectionable or even reprehensible.

The situation in Islamic countries is entirely different, but it is not because everything there is inferior to religion. That is not the case¹⁹. In fact, one could maintain that it is exactly the opposite: it is religion that is subordinate to everything else. Contrary to a fairly widespread belief, Islam is not a religion in the narrow sense we attach to it. Islam is an entire system, with religion being an immanent constituent that connects all pieces. This system governs the lives of individuals, families, and entire communities, and also establishes civilisational order. Reducing Islam to religion only, one of many that can exist next to each other in the sphere of the citizens' private lives, is misunderstanding the essence of Islam. Islam requires its followers to apply and follow it in all areas of life, not only in private lives, but also in social, political, and legal spheres. It was established as a complete system for *ummah* – a community that unites all Arabs. It is therefore not possible to separate religion from laws, politics, or social regulations.

19 F. Koneczny rightly classifies it as half-sacred. See: P. Bezat, *Teoria cywilizacji Feliksa Konecznego*, Krzeszowice 2004, p. 93.

The second issue is the deep belief of Muslims that their faith is superior, and the resulting imperative to convert the unfaithful. No that the sacred and the profane are not separated in Islam. Every human action, whether public, political or scientific, follows not only from the system of values based on faith, but also from the faith itself. In fact these dimensions are inseparable from each other. For example, it would be absurd to expect mullahs to deal only with “religious matters” (as defined in European terms) in their mosques. It is also not reasonable to expect that Muslims in general will accept European values (first, because today it would be difficult to identify European values, and second since most Muslim consider these values worthless). Therefore converting others to Islam is not inducing them to change their (private) beliefs, or even to undergo drastic internal upheaval, but is an implementation of Islamic order.

Naturally lots of Muslim immigrants may have lost their bond with Islam (and also abandoned their pursuit of the order of life it establishes), but it is a hardly a dominant trend, considering the observed growing trends of the revitalisation of Islam. Rapid radicalisation of Islam is a fact²⁰. The sense of community absent in all other religions is also a fact. For most Muslims, their faith is much more important than citizenship, particularly if it is the citizenship of a country that is not their place of birth. According to a French survey carried out by Haut Conseil de l’Intégration, between 2004 and 2010, Muslim identity primarily based in their faith in 46% in France (and 42% based on French citizenship), while in the UK it is 81% and 7% respectively²¹. Note that this survey was carried out when the Muslims who had been in both countries for decades were the predominant Muslims groups.

Family

Also the sphere of family life is where the Islamic and European visions of what is good clash. Here, the differences are not as extreme, but they are much more comprehensible. On the one hand, there is a Muslim family is rooted in the eternal natural and patriarchal order, and on the other, there is an exceptionally incoherent and flexible model of family life in 21st century Europe. As the institution of the family is much more primal than either of the civilisations, it has some

20 See report from 2007: Maha Azzam, *The Radicalization of Muslim Communities in Europe: Local and Global Dimensions*, “Brown Journal of World Affairs” 2007 • volume xiii, issue 2, p. 123–134.

21 Haut Conseil de l’Intégration, *La France sait-elle encore intégrer les immigrés? Les élus issus de l’immigration dans les conseils régionaux (2004-2010)*, www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/var/storage/rapports-publics/114000211/0000.pdf, [access 27.06.2017].

intrinsic and shared values, but its forms may significantly differ. This is particularly true considering the models of family/partnership of Western European countries. On the one hand, Europeans do not accept at least some manifestations of the patriarchal model of the Muslim family, e.g. legitimisation of domestic violence, subordination of women to men, clothes whose purpose is to conceal a woman from other men, no equality in public life, etc.²². On the other, Muslims do not accept sexual freedom, homosexuality (particularly its flamboyant expressions), or interventions of the state into matters considered by Muslims to be settled exclusively within the family (relations with spouse, how to raise children, etc.). It is worth noting, however, that the divisions are not so clear-cut. It is the dissent to social experiments relating to family life that makes many Europeans look up to the happy Muslim families they know. Many convert to Islam, seeking this perceived normality (of course this is not the only reason, however)²³.

Culture and history

The world of Islam differs also in terms of the role of art, and cultural or religious heritage (including monuments). In Europe, these are not only the civilisational foundation, but also an undisputed cultural heritage. In the world of Islam there are very intense tensions when it comes to art. The problem relates to representing humans, and drawing a border between art and idolatry. Although the Quran does not forbid the representation of humans, various traditions have fundamentally different stances in this respect²⁴. A particularly heated dispute

22 According to World Economic Forum report (WEF) as many as 18 Muslim countries were found in the last 20 items of summary report concerning gender inequality (Global Gender Gap Report 2016). Out of 144 studied countries: 124. United Arab Emirates, 126. Tunisia, 128. Kuwait, 129. Mauretania, 130. Turkey, 131. Bahrain, 132. Egypt, 133. Oman, 134. Jordan, 135. Libya, 137. Marocco, 138. Mali, 139. Iran, 140. Chad, 141. Saudi Arabia, 142. Syria, 143. Pakistan, 144. Yemen. See: reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/how-country-profiles-work/, [access 30.06.2017].

23 A interesting contribution to this reflection might be a discussion between Piotr Ibrahim Kalwas, G. Lindenberg and J. Wójcik from portal Euroislam.pl. They explain why young Europeans convert to Islam, See: wiadomosci.wp.pl/dlaczego-mlodzi-europejczycy-przechodza-na-islam-piotr-ibrahim-kalwas-islam-porzadkuje-chaos-i-zagubienie-w-zyciu-6051713347957377a.; In 2011, at University of Warsaw M.A thesis by Olga Skarżyńska, entitled *Islam, Women, Community. Analysis of Narratives of Polish Converts*, was defended. It is available online: depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/9439/O.%20Skarżyńska%2C%20Islam%2C%20kobieta%2C%20wspólnota.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, [accessed: 30.06.2017].

24 Ibn Warraq, *Czy można malować podobizny Mahometa?*, euroislam.pl: 24.03. 2011, [accessed 26.06.2017].

on idolatry is between Shiites and Sunnites, and in particular Wahhabis, a radical faction of the latter, who consider any tombs or shrines to be idolatry. In this century as many as several hundred mosques have already been demolished. There are notorious acts of destruction or calling for the destruction of religious monuments of non-Muslim cultures which have come under the control of Muslims²⁵. Muslims also react with outrage to art that does not respect modesty or presents a vision of the world different from the Muslim one.

Imperatives and prohibitions

The prohibition on the consumption of alcohol by Muslims is one of the most frequently mentioned cultural differences between the Islamic and European worlds. The same applies to the prohibition of gambling (in almost every form) or severe limitations and restrictions to abortion²⁶. Even though the majority of the ethical guidelines of Islam are in line with the moral norms recognised in Europe²⁷, at least some of them seem to be extremely difficult to accept in Western European countries. We should be aware, however, that Muslims will also demand that such norms are followed in public life – just as Europeans want their freedoms to be respected, and would seek to enforce their own norms where it would be up to them²⁸. Tolerance, which is widely emphasised in Europe (which does not necessarily mean that is followed) is one of the areas where it is going to be difficult for newcomers from the Islamic world to come to terms with Europeans. To an European tolerance is the possibility of the coexistence of various cultures, customs, traditions, religions, or moral systems (or thoroughly individual behaviours, value systems, beliefs, followed or not followed truths). Thus defined tolerance is completely alien to the Muslim world. First of all, Muslims consider Islam to be the most perfect (divine) form of order in life, so depriving someone of it is to harm that

25 Probably the most famous example of this phenomenon is blowing up Buddha statues from 6th century in Bamian (Afghanistan).

26 M. al-Jibaly (2006), *Closer than a Garment*, Al-Kitab, p. 171, Polish translation, see: M. ibn Salih al-Uthaymiin, *Aborcja w Islamie*, www.planetaislam.com/kobiety/aborcja.html, [access 26.06.2017].

27 Por. M.J. Chirri, *Nakazy i Zakazy w Islamie*, www.al-islam.org.pl/artykuly/praktyka/16-nakazy-i-zakazy-w-islamie, [access 26.06.2017].

28 On the other hand it should be noted that percentage of Muslim immigrants in Europe who do not obey European legal order is high. Data from French prisons shows that in 2008 60–70% of all prisons were Muslims (when percentage of Muslims in the entire population of France was 7,5%), See: *L'islam, première religion carcérale en France*, www.saphirnews.com/L-islam-premiere-religion-carcerale-en-France_a9004.html, [accessed 30.06.2017].

person. Of course, one may decide to inflict harm on oneself, but certainly not to the extent that raises a scandal or is trap for the faithful. There is no indulgence when someone violates the principles of social coexistence followed in Islam. On the other hand, (and as the experience of Western countries shows) Muslims demand tolerance for their attitudes and beliefs, often insisting – in the name of tolerance – on the removal from public space of symbols, traditions or behaviours that they find unacceptable. It also true, however, that Europeans themselves often discard Christian religious symbols to emphasise tolerance towards the followers of Islam, even when the latter do not expect them to do so.

Of course, the fields of possible/probable/certain conflicts listed above are not the only ones. There are lots of minor contrasts, which may sometimes cause very emotional (and even unexpected) disputes. These may include the feeling of group, ethnic, religious and ethnic affiliation very prevalent in the East or, on the other side, aversion to foreigners (sometimes ungrounded)²⁹.

Summary

All of the above observations show that terrorist attacks are one of many elements of the migration crisis. In the long term, civilisational conflicts will be the problem that will affect the majority of Europe's population. The researchers who argue that terrorism is an absolutely marginal phenomenon might be right. Moreover, it may happen that, from the civilisational perspective, acts of terrorism will accelerate the emergence of defensive mechanisms adequate to a dangerous situation, as well as an intensification of attitudes that emphasise identity and religion in the face of the inaction of decision-makers, which, as a result, will lead to the establishment to a barrier to Islamisation of Europe, or at least to some part of it. The consequences of the processes that took place in Germany and France seem to be irreversible. Influential European elites still believe in the possibility of a peaceable coexistence of these two distinctly different worlds, failing to accept that the so-called "European way of life" is for the Arab world neither desirable nor better than its own, and that this way of life will be adopted at first possibility. It is a fact that even with a relatively small number of

29 An example can be found in findings of research provided among German Turks. They show that 62% of Turks living in Germany prefer being surrounded only by other Turks. See: F. Strüning, *Deutsch-Türkische Werte 2012: Studie Deutsch-Türkischen Lebens – und Wertewelten – Teil 2: Werte und Einstellungen*, <http://www.citizentimes.eu/2012/08/19/deutsch-turkische-werte-2012/>, [access 28.06.2017].

Muslims in Europe, its inhabitants are trying to adjust to actual or alleged expectations of Muslims³⁰. The restriction of the freedom of speech is one example. It is due to, on the one hand, the pressure by spheres that favour immigrants and are very eager to stigmatise those who think otherwise by calling the latter xenophobic, fascist, racist, etc., and on the other hand, due to the fear of the response of Muslims. It should be added that this fear is not unjustified. Acts of intimidation, threats, and assassinations evoke fear, even if they are attributable to a very small group of Muslims. This way, such groups do not need to acquire a democratic majority to guarantee themselves complete freedom of action in line with the principles of Islam. There is a symptomatic remark by Abdallah Zekri, Secretary General of the Council of Muslim Worship in France (Conseil Français du Culte Musulman), who said: "Whoever tries to assimilate me death, will die. I am a Muslim poison. If you swallow me, you will die. Assimilation is the negation of oneself, one's culture, origins, and civilisation. This means that I would have to become a French. Assimilation is a crime against humanity. I will not be assimilated. Period"³¹.

30 Ones can find many examples, but symptomatic is court trial against parents of German high school student. They did not allow their son to go on school trip to mosque in Redenburg. As a result school accused parents of breaking the rules on schooling obligation. The court imposed on them fine in the amount of 300 euro. The matter becomes even more controversial when we take into account fact that the mosque in Redenburg is on the list of centers where extremist occurrences takes place (the list was created by German Office for the Protection of the Constitution) See: R. Staudenmaier, *German parents may face trial after refusing mosque field trip*, Deutsche Welle: 27.10.2016, p.dw.com/p/2RIQY, [access 26.06.2017].

31 Recording of mentioned interview, see: www.youtube.com/watch?v=SY2nvAz0nZU, [access 26.06.2017].

Claudia Schippel
HÎNBÛN – Internationales Bildungs –
und Beratungszentrum für Frauen und ihre Familien, Berlin

REFUGEES' GUARDING AND MENTORING PROGRAMS: LEGAL GUARDIANSHIPS FOR UNACCOMPANIED MINORS, COACHING QUALIFICATION PROGRAMS AND PROFESSIONAL GUIDANCE FOR VOLUNTEERS WORKING WITH REFUGEES

My name is Claudia Schippel and I'm working in "HÎNBÛN – Internationales Bildungs – und Beratungszentrum für Frauen und ihre Familien" which can be translated as "HÎNBÛN – International Educational and Advisory Center for Women and their Families". The word hînbûn comes from Kurdish language and means "to learn or experience something new". HÎNBÛN was founded in May 1981 in the course of a research project concerning the life situation of Kurdish women in Berlin. In 1984 the Protestant Church, District of Spandau, took over the administration of the project which has since been financed by the Senate of Berlin. (It resembles that "HÎNBÛN" was established by Kurdish women living in Berliner district of Spandau.) Another project I am working for is "Akinda" – a network supporting voluntary guardians for unaccompanied minors. This project belongs to XENION e.V., a centre for the psychotherapeutic counselling and treatment of traumatized refugees. Today I will share with you my professional experiences from both places.

To begin with I would like to thank you for the invitation. The areas that I am going to move in today's speech are extensive in practice and I will present them as an example of solutions to apply. I've been working in intercultural social work for nearly 35 years so I believe that I can offer you a lot of effective experience. At the moment I am working mainly as a counselor and coach for refugee woman and their families in Berlin Spandau. However I will not talk broadly about this

aspect of my work today. Instead I would like to present you specificity of working with most endangered group of refugees who are unaccompanied minors. At the same time I will bring you to the matter of voluntary work with minor aged refugees. During my speech I will relate to 20 years of my guardianship experience for “Akinda” project – a network supporting voluntary guardians for unaccompanied minors. The project from the beginning was targeted in young refugees who are coming to Europe on their own and need a legal guardian because their parents are not here. 20 years ago, to suit needs of those children I have initiated “Akinda” project together with colleagues and friends.

How the “Akinda network” came up? In my work experience I found out that it is much better for young minor age refugees to have individual legal guardian (a private person who has a lot of time for him or her), then to enter the relationship with formal, professional guardian. Young refugees prefer to establish relationships on personal footing. This pertains need of working with volunteers who are often more personally engaged in supporting refugees and more open for their needs than formal professionals. What are advantages of voluntary guardian in comparison to a professional guardian? In general voluntary guardians only have one ward. They can offer their undivided attention to the child, they are more flexible in terms of time, so that it is fairly easy to the ward to contact guardian and have the feeling that there is somebody who cares.

That is why Akinda wants to offer a volunteer guardian to minor aged refugees – as an alternative to a professional legal guardian. (In general it is the Youth Welfare Department which is in charge for unaccompanied minors after their arrival in Berlin). (in my project formal legal guardians are treated just as alternative used only when no volunteer person is found.) However I remember that about 20 years ago voluntary work with refugees wasn't popular. Professional people didn't like it so much. They were convinced that voluntary people are making a lot of mistakes especially when they are dealing with refugees or asylum procedure and legal problems. As a result start of this project was (very) somehow difficult. During the first years Akinda didn't belong to XENION e.V. But the organization supported Akinda by offering an office with telephone, PC etc. In 2003 Akinda became a part of XENION e.V., which helped a lot when applying for European project fundings. (I applied for support for this project in XENION e.V. in Berlin. The center works with traumatized refugees by offering them counseling and therapy. And it has also supported us. So we (could) started with a small group which was aimed at implementing the project. Although the initiative group was consisted of professional social workers we all made it on

voluntary basis. We had no money, no funds. It took us few years to get funding and even today we are still struggling for it. Our general aim was to bring together young refugees and volunteers from Berlin. We tried to build up big network with communities where young refugee people lived in order to contact them easily. (At that time) After a couple of years we managed to get together up to 100 volunteers at one time. Social workers task was to become their mentors: to accompany them, to give them advise, counseling, support in moments of conflicts. We gave private guardians possibility to learn about refugees situation in Berlin, realities of their countries of origin, so volunteers would acquire perspectives of many different societies. Of course volunteers needed a lot of assistance because they were facing new and difficult situations, like dealing with asylum procedure, social care, various possibilities of education. It was a challenging situation for volunteers and their mentors as well. And it was as difficult for unaccompanied minors. Young refugees didn't know who legal guardian is, some of them misunderstood and were afraid of being adopted by them and they didn't want that at all. There appeared a (plenty) couple of misunderstandings and (a lot of) suspicions between volunteers and young refugees. Sometimes it took months or years for young person to open up and talk about his or her real problems. Guardians had to be very patient, respectful and most of all – respect young person's decisions and accept that there are things about refugees they will never know and never find out. Looking at the outcome of this project I must say that it was very useful and gave lot of extra value both to the guardians and to the minors. Especially when young people remained in touch with the guardians after finishing age of 18 which happened in 50% of cases. And it has to be emphasized that voluntary guardianship gives a really good chance that a relationship of mutual trust might develop which is an important condition for planning a further perspective. The guardian is steady reference person, while the educators and other contact persons are continually changing. After having reached adulthood the young person often keeps contact the former voluntary guardian who continues to be an important support while youth welfare and the guidance of educators have come to an end. The former guardian might offer help in many difficult situations, when looking for housing, qualification, a placement or a job, when having to deal with the complicated German bureaucratic system. It is very important for young person to have a possibility of relating to his or her personal network of connections. Young people in foreign country are very often isolated and endangered by segregation. They are just very alone.

After 20 years of continuing the project we have also found out how important it is to accompany volunteers while they are working with refugees. Both of them – refugees and volunteers – need a lot of support, advice, supervision and mentoring from professional social workers. However guardian is a volunteer he should be equipped with relevant professional knowledge and competences, should know personal and professional limits and seek support and counselling whenever necessary and should be open to supervision and monitoring. I am convinced that in case of volunteers it should be framed in systematized certification program. And “Akinda” offers such a systematized frame to volunteers. Every volunteer gets:

- Information events once the month for everybody who is interested to become a voluntary guardian,
- An individual interview to find out the motivation, aptitude, competence and a qualification of the interested person,
- A qualification program which is binding for each participant:
 - Basic knowledge of the relevant legal framework, specifically the foreign and asylum law, youth welfare law, guardianship law,
 - Knowledge concerning structure and jurisdiction of the relevant institutions and organizations,
 - Knowledge concerning possibilities of education and professional qualification for unaccompanied minors,
 - Intercultural competence, how to deal with prejudice and stereotypes,
 - Reflection on the role and duties of guardians, dealing with proximity and distance,
 - Dealing with traumatized children and their experience of flight,
 - “Matching” between the volunteer and a possible ward – in cooperation with the educators of a youth welfare organization where the unaccompanied minor is living,
 - Counselling and monitoring of the (future) guardian. The guardian gives a regular report to “Akinda”,
 - Transfer of actual information and a newsletter to the guardians (by Email),
 - Telephone counselling hours and personal counselling particularly concerning legal, pedagogic or education questions or conflicts,

- Promoting of networking among the guardians by offering group meetings and colleague supervision,
- Evaluation of all “Akinda” offers¹.

Mentioned support prepares volunteers to attain core standards for voluntary guardians, which states that guardian advocates for all decisions to be taken in the best interests of the child. This involve:

- Involving all relevant actors,
- Ensuring the child’s participation in every decision which affects the child,
- Protecting the safety of the child,
- Being a bridge between and focal point for the child and other actors involved,
- Threatening the child with respect and dignity,
- Forming a relationship with the child built on mutual trust, openness and confidentiality and is empathy towards child².

Our long lasting voluntary program became particularly needed since last year when wave of refugees has sailed to Berlin. Among them were thousands of unaccompanied minors who needed a guardian. So the local governments of Berliner districts were struggling to get guardian with experience in legal guardianship. Local governments initially expected that organizing volunteers will go easy by giving a lectures to hundreds of people and mentioning them about specificity of working with young persons. And indeed, the readiness among German population to offer voluntary assistance appeared to be amazingly high. Volunteers were helping out in the camps for newly arrived refugees, distributing food in front of office buildings, where crowds of refugees had to wait for hours and days. Volunteers were collecting second hand clothes, offering German courses, looking after the children, etc. Probably for many volunteers it was an important social experience, they felt needed, in fact it wouldn’t have worked without them. On the other hand there was also frustration because of the lack of information and coordination among the professional workers. Some volunteers started to feel tired and worn out (after having second hand clothes in a cellar for weeks) and complained about a lack of social recognition. There also were feelings of disappointment concerning the

1 www.xenion.org, [access 04.10.2017]. www.akinda-berlin.org, [access 04.10.2017].

2 Ibidem.

behavior or reaction of refugees, maybe due to intercultural misunderstandings (“the refugees are not grateful”). In consequence the governments realized that “free voluntary movement” didn’t work out well and volunteers need professional management, social recognition, they should get prepared for their activity, they need to have access to professional guidance, supervision and qualification program. (“Akinda” was perfect solution for solving this problem). This was the moment when Akinda could relate to its rich experience in all mentioned spheres. We continually keep contact to all relevant network partners, public institutions, youth welfare and educational organizations and counselling places and continue to build up new co-operations. Besides public relation and committee work “Akinda” promotes its years of experience to other relevant initiatives in Germany. And this is why governments turned to us. As a result “Akinda” guardianship project become popular. We are asked for advice concerning problems solving, concept and standards of voluntary working. We find it very positive. Today “Akinda” is recognized as project which offers support, counselling and qualification programs for voluntary guardians for unaccompanied minors. Our main objective in now days is to contribute to a better life situation and perspective to newly arriving unaccompanied minors. At the same time social isolation and segregation of the unaccompanied minors can be avoided. The wards get to know the family life of their guardians, they might participate in their private networks and might be able to use these contacts in future life.

Now I would like to turn to another important method of working with young refugees which is mentoring for unaccompanied minors. What distinguishes guardian from mentor? Guardian has to be officially approved by family court³. Mentor is not official person. He or she decides to do this and can get of relation whenever wants. What else differs mentor from guardian is period of cooperation. Mentor not only gives occasional advices. He stays in contact with mentee for a longer period of time like 6 months or one year. The cooperation starts with mutual contract between mentor and mentee. Without this it will not work. (How my adventure with mentoring program has started? Couple years ago a colleague working in mentoring project for young refugees needed somebody to accompany him through educational and legal problems his refugee had encountered). In mentoring project mentor and mentee cooperate to accomplish goals established in contract. They are looking for possibilities for refugee like placement or voluntary project though he or she could improve his language, acquire new skills and expand his social network. They are searching together

3 It is always the family court which decides over a legal guardianship.

for all small possibilities for young refugee. It is very important because many refugees don't have legal status and they are not included in normal integration program. I must say that some of volunteers are very successful. It appeals especially to senior managers who have a lot of contacts to get placement or job.

We have also another, new project for nearly one year, entitled "Parcours Plus" (entitled "Path for Plus"). It is supported by Aktion Mensch, Germany's largest private funding organization. (supported by Action Mensch big German organization founded in Berlin). It is working very well.

Recently I have implemented my experience of mentoring in "HÎNBÛN". I must admit that at "HÎNBÛN" Women Center I feel like being a builder of mentorship. It is because recently there was and still is such a huge request for volunteering for refugees who are coming to our center. During past 1,5 year many newly arrived refugees started to settle down in the district of Spandau where "HÎNBÛN" operates. We were confronted with big families having small children from Syria, families who didn't know how to find house, child care and school. Mentees who enrolled in our project were mainly families and individuals already being beneficiaries of the Center but also other refugees who were sent to us and required that kind guidance. They were feeling overloaded with German bureaucracy. There was a lot of work to do for volunteers. Among the population of Spandau there were many people who wish to help, assist in a useful way, but they often didn't know how. It was good occasion for implementing the standards which I had built up before (so although I had 50 volunteers). So I decided to develop a qualification program for around 30 volunteers. It encompasses 6 evenings meetings and is consisted of following steps:

1st step: Acquisition of participants (volunteers)

- Events in HÎNBÛN in order to get in contact with people who might be interested and suitable as mentors (like discussion events on refugee issues).
- Mobilization of local networks (local government, church administration and parish priests etc.) in order to promote the idea of the project.
- Taking advantage of relevant events in order to inform those who are interested to be a mentor.
- Presentation of the project on information events: What is the objective of the project "Freiwillig mit Flüchtlingen – FmF", what does the project offer to the participants? What are the conditions for becoming a mentor or mentee?

2nd step: Interviews with participants (volunteers)

- Individual appointment with each person who decided to participate on the project and become mentor.
- Interview to find out the attitude, motivation, expectations, family situation, the potential and special experiences, language skills, time budget and flexibility etc. (is there any reservation or fear, is there anything the volunteer doesn't want to do at all, for instance trying to find housing for/or together with the mentee or is there any reservation towards specific cultural groups and if yes, why? etc.).

The volunteer has to accept the conditions of the project:

- Being ready to offer a certain time budget for a longer period (like six months).
- Participation on a qualification program before starting to be a mentor.
- Staying in regular contact to the FmF-team while being active as a mentor and keeping the appointments which have been arranged.
- Communicating the development, progress, barriers, difficulties and conflicts.
- Participation in monthly "reflection groups" together with other mentors.

A form is filled with the personal profile of the volunteer and other information in need (the address, how to stay in contact, etc.). An important objective of the interview: How far is he/she suited to be a mentor, are there any aspects which might cause problems in future?

3rd step: Acquisition of refugees who wish to have a mentor and accept role of a mentee

Visit to social worker, advisors, managers of refugee camps in the neighborhood of HÎNBÛN.

- Distribution of information on the project: flyers, handouts, articles in local newspapers in order to inform relevant key persons.
- Personal transmission of the information to refugees who come to HÎNBÛN for social counselling and who might be in need of a mentor.

4th Step: Interviews with the refugees who wish to have a mentor

- If needed together with a translator who is well informed.
- Information on the details of the project and its framework.
- What is mentor and what is mentee?

What can the mentee expect from the mentor and where are the limits?

The mentee has to accept the conditions of the project:

- Being ready to offer a certain time budget for a longer period (like six months).
- Stay in regular contact with the mentor and inform the mentor if an appointment cannot be kept.
- Inform the FmF-team if there are questions or problems coming up.

A form is filled with the personal profile of the future mentee (personal and cultural background, legal status, actual living situation and address). The actual need and wishes of the mentee are defined.

5th step: Qualification program for the volunteers

Objective of the training courses: transfer of basic professional knowledge concerning:

- the relevant legal framework, in particular foreign and asylum law, social law,
- the relevant institutional and organizational system, how to deal with bureaucracy,
- the legal framework concerning integration into the labor market and vocational training programs,
- educational services like language courses, vocational training programs, placements, etc.,
- intercultural competence and intercultural communication,
- how to deal with traumatized refugees,

Further important topics are:

- how mentors support their mentee when trying to orientate in a strange society, when having to deal with offices, schools, doctors, insurances, etc.,
- how can mentors offer individual career guidance?

6th step: The Matching

The project coordinator decides over the matching of the future mentor and the mentee. Before they meet for the first time the mentor receives some information concerning the mentee and vice versa and they are asked if they agree to get to know each other. Sometimes the mentors are a couple who wish to volunteer together. Sometimes the mentee wishes to introduce family members for the first meeting. The translator should be well prepared to assist.

Objectives of the “matching”:

- Introducing future mentors and mentees to each other.
- Establishing a “contract” between mentor and mentee by specifying the issue and the objective of the future mentorship.
- Clearly defining the role of the mentor and what the mentees can expect from them and where the limits are.
- Fixing the time budget: how often the mentor and the mentee are going to meet together? How many hours can be offered by the mentor?
- Making clear that mutual reliability and respect are very important.

Both, mentor and mentee sign the contract and receive a copy of it.

7th step: Accompanying the process

During the coming weeks the mentors stay in regular contact with the project coordinator. In the case of misunderstanding or conflicts there will be a further meeting together with the coordinator and translator. It is important that the mentors always relate to the professional counsellors whenever they need further information, for instance how to find appropriate language courses, day care

or schooling for the children, housing, specific advice concerning the recognition of professional qualifications, concerning the legal status of the mentee and the asylum procedure, etc.

The monthly “reflection groups” are supposed to offer an opportunity for exchanging experience among the mentors, for building up networks among each other. Specific topics and problems will be discussed together with the coordinator, who might take into account that the participants need further information or assistance on some relevant issue.

8th step: Accompanying the end or breaking of concerning the mentoring relationship

If the relationship between the mentor and the mentees works well there is no clearly defined ending to their contact. After having accomplished the relevant objective they continue to stay in touch and get together once in a while. Sometimes mentors feel insecure about how to react if the mentee starts to draw back or even avoid the contact. Some mentors are very disappointed if the mentee breaks off the relationship as soon as the assistance is no more needed. In other cases there is a sudden breaking off: for instance the mentee obviously avoids further contacts to the mentee without giving an explication or the mentor feels overloaded by the expectations of the mentee. It is up to the coordinator to intermediate and meet further meetings and discussions with the involved mentors and mentees. This is very important because mentors tend to feel very frustrated and might start to develop a negative attitude towards refugees after having failed. It is up to coordinator to be aware of the fact it is very important to intermediate in situations of conflicts and misunderstandings and to take into account the different perspectives concerning the mentor on the one side and the mentee on the other side. Of course it is very useful to evaluate mentoring relationships. This should possibly be done with interviews at the end of the process. Questionnaires are not so useful in most cases, at last concerning the mentees⁴.

During the qualification of volunteers I was building a profile of every individual's competences, skills and interests. (We were concerned with mimics, because when you speak his problems might come out with process of motivation

4 Claudia Shippel *Voluntary work with refugees. The mentoring project FmF – Freiwillig mit Flüchtlingen*, handouts of HÎNBÛN organization.

and attitude to a process. We tried to talk with each candidate in a more or less informal way for a longer time just to find out more about their personal attitude. Most of volunteers are ladies and very often they are dealing with male Muslim refugees. This way problem of prejudices can appear. We have to discuss this issue very often. What is important to volunteers is not to do more than necessary and respect that refugees are not only poor victims but also people with a lot of competences, skills and it is important to assist them and let them be self-confident. Me and my colleagues were taking mentees and explaining them what they might expect from the partnership with mentor and what not. They should realize that mentor cannot solve all their live problems and there are certain limitation in that matter. So called matching is a moment when mentors and mentees get together, sign up a contract of mutual interest and understanding. So they know they what can expect from each other and build a reliable cooperation. Mentors are obliged to keep regular contact with coordinators and counselors from our team and to participate in our reflection groups, so they would discuss what is going on and solve conflicts which come up. Of course there are situations when it goes really wrong and misunderstandings are big with no solution but all those successful moments makes me admire volunteers and mentees in what they have accomplished together. I find it is very useful project. Most important thing is they are learning from each other so it is a win – win situation. It is beautiful when some volunteers are sitting together with refugee family, cooking, telling to each other stories and starting to forget there are refugees.

Filip Przytułski
Refugees Szczecin/ University of Szczecin
Institute of History and International Relations

WORK FOR REFUGEES. MOTIVES, GOALS, ACTIVITIES OF AN INFORMAL REFUGEES SZCZECIN GROUP

Introduction

The 2015 influx of refugees from the Middle East to Europe triggered two reactions among the Polish public. Some citizens – including politicians, publicists and priests express negative attitudes in social media, private speeches, public statements, demonstrations and protests¹. At the same time, informal associations and groups were spontaneously established, whose members aim to aid refugees and shape the public awareness about issues and phenomena relating to refugee². Refugees Szczecin is one such group.

This article presents Refugees Szczecin (hereinafter: RS) – a grass-roots organisation, which is a part of the wider social movement, an element of a social network. It is then necessary to present the aims, beliefs, and motives of the group members, to outline the social background, and to describe the activities of the organisation.

-
- 1 M. Mazuś, *Przemoc czy pomoc*, Polityka 1.03–7.03.2017, nr 9, p. 32–34; Na temat postaw poglądów części społeczeństwa wobec uchodźców pat. <http://liberte.pl/ciapaci-kozojebcy-i-terrorysci-islamofobia-w-polsce/>, [access 17.03.2017].
 - 2 <http://uchodzcy.info/o-nas/>; https://www.facebook.com/solidarnoscsmigrantkami/?fref=pb&hc_location=profile_browser; https://www.facebook.com/wroclawwitauchodzcow/?fref=pb&hc_location=profile_browser; <https://welcometokrakow.noblogs.org/>; <https://www.facebook.com/polacydlauchodzcow/>; <http://refugees-welcome.pl/>; <http://refugee.pl/o-nas/historia-fundacji/>.

Reason for the establishment of the group

The immediate impulse that triggered the establishment of the group was the “Refugees welcome” demonstration on 12th September 2015. On that day, many similar demonstrations were held in cities across Europe. Jan Górski was the *spiritus movens* of the demonstration – a thirty-nine-year-old IT specialist who had announced on the Internet his intention to organise a demonstration of solidarity with refugees. The announcement was met with a response from several people, who undertook to organise the endeavour. The demonstration (with simultaneous collection of sleeping bags for refugees, carried out at the initiative of Anna Alboth, a Polish journalist living in Berlin) was held at the location of the Pomnik Czynu Polaków monument, and gathered a crowd of approximately 200 people, as commonly agreed, was a success³. The organisers of the demonstration decided that this one-time event is insufficient, and undertook to pursue their goals in a more systematic and multifaceted manner. In order to act on a regular basis it was necessary to answer some questions: are Szczecin’s activists to join an existing organisation, or to establish their own group and, in the case of the latter, is it going to be an informal or formal group, and what objectives and methods will it implement in its activities? It was agreed in the discussions that Refugees Szczecin would remain an informal group (with possible formalisation in the future), a task-oriented and not a political or ideological one. The group set out to pursue two agendas: first, direct aid to refugees, and second, raising public awareness of the refugee problem, which involved inevitable confrontation with xenophobic and racist attitudes. Eventually it became necessary to also position the group in relation to the political parties. RS decided to remain independent of any parties and ideological and political spheres, while accepting occasional cooperation.

RS operates in a manner characteristic to grass-roots organisations that are not extensively formalised, established for a specific purpose, and bound together by a sense of common purpose, and a similar critical approach to the problem⁴. Even though there were elected leaders of this informal group, this decision did not matter at all in practice, as every decision is made on the basis of consensus reached during discussions, sometimes very heated. Even though RS is an *in statu nascendi* organisation, it can be described by means of the following features of the activity of social movements⁵:

3 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,18801219,uchodzcy-mile-widziani-manifestacja-pod-pomnikiem-czynu-polakow.html>; <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34939,18743864,uchodzcy-mile-widziani-manifestacja-w-szczecinie-i-zbiorka.html>.

4 D. della Porta, M. Diani, *Ruchy społeczne. Wprowadzenie*, Kraków 2009, p. 165.

5 Ibidem, p. 23–28.

- participation in a conflict whose purpose is to bring about or prevent a change;
- establishing informal social networks to exchange “assets”, information, and to participate in shared endeavours, broadly defined coalition-based cooperation while maintaining independence;
- developing a separate identity, defined by continuous sense of shared commitment and goals of the members of the social group accessible to those who follow the principles of mutual acceptance and are willing and able to cooperate.

Motives of the activities of the group members

As mentioned above, the activities of the group are mostly based on the respect for individual decisions of its members and their contribution to cooperation. Thus the motivations that prompted RS members to take up public activity need to be explained. As in the case of all movements and social organisations, RS was established upon certain shared emotions, axioms and a vision of the world⁶. The group members had not known each other before, and have no shared hobbies, educational backgrounds, ideologies or age groups. They have different personalities, experiences, views, and opinions on many issues. The world-view and emotional “interpretation framework” that enable individuals to identify meaning and evaluate events prompted the members of the group to organise⁷. This framework involved the disagreement to the indifference towards refugees, the need to aid the victims of the civil war in Syria, the belief in the equality of all people and the dignity of every human being and his/her right to improve their own lives and the lives of their loved ones. The activities of all the participants of RS also result from the need to carry out actual tasks, genuinely shape reality, contrary to the approach of the state authorities to refugees, which, in the opinions of the group members, is dilatory and xenophobic⁸. It can

6 Ibidem, p. 74–75, p. 91.

7 Ibidem, p. 81–82. More about the role of emotions in shaping social groups, see: R. Collins, *Ruchy społeczne jako obiekt uwagi emocjonalnej*, [in:] *Dynamika życia społecznego. Współczesne koncepcje ruchów społecznych*, K. Górlacha, P.H. Mooney, (eds.), Warszawa 2008, p. 248.

8 Number of 7.000, which Government of Ewa Kopacz declared to accept, was considered by members of RS as insufficient. Subsequently our objection was caused by the decision of not accepting any refugee and by statements of government members identifying refugees with terrorism and threat. <http://www.rp.pl/Unia-Europejska/309229822-Polska-za-Przyjmujemy-ok-7-tys-uchodzcow>.

be said that the commitment of RS members derives from – as Leszek Kołakowski has put it⁹ – the sense of individual responsibility for the world.

The mobilising factor for all the members of the group was also the need to oppose the increasingly widespread and increasingly radical attitudes, as well as xenophobic, racist and nationalist views expressed as verbal and physical violence¹⁰. The objection to such attitudes and behaviours (as it is the case with many movements and social organisations) prompted the establishment of the identity of the group based on a sense of division between “us and them”, and “oppositional awareness” towards antagonists¹¹. At the same time, the aim of the group is also to raise social awareness, and thus its members need to enter into debates with those who express and promote xenophobic agenda. Such debates are often confrontations in the social media, when the activities of RS are criticised, and the members of the group are subjected to verbal aggression. Discussions with those who oppose multiculturalism and the reception of refugees are an opportunity to get to know the arguments, views, and the mentality of people with hostile attitudes towards “aliens”, even if neither side changes their stance as a result of such a debate. The opponents of RS include those who express “cultural racism”, i.e. the belief that the representatives of a community are, due to the characteristics emerged in their culture, incapable of socialisation in different cultural environments, and thus pose a threat to another culture, in this case European one¹². For those who express such beliefs, the people whose attitudes had been formed in the realities of the Middle East are in fact a different kind of humans, which makes them unable to integrate with European culture. The opponents of RS include those who express “cultural racism”, i.e. the belief that the representatives of a community are, due to the characteristics emerged in their culture, incapable of socialisation in different cultural environments, and thus pose a threat to another culture, in this case

html; <http://www.prezydent.pl/kancelaria/aktywnosc-ministrow/art,139,na-forum-ue-powinn-a-odbyc-sie-bardzo-poglebiona-dyskusja-na-temat-migrantow---.html>; <http://www.fronda.pl/a/blaszczak-o-uchodzcach-musimy-byc-gotowi-na-zly-scenariusz,91062.html>; <http://www.tvp.info/23474546/blaszczak-o-uchodzcach-nie-pozwolimy-zeby-to-co-dzialo-sie-w-kolonii-powtorzylo-sie-w-polsce>; <http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju,3/witold-waszczykowski-o-przyjmowaniu-uchodzcow-przez-polske,594575.html>, [accessed 01.05.2017].

9 L. Kołakowski, *Etyka bez kodeksu*, [in:] L. Kołakowski, *Kultura i fetysze*, Warszawa 2009, p. 139–143, 171–173..

10 On attitudes and views of part of the society about refugees, see <http://liberte.pl/ciapaci-kozojebcy-i-terrorysty-islamofobia-w-polsce/>, [access 7.03.2017].

11 D. della Porta, M. Diani, *Ruchy społeczne...*, p. 103–104, 112–113; R. Collins, *Ruchy społeczne...*, p. 252; p. 258–259; J. Mansbridge, *Komplikowanie świadomości...* p. 314–343.

12 M. Wiewiorka, *Dziewięć wykładów z socjologii*, Kraków 2011, p. 99, 187–188.

European one¹³. For those who express such beliefs, the people whose attitudes had been formed in the realities of the Middle East are in fact a different kind of humans, which makes them unable to integrate with European culture. RS activists see the resemblance of these attitudes with the anti-Semitic¹⁴ views of the turn of the 19th and 20th century – refugees, like Jews, are the personification of evil, they are attributed with untameable atavistic behaviours, while their arrival is almost apocalyptic in nature, they intend to take advantage of the host countries so as to destroy European civilisation, they pose physical threat mostly to women, and it is the duty of every Polish person to resist such an invasion. In the opinions of the group members, this may attest to the cultural continuity of xenophobic attitudes among some part of the Polish society. This strengthens the belief of the RS activists that there is a division between “us” and “them”, and at the same time prompts the group members to work towards raising the citizens’ awareness.

Goals of Refugees Szczecin

As in the case of other movements and social organisations¹⁵, the activists and supporters of Refugees Szczecin share a sense of participation in a wider process and of being holders of values whose implementation is crucial for the identity of the country. According to RS members, the attitude towards refugees attests to Poland’s place within the sphere of humanistic and Christian culture, which put emphasis on individual human being. RS members maintain therefore that it is not Islamists, but Polish nationalist fundamentalists and demagogues, as well as the extremely simplified, sensational, dichotomous media depictions of immigrants, refugees and multiculturalism that are the actual threat to the European and Polish identities¹⁶. If, as Michael Wieviorka noted, democracy fosters the consolidation of multiculturalism¹⁷, then cultural homogeneity may be conducive to a shift towards authoritarianism. This is confirmed by the intensification in Poland of a phenomenon observed in the Western countries of turning towards the past – the “reproduction” and cre-

13 More about „cultural racism”, see – ibidem.

14 G. Krzywiec, *Szowinizm po polsku. Przypadek Romana Dmowskiego (1886–1905)*, Warszawa 2009, p. 250–258. Accuracy of mentioned associations seems to be confirmed by following publication: <http://www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/1044077,uchodzca-czyli-zyd-w-zastepstwie.html>

15 D. della Porta, M. Diani, *Ruchy społeczne...*, op. cit., 105–106.

16 R. Riemen, *Wieczny powrót faszystwu*, [in:] R. Reimen, *Wieczny powrót faszystwu*, s. Kraków 2014, p. 31–33.

17 M. Wieviorka, *Dziewięć wykładów...*, op. cit.

ation of tradition and identity. In the case of Poland it is a national past, the defence of which leads to the imposition of the proper one and only paradigm of thinking and acting, and even justifying discrimination and repression of those who are identified as belonging to a non-dominant ethnic and religious group¹⁸. Refugees have been depicted as vectors of infectious diseases¹⁹, while terrorist attacks in Western European countries were used to discredit multiculturalism²⁰. There has also been an expansion of the phenomenon referred to by Jerzy Jedlicki as “the temptation of collective power”, i.e. the strengthening and nobilitation of fascist communities promoting nationalist ideology and applying xenophobic and racist rhetoric²¹.

RS members object to such tendencies and projects. Refugees Szczecin attempts to implement a vision of democratic Poland, a country that respects the rights of a human being regardless of his or her origin, race, gender, or religion, which accepts individuality and diversity. RS favours the concept of “acknowledgement” (broader than the concept of tolerance), which embraces the acceptance of different cultural identities, but requires a respect for universal values, and instead of opposing particular values attempts to reconcile them within the framework of a cultural universe²². In other words, refugees should respect Polish and EU law, while Poland and the European Union should provide refugees with an environment that promotes actual integration. RS does not oppose values such as patriotism, but prioritises an inclusive model of patriotism, a model compatible with the norms accepted in the Western culture, and founded on Christian and humanistic values, which Poland believes is a part of²³.

18 Ibidem, p. 98–100, 110–111. An example of admission for possibility of repression might be an article by Dominik Zdort. The author acknowledges deportation as only right method of solving refugee crisis. He also considers deportation of Polish Tatars. See. <http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1177173-Dominik-Zdort--Dokad-deportowac-Tatarow.html#ap-2>, [access 7.03.2017].

19 <http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju,3/kaczynski-zastanawia-sie-czy-imigranci-sprowadza-do-europy-zarazy,585502.html>, [access 7.03.2017].

20 <http://wpolityce.pl/polityka/302147-blaszczak-multikulti-to-samobojstwo-i-zguba-dla-europy-taka-polityka-prowadzi-do-tego-ze-gina-ludzie?strona=2>, [access 7.03.2017].

21 J. Jedlicki, *Pokusa mocy zbiorowej*, [in:] R. Riemen, *Wieczny powrót...*, op. cit., 71–88.

22 According to Michael Wieviorka the concept of tolerance assumes right to cultural difference, but only under condition that this difference does not disturb the existing order. See. M. Wieviorka, *Dziewięć wykładów...*, op. cit., 111–112.

23 In 2005 UNESCO adopted the Convention, which is aimed at protection and promotion of multiculturalism and supporting of intercultural dialogue. See. Ibidem, p. 93.

Activities of Refugees Szczecin

Activities of RS can be divided into three categories: practical, educational and identity. The practical aspect is realised by means of collections of gifts for refugees who are at the centres in Germany and Poland. The first collection was held simultaneously with the demonstration on 12th September 2015 – at the initiative of Anna Alboth, a Polish journalist and traveller living in Berlin, and also the author of the “Family without borders” blog – sleeping bags for refugees were collected at that time²⁴. In October, in cooperation with the Dominican monastery in Szczecin and the Kana Theatre, RS held a collection of sleeping bags and winter clothes for refugee centres near Loecknitz, a small town 13 km from Lubieszyn near Szczecin. The outcome of the several visits to the centres was not only getting to know each other with the residents of the centres – mostly from Syria, but also from African countries – and arrange shared dinners, but was also an opportunity to learn about the financial needs of the refugees, also depending on the locations of the centres. As it turned out, one of the centres was located at a considerable distance from the nearest shop, while the road to the shop led through a forest. At the end of December 2015, RS asked the residents of Szczecin to help in the collection of bicycles for refugees. The outcome was thirty-one functional bikes delivered to the centre near Loecknitz²⁵. Another collection of winter clothes, underwear and footwear, as well as suitcases and backpacks, was held in January 2016²⁶. At the turn of May and June 2016, to celebrate Children’s Day with the motto “Donate toys to good people”, a collection of toys was held, to be delivered to a picnic for refugees in Berlin²⁷. In August, school supplies were once again collected, this time for children staying at centres in Poland²⁸. In October, clothes and kitchen assortment were collected for female refugees staying in Berlin. Before the New Year, sweets were collected

24 <http://thefamilywithoutborders.com/pl/akcja-gosc-innosc-pomoz-uchodzcom-2015-09-09/>; <http://www.dw.com/pl/%C5%9Bpiw%C3%B3r-jak-dom-polacy-wspieraj%C4%85-uchodzcom-przetrwac-zime-potrzebne-zimowe-ubrania/a-18723519>, [access 01.05.2017].

25 <http://www.24kurier.pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/rower-dla-uchodzcy/>, [access 8.03.2017].

26 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,19526865,pomoz-uchodzcom-przetrwac-zime-potrzebne-zimowe-ubrania.html>, [access 8.03.2017].

27 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,20130559,zbieraja-przybory-szkolne-i-zabawki-dla-dzieci-uchodzcow.html>, [access 9.03.2017].

28 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,21046449,potrzebne-slodycze-zabawki-przybory-szkolne-dla-dzieci-uchodzcow.html>, [access 09.03.2017].

for children at the refugee centre in Grupa near Grudziądz²⁹. In March 2017, to celebrate Women's Day, a collection of cosmetics and hygiene products was held for women in Grupa³⁰.

It should be noted that the above collections involve not only finding a location and announcing the collection, but also the selection, sorting, packing, and transporting donated articles. This involves extra effort, often time-consuming, which is extremely satisfying nonetheless, as it is an opportunity to learn first-hand the effects of the collection – in October 2016 alone, more than 700 kg of clothes, shoes, toys, kitchen appliances, and were collected – while in the Women's Day several dozen deodorants, shampoos, toothpastes, creams and lotions were handed to the Grupa centre. The organisation of collections is also a perfect opportunity to establish new contacts and the following long-term and fruitful cooperation – the students of several Szczecin schools participated in the New Year's collection of sweets, while the Remondis company made a significant contribution to the March collection.

Raising social awareness is yet another goal of RS. RS members believe that in the current situation, where extremely widespread xenophobic and racist views are reinforced by the propaganda from nationalist communities and the party ruling since autumn 2015, it is necessary to replace common myths, stereotypes, and biases about refugees and Muslims with dialogue, knowledge, and consideration. Public discussions, lectures, and meetings were deemed to be an adequate means to achieve this goal. In November 2015, a debate *Ethical, religious and political dimension of attitudes towards refugees*, with the participation of the audience was held. The guests included Prof. Jan M. Piskorski of the Institute of History and International Relations of the University of Szczecin, Dr. Waclaw Janikowski of the Institute of Philosophy of the University of Szczecin, Dr. Fuad Jomma of the Institute of Politics and European Studies of the University of Szczecin, Dr. Labib Zair of the Pomeranian Medical University, and prior Maciej Biskup of the Dominican Order³¹. Local media and the inhabitants of Szczecin found the debate interesting, which attests that there is demand for rational discussion and argumentation. In May, Prof. Piotr Balcerowicz, an expert on the problems of the Middle East and a lecturer at the University of Warsaw, was invited to Szczecin to give a lecture *Dimensions of*

29 <http://uchodzcy.info/event/szczecinzbioraka-slodczy-przyborow-szkolnych-dla-dzieci-osrodka-dla-cudzoziemcow-27-grudnia/>, [access 9.03.2017].

30 <http://radioszczecin.pl/1,344180,zbioraka-kobiety-kobietom&s=3&si=3&sp=3>, [access 09.03.2017].

31 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,19235473,u-dominikanow-o-uchodzcy-racjonalnie-bez-demonizowania.html>, [access 9.03.2017].

Syrian Civil War. Genesis, participants, and character of the conflict, and shed light on the various aspects of the Syrian conflict. The lecture by Prof. Balcerowicz was accompanied by the sale of the book “The Crossing: My Journey to the Shattered Heart of Syria” by Samar Yazbek³². In June, to commemorate the International Refugee Day, at the RS initiative two films were screened at the Szczecin Incubator of Culture depicting the hardships of refugees – Chechens who stay in Poland (“Cousins” directed by Bartek Tryzna and Monika Stpiczńska) and Syrian residents of a refugee camp in Jordan (“Salam”, directed by Zach Ingrasci and Chris Temple).

The presence at the Przystanek Woodstock festival in July 2016, as one of the non-governmental organisations, was an exceptional event among RS activities. As part of the preparations for the participation in the festival, in addition to the leaflets with information about RS activities, a twenty-page brochure was made, in cooperation with Natalia Gebert of Warsaw-based Open House, explaining what is migration, and addressing, in a polemical critical way, common myths and stereotypes of refugees, Muslims, Islam in general, and also presenting positive roles of foreigners and minorities in the history and culture of Poland. The presence at the Przystanek Woodstock festival was made possible thanks to the kindness of the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Foundation of the International Centre for Studies and Meetings, which provided a screen for showing films, and the Free Syria Foundation, which provided its tent; apart from that, personal equipment of the members was also used. During four days of the festival, RS screened documentary films about refugee issues, held an RPG session, whose participants played the roles of refugees, ceramic products were painted in Arabic patterns, the technique of making macramés (Arab knotting) was demonstrated, and, above all, many discussions were made with the participants of the festival, both those sharing the point of view of RS and those with fearful and biased attitudes towards refugees – often with surprisingly positive results. The event was an exhausting, but stimulating experience that made RS members believe that their efforts matter.

On 7-9th October 2016, as part of the “Films on the Road” event organised in Szczecin by the fellow Warsaw-based Open House, six refugee documentary films provided by Natalia Gebert were screened. Each day was concluded by a discussion with the invited guests – Father Maciej Biskup, psychotherapist Anna Borkowska, and Natalia Gebert – on the situation of refugees in Europe and Poland, and the phenomenon of mass migration. The events that took place at the beginning of 2017 – pasting anti-Semitic stickers on the headquarters of the

32 <http://www.polscywydarzenia.pl/wydarzenia-historia/479962/wyklad-prof-piotra-balcerowicz-a-wymiary-syryjskiej-wojny-domowej-geneza-uczestnicy-specyfika-konfliktu>, [access 10.03.2017].

Social and Cultural Society of Jews, and the events in Ełk, which triggered a wave of anti-Muslim violence – prompted RS members to organise a discussion whose purpose was to reflect on the causes and symptoms of xenophobia in Poland. The debate *Never again? Considerations...* was held on 5th February at the Dominican monastery, with the participation of Gazeta Wyborcza newspaper editor Konstanty Gebert, Open Republic Society member Paula Sawicka, prior Maciej Biskup, , and conducted by Dr. Radosław Ptaszyński of the Institute of History and International Relations of the University of Szczecin³³.

RS also aims to counteract the dehumanisation of refugees. To present emigration in brighter colours than it is usually done, and to bring closer the experiences of refugees, in February 2016, at the initiative of RS, a Municipal Public Library held a *Not-Stranger has a Voice. We read for Syria* event – reading of several short stories from the *Not-Stranger*³⁴ collection published by Agora. Almost a year later, on the occasion of the Women’s Day, the Municipal Public Library held the first edition of the reading of the accounts of female refugees to be published in the *In Our Own Words* book, held within the *Women of (t)here* project organised by Open House throughout Poland. The book comprises a collection of accounts, gathered by female workers of International Woman Space, of women who came to Europe from the Middle East, Africa and Asia and recounted their experiences. Three of the accounts translated by Natalia Gebert were read at the Szczecin library, followed by a discussion with the participation of the audience on the situation of women in Islamic countries, and the widespread unfavourable attitudes in Poland towards refugees³⁵. As recognised names have more impact, people who could attract larger audiences participated in both events – the short stories from the “Not-Stranger” volume were read by: writer Sylwia Chutnik, Szczecin-based musician Adam “Łona” Zieliński, and actors from local theatres: Paweł Niczewski, Jacek Polaczek and Rafał Hajdukiewicz. The refugees’ accounts were read by Anna Augustynowicz, the director of the Contemporary Theatre, Monika Wójtowicz, one of the organisers of the Black Protest, and Magdalena Filiks, the coordinator of the West Pomeranian Committee for the Defence of Democracy. Farnaz Hosseini, a filmmaker and film editor of Iranian origin, who

33 <https://szczecin.dominikanie.pl/2017/01/25/dyskusja-nigdy-wiecej-rozwazania-nad-zjawiskiem-rasizmu-i-ksenofobii/>, [access 10.03.2017].

34 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,19644769,nieobcy-ma-glos-czytamy-dla-syrii-razem-z-chutnik-polaczkiem.html>, [access 10.03.2017].

35 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/56,137466,21479443,prawdziwe-zycie-uchodzczyzn,,5.html>, [access 11.03.2017].

lives in Szczecin, was also present and shared her insights on the situation of women and social customs in Iran, and on her experiences in Poland.

RS expresses its identity by arranging and participating in demonstrations and protests. During these events the RS members voice their axiological views and opinions on the situation in Poland, express objections against the authorities, and demand changes in the refugee policy. Of course this is a kind of persuasion, but it is moral, emotional and intellectual one. As the demonstrations are attended by up to several dozen people, the “logic of attestation” applies instead of the “logic of numbers” – the demonstrators express their commitment, sensitivity, and emotions³⁶. The demands expressed during demonstrations are addressed not only at the powers that be. The purpose of the demands is also to present to the public a different way of interpreting of events and processes than the one prevailing in the public media and in the majority of Internet websites. A change in the social perception of the refugee issue may lead to a change in people’s views on the reception of people from the Middle East, and thus a change in the policy of the authorities.

The demonstration that started it all, has already been mentioned. In December of this year, a “Solidarity without Frontiers” demonstration was held – a protest against xenophobic assault on a musician of Angolan origins, a member of a local music band³⁷. The demonstration acquired wide attention due to the attack of a group of more than a hundred football hooligans of Pogoń Szczecin club led by the activists of the local All-Polish Youth unit, and the following police intervention with batons and tear gas³⁸. To some extent it has been a breakthrough – at that point a large group of people with anti-racist views decided to cooperate with RS. In May 2015, due to the widespread racist and xenophobic violence in Poland, RS organised, in cooperation with an informal group Basta Initiative for Animals, organised a manifestation “No consent to racist violence”³⁹. The participants of the demonstrations held boards whose contents referred to the acts of violence committed against foreigners, and appealed through the media to the authorities to make effort to prevent xenophobia and racism.

36 D. della Porta, M. Diani, *Ruchy społeczne...*, op. cit., p. 189– 191, 195–197.

37 <http://www.gs24.pl/wiadomosci/szczecin/art/9106432,muzyk-pobity-w-szczecinie-napastnicy-k-rzyczeli-wypier-do-syrii,id,t.html>, [access 11.03.2017].

38 <http://www.gs24.pl/wiadomosci/szczecin/art/9186893,awantura-i-bojki-podczas-pokojowej-manifestacji-w-szczecinie,id,t.html>, [access 11.03.2017].

39 <http://www.gs24.pl/wiadomosci/szczecin/a/protest-przeciwko-rasizmowi-w-szczecinie-nie-ma-przyzwolenia-na-rasistowska-przemoc,9962414/>, [access 12.03.2017].

In December 2016, as a response to the reports on the growing number of victims of Russian armed forces involved in the conflict in Syria, RS held an “End this war” protest in front of the Honorary Consulate of the Russian Federation in Szczecin⁴⁰. The participants of the protest held boards with photographs showing the tragic consequences of Russian bombings, and distributed leaflets with information about the situation in Syria and ways of helping the civilians. This was followed up by a silent protest against the war in Syria, involving the presentation, at several locations in the city, of boards with the photographs of the victims of the conflict, and the distribution of leaflets⁴¹. These protests were concluded by the “Szczecin Against Xenophobia”⁴² demonstration. It was also a response to the xenophobic riots in Efk, and to the particularly bothersome acts of racism, i.e. the posting anti-Semitic stickers on the Social and Cultural Society of Jews⁴³. During the demonstration, an appeal was addressed to the society, political authorities, the Church, and the media to oppose violence and the dissemination of nationalism and xenophobia. Apart from the participants, media and police, there was also President of Szczecin Piotr Krzystek, who declared his intent to cooperate with Refugees Szczecin. The last demonstration, organised jointly the Razem party, Basta and the Committee for the Defence of Democracy, was held on 18th March in connection with the International Day against Racial Discrimination, and was attended by approximately seventy people⁴⁴.

In spring 2017, Paulina Berczyńska and Filip Przytułski provided educational sessions on multiculturalism and discrimination at the West Pomeranian Centre for Maritime and Polytechnic Education. This marked the beginning of a broader educational campaign, which will be continued in other schools as well, in the 2017–2018 school year.

Social media (mostly Facebook) play an important role in RS activities. They are used for internal communication between the members of the organisation. Social media enable cooperation with other groups or persons committed to acting for the benefit of refugees, and are a means of acquiring supporters and members of

40 <https://www.facebook.com/events/1151390171641656/>, [access 01.05.2017].

41 <http://www.gs24.pl/wiadomosci/szczecin/a/szczecin-milczacy-protest-przeciw-wojnie-w-syrii-zdjecia-wideo,11668078/>, [access 11.03.2017].

42 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,21236828,szczecin-przeciw-ksenofobii-pikieta-na-pl-grunwaldzkim.html>; <http://szczecin.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/nie-przyjmujemy-kolorowyc-h-nieczystych-rasowo-antysemitki-i,3972984,artgal,t,id,tm.html>, [access 12.03.2017].

43 Ibidem.

44 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/7,34939,21506823,na-placu-solidarnosci-przeciw-rasizmowi-razem-mozemy-to-pokonac.html>, [access 12.03.2017].

the group. Social media also enable the promotion of events organised by RS, e.g. the RS fanpage publishes information on the activities of the group, video materials and reports of the events, articles, interviews, media reports on the war in Syria, situation in Chechnya, and the information on the issues of refugees, racism, and xenophobia⁴⁵. The group administrates a Facebook campaign “Szczecin – one city, many cultures”⁴⁶, whose aim is to obtain the grant offered by Tesco.

Summary

During the year-and-a-half activity of Refugees Szczecin, the group became a part of the Szczecin community of social organisations. The activities of the Group attracted media attention as early as in March 2016, the “Gazeta Wyborcza” daily published a comprehensive article on the activities and members of the group⁴⁷. The members of RS are invited to the media to discuss refugee issues⁴⁸. Some demonstrations are also covered by the nation-wide media⁴⁹. In the recognition of the efforts of the group it was nominated for the “Szczupak” award handed by the editors of “Gazeta Wyborcza” for outstanding local activities⁵⁰. The possibility of cooperating with President of Szczecin Piotr Krzystek also inspired great hopes. At the first meeting the issue of Szczecin receiving a family from Syria and several families from the refugee centre in Grupa, as well as the methods of countering xenophobia and racism were discussed⁵¹.

RS would not have been able to act if not for the cooperation within the network of social actors committed to the refugee case and multiculturalism. They are as follows:

- the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Foundation of the International Centre for Studies and Meetings, which makes its premises available for RS,

45 <https://www.facebook.com/RefugeesSzczecin/?fref=ts>

46 <https://www.facebook.com/JednoMiastoWieleKultur/?fref=ts>, [access 12.03.2017].

47 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,150424,19715755,niefORMALna-grupa-przeciw-nienawisci-kim-sa-ludzie-z-refugees.html>, [access 12.03.2017].

48 <http://radioszczecin.pl/276,4763,dzieci-z-aleppo-w-polsce-rozmowa&sp=10>, [access 12.03.2017].

49 <http://szczecin.onet.pl/szczecin-milczacy-protest-przeciwko-wojnie-w-syrii/f5g759w>, [access 12.03.2017].

50 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/56,150424,21127970,nominacja-do-szczupaka-refugees-szczecin,,9.html>, [access 12.03.2017].

51 <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/7,34939,21338496,refugees-szczecin-tez-proponowali-smy-przyjecie-rodziny-z-syrii.html>, [access 13.03.2017].

- Szczecin Dominican monastery, which serves as a location for the collection of gifts for refugees, and its prior Father Maciej Biskup, the participant of debates held by RS,
- Natalia Gebert of the Open House, who assists RS in organisational and factual effort,
- Anna Alboth, who keeps inspiring RS,
- Kana Theatre committed in the collection efforts and in promoting multiculturalism,
- the hospitable Municipal Public Library,
- Szczecin Incubator of Culture,
- refugee centre at Grupa,
- Basta Initiative for Animals,
- West Pomeranian Committee for the Defence of Democracy,
- “Szczecin without prejudice” Facebook group, which brings together communities that oppose xenophobia and racism.

Networking is made easier, since RS members remain in numerous personal relationships with other public actors, get involved in the activities of other informal groups and associations, thus fulfilling the condition of “multilateral commitment”⁵².

Primarily, however, RS would have been unable to operate without social resonance. According to the theory, the success of a social organisation is determined by the “adaptation of the interpretation framework” of the organisation and the community it addresses⁵³. This has been a success to some extent – each successful collection, high attendance at the discussions organised by RS, as well as lively, sometimes even heated discussions during debates disprove the opinion that all the Polish people share xenophobic views, and instead attest to the openness of at least some members of society, as well as their interest in multiculturalism. In the course of the RS activities its members have developed a “collective identity”⁵⁴ comprising of mutual trust and support, solidarity, shared experience, sense of the purpose of joint activities, active commitment to the refugee case

52 D. della Porta, M. Diani, *Ruchy społeczne...*, op. cit., p. 141–144.

53 Ibidem, p. 90.

54 Ibidem, p. 103–108.

and multiculturalism. This allowed the organisation to undergo the process of evolution from “social fermentation” through “excitement” to formalisation⁵⁵, which is not often the case for informal groups, due to their short periods of operation⁵⁶. By the decision of the group members, it will be formalised. At the moment of writing this article, final preparations for the registration of RS in the National Court Register are underway. The founding meeting was attended by seven people, who will be the first members of the association; the Board will consist of Paulina Berczyńska (the chairwoman), Jan Górski, and Filip Przytułski. As RS does not wish to be a group of reactive nature, it intends to emphasize multiculturalism in its activities, even though it will remain focused on acting to the benefit of refugees. Preparations are underway for the next edition of the Przystanek Woodstock festival, there are efforts to obtain grants, organise next meetings with people working for refugees, and to hold a multiculturalism picnic, with invited guests from Ukraine, the Middle East, the Caucasus, and perhaps also from other parts of the world.

55 Ibidem, p. 167.

56 Ibidem.

Monika Grötzinger

SOLWODI – Solidarity with Women in Distress, Berlin

WORKING WITH VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING FROM AFRICA – AN EXAMPLE OF THE SOLWODI ORGANIZATION

I am working as a social worker with an organization called SOLWODI. SOLWODI is an acronym for “Solidarity with women in distress”. The Organization supports migrant women and refugee women in need, especially victims of human trafficking and women who experience or have experienced other forms of violence and human rights abuse.

Human trafficking is a worldwide organized crime which violates human rights. The reason why we are talking about this issue in today’s seminar is, that human trafficking is also effecting many refugees and it is still a large and growing crime worldwide.

Initially I will give you more information about the organization and its structure. Then we will look at the international definition of Human Trafficking and also at the case study of trafficking from Nigeria to Europe. This type of human trafficking will also be presented to you by a short film titled “*Are we aware?*”. Finally we have a look at the role of social workers in this field, through examples of our work at SOLWODI, by presenting methods and the main areas we are working in.

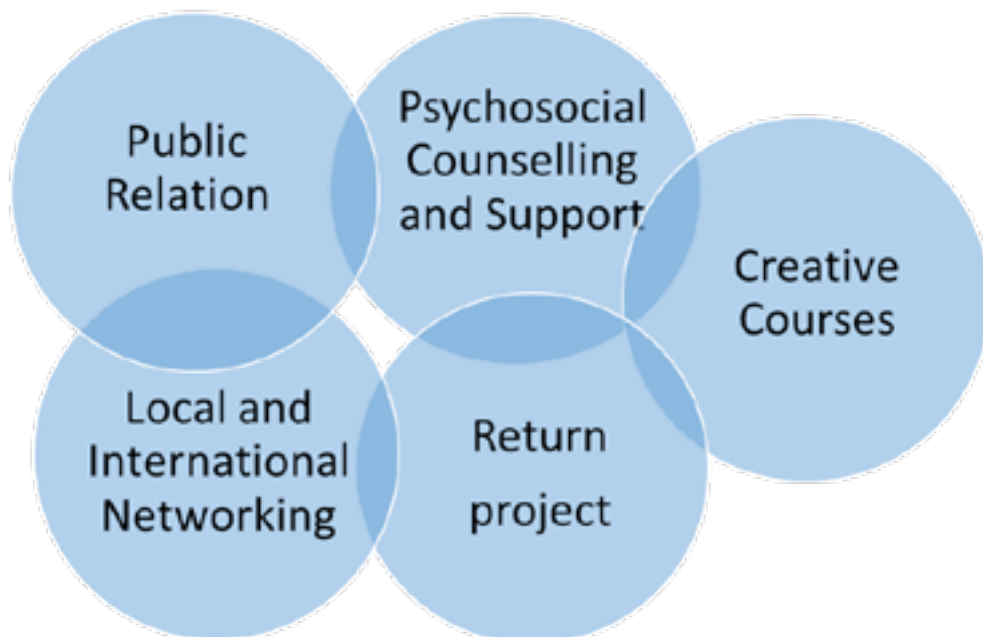
Our organization SOLWODI was founded in 1985 in Mombasa, Kenya, by a reverent sister: Sr. Lea Ackermann. She saw the alarmingly high numbers of women working in prostitution because of poverty, and started to collect funding from Germany to help women to abandon prostitution and to re-integrate into society. This is how she first laid the foundation for this charitable organization in Kenya. As this problem reaches far beyond the borders of Kenya and as large numbers of women are still brought to Europe by sex traffickers and forced into prostitution here, she established a SOLWODI branch in Germany.

It was a first step towards expansion of the organization. Today SOLWODI is active in Kenya, Austria, Romania and Germany. There are 17 counseling centers in Germany. Some of them have been operating for 30 years, some have a shorter history. Some offer also safe shelters. They deal with women from different regions and nationalities.

SOLWODI Berlin operates since 2008 and is focused on African women in need: mainly from West – and East Africa, especially Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, Kenya, Eritrea and Somalia. Our target groups are victims of human trafficking, forced prostitution, domestic violence and/or migrant women who experience or have experienced other forms of violence and human rights abuse.

The range of the working fields offered by SOLWODI Berlin is extensive and interconnected, which is illustrated by the graphic below.

Picture No. 1. SOLWODI working fields



The counseling center offers holistic *psychosocial counseling and support*. The main work is the psychosocial counseling which is culture sensitive and trauma focused. Our service is anonymous and free of charge and we offer it in different languages. Later on we are going to have a look at the details of this area.

We also provide a strong *Returnee Project*, which is aimed at supporting and empowering women, who have to or want to return to their home countries. In this project we enable women to live an independent life back home. For

this purpose we work with organizations in their home countries, helping with grants, scholarships for further education, or providing loans to start a job as an employee or independently.

In order to stabilize our clients we also offer different *creative courses such as*: painting, acting and dancing, self-defense and riding a bicycle.

In order to help effectively, we have a close *local and international network*. We established and sustain many contacts with organizations and institutions in Germany and abroad. In addition, we strive to increase *public relation* for these women by organizing awareness-raising publicity events. We give interviews, speeches and workshops in schools, universities and to other social groups to sensitize society for the topic of Human Trafficking. For example, since 2014 we host students of social work from Szczecin who attend our lectures on this topic.

A working definition of Human Trafficking

The term “Human Trafficking” has been defined by an international definition covered in the

Palermo Protocol 2000. Establishment of a worldwide recognized working definition enabled international cooperation in fighting the crime of human trafficking.

According to Article 3 of Palermo Protocol trafficking in person is:

- (a) *“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs¹;*
- (b) **The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;**

1 A working Definition: The Palermo Protocol (2000) supplements the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

- (c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a **child** for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;
- (d) “Child” shall mean any person **under eighteen years** of age.

Important is that Human trafficking is not only over the border it can be made inside country.

There are **three basic element** of the definition: action, means and purpose:

1. The **action** of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of persons (*it is not necessary to cross a border*).
2. By **means** of the threat or use of force, **coercion**, abduction, fraud, deception, **abuse of power or vulnerability**, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim.
3. For the **purposes of exploitation**, which includes exploiting the prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or similar practices, and the removal of organs.

Case Study: Human Trafficking from Nigeria to Europe

As you can see according to the definition, human trafficking is a wide field and has different forms and ways. Let us now look at the case study of human trafficking for sexual exploitation from Nigeria to Europe. In the SOLWODI Berlin counseling center we deal a lot with this form of human trafficking.

The recruitment of Nigerian Women always happens through relatives or friends, who invite women to immigrate to Europe by making them false promises and offering them help. The recruitment is built and works through trust and relationship. Because of violence women experienced in their home country, gender inequality and a lack of perspective, they are more vulnerable to traffickers and their false promises.

The transportation of women takes place under very bad conditions. Some are brought by aircraft, but the majority of women cross the Sahara desert and tell about days of walking through the desert without having anything to drink. They see numbers of women left behind to die in the desert. Those who make it to Europe are very often survivors. They are traumatized but also very strong.

Their journey from West Africa to Europe can take anything from some months to several years. On their way they are often raped and abused already by their smugglers. Before they entered Europe some women even had to leave their children, who they brought on the journey, behind in North Africa.

Inside Europe they are brought to different European countries. The human trafficking network is very flexible and reacts quickly to police controls, which makes it very difficult to investigate. Women, which today are working in Italy, for example, may be transported some months later to another city or country.

Victims from Nigeria and Western Africa have to visit a voodoo priest and go through a ritual during which they have to swear an oath, that they will obey the “madam” in Europe. The “madam” is a name for the human traffickers, which are often women. This ritual happens in their home countries before the victims leave for Europe. Some women know already in Nigeria that they might work in prostitution, but they have no idea about the working conditions and the prize they will have to pay, emotionally, psychologically, physically and financially. As they took an oath before a priest, they are very afraid to break that oath and they see their only chance in obeying the human traffickers. It is like a psychological prison, because of which they are very afraid to talk to the police, NGOs or any other person. They are loyal to the Madam. Voodoo makes them afraid that, if they report to the police, they will go mad, die, or something terrible will happen to them. But indeed the human traffickers also use physical violence as a means and abuse their power and the vulnerability of the women. Furthermore these women are afraid that, if they report to the police, something might happen to their family members in their home country. They also fear corrupt police here in Europe, because human traffickers tell them, that they have good connections to the police.

In Europe they find themselves in a helpless situation and are forced to pay anything from 50.000 to 70.000 € to the traffickers. Their passports are taken from them, which means they are working without payment in conditions which put their health and sometimes even their life at severe risk. As they need money to pay back their traffickers, they work in prostitution under very bad conditions, often on the street for little money while working 12 to 16 hours per day.

Dealing with Victims of Human Trafficking: Psychosocial Counseling by SOLWODI

How do we help victims of human trafficking? Our name SOLWODI is an acronym of Solidarity With Women in Distress. As you can see the main idea behind our activities is to show solidarity with women in distress. Very often victims of human trafficking come with different concerns: for example problems with their residence permit, letters they do not understand, social issues, high risk pregnancies and homelessness. After some time it might become apparent that they are victims of human trafficking and after a couple of visits, sometimes months or even years, they maybe start to trust us and tell us more about their story. Sometimes we suspect that a woman is a victim of human trafficking because she shows several indicators. In such a case we give her information about this issue, her rights and offer help. We do not push her to admit that she is a victim or to abandon prostitution, but we try to focus on women's needs by giving her support and psychosocial counseling. This might help in gaining her trust. The patience is crucial here. But usually it takes a long time to make her feel safe enough to reveal that she is a victim of human trafficking. Only a small number of victims of human trafficking go to the police. Many women are not aware that they are victims which make the identification more difficult. We also support in our counseling center the victims who decide to testify against human trafficker. It is often a long process from the preliminary proceedings to the trial. When they are in danger we need to find safe accommodation and we assist the women during the trial and accompany them to the court. We support victims before, during and after trials. We cooperate with authorities, assist in organizing social welfare, help with finding accommodation or safe shelters and organize legal assistance to solve problems with permission for residence. One important step is learning the German language, for which we give support in finding German courses and, afterwards, internships, training positions and advanced training courses. Some women are illiterate, which means the process from learning the language to finding work can take some years. In the course of time we always try together to develop a perspective for their lives. The process of psychosocial counseling differs from woman to woman, because each one needs different individual help. During counseling we orientate ourselves on the need, problems, wishes and abilities of every single woman.

Psychosocial counseling and support offered by “SOLWODI” has a holistic basic approach and encompasses among others these 12 areas:

- specialist trauma counseling
- crisis intervention
- stabilization and protection of the clients
- negotiating and mediating with local authorities
- organizing legal advice
- organizing social welfare
- assistance
- support for victim witnesses in trafficking trials
- help to find accommodation and safe shelters
- arranging German language courses
- developing plans and revealing perspectives
- Cooperating with police and NGOs.

To sum up I will show you our circular approach scheme of the methods we are working with in the illustration below.

Illustration No.2. Methods of social work we use



First of all, it is very important to give clients information. Information about the structure of the country they arrived in, their rights, abilities and social issues. When they know about their rights and possibilities, they can decide which direction to take. This is strongly connected with the method of empowerment.

Also it is very important to focus on the resources of the individual woman. During the counseling process we look at their strengths and abilities. Women we encounter are often illiterate or uneducated, but indeed have many capabilities, interests and skills. We support them in using those strengths in order to build their own life and their own way of integration inside society. This helps them to attain stabilization. Stabilization is a first step to integration. If the woman overcomes her crises and becomes stabilized, she can open her mind and engage with society. The integration into society for example, settling down and, as a first step, learning the language, is strongly connected to the stabilization of the women. All aspects are connected and influence each other.

Anna Linka

Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Szczecin

HOSTIPITALITY – KANA THEATRE CENTRE AND THE ISSUE OF REFUGEES AND “MIGRATION CRISIS”. A PEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

For more than dozen years, the activities of the Kana Theatre Centre in Szczecin has been emphasising the issues relating to cultural identity and meeting with the Other. The engagement in these topics was often accompanied by shedding light on the problems of those who are deprived of the right to their own culture, traditions and language, and forced to leave their homes as a result of military, political, or social conflicts, economic problems, or natural disasters. It is worth stressing that these issues were touched upon not only in strictly artistic activities, but also by organising meetings, lectures, debates, and collections e. g. for Tibetan refugees, victims of the earthquake in Japan, demonstrators in Kiev’s Majdan, Chechen refugees, and civilian victims of the war in Syria. The theatre hosted meetings on the nations whose members struggle to preserve their identities: Yakuts, Evenks, Tuaregs, Chechens, Roma, Armenians, Kurds. The Niebuszewo district of Szczecin witnessed a “Moving Home” theatrical activity, touching on the issues of German, Jewish, and Polish residents of this place¹. The Centre also realised projects focused on the homeless, addicted, disabled, and elderly people, as well as the youth from “difficult environments”. As the artists themselves put it: *the fates of the outcasts – also those of Poland (...) – is close to us because of the human-reinforcing features of art (also therapeutic ones)*².

-
- 1 K. Izdebska (2016), *Przestrzeń i miejsce w praktyce artystycznej. Socjologiczne studium przypadku*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego US „Minerwa”, p. 93–166.
 - 2 bip.um.szczecin.pl/files/.../Kana_kwiecien_2016.pdf, [access 10.09.2017].

The experience gathered during these activities enabled the realisation of the “Hospitality” and “Hostipitality” projects that were the response to the social processes and emotions triggered by the refugee issue and the so-called “migration crisis”. When the crisis broke out, the “Hospitality” project had already been underway. It made the people involved in the problem realise the validity and gravity of the topics it touches upon. “Hospitality” consisted of workshops for the youth (“Others are in Us”), workshops for seniors (“Alien Flavours”), neighbours’ meetings (“On the Private”), performance (“Tolerated Stay”), lectures by Prof. Wojciech J. Burszta of the Polish Academy of Sciences (“Otherness and Cultural Racism”), by Dr. Fuad Yomma of the University of Szczecin (“Geopolitical Dimension of the War in Syria and the Migration Crisis”), as well as the collection of sleeping bags and personal hygiene products for refugees in Berlin³. “Hospitality” was followed up with the “Hostipitality” project created as a response to the hostility of a large part of Polish society towards the people coming to Europe within the “migration crisis”. “Hospitality” also comprised lectures by Prof. Michał Buchowski of the Adam Mickiewicz University “Absent *Stranger*: on the so-called refugee crisis and Islamophobia and on Polish (non-)tolerance”, a “Tolerated Stay” performance, a meeting with Dr Tomasz Kitliński and Piotr Brożek (“Who is Otherness?”), a meeting with Aleksandra Chrzanowska from the Legal Intervention Association (“On the Present Stranger”), as well as workshops for the youth by Weronika Fibich (“Others are in Us” and by Piotr Motas (“Language User’s Manual”)⁴.

It is evident that these activities of the Kana Theatre have an important pedagogical aspect. It can be referred to in terms of cultural pedagogy, non-directive pedagogy and the concept of “lifelong learning”, European education, as well as social, intercultural, and global pedagogy.

Educational aspects of the Kana Theatre Centre projects

The projects carried out by the Centre transcend the understanding of creation as elitist and strictly artistic activities. The performances “Moving House”, “Tolerated Stay”, “On the Private”, and the workshops “Others are in Us”, “Alien Flavours”, “Language User’s Manual” blur the division between the creators and

3 http://www.szczecin.eu/zycie_w_miescie/miasto_poleca/inne/48910-dzien_solidarnosci_z_ucho-dzcami.html

4 bip.um.szczecin.pl/files/.../Kana_kwiecien_2016.pdf, [access 10.09.2017].

the audience, and creativity is regarded as the activity shared by everyone and discovered through active, personal, emotional, and intellectual commitment, jointly created through communication, formation of joint community, and taking shared responsibility for the environment⁵. This can be defined in terms of non-directive pedagogy. This stream blurs the division between the “educators” and the “educated”⁶. Instead, education becomes a series of interactions with intermittent initiative of both sides so as to shape democratic attitudes. Thus defined education establishes conditions for the development of the learners’ intellectual and emotional independence, and for their creative efforts and abilities to create a democratic environment. This requires shared responsibility for both direct environments and distant ones, including the global community⁷. Such pursuits are apparent in the activities of the Kana Centre. The theatre activities “On the Private” and “Moving House” touch upon the topics of relations with neighbours, the “Tolerated Stay” expresses the search for the common between guests and hosts (both at the table and in an overall human sense), while the lectures and collections related to the problems of nations and people deprived of the right to cultivate their own identity and threatened by military, political, social, economic and environmental reasons demonstrate the shared responsibility for the Other regardless of his or her origin. Kana Theatre Centre thus fulfils the UNESCO requirements for modern cultural institutions, which should strive to promote the development of democracy, strengthening civil society, shaping prosocial attitudes and sensitivity to cultural diversity, building a sense

5 This approach seems to refer to the concept of „dissemination of creativity” which reject perception of art as elitist activity, connected with creation of art works, division into creators and recipients. „Dissemination of creativity” restores to the culture its original, socialization function, See: M Filipiak (2001), *Subkultury młodzieżowe wczoraj i dziś*, Tyczyn, p. 113–114; A. Jawłowska (1988), *Więcej niż teatr*, Warszawa, p. 31–32.

6 The one who educates does not have to be here pedagogue, teacher, educator or another person formally playing this role. It can be anyone who undertakes activities aimed at expanding knowledge, shaping attitudes, introducing certain values, See: C. Rogers, H. J. Freiberg (1994), *Freedom to Learn*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

7 B. Śliwowski (2005), *Współczesne nurty i teorie wychowania*, Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”, Kraków, p. 115–134., A. Linka (2008), „Człowiek samorealizujący się i „Osoba w pełni funkcjonująca” w kontekście programów edukacyjnych szkół międzynarodowych, [in:] T. Rzepa (ed.), „Psychologiczne konteksty problemów pedagogicznych”, Wyd. Zapol, p. 37–48.

of responsibility for the social community from the local through to the global level⁸. This opens a lot of possibilities for regional and global education⁹.

Another educational trend which the projects of Kana Centre projects can fit into is the concept of lifelong learning. It claims that education should maintain a holistic nature (i.e. should combine intellectual and emotional spheres, as well as reflection and action), and should most closely resemble actual life situations, should be addressed to people of all ages, and should be divided into formal, informal, and incidental/extra-formal¹⁰. The activities of the Kana Theatre are examples of non-formal education carried out within the framework of a cultural institution. They have a holistic nature, as they provide us with the opportunity to listen to numerous lectures by renowned scientists and specialists from all over Poland, and also actively participate in theatrical activities and workshops. We experience the problems they raise, and are affected by the emotions they convey. The form of the theatrical activities and workshops bring us closer to actual life situations, e.g. the “Alien Flavours” cooking workshop we get to know the Chechen culture via their cuisine, and the “Tolerated Stay” theatrical activity places us in a flat imitating that inhabited by refugees. Even though the projects and lectures are addressed to people of all ages, some of them were made for selected audiences, e.g. seniors (“Alien Flavours”) or the youth (“Others are in Us”, “Language User’s Manual”). The activities of the Centre are in line with the European Union’s educational policy, which promotes the integration of lifelong learning with cultural diversity¹¹.

The projects by the Kana Theatre Centre, i.e. a cultural institution, also relate to cultural pedagogy¹². Our activities relating to social and cultural exclusion,

8 K. Waluch (2004), *Finansowanie kultury w programach i funduszach Unii Europejskiej*, Płock, p. 6–7; M. Kubiszyn (2007), *Edukacja wielokulturowa w środowisku lokalnym. Studium teoretyczno-empiryczne na przykładzie ośrodka „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN w Lublinie”*, Wyd. Adam Marszałek, p. 48–49, 86–87, 95, 142.

9 J. Nikitorowicz (2009), *Edukacja regionalna i międzykulturowa*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie i Profesjonalne, p. 251–263.

10 formal (runs in educational institutions and results in confirmation of qualifications), informal (runs outside the formal education system, for example in cultural institutions, non governmental organizations, workplaces, volunteer groups) non-formal (being part of our everyday life, covering all experiences – meetings, talks, events – which provide knowledge and shape our world view), See: *A Memorandum o Lifelong Learning, Commission of the European Communities*, 2000, Bruksela, p. 8.

11 *A Memorandum o Lifelong Learning, Commission of the European Communities*, 2000, Bruksela, p. 8; Patrycja Bander i in. *Kompas. Edukacja o prawach człowieka w pracy z młodzieżą. Stowarzyszenie dla Dzieci i Młodzieży „Szansa”*, Centralny Ośrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, 2005, Warszawa, p. 21–22.

12 M. Kubiszyn (2007), *Edukacja wielokulturowa w środowisku lokalnym. Studium teoretyczno-empiryczne na przykładzie ośrodka „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN w Lublinie”*, Wyd. Adam Marszałek, p. 75–76, 106–107, 111–115.

organising activities for the local community, and to its history and cultural heritage are in line with the premises of social pedagogy¹³ and intercultural education, which stems from the former¹⁴. Jerzy Nikitorowicz describes it as “(...) a set of interdependent influences of individuals, groups and institutions, organisations, associations, and relations that foster the development of a human being so as to make him/her a fully conscious and creative member of a family, local, regional, religious, national, continental, cultural and global-planetary community, and to enable active self-fulfilment of his/her own, unique and lasting identity and distinctness”¹⁵. Intercultural education also promotes cultural integration, i.e. the ability of people from different cultural groups to interact on a regular and permanent basis in the public and private sphere. These interactions need to be accompanied by the exchange and mutual respect for each other’s values and norms, coexistence and cooperation, while the emerging tensions and cultural conflicts must be resolved by means of negotiating stances and meanings (it is maintained that conflicts are an inevitable and necessary aspect of cross-cultural encounters). Cultural relations are not perceived in this case through the lens of statuses and groups, but through interacting individuals. It is assumed that the “irreducible difference” relates to the differences both in the majority of the society, as well as in the minorities. This difference occurs between the representatives of various religions, races, social classes, nationalities, cultures, views, preferences, etc. Difference is considered to be a fundamental feature of a human being¹⁶. Such an individualised approach is also present in the activities of the Kana Theatre Centre. For example, the participants of the “Other is in Us” workshop or the “Tolerated Stay” performance get the opportunity to discover what does it mean for them to be different or unwanted, to be a tolerated guest. The “Language User’s Manual” workshop, as well as the “Moving House” and “On the Private” are not rigidly scripted. Their course and the lines largely depend on the meaning assigned to the discussed topics by the participants, i.e. on their personal experiences, feelings, and reflections. The participants of the meetings with Piotr Brożek and Dr. Tomasz Kitliński had the opportunity to learn not only about the issues of or religious differences, but also about emotional difference, or difference due to social class and worldview discrepancies. Cultural integration involves the exchange and mutual alignment of

13 Ibidem, p. 117, 175, 227, 275–276, 285–286.

14 Ibidem, p. 75, 87, 91–93, 95, 106–107, 109, 110, 116, 165.

15 J. Nikitorowicz (2003), *Wartości etnosu jako podstawa kształtowania tożsamości wielokulturowej, podłoże konfliktów kulturowych i cel edukacji międzykulturowej*, [in:] T. Lewowicki, E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, A. Gajdzica (eds.), *Świat wartości i edukacja międzykulturowa*, Cieszyn–Warszawa, p. 9.

16 P.P. Grzybowski (2008), *Edukacja Europejska...*, op. cit., p. 77.

the majority and minority group. Therefore, a premise of intercultural education is the need to educate the minorities (e. g. ethnic groups, immigrants) and also the majority of the society. The projects by the Kana Theatre are addressed primarily to latter. Studies on the model of integration of immigrants in Gdańsk reveal that cultural institutions play a critical role in dissemination the notion of integration in the local community. Alas, there is still little awareness of the importance of their role¹⁷. This makes all the more appreciable the educational effort by the Kana Theatre Centre in this respect.

Meeting the Other as the ability to enter the border area

Przemysław Grzybowski maintains that the goal of intercultural education is to enable the functioning in the borderland¹⁸. Naturally, this concept is not limited to territorial or geographical borders only, and can also be interpreted in terms of cultural borders defined by Nowicka, i.e. “a situation of those who experience regular and extended contact with people of different cultures and ethnic groups, thus embodying in action the internal theme of a borderland”¹⁹, psychological borderland defined by Sadowski as “a specific individual and collective consciousness, emerging upon contact with other cultural forms”²⁰, or reflective borderland, thus described by Nikitorowicz: “borderland defined this way would stand for the transcendence of thought beyond the conceptions and interpretations maintained by an individual thus far, the transcendence of the limits of one’s own experience and knowledge under the influence of subjective and objective contacts”²¹. Entering the cultural, mental, and reflective borderland is one of the key themes of “Hospitality” and “Hostipitality”. It occurs e.g. in the “On the Private” theatrical activity, focused on transgressing the border of psychological foreignness in relation to closest neighbours. Weronika Fibich, the initiator of the activity, describes this as follows

The premise is that we try to invite neighbours to the activity so as to provide it with extra-theatrical meaning (...). Among the first apartments where the

17 M. Siciarek, W. Wiktorowska, A. Gaj-Sokołowska, A. Strzałkowska (2016), *Model Integracji Imigrantów*, Urząd Miejski w Gdańsku – Wydział Rozwoju Społecznego, Gdańsk, p. 77–84.

18 P.P. Grzybowski (2008), *Edukacja Europejska...* op. cit., p. 78.

19 M. Torenc (2007), *Nauczanie międzykulturowe – implikacje glottodydaktyczne*, Wrocław, p. 32.

20 Ibidem.

21 Ibidem.

activity was performed was the flat of a fan of the Miedzianka football club in Legnica. The host of the activity invited his neighbours, and following the activity they lent us some missing forks, and there were first positive reviews in the local grocery store. On the next day we went to see the city, with our neighbours as guides. We also performed in an apartment in a tenement house in Szczecin, where the audience came wearing their own slippers, brought chocolate, and, in fact, performed the first part of the activity exclusively on their own, while the audience included a refugee woman from Ukraine (...). Following a performance, a lady on the street sighed and remarked that there are no neighbours in here area, just tall fences (...). The day following a performance in Szczecin, a neighbour passing by on the stairs declared that her work colleague will pay her a visit, and that they talked all day that people who live next to each other no longer talk to one another... let alone talking to refugees²².

Talks with refugees became the foundation of a yet another theatre activity: “Tolerated Stay”. The name of the performance is a reference to a form of international protection that, apart from a refugee status, a foreigner is able obtain in Poland. The participants of this activity learn about the experiences of a Chechen family who are in Poland on the basis of a temporary stay. Weronika Fibich and Ewa Łukaszewicz, the creators the of performance, got acquainted with the family by working at a refugee centre in Grotniki. They made friends with the family members and became frequent guests at their home. During the activity, the roles are reversed – the artists invite the participants to the house, which plays the role of the flat of the Chechen family. Weronika Fibich remarks that she was inspired by the words of Cezary Wodźński on hospitality – “When we enquire into the meaning of hospitality, we immediately find ourselves on the mysterious borderland between the home country and a foreign country, between Me and the Other”²³. It is precisely this mysterious borderland that the participants of the “Tolerated Stay” activity enter. The following is a description by one of the participants:

Upon being introduced into the living space of the flat, we wonder if protagonists of a novel could have inhabited it. We have to use an intercom to enter, then knock on the door, greet Ewa, take off our shoes at the doorway,

22 W. Fibich (2017), „Pobyt tolerowany” – artyści w przestrzeni prywatnej/publicznej. *Prezentacja projektu* [in:] K. Izdebska (ed.), *Sztuka poza instytucjami? Artysta w przestrzeni publicznej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego „Minerwa”, Szczecin, p. 143–144.

23 *Ibidem*, p. 136.

and complete all the rituals of visiting. The hostess obliges as well. She sits guests at the table and starts a conversation. We listen to the story of Luiza and Adam, and their children, and learn what happened to them, why they decided to escape, and what was the crossing like. We get to know the habits of the little ones, learn what are their parents favourite dishes. We offer some help, and even can treat ourselves to these fine meals. We talk.. We agree that the northern Caucasus is beautiful. We all wish to travel there, had there not been the war... The radio in the background declares a xenophobic remark about Chechens, we are cutting garlic, Putin is revealing his plans, someone's hand reaches for a fork, Ewa is talking about the nightmare at the border. It is a powerful concrete think with physical impact directly on the body, preventing it from sleeping and feeling at peace. Warmth, family home, shared table...., the complacent atmosphere of peace and quiet keeps being disturbed by the gloomy reality forcing its way inside²⁴.

The participation in the "Tolerated Stay" is accompanied by a sense of being on the border between otherness and selfness, a sense of both safety and discomfort. This is partly due to the fact that the "Tolerated Stay" itself is on the border between a theatrical show, performance, and meeting. As one of its participants writes:

Tolerated Stay works on various senses. We hear stories, we see buildings being demolished, we taste cakes, and smell kitchen flavours, we touch carpets with our bare feet. We are immersed in the world presented so immensely that sometimes it is difficult to tell where art ends and where life begins (...). The audience are unable to figure out whether they are still bound by theatre conventions or should they remain passive. They feel insecure, failing to recognise the situation they are in. This makes it easier to bring out the topic²⁵.

When the participants seem to finally understand the "game rules", when they develop a sense of community and shared eating, the scenery is rapidly changed. The daily goods and the dining space, which, just a moment before, had established an atmosphere of a peaceful home, turn into a model of a bombarded city. The play of lights and shadows adds to the dreadful mood. The audience witness the disaster that plays out and start to realise the illusion of the belief in the stability of everyday life. At some point they are left alone with the picture of ruins. Is this the end? Is it time to leave? There is no clear-cut end of

24 J. Kocemba *Blaski i cienie nad pobytem*, materials of Theater Center „Kana” in Szczecin.

25 Ibidem.

the performance. The participants of the activity, however, just like the refugees fleeing war, are not given a symbolic farewell. What next? It might seem that the story has no happy end – it is followed by the procedure for refugees and then by tolerated stay, which consists of living on the borderland between being a tolerated guest and an non-tolerated stranger.

Hostipitality – the Other is in Us

An anthropologist, who described his experience of the participation in the activity says: – *Tolerated Stay* “teaches us that otherness requires intimacy, as it is only then that we get close to another person in the existential sense.. Let’s try to imagine such intimacy in relation to this sea of people, where every human being is but a drop, and which makes the entire ocean visible...”²⁶. Getting close, however, does not always result in openness, and hostility may become the other end hospitality. This is what Dr. Tomasz Kilinski elaborates on at “Who is Otherness?” meetings. The author invokes the term “hostipitality” – a portmanteau coined by Jacques Derrida, which implies shows there is intrinsic hostility in any hospitality. This is evidenced by, among others, the Proto-Indo-European etymology of both words, which share a common source. The Proto-Indo-European “ghostis” (meaning: alien, newcomer) is the root word for both a guest, i.e. a welcome stranger (cf.. Proto-Slavic “gostъ”) and an enemy, i.e. an unwelcome stranger (c.f. Latin “hostis”). What determines whether the stranger will become a guest or an enemy? At “Who is Otherness?” meetings Dr. Tomasz Kitliński and Piotr Brożek give the answer – it depends on whether we, as hosts, are able to accept the stranger at our home, and whether we, as guests, are able to open the host to our Otherness. What does the former mean? To provide the explanation Tomasz Kitliński refers to Julia Kristeva, a French philosopher of Bulgarian origin and the author of the book “Strangers to Ourselves”. Kristeva demonstrates that it is only when we recognise a Stranger in ourselves we will be able to accept a Stranger in the Other. She is inspired by the “Love thy neighbour as thyself” commandment and the verses of the Old Testament: “Thou shall not oppress a stranger. Love you therefore the stranger”. She considers these words to be the milestones of recognising strangers in the history of mankind. She was also inspired by the “Song of Songs” (the Bride is different – “swarthy, and yet beautiful”), the Book of Ruth (even though Ruth is a Moabite and a stranger to Jews, she becomes the matriarch of Israel. In all cultures

26 W.J. Burszta, *Ludzkie morze*, [za:] www.e-teatr.pl/pl/artykuly/215329, [access 10.09.2017].

a mother-in-law is the figure of hostility. But here, a daughter-in-law of a foreign tribe and her mother-in-law both say, "Wherever you go, I will go"). Jesus related to the stranger by saying, "I was a stranger and you took me in". In Poland, we are witnessing an increase in hostility towards aliens represented by immigrants and refugees. Tomasz Kitliński maintains that this because we have not accepted the strangers in ourselves. In our culture presence is established through competition. It begins as early as at school with comparing grades, and, in later life, it is economic differences that mark who is better and who is worse. This attitude then expands to encompass broader environment – a stranger is one who has a different religion, or comes from a different country. We are still Strangers to ourselves, as demonstrated by the "Unremembrance" film by Piotr Brożek, in which the author confronts the legacy of serfdom and the class differences present in Polish society²⁷. "Unremembrance" depicts Magda, a girl from the countryside, and Franciszek, a descendant of an aristocratic family, who exchange their roles. They attempt to recognise their Polish identity by juxtaposing it with things they had found to be alien – rusticity or aristocracy. The entire film is based on hostility – conflict intertwined with the encounter of two worlds. According to Piotr Brożek, the film contributes to an important intellectual debate on Polish society. The fact that both right-wing Rafał Ziemkiewicz and left-wing Jaś Kapela endorsed it seems to confirm that.

Workshops for seniors and the youth are yet another activities of the Kana Centre that involve the concept of Hospitality were. The "Others are in Us" workshops consisted of carrying out educational activities in line with the philosophy of openness of J. Kristeva, which "moves the centre of gravity to the individual – here every I is the *Other*, so there is no such *Otherness* that should be met with injustice and persecution"²⁸. The participants of the "Alien Flavours" workshops had an opportunity to learning the recipes of Chechen cuisine and to recognise the familiar and the strange. By participating in a free conversation they learned the fate of the family of refugees who had shared the recipes. The participants discovered that if they were in the shoes of the refugees, they would not necessarily be able to meet the requirements that they would otherwise impose on a Stranger to become a Guest. This enabled them to establish their own definition of hospitality²⁹. The

27 For Kiliński, „The Other” in himself was his homosexual orientation. The road to its acceptance led through Polish literature and theatre. First he turned to theatre which in Poland always dealt with otherness and foreignness (author mentioned Słowacki, Czechowicz, Gombrowicz, Kantor, Grotowski and creators of alternative theaters). Next Kitliński found support in literature of Maria Janion, in particular in the volume „Odmieńczy”.

28 W. Fibich (2016), "Pobyt tolerowany" ..., op. cit., p. 144.

29 Ibidem, p. 146.

youth participating in the “Language User’s Manual” workshop looked for linguistic similarities in various cultural contexts and made effort to understand foreign expressions through familiar sounds³⁰. It is worth noting that the purpose of all the activities listed above (lectures, films, workshops) was to make the participants aware that deepening their awareness of themselves, their culture and its diversity makes it easier to understand the Stranger. Therefore, these activities are in line with the relevant premises of intercultural education³¹.

The meetings in the Kana Theatre also touched upon the topic of hostility. At the “Otherness and Cultural Racism” lecture, Prof. Wojciech J. Burszta indicated how hostility is reinforced by the persistence of unfair stereotypes. He illustrated it using the example of the definition of a black person in 19th century Encyclopaedia Britannica, which attributed to Africans innate laziness, propensity towards aggression, immaturity, and inability to cope without the help of Western people³². This definition is an example of scientific racism based on natural selection, the times of which are gone. Today we are facing the phenomenon of attaching features that had been used to describe a race to culture, i.e. the so-called cultural racism. The opinion of cultural racism on Africans is the same as that of Encyclopaedia Britannica, but the difference is that the reasons are attributed not to race but to culture. Just as it used to be forbidden to “mix races”, today threats are perceived in the influx of people who are culturally different, as it may have a negative impact on the condition of Western societies. Cultural racism promotes the “us versus them” way of thinking, which constitutes another barrier to establishing mutual relations. This issue was elaborated on by Prof. Michał Buchowski at the “Absent *Stranger* lecture on the so-called refugee crisis, Islamophobia and Polish (non-)tolerance”. The speaker pointed out that cultural fundamentalism is more antagonistic than cultural racism, as it shares all the premises of the former, but adds the belief that hostility towards the Other is a part of human nature. In the “Geopolitical Dimension” of the War in Syria and the Migration Crisis” lecture Dr. Fuad Jomma remarked that hostility towards newcomers from the Middle East is caused, among others, by the fact that both immigrants and Europeans know very little about each other, and instead follows the stereotypes about the other side. Moreover, the outrage triggered by terrorist attacks committed by a narrow group of Islamists is directed towards all

30 bip.um.szczecin.pl/files/.../Kana_kwiecien_2016.pdf, [access 10.09.2017].

31 M. Sobecki (2016), *Komunikacja międzykulturowa w perspektywie pedagogicznej. Studium z pogranicza polsko-litewsko-białorusko-ukraińskiego*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa, p. 99, 101.

32 Lecture of Prof. W. J. Burszta, *Otherness and Cultural Racism*.

Muslims in Europe. This may lead to their isolation and radicalisation, which in turn will intensify the hostility of Europeans.

Silenced stories – encountering cultural conflict

In the “Otherness and Cultural Racism” Prof. Wojciech J. Burszta touched upon the problem of the “silenced stories”. Stories that used to evoke and win support of the entire world and that today are not remembered by anyone except few specialists. The researcher referred to, among other things, the Biafra independence war, which claimed one million lives, or the Chechen wars. Our sensitivity to such stories is dulled due to geographical and cultural distance. Wojciech J. Burszta recalls the example of Chechens, who in the 1990s were enthusiastically supported by Polish people. The cause of this support was their struggle with the old enemy of Poland, but the support was not accompanied by any knowledge of Chechen culture. Wojciech J. Burszta realised at that time that this enthusiasm would end with the appearance of the refugees, when it becomes necessary to establish ways of cooperating with people who are culturally very different than us. He invoked an example of his friend Adam Borowski, a distinguished oppositionist and a honorary Consul of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria in Poland:

Adam had been an advocate of the Chechen cause, and when he became the honorary consul of the Chechen Republic in Poland, he became a half-Chechen. He told me that he had found out first-hand that there is a difference between supporting something from a distance and understanding and helping to organise the lives of people on the spot. And he took them in en masse in his flat. He used to host entire families for months. At the same time, with each day Adam became more convinced that there is cultural strangeness between him and the Chechens, and he must learn how to interact with them. He must not, for example, apply his cultural patterns of addressing women to Chechen women. My friend found out that the stereotype of a Chechen of that time – a person that is honourable at all times and opposes Russia – almost like a Polish insurgent, carries on the battle that we once fought – does not apply at all when it comes to real contact and actual communication. A great number of the problems of this type made Adam lose some of his enthusiasm. While he did not give up, he realised that understanding the fate of these people

only through their struggle for independence from Russia is completely different from them trying to find their place to live in Poland.

The problem of ignoring cultural differences was also touched on by Dr. Fuad Jomma. During his lecture “Geopolitical Dimension of the War in Syria and the Migration Crisis” he enquired whether European societies, including Poland, are genuinely ready to receive a large number of people from different cultural backgrounds. The knowledge of the Polish people about Middle Eastern cultures is scarce, which is conducive to the polarisation of attitudes towards refugees. He also remarked on geographical distance – the second factor referred to by Wojciech J. Burszta as a factor dulling the sensitivity to tragic events. Europe drew attention to the problem of refugees from Syria and Iraq only when they appeared within its borders, even though only one in a thousand needy people arrived in Europe, and this one in a thousand includes those who were these were the most well-off and the strongest. The most numerous and most needy remain in refugee camps scattered throughout the Middle East, yet no one is looking for a solution to their problems, as they are not Europe’s problem, as long as they are there. This opinion was backed by one of the participants – Romuald Zańko of the “Foundation under Gowns”, who, within the “Burning City” and “I am Rewriting this Poem” actions publicised the activities of Polish organisations that provide assistance within the territory of the Syrian conflict. He also went to Syria to help. Unfortunately, no TV broadcasters were interested in promoting activities. At the same time, these broadcasters exploited the themes of the migration crisis.

During the follow-up discussions, the problems of migration from the Middle East emerged as a “silenced topic”. In the opinion of some participants, they have been paid insufficient attention. Below are some opinions voiced during the discussion that followed the „Absent *Stranger* lecture by Prof. Michał Buchowski on the so-called refugee crisis, Islamophobia and Polish (non-)tolerance”:

- *Participant A: Meetings of this kind are attended by those who are already convinced. The sceptics had left. Such meetings make us shut ourselves off in the same circle (...).*
- *Participant B: The language and organisation methods should be adjusted to the remaining part of the society. The discussion was stifled at the outset by political correctness. Both you and the audience talked in a politically correct manner. You refer to education based on humanism, but which humanism do you have in mind? Christian one, Islamic one? We wave*

aside the radical discrepancy connected to the greatest value – life. It is approached differently in Christianity and in Islam (...). You admitted it yourself that we have no frame of reference to deal with such a difficult issue, which we are just beginning to touch upon now (...). It turns out that we are actually talking to a mirror, trying to convince ourselves. As those with different views had left, how can we establish a platform for discussion with someone else? For example, was anyone invited who could voice a different view?

- *Participant C: The group that left was a group of difficult youth that were invited by our friend. I am glad that they were here, but I do not believe that they left because of their political views. They just had to be elsewhere. It is an example how easy it is to fall into the trap of placing others in a frame.*
- *Participant D: There are so few of us here today and yet see how difficult it is for us to communicate, we are mistaken about the intentions of others. I agree with what you said about political correctness. I am interested in these topics, I follow the Internet. I believe that we are not told the truth, e.g. scientists avoid keep avoiding difficult topics (...). First we need to clearly define what we are talking about, and then discuss rationally. I do not agree that all is free of problems. If women at some German town were in danger (and such danger is a real problem!), it is the state that should protect its citizens, instead of saying: women, do not go there as you might get attacked. So, we are being lied to.*

The above comments imply that the inability to discuss problems related to the so-called migration crisis is a yet another “silenced topic”. This issue is also touched on by Prof. Michał Buchowski, who notes that the debate on the reception of refugees was polarised into two discourses, which can be arbitrarily referred to as a national-conservative and a liberal one. Neither side is able to convince the other. Also, nobody knows how to carry out this debate so as not to create another front line between these two opposing discourses. Michał Buchowski provides the following summary of this issue:

Liberals scorn these whom they refer to conservatives and nationalists, and position themselves as enlightened Europeans. They believe that they oppose the forces of ignorance, and thus they create a division, referred to by Władysław Gomułka as the division between “Their

enlightened lordships, and the dimwits". Even Christianity is interpreted following the division between liberals and conservatives. Liberals refer evangelical arguments to argue for the reception of refugees. National conservatives oppose the reception of refugees by referring to the need to defend Christian Europe.

The lack of dialogue between these two camps can be attributed to the “us and them” division, which makes the differences worldview the basis for the establishment of the identity of the members of the opposing camps, and an adversary is by definition regarded to as someone inferior. This makes any agreement impossible. Another participant of the discussion – Romuald Zańko of the “Foundation under Gowns” pointed to the existence of this exact problem.

I would like to refer to the fact that we are entrenched in camps. During the “Burning City” and “I am Rewriting this Poem” events we deliberately decided not to touching upon the issue of refugees who arrived in Europe, and instead talked about the suffering of those who are in Syria. We talked about the activities of four Polish organisations that provide assistance on the spot. This is why we are often approached by people who were afraid to receive refugees in Poland. Then the advocates of receiving refugees prevented any meeting. They attacked them, and said “What have you contributed so far!!!” At some point, we were approached by a bishop, a supporter of the fundamental Catholic Radio Maria, who used to object to receiving refugees, but changed his mind. He offered us help. This made everyone mad. People were raving that he had no right to be on our side, considering his past. This awakened our “selfness” – a kind of tribal view of the world. The same happened on the other side. Two years ago, Stanisław Likiernik said that he would like Warsaw of 70 years ago to become a symbol making Poles help people who are dying somewhere in the world. This is why, as part of the “I am Rewriting this Poem” activity, we organised a meeting at the Warsaw Uprising Museum. Some people said then: We will never go to the Warsaw Uprising Museum! This is a place for nationalists and fake patriots! Sometimes both sides acts as if they were football hooligans of opposing teams. Bludgeoning the others as hard as possible becomes the most important thing. Now we use refugees for this bludgeoning. We consider ourselves to be better because we are the supporters. There is something wrong here.

The above remarks indicate that, as J. Kristeva puts it, we are strange to ourselves. Another Polish person with a different worldview is for us the "Other". We apply the "us and them" division, the basis for intolerance and exclusion, to ourselves in the first place. According to the social capital theory, society can be able to integrate outsiders only if it has developed ways of taking advantage of its internal diversity as an asset to foster its own development³³. How can we integrate with the refugees, if there are insurmountable walls between ourselves? It is a task for intercultural education, whose premise is that it is family, neighbourhood, local and regional integration that forms the basis for cultural integration. And the pursuit of cultural integration should be preceded by establishing the platforms of understanding between these parts of society that are directed towards openness and towards isolation³⁴. The work on learning about other cultures and the tolerance towards their representatives begins in this approach with an effort to learn about and tolerate the representations of the diversity of our own culture. Intercultural education regards conflicts to be a natural manifestation of operating in a pluralistic and democratic society, and teaches us how to overcome them³⁵. Since theatre activities are a form of non-formal education, this task can also be realised by theatre.

Summary

Educational activities realised by the Kana Theatre Centre are in line with the principles of cultural pedagogy, non-directive pedagogy, social pedagogy, lifelong learning, as well as regional and global education. They are connected by the framework of intercultural education with its individualised approach to "irreducible difference". In the activities of the Kana Theatre Centre this difference becomes a platform for reflection on the fact that the Other is within us, and until we have come to terms with it, not only we will be unable to accept cultural differences, but we will also remain Strangers to ourselves. Creators make us sensitive to cultural, ethnic, national, religious, class, and regional differences.

33 F. Fukuyama (1997), *Zaufanie. Kapitał społeczny a droga do dobrobytu*, Warszawa–Wrocław, p. 17, 26, 39–42, 149–266.

34 J. Nikitorowicz (2005), *Kreowania tożsamości dziecka. Wyzwania edukacji międzykulturowej...op. cit.*, p. 57, 233–234.

35 P.P. Grzybowski (2008) *Edukacja Europejska – od wielokulturowości ku międzykulturowości. Koncepcje edukacji wielokulturowej i międzykulturowej w kontekście europejskim ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem środowiska frankofońskiego*, Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”, Kraków, p. 77.

Our analysis shows that attention should also be paid to the differences in world views. While today the Polish people seem to be less divided in ethnical, regional, or class terms, the division in world views keeps increasing. Sociological research and the opinions of the discussion participants reveal that this division is largely compounded by the dispute on the reception of refugees³⁶. It is difficult to bridge this division, as it takes the form of the “us and them” opposition, and both sides use it to establish their own identities. What is more, the so-called migration crisis triggered numerous extreme emotions accompanied by a sense of the incompleteness of information on the events that are taking place. In such cases people tend to seek knowledge that reinforces their established views, and to ignore the contradicting information³⁷. What language can we use to address the participants of the debate, which has been solidified at the level of intense emotions? The impact of the confirmation bias³⁸ makes purely rational arguments futile³⁹. It may also be necessary to refer to emotional, spiritual, and non-rational elements to cross the border between these two camps. Such opportunities are offered by broadly-defined creative expression⁴⁰. This is why cultural institution seems to be the best approach to this challenge

36 CBOS bada poglądy wyborów: 77 proc. zwolenników PiS sprzeciwia się przyjmowaniu uchodźców, za: <http://www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/956272,cbos-bada-poglady-wyborow-77-proc-zwolennikow-pis-sprzeciwia-sie-przyjmowaniu-uchodzcow.html>, [access 10.09.2017]. Survey research of research center „Kantar Public” and The Center for Research on Prejudice, University of Warsaw, see: J. Cieśla (2017) *Suma polskich strachów*, *Polityka* nr 17/18 (3108), 26.04-9.05.2017.

37 Scott Plous. (1993), *The Psychology of Judgment and Decision Making*, McGraw-Hill, p. 233.

38 Tendency to seek and recognize as reliable those information which confirm previous opinions and to ignore and recognize as incredible those informations which are contradictory with them, See: Scott Plous. (1993), *The Psychology of Judgment and Decision Making*, McGraw-Hill, p. 233.

39 Ibidem.

40 M. Kubiszyn (2007), *Edukacja wielokulturowa w środowisku lokalnym. Studium teoretyczno-empiryczne na przykładzie ośrodka „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN w Lublinie”*, Wyd. Adam Marszałek, p. 75.

Romuald Zańko
Fundacja pod Sukniami (Foundation under Gowns)

AID TO THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE WAR IN SYRIA AS A “LIVING MONUMENT” OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

*Most of all, I wish the 1944 Warsaw were a living symbol for Poles, a symbol that makes us help if anything wrong happens somewhere in the world, because we remember the Warsaw of that time¹.
Stanisław Likiernik, insurgent of the Warsaw Uprising, soldier of the Home Army. Inspiration for the character of Stanisław Skiernik of the “Kolumbowie Rocznik 20” novel by Roman Bratny.*

Stanisław Likiernik

Introduction

This article is dedicated to my experiences relating to the humanitarian crisis caused by the war in Syria. For 20 years I have been travelling (or, in fact, wandering) throughout Asia. I also went to Syria. During these 20 years I have also had contact with the world of Islam. When the Arab Spring emerged in 2011, at first I was glad, as many of those aware of the situation in Syria had been, and hoped that Assad, a despised dictator, would be overthrown, and Syria would become a normal country. This hope vanished very quickly. We almost immediately realised that it was turning into a huge humanitarian tragedy. In fact, the gravest humanitarian tragedy since World War II. Various groups and spheres asked the question – was there anything we could do?

1 Words by Stanisław Likiernik, insurgent of the Warsaw Uprising, soldier of the Home Army. Inspiration for the character of Stanisław Skiernik of the “Kolumbowie Rocznik 20” novel by Roman Bratny.

In search of support

It seemed to me that one of the first steps would be to address the community of travelers – those who for many years had wandered through the Middle East. For all such individuals Syria is a country whose inhabitants show incredible hospitality.

We all remembered that after a little while on a Syrian street there was always someone who invited us to their home, offering a meal and a place to sleep. Nevertheless, when we attempted to budge the members of the traveler community to assist in the humanitarian efforts for the suffering Syrians, they all said that it was pointless, since there was nothing they could do, because it was not their war, and while they were hoping it would end well, it was not going to work. After two years of the war, the public was moved by the gruesome pictures of the executions by Assad's troops. The pictures were published in many traditional and social media. Upon seeing them, we once again asked ourselves – is there a way we could help? Could we do something? Then came a period of relative calmness in the media about the war in Syria. The war that was still going on, and the war where people were still dying. I did not stop asking myself whether and how could we help the civilian victims of the war in Syria. I started seeking people with whom I could offer help. The first person to offer help was Wojtek Bonowicz of the "Tygodnik Powszechny" weekly, who had been involved in aid for Africa. It was the third year of the war. In the Polish media the war was portrayed in various ways. When it broke out, there were reports on fighting, but no explanation as to who is fighting with whom and for what reasons. An average viewer had to make a lot of effort to find out more. At that time, the 70th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising was approaching. I approached Wojtek Bonowicz, and asked him whether we could commemorate the Warsaw Uprising by providing humanitarian aid for the civilian victims of the war in Syria. We decided that this was what we were going to do. We asked ourselves – how to do it? How could we help? We were trying to decide whether it is better arrange some kind of transport to Syria, or just send the aid ourselves. We were not experts in providing humanitarian aid to the victims of wars. This is why we decided to find a humanitarian aid organisation professionally involved in providing assistance in Syria. At that time, three Polish organisations sent humanitarian aid to Syria. Following some deliberations, we decided that we would assist the Polish Humanitarian Action (PAH). At that time, PAH was the only Polish organisation to enter the Syrian territory to provide aid. The 70th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising was to be commemorated in August 2014. We came up with the idea to link the

commemorations to the effort for the civilian victims of the civil war in Syria. We believed, however, that before we go ahead, we needed to ask the remaining Warsaw Uprising insurgents for their consent. We were not sure whether it was proper to put these two events together. However, the insurgents approved our idea as early as they were told about it. Stanisław Likiernik and Anna "Paulinka" Jakubowska (a legendary nurse of the Battalion "Zośka") said that this would be one of the most interesting commemorations of the Warsaw Uprising that they had witnessed so far.

The Action „Living Monument”

They called our action the "Living Monument". After obtaining the consent of the insurgents, we approached the Polish Humanitarian Action with the idea. The workers of the Battalion accepted it, but warned us that Polish people were reluctant to aid victims of wars, and were more eager to help victims of natural disasters. In fact, this is the case regardless of nationality. Even in the countries of the Anglosphere, where charity is deeply established, donations for war victims constitute only a third of what is donated to the victims of natural disasters. In Poland it is a fifth. It seemed to us that it was impossible that the Polish people who had suffered such a traumatic war experience and who tend to brood over the tragedies of war would not want to get greatly involved in our action. The first collections on a street proved how wrong we had been. For example, five times more money was raised at a theatre festival in Szczecin organised by the Kana Theatre two years earlier than we managed to collect in 2014 for the victims of the war in Syria. Despite this, we made a decision to continue with the effort. It was the opinions of the Warsaw Uprising insurgents that kept us going. Anna "Paulinka" Jakubowska of the Battalion "Zośka" said: "Listen, no matter how much people get involved, keep doing it, if you think it is worth it". Therefore – on the first of August, an anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, an important day for all Warsaw residents – scouts of the ZHR association collected money for civilian victims of the war in Syria. The responses varied. While some were outraged, the older generation of Warsaw residents, those who survived the war, said that it was extremely important to remember those who died in the bombed cities. We told our story with the poems of Anna Świerszczyńska, a renowned poet and an

insurgent in the Warsaw Uprising². Her poems were translated into Arabic, and placed on boards exhibited in various Polish cities. We wanted to show others that the experiences of civilians during a war are the same, no matter where it is fought. This is exactly what the older generation of Warsaw residents had been telling us – that the television reports from the bombed Syrian cities reminded them of the Second World War. We chose the poems together with the insurgents. One of the poems tells a story of a mother trying to save her baby in the bombed Warsaw.

Lives an hour longer

The child is two months old.

The doctor says: it will die without milk.

It takes all day for the mother to go via underground passages to the other end of the city.

A baker on Czerniakowska street has a cow.

She crawls on her stomach among rubble, mud, and corpses.

She brings three spoonfuls of milk.

The child lives an hour longer.

We invoked the stories of civilians when talking about the Warsaw Uprising. We did not provide the accounts of soldiers. Our website included, among others, the accounts of children, for example of a man who, as an 8 year old, had survived in a bombed Warsaw to be exiled from the city. The Warsaw Uprising Museum provided us with photographs, which we used to illustrate the story. We juxtaposed the photographs of the uprising Warsaw of 1944 with the photographs of bombarded Syrian cities. The latter were provided by three Polish photojournalists. The Dulag 121 Museum of the city of Pruszków, which memorialises the exile of Warsaw residents after the fall of the Uprising, was a key partner of our action. Following the fall of the Warsaw Uprising, the inhabitants became internal refugees. Even though we showed people the connection between the experiences of the civilian survivors of wars in the occupied Warsaw and in the present-day Syria, indifference was the most common reaction. Many said "what is happening in Syria is wrong, but it is not our business. This is a country very, very far away, a different world, we should not get involved". We were not discouraged by this indifference.

2 W. Zagaj (05.10.2014), *Powstańcza Warszawa i zniszczony Damaszek* tematem wystawy „Płonące miasto”, Radio Szczecin. EP (12/09/2014), *Wieści ze sztuki*, Gazeta Wyborcza.

The Action „I am Rewriting this Poem”

A year later we organised a second action: "I am Rewriting this Poem". We decided that "I am Rewriting this Poem" will be a continuation of our activities within the same group as before. We met again and remarked that it had been 5 years already passed since the outbreak of the war in Syria. We discussed what we could do for the victims. Each of us – Wojtek Bonowicz, Wojtek Klimek from Szczecin, me, and other people who joined us – had a slightly different motivation, but I think there was one thing we had in common. I think that the essence of it is best captured in the interpretation of the story of the Good Samaritan by theologian Jean Vanier. When the first two people were passing by the beaten man, they asked themselves what would happen to them if they stopped to help? The third asked himself, if he did not stop, what would happen to the beaten man? I believe that everyone who got himself or herself involved in this work was aware that there are, of course, our daily struggles and there are fears that our world was falling apart, and that the consequences of receiving refugees might vary, but at the same time we were asking ourselves a question: what will happen to the Syrians if we are indifferent? We have often been asked why politicians are not doing anything about this? Why is everyone silent, and there is so little aid sent to Syria and the refugee camps in Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt? Terrible things are happening there – why is the world not helping? Then I quoted an article by Gordon Ash, who wrote that if one compares the situation in Syria to an ill person, then politicians are the doctor, but the politicians have fled, they are gone for various reasons. But even if there are no doctors, I still have a duty to help the ill, even by offering a glass of water. As part of the "I am Rewriting this Poem" action we gathered in various public places and encouraged people to rewrite the "People Die" poem by Iosif Brodsky, a protest poem against the inaction of the international community in the face of the war atrocities in the former Yugoslavia.

People die

*As you pour yourself a scotch, crush a roach, or check your watch,
as your hand adjusts your tie,
people die.*

*In the towns with funny names,
hit by bullets, caught in flames,
by and large not knowing why,*

people die.

*In small places you don't know
of, yet big for having no
chance to scream or say good-bye,
people die.*

*People die as you elect
new apostles of neglect,
self-restraint, etc. – whereby
people die.*

*Too far off to practice love
for thy neighbor/brother Slav,
where your cherubds dread to fly,
people die.*

*While the statues disagree,
Cain's version, history
for its fuel tends to buy those who die.*

Stanisław Barańczak, who translated the poem into Polish, gave his consent for the use of his translation of the poem. We decided to gather in various places to rewrite the poem so as to manifest that we do not agree to powerlessness. We kept rewriting the poem and kept handing it over to others, and at the same time presented the efforts by four Polish organisations which provide assistance within the area of the Syrian conflict: the Polish Humanitarian Action (PAH), Caritas, the Polish Medical Mission (PMM) and the Polish Centre for International Assistance (PCMPM). It is worth noting that even though all four organisations are active in the area of the Syrian conflict, only PAH enters the country. One year I had the opportunity to go to Antioch, and see the operations within the mission of the Polish Humanitarian Action. I saw large warehouses, from which PAH, together with the Czech and American missions, sends to Syria, mainly to the province of Ildib, trucks with food and hygiene products. PAH also operated a mobile clinic. A truck with three physicians and medical supplies made weekly rounds to regular patients. It was the only medical assistance available to the locals. The Polish PAH representatives in Antioch coordinated the rounds, and the Syrian PAH employees went into Syria. This was because at some point during the war the Syrian government had prohibited foreigners from entering the country.

During the "I am Rewriting this Poem" action we observed that the attitudes of people to helping civilian victims of the war in Syria has changed over the year since the "Burning City. In Bombed Cities People are Suffering the Same" action. The "I am Rewriting this Poem" action was met not only with indifference, as before, but often with negative response, even with hostility. Warsaw Uprising insurgents made us confident that it was worth it. It was the insurgent, Stanisław Likiernik, who said: "Most of all, I wish the 1944 Warsaw were a living symbol for Poles, a symbol that makes us help if anything wrong happens somewhere in the world, because we remember the Warsaw of that time". Therefore, when we started the "I am Rewriting this Poem" action in Warsaw, we met at the Warsaw Uprising Museum. Four Polish aid organisations met in the Room beneath Liberator, and discussed their activities and ways of providing assistance in the area of the Syrian conflict. The representatives of all four referred to the tragic situation of the people, women and children in particular, in all refugee camps in Syria and the Middle East. In Kraków, the action accompanied the Tischner festival. I need to emphasise that the Polish Humanitarian Action was greatly in the action in many cities. Even today, the representatives of PAH notify us that in many schools there are people who organise meetings during which they rewrite the Brodski's poem, and raise funds to be donated to an organisation of their choice. As I have mentioned, travelling is one of my passions. I decided to make use of it in supporting PAH, Caritas, PMM, and PCMPM, and in March and April 2017 went hitchhiking to Lebanon. I headed to the refugee camps, in particular to see the children who lived there. I wanted to bring them teddy bears from Szczecin. Szczecin schools – junior high school No. 18 and No. 20 helped with the collection. On March 16th, I packed 200 teddy bears into my backpack and set out on a hitchhiking trip to Lebanon. I had numerous adventures along the way. Some teddy bears were ripped by Turkish customs officers with a knife, and I had to patch them up with a needle and thread. All those who drove us became fans of the Polish hitchhiking bears. Wojtek the Second was my best teddy-bear companion during the trip. This was the name of the teddy bear attached to my backpack. Why the Second? It was to pay tribute to the first Wojtek – a real bear who, seventy years earlier, had come from the Middle East together with Polish soldiers. It was quite an effort to carry all these toys along, but it was all made up by the smiles on the faces of the little Syrian urchins. The brave bears found their new carers. We went to a refugee camp at Chtoura near Zahle in Lebanon, where Caritas Polska provides aid, and to

the centre for children of the Borj al Barajeneh “camp, where Polskie Centrum Pomocy Międzynarodowej (PCPM) operates. After returning to Poland, I made the account of my adventure during an hour-and-half long meeting on 11th May at “Piwnica Kany”³.

Summary

Our next action in 2018 will be in May. May 26th is the mother’s day. Each of us is going to buy a flower and hand it to his/her mother. We realised that there were women who would not get a flower on that day, who are not remembered by anyone. They live in refugee camps, caring for their children in terrible conditions. Our action will be a reminder of these women. We will raise funds to donate via the four Polish organisations so as to help the mothers who are living in refugee camps in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan, and, if possible, we will also try to reach Syria.

3 Full video recording from the meeting can be found on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vffHXRGHHC0>

Hamad Alramadan
Syrian refugee, journalist

MY WAY FROM SYRIA TO GERMANY

Hello I'm from Syria. For last 6 years I have been working as journalist. I would like to tell you about my way from Syria to Germany. Journalists played a very important role in Syrian conflict. We tried to inform world about crimes committed by different sides of conflict, which often put us and our families at risk of losing our self, safety and life. I was working since 5–6 years when my whole team become a target for both Syrian Regime and ISIS which controlled my city. At one point situation become so tensed that it forced me and my colleagues to flee to north Syria. But it did not take a long time when death had caught up us there. This time we become target to Al-Ka'ida. It was due to we were collecting materials about its victims and terrorist actions and we tried to publish them. This way we become easy target. The only way to safe our lives was to flee to Turkey. But we did not know that someone is accompanying us. Soon it appeared that ISIS was following us to Turkey. We stayed in Turkey for one year and all this time we kept getting messages from ISIS that they will kill us. Finally four of our friends were killed. We did not believe any longer that Turkey is a safe country. We decided to flee to other countries.

To get to Germany we, like all Syrian emigrants, have come a long way. Long journey, that you have heard many times from media about. First danger is Syrian–Turkish border, where dozens of Syria killed by the Turkish army, a second danger is to cross the sea from Turkey to Greece by a small rubber boats. Sometimes Turkish police throw people in to the sea, among them even children and let them drown. Every day I see their faces, hear their screams and cries. I left all good things and memories in Syria and Turkey... Purpose of coming here, purpose of overcoming this long, dangerous way was to find peaceful place where I could continue my work as an activist and journalist to serve and support the Syrian revolution. I was thinking that in Germany I would have that chance.

After we arrived we were listening to news and reading newspapers to find out about the kind of help we would get. We were hoping that we would get a helping hand. Instead we were settled in camp together with other 800 people and treated like prisoners. Wardens controlled every step we took. They decided what we could do and what is forbidden. I felt like I was took for granted as a criminal however I did not commit any crime. We stayed there for 33 days. Than we were moved to Schwerin where we stayed for 10 days by the order of court (after living refugee camps all refugees were separated to different towns. We had no influence on the decision to which town we will be resettled). After that we were transferred to apartments located in small village named Torgelow We stayed there in 6 person for one flat which we appreciated after what we have experienced in the camp. We lived together for 5 months. What we found problematic was attitude of administration and social workers and workers organizations to help refugees, and job centres staff, who expected us to communicate fluently in German. And we didn't know German language, because we had no chance to learn. We had no lessons in camp and in Torgelow. Camp and apartment were far from clusters of German population. How we could learn German if we had no German lessons and no contact with Germans? Problem was also with social care. I really appreciate their help, but when you are helping, you must remember to not treat the person like a child who did not deserved to make his own decisions. They decided where I live, what and where I eat, whom I live with. I couldn't decide on my own. Helping refugee should start with understanding how can help them, to help the refugees you need to find out their feelings, and to understand you have to ask about ones needs and feelings. I understand that social care is doing their job, but it feels like it feels. The biggest problem is that some of staff in the organizations do not like the refugees and do not want to help them. When you want help refugees you should start with asking why are they coming? You have probably heard that there is a civil war in Syria since 6 year. And I am telling you – there is no civil war in Syria. It is a lie created to media. The truth is that the Syrian Regime, Russian and Iranian army is killing syrian people. That every external force which involves in that conflict worsens it by killing more and more Syrians. Russian air force, Iran army, and Shiite militias from Lebanon, Iraq and Afghanistan, all they kill Syrian civilians. Today, when we are sitting and talking at this seminar many families in Syria died in bombardment of Russian air forces and Syrian Regime kills Syrian because they don't want to obey to current authorities. Syrians want change. So the government declared that they are terrorist. Every day people are dying

because they want freedom. When international forces fight against ISIS those who pay the highest price are civilians. They are dying from weapons of every sort of conflict. Syrian people are not coming to Europe in search of a better life but to get a chance to survive. They don't want to die in bombing and they don't want to be butchered by ISIS. They come because there is no future for them in Syria. In Syria only death awaits them. What European governments could do to really help Syria is to remove Bashar al-Assad from the chair of president. Not only helping refugees because they don't want to be here in Europe, but in their homes. Syrian people don't want to stay in Europe. They hope that when conflict ends they will come back home. I am afraid that me as a journalist will have a slim chance to come back to Syria in the nearest future because I'm a target for terrorists and the Syrian Regime. But believe me, I promise you, when the peace returns we will come back to restore our homeland.

And in my last words I would like to point out on the problem of integration. It is expected from refugees to integrate. Please bear in mind that to enable integration both sides – refugees and local community – has to open to each other. And I found out that people in Europe generally speaking do not like strangers. For the first 6 months of my stay in Germany I saw and stayed only with Syrian refugees, so with whom should I integrate? Now, since five months I live in an apartment and none of my neighbours, even the one who lives doors next to mine, never tells back to me "hello" or "good morning". So, finishing my speech I would like you to ask yourself – do you really accept refugees and what happens if they would live next door to you? And your answer is the answer for the problem of integration. But I think that the integration, which European governments want is to get the human machines to work. Not integration with European society and way of living.

Agnieszka Radłowska
University of Szczecin Institute of Pedagogy

CHALLENGES OF TEACHING A LANGUAGE IN A MULTICULTURAL REFUGEE GROUP

When I was offered to provide a course of German for refugees in Germany, I thought I would give it a try. I had considered it to be a test of my skills as a teacher, and an opportunity to learn something new. And indeed it were. I will never forget my first day at work. I went into a room with an entire world packed into it. The students came from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Iran, Syria, Cameroon, Somalia, and Kenya. The atmosphere was that of impatience and curiosity. 19 pairs of eyes were staring at me, and seemed to ask “What is it going to be like. “How will we learn?”

At that moment, I was asking myself the very same question: how? How am I to teach? I was faced with the task of teaching a group with diverse levels of German, and without a common reference language. Many students had just completed a Latin alphabet course. Before, they had been simply illiterate in Germany, as they mother tongues, e.g. Arabic, Dari, Urdu, Prussia, or Persian use different scripts. A few had never attended a school: “the school was too far away” they told me later. German became their first written language. How then one can teach a group where some have difficulty distinguishing letters, others struggle with pronunciation or basic writing, while others have graduated from secondary schools, or have even started studies in their own countries, and are able to communicate in English or French. As I said, I didn’t have much time to get ready – everyone was waiting for the class to begin, with pencils in their hands, sharpeners, and handbooks, many of which were wrapped in coloured paper (!) (Is there a student in Poland who still wraps books in paper?) I introduced myself and sensed their growing interest. “How come you are a Polish teacher in Germany” they asked. The braver ones, the ones who were more capable of expressing themselves, said “It’s great, but how am I supposed to learn German, it’s a difficult language, English is better?”

For refugees, the ability to communicate in German is the foundation of functioning in a new society, as it enables the participation in the flow of information, self-sufficiency in solving daily problems and, eventually, allows one to get a language certificate, which gives them a chance to enter the labour market. I had six months and 600 class hours worth at my disposal. The course ended with a TELC B1 language exam. I was also aware of the challenges of teaching a group that is so diverse in terms of both culture and language.

So I went ahead. I asked a woman behind the desk in front: “Wie heißen Sie” (What is your name?). “Danke, gut” (Thank you, I’m OK), she replied calmly. It occurred to me then that really a lot depends on me, on the way I will approach students and make them accustomed to the new language, on how I will communicate the contents, and how interesting it will be. At the same time I knew that the successful outcome depends to a large extent on the individual potential and motivation of a student. I also knew that it was not enough to share the knowledge only about the language. I had to acquaint the students with the actualities of living in Germany, which was both a consequence of the contents of the textbook, and the need of the hour – as it turned out during the classes.

At one of the first classes I picked out two translators among the students. They helped by translating single words to Persian and Arabic; I also used a computer translator. The translators were handy in particular when it was necessary to level the field of basic, everyday communication concepts: “Excuse me, I don’t understand”, “please repeat”, “can you spell it?”, “how it is pronounced”, etc. When I managed to get through this part of the material, I introduced verb conjugation. I tried to “doze” the knowledge so as to motivate the students to learn – first I taught the conjunction of simple verbs used on a daily basis (and checked it with a short quiz – there is no better feeling than that of “I know it! I got so many points”) and then proceeded to more difficult ones, which broaden the capability of communicating and expressing thoughts.

We also practiced speaking – formulating a short and grammatically correct statement on a given topic. I was “the better ones” who were usually first to speak, while the others took notes fervently so as not to do worse than the previous students. I need to emphasise that all my requests were taken very seriously, and followed carefully and willingly. This sometimes resulted in funny situations, when the speaker was so bent on conveying the message that he or she unintentionally used body language or switched to mother tongue, mixing it with German every now and then. I decided not to use the textbook for a while, and instead use my own materials and the sets of grammar and vocabulary exercises

tailored for the group. I set to keep continuing this, until I get a sense of achieving linguistic stability by the students, at least in terms of formulating grammatically correct sentences with proper verb conjugation, while also expanding the vocabulary overlapping with that of the textbook.

It is also worth mentioning that my students made some attempts at speaking Polish: at first they uttered the simplest words: “proszę” (please), “dzień dobry” (good morning), “jak się masz” (how are you). Later on they tried to make entire sentences: “Mam na imię Sina i pochodzę z Afganistanu. Skąd ty pochodzisz?” (My name is Sina and I come from Afghanistan. Where do you come from?). In return I learned how to say: “please”, “thank you”, “very well”, “please read”, and “please be quiet”. I know how to say these in Persian and Arabic.

I taught the group by following my intuition, trying to help, if possible, also on an individual basis to those with greatest language deficits. I was pleased to find out that my students come together to revise the material before a test or to do homeworks. For me it was a feedback not only on the high motivation of the group, but also on its integration.

Throughout these several months we became friends. Some approached me with their private problems or even to ask for advice on what medication they should take for their illnesses. Once I also explained how to wash clothes, what products to use, at what water temperature. The revelation that clothes should be turned inside out before washing triggered a storm of questions.

Sometimes we discussed unrelated topics. Before Christmas we talked about religion. Everyone prepared a short statement about what holidays he or she celebrates, and what are the most important things during that time. We talked about tradition, identity, the things we identify ourselves with, and the resulting difficulties in integrating in a new society. These classes were extraordinary. Apart from preparing for the exam, i.e. practicing speaking about a given subject, we simply talked about ourselves. Many of my students missed the family they left behind in their home country, missed all that they knew, the world they understood and in which they had grown up. For these particular classes I had baked a cheesecake, and we made coffee and tea. The atmosphere was unique, some reverie, and some laughter when we share our childhood stories. I was asked how Christmas is celebrated in Poland. I talked about the traditions at my family home, about the Christmas table and the traditional twelve dishes. I had to describe each single dish, and, at the end of the class, also share the recipe for the cheesecake. I also received a beautiful gift. To this day, on special occasions I wear a scarf embroidered for me in Pakistan, and I carefully keep the Christmas cards given by the students.

At the end, I will add that even though I had some concerns about how I would be able deal with such a diverse group, it turned out that regardless of religion, education, and origin – we are the same. We have the same fears and the same hopes. Refugees are perhaps even better in comparison, as they are motivated to work, they have goals and the will to achieve them. We have houses, jobs, a certain standard of living, and we do not be afraid what might happen to our family living in a war zone. We have grown lazy. It is an amazing experience to work with a group of people with such great determination to learn. And it is really not about getting a good grade, a praise from the family, or satisfaction. Refugees learn the language because their lives and their future depend on it.

I keep my fingers crossed for my students, I want them to get language certificates and then a job, and to change their lives for the better. An Alejandro Bullon's book, which I was given by the group has a meaningful title "Zeichen der Hoffnung" ("Signs of Hope"). It reminds me that we were a hope for each other, a hope for the better in every sense of it.

Paweł Glapiński
Polish Social Council, Berlin

OBJECTIVES, FOUNDATIONS, AND ACTIVITIES OF THE POLISH SOCIAL COUNCIL IN BERLIN

Introduction

Let me once again extend a warm welcome to everyone. As Professor Barbara Kromolicka has correctly guessed, I am a graduate from the Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Szczecin. 10 years ago, at the turn of May and June, I defended my master's thesis written under the vigilant eyes of Professor Danuta Koźmian. I thus graduated from the Pedagogy of Social Work and Rehabilitation of the University of Szczecin. I have been living in Berlin for about 8 years, and since March 2015 I have been a social worker at the Polish Social Council. The Council has its office in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, a very colourful and multicultural district.

Who are we?

The Council was established in 1982, in a period of martial law in Poland. The Polish authorities of that time were not really friendly to some of our citizens, which is why the majority of latter emigrated to West Berlin, fleeing from various repressions, and also for economic reasons. As of today we are the parent social-work organisation for Polish organisations in Berlin, and the largest self-aid organisation among immigrant organisations in Germany.

Whom do we help? Our help is mostly aimed at Polish people who live in Berlin, as well as immigrants from Eastern Europe and the former Eastern Bloc. The beneficiaries of our aid also include the new arrived family members of those

who already have been living in Berlin. This applies to numerous individuals who had emigrated several or a dozen years ago, and, following an adjustment period, brought the members of their families, spouses, and children.

The key objective of the Polish Social Council is to support social integration of immigrants and encourage them to participate in the life of the local Berlin community. What are our accomplishments? I am proud to say that we provide advice around 5000 times a year, which is a relatively very good accomplishment, but it should also be noted that there are lots of individuals seeking advice. In 2013 there were about 51 000 Poles in Berlin alone, and more than 620 000 throughout Germany. Even though the figures are from 2013, it is certain that this group has increased, not decreased.

Goals and tasks of the Council

One of our main tasks is to provide information. We organise various kinds of information meetings relating to the laws and the welfare system in Germany. They are quite different than those in Poland, which is why Polish people who come to Germany should acquaint themselves with it learn how to function in it. We arrange meetings dedicated to this issue and to issues of social security and benefits, i.e. health, disability and care security and benefits. Unfortunately, few people know that there is an obligation to get health insurance after staying in Germany for three months. The purpose of the stay is irrelevant: whether you are a tourist, are visiting your family for holidays, or came to work. Everyone is required to comply with this obligation. We also frequently provide information on the German education system, since more and more people come here with their children, who need to go to school. Therefore, for some time now, preparation classes have been provided for children from other countries who are in Germany to help them learn German quickly, as the knowledge of the language is, as we know, a prerequisite for integration. Language teaching is a priority in these classes.

Social and welfare counseling is another field of our activity. Our training for families: "Generational Conflict" is a recent example of that. The training addresses family issues relating to migration, e.g. the increased risk of divorce, or conflicts between family members. We provide the participants with broad advice on dealing with these issues.

We also assist them in coping with problems relating to schools and education, and provide advice in first contacts with German offices. As regulations and the

bureaucracy are very complicated in Germany, it is necessary to provide advice to those who attempt to get any kind of “Antrags” (welfare benefits) for the first time. We assist in filing applications for “Kindergeld” (child benefits), as well as other benefits. Once a month, our lawyer provides professional legal advice. Legal advice is necessary in some cases, since our social workers are sometimes unable to overcome the obstacles posed by the employees of other institutions. It happens occasionally that, for example, the Jobcenter (*Employment Agency*) refuses to provide a benefit to which our client is eligible in 100%, so our lawyer has to intervene.

We cooperate with two lawyers, one who speaks German, and one who speaks Polish. Once a month we provide legal advice free of charge. In addition, upon prior appointment by telephone, we also provide psychological counselling. There is Polish-speaking psychologist in the Council, who provides assistance to those who lose their way and need this kind of counselling.

The Polish Social Council also provides courses for women, who, compared to men, face more challenges when living in Berlin. The majority of Polish men who come here take up blue-collar jobs, which are not available to women. To find a job, even as a caregiver for a sick or elderly person, women need to speak German at a communicative level. The supply of the jobs of this kind is low in Berlin. As a result, most women stay at home due to the language barrier. This is why the our courses aim to teach as much German language as quickly as possible so as to enable the trainees to participate in the life of the Berlin community.

We also organise courses that are open to everyone. Twice a week, on Mondays and Tuesdays, we provide a four hour long German course. We also organise, in cooperation with the Polish Competence Centre, seminars, lectures, meetings dedicated to particular issues, as well as cultural events of all kinds.

As more and more of those who come to Germany and to Berlin hope to start their own business, we provide increasingly more trainings for those who want pursue that goal.

We are also provide migration counselling for adults – “Migrationsberatung für erwachsene (MBE)”. At the beginning of 2015, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) launched the Migration Guidance for Adults project. It is aimed at individuals over 27 years of age. Those who are not older than 27 are assisted by Jugendmigrationsdienst i.e. JMD. The only difference between these two is the age of the people they assist. The remaining competences are virtually identical. As I mentioned, this project has been realised by the Council since 2015, and I am its coordinator. It is addressed to refugees and their family members, foreigners with the right to stay in the Federal Republic of Germany,

and to citizens of the European Union who have the right to free movement. The priority objectives of the project are the promotion of language-based, professional, and social integration. The following methods are applied within the project:

- short-term counselling, i. e. several meetings whose duration is no longer than 30 minutes,
- case management,
- social and pedagogical assistance during integration courses.

Migration Guidance for Adults should typically not last for no longer than 3 years. Each participant should make the most of these 3 years. The premise is that after 3 years a participant should already be fully integrated. One of the indicators of the degree of integration is active participation of those who completed the project in public activities, and continuing vocational training. Since we are a social organisation, we find it crucial to cooperate with other organisations, in particular with those who operate on a larger scale than us. They include AWO (*Arbeiterwohlfahrt Kreisverband e.V./ Association of Social Welfare Workers*), German Red Cross, Diakonisches Werk (*Work by Deacons*). These organisations have established structures throughout Germany. Our assets and capabilities place us as at a lower tier, so the cooperation with them enables us to get involved in projects at a larger scale. We are also a partner organisation for Der Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband (*Equality and Charity Organisation*). We also cooperate with Migrationsrat Berlin-Brandenburg (*Berlin-Brandenburg Migration Council*), Nachbarschaftshaus (*Neighbourly House*) and the “Dialogue” club, which, among others, assists in the process of recognising the diplomas of those who got their education in their home countries. Jobcenter Frierichshain – Kreuzberg (*Frierichshain – Kreuzberg Jobcenter*) is our another partner. It is known that, unfortunately, most of our clients receive benefits. As these people are still not independent enough to take up a job, we cooperate with the Jobcenter. Our sponsors include, among others, Senatsverwaltung Berlin (*Senate of Berlin*). Many projects realised by the Council are funded by the Senate and Land of Berlin. This makes the German state our main but not exclusive sponsor (which is not the same as an employer). We also cooperate, however, with Poland-based organisations, e.g. with the Polish Competence Centre based in Kraków. The cooperation is very successful and smooth. It is coordinated by one of our colleagues. We jointly organise various performances, lectures, and trainings.

Joanna Smaglo-Yildirim
Polish Social Council, Berlin

VOLUNTEERING FOR REFUGEES AT THE POLISH SOCIAL COUNCIL – „GEMEINSAM SCHAFFEN”

Introduction

Like my colleague Paweł, I work at the Polish Social Council. The difference is that I have been living in Berlin for a bit shorter – for almost three years. It took me a long time to have my diploma recognised, and I can tell Mr. Hammad Alramadan that the process of integration in Germany is not in fact easy for Polish people, and as my own experience shows, it is horrible at the beginning. As I did not speak German, I had difficulties in settling matters in offices, and the duration of the process of diploma recognition, even though Paweł found it acceptable, was too long for me (it took 1.5 years). But I have prevailed, and now I draw from my own experience to assist refugees, among others. This is why I would like to tell you about the Patenschaft programme, which I have been coordinating since April 2016. The second part of the programme name is “Gemeinsam Schaffen”, which can be interpreted as “together we will make it”. The programme is funded by “Bundesministerium für Familie Senioren Frauen und Jungen”. We were invited to participate by the TGD – a Turkish commune in Germany. The programme is a part of a larger project called “Menschen stärken Menschen”, and apart from us includes 12 other migrant organisations from all over Germany.

The volunteer basis at the Polish Social Council consists of those who approach us following their heart and wanting to help others. The idea behind this project was that immigrants and refugees are helped by those who used to be immigrants themselves, and who went through the ups and downs of the integration process, i.e. who had to learn the language, find a home, get a job, have their diploma recognised, and face numerous other problems.

Who will understand migrants and refugees better than a person who has walked the way they are about to walk? With this in mind, the founders of the project extended invitations to organisations with immigrants in their ranks. For this exact reason we have undertaken to participate in the programme – it was about getting Polish people and Polish communities in Berlin to get involved in doing something for the refugees. We also have our own goal. The vice-chairman of the Council wishes that it was not only an act of kindness by Polish immigrants for the refugees, but also a kind of a political statement that we are also comprise the society of Berlin, we participate in it, and are not just inactive beneficiaries of welfare, but are also able to give something in return as well.

The „Patenschaft” Program

Patenschaft consists of at least two people – a “Paten” i.e. a mentor, and a refugee. What Patenschaft is also about? It is:

- Voluntary
- Aimed at individual needs of those who undertook to become the “beneficiaries”
- The persons who entered into the “contract” are free to choose the frequency, duration, and contents of their meetings
- Patrons are matched with refugees on the basis of face-to-face meetings between volunteers and refugees
- The aim of the „patronage” is to help the refugee become independent as soon as possible There is no single definition of patronage – it all boils down to the respective people and their needs
- Free of charge

Volunteering in Patenschfat usually consists in assising the refugee in the following areas:

- Assistance in daily activities, e. g. visits to a doctor, public offices, etc.
- Assistance in finding the best transport route between points A and B, helping with learning about the city public transport

- Assistance in finding: schools, kindergartens, ways to spend leisure time, public playing fields, etc.
- Assistance in finding places for shopping, etc.

The assistance may also include joint participation in recreational, cultural, or sports activities during leisure time, as well as help with life issues to enable the refugee to achieve long-term independence. This includes help with finding a flat, which is a great challenge. This also includes things that we encounter most often: assistance in learning German through joint learning sessions, and in finding a language course for refugees. The assistance may also involve finding an organisation that provides professional (legal or social) aid. Volunteers can also assist children in their pre-school and early-school education (checking whether they do homework, teaching to read and write in German), assisting adults in looking for educational opportunities or seeking a job, apprenticeship, or internship at companies that are willing to support refugees by fostering the development of their careers.

What are the requirements for a person who wishes to become a volunteer? A volunteer must be an adult. Minors are allowed to provide voluntary service, but only as the so-called family volunteering, i.e. a the parents sign a contract on behalf of the minor, and assume responsibility for his/her volunteering activities. A volunteer should also have basic social competences (such as empathy, tolerance, trustworthiness), and should be reliable. He/she should be open to other cultures, able to cooperate and communicate, willing to learn, and should have at least minimum organisational abilities and accountability. A volunteer is also required to have no criminal record. Let us note at that point that volunteers do not have to have professional training or psychological nor pedagogical background, nor do they have to be well-versed with the law. These are our jobs – the tasks of the coordinators of the Polish Social Council, who act as intermediaries in solving the problems that refugees face. A volunteer is also some kind of an intermediary between a refugee and us, and if there is any need for legal or social aid, we take over the issue and try to help. Volunteers are not a replacement for professional aid. Volunteering should not be a burden on the life of a person. If there are any issues relating to asylum laws, the right of stay, or the psychological traumas suffered by refugees, volunteers may act as communication enablers, and notify the responsible entities about the problems.

The project also includes voluntary work with underage refugees. In this case, a volunteer is required, apart from meeting the above criteria, also to provide a certificate of the lack of criminal record. While this certificate is issued for a fee, we provide volunteers with a form to be submitted to the municipal office so as to get the certificate of no criminal record free of charge. It is also worth noting that a refugee who would like to participate in our program should meet certain criteria. He/she should be open to different cultures, willing and ready to learn, and should be responsible and tolerant. The responsible attitude of both the refugee and the volunteer is the key. The point is that if, for example, someone arranges a meeting, they should keep their word and come to the meeting. Failure to do so is exactly the lack of responsibility.

An organisation that implements the programme should also meet certain criteria. As the Polish Social Council met those criteria, we were selected to be partner in the programme. One criterion was professional and socially competent coordination. Another related to the preparation of volunteers and refugees for the participation in the programme. The preparations include seminars, lectures, and preliminary interviews with refugees to whom we would like to extend our assistance. Other criteria included the ability to provide advice and information relating to the insurance and protection of children and young people, and transparent volunteer work structures, as well as intermediating in and assisting matching volunteers with refugees. As a coordinator, I make effort to talk to every volunteer so as to get to know him or her as much as it is possible in a one-hour interview, so that I can assess if they really want to get involved and actually contribute. The same applies to the interviews with refugees. In this case, however, the language barrier is sometimes in the way. If this happens we use help of social workers who act as intermediaries between refugees and volunteers. The last criterion was reliable providing of information on the opportunities of receiving professional aid. The Polish Social Council has many years of experience in providing legal, social, and psychological assistance, as well as other types of aid. That is why we had fulfilled this criterion.

Kerstin Zablocki
Pasewalk Hilft!

FROM GERMAN CLASSES TO THOROUGH AID FOR REFUGEES

Let me warmly welcome everyone, and thank you for inviting me to this seminar. I come from Berlin, and now I live in a small village 10 km away from Pasewalk. I was not prepared to speak Polish, but I think I can manage it somehow. I am a translator and teacher of German. I also realise educational and cultural of my own, including joint Polish-German projects. I am also a member of the "Pasewalk hilft!" (Pasewalk helps!) group, was established in Pasewalk last year. The group includes about 20 permanent members, who are involved in social work. We meet every second Monday to discuss how and where we can help. We have collected clothes, baked cakes etc., and at some point an idea emerged that we have to start helping refugees. Our first meeting dedicated to refugees was at a church. Since December we have met in various places. I must admit that it was a challenge for us to reach out to the refugees who had come to Pasewalk. We didn't know what family we would be assigned to, didn't know what would be the names of their members nor their home country. I had seen refugees on the street, but I didn't know what should one do to help. At that time, the Red Cross was taking care of the refugees staying in Pasewalk. For me personally, it was clear that I should join the effort in helping the refugees. As soon as I heard that they were coming to us, I immediately knew that I wanted to help. "War" was then just a word for me. A terrible word, that's true, but I didn't really know what it really meant. I got a better understanding of it only after meeting the refugees. I wanted to help them, so I let "Pasewalk hilft!" know that I was ready to contribute to helping them: I could give them German lessons, take care of a family, go with their children to a doctor, help them do homework, and assists in anything that might be necessary. At the end of November, I wanted to start my first voluntary German classes. I was a bit anxious as all the students were supposed to be men, the lessons were to take place in some building after working hours, and I was supposed to be alone with them. I had some

concerns, and wasn't really sure if I would be up to it. But soon things went a different way. An educational institution approached "Pasewalk hilft!" and asked for help in finding a German teacher to teach refugees since 3rd of December. The classes were to be held in dedicated, rented rooms. I decided then that I would be that teacher. As early as after the first class, I realised that my fears were unfounded. My group has 25 people, all volunteer learners. I have been working with them for 5 months already, and during that time we have established close relations. I must admit that, at the beginning, I did not know how to teach German to people who do not use the Latin alphabet, and whose mother tongue is so distant to German. I'd been preparing some visual aids at nights. At the classes there were 25 pairs of eyes looking at me. I felt that I could not let them down, I had to do my best. But they were so motivated to learn German that everything went smoothly. They really wanted to learn, came every class, and there was a friendly atmosphere in the classroom. I told them straight away that I was there not only to teach them German, but I could help them with all other matters. The next day I was approached by a father of four, and said that he had difficulties in shopping for school materials, as the list given by his daughter's teacher was written in German, which he did not understand. I went to a store, purchased everything on the list, and gave it to him, as a gift of course. These were the first classes. Even though at the beginning I didn't have too many groups, with time there was more and more demand for language lessons, and two more groups emerged. By mid-December it turned out that I already had three groups, and 12 classes every day – 4 classes each group. Even though I had a lot of work, I couldn't just say them not to come. All the more so, as the classes with the later groups were co-founded by the Employment Agency, and we had to start them by December. There were two children students – an 11-year-old and a 15-year-old. They had been in Germany since the end of October, but could not yet go to school. This is in fact, the favourite phrase in Germany: you have to wait, you need to wait, you have no residence status, and at the same time you cannot go to school. The children were eager to learn, so they came to my classes. Holidays were approaching. A day before Christmas I arranged a small party for each class. Later I chose a family to come to our house, and we talked about what was it like to flee from Syria to Germany. It was our first private meeting. Classes were also held between Christmas and New Year's Eve, not because the refugees were bored at that time, but because they had no contact with other Germans whatsoever. I was the only person to helped them, to listened to them, and to advise them. When I was asked them how were they going to celebrate

New Year's Eve, they answered that they were not going to because Germans did not like them. This hurt me so much, but it was true – in Pasewalk people do not trust aliens. This is particularly true for older people – they would not reply to a “good morning” and in fact to anything at all. This is why they spent New Year's Eve alone. I was unable to invite all of them to my place, as it is almost 50 people. January was the month of first good news. First refugees were granted a permit for a 3-year stay in Germany. For us, this meant that the Red Cross, which had taken care of them so far, was to be no longer involved. We had to start applying for social aid from the state. Among us, there is a Pole, from Szczecin I think, who helped with filling in applications to Job Center, and looking for flats. But one person for so many refugees is not enough. And then problems started, as the refugees had to go and make arrangements at the Office for Foreigners. The queues to the office open on Tuesdays and Thursdays only were so long that to get anything done the refugees had to go there a day in advance. So they came on a Monday morning, queued up, and stayed on the street at night before Tuesday. They were eventually allowed to stay at the railway station. I have a memory of this painful and bitter scene. It is winter, it is cold, and refugees are sleeping on the street. They sleep on the street because they have some minor question to ask at Office, and the office workers are not really interested. This is why “Pasewalk hilft!” started looking for help. The help came from the church. Every now and then the church was opened at night so that the refugees could stay there overnight. We gave them something hot to drink then. We realised, however, that this was not a long-term solution. The place was not ours, we weren't employed there, and the refugees couldn't stay in the church forever. We made a lot of talks about it, also with the city authorities, and, thank God, in mid-February the situation improved. The Office changed its procedure and allowed the refugees to come in the morning and get things done on the same day. Sometimes refugees come to officials with just one question or to fill in just one application, so the requirement to have them wait in line for two days was something inconceivable to us. For some refugees a visit at the office consisted of having their fingerprints scanned, submitting an application for a passport, and being notified that they, fortunately, are allowed to stay. However, at the same time it meant that they had to leave their current place, which had been provided by social services. The refugees who had come to Pasewalk had good housing conditions – two/three families lived in a flat, while in other regions, the refugees were housed in large halls, schools, or old airports. Once a refugee is granted a residence permit, they have one month to leave the

current place and find a new one. It turned out, however, that a month is not enough to find a place to live. There are not many flats to rent in the area, and if there are some, the rent is high. With no knowledge of the language, the refugees were unable to find out whether the prices were high or low, and yet had to find a new place on their own. They needed rapid help. Even though I worked at my job, and finished my daily classes at 7:30 PM, I spent time at nights to look for flats for the refugees. I made a lot of phone calls, and sent many emails. I would introduce myself as a teacher who provides classes to refugees, and then would ask if the owners were willing to rent a flat to the refugees. In response, I would often hear that there were no free flats or that the landlords have enough tenants already – even though there was a new advertisement on the Internet, which made it clear that the person was looking for tenants. Nonetheless, there were some positive responses and people willing to help. One person, for example, contacted me with the head of the JobCenter right away. JobCenter provides, among others, information on the rates for accommodation. The head of JobCenter immediately sent me all the necessary details. I found one flat in Greifswald, and another one in Berlin, where there were more offers. One Berliner landlord was so nice that he came to Pasewalk to drive the refugee to Berlin to see the apartment. When they found out at the Employment Agency in Berlin that the refugee was my student, they quickly arranged all the necessary matters (completing a benefit application, CV, obtaining a permit to rent a flat). This made me feel that in other cities there were also ordinary people who help, and that I was not alone. One day I had to drive 120 km away from my place of living, with a family who wanted to live near Berlin. We found a matching offer on the Internet. The landlord agreed to take a Syrian family with four children. Then I went to the Employment Agency with them, and there had already been an Arabic interpreter, while the office employees together with my friend helped the refugees to complete the documents, even though the office open hours had already passed. These people came to the office because they felt they had to help the family so that they do not have to go back to the office, which is 120 km away from their home. It was extraordinary. My next task was to help the family with getting health insurance and opening a bank account. The bank set a lot of barriers. They did not want to open an account for refugees. In fact, many unemployed Germans faced similar problems. Even though the law had changed, bank employees were not aware of that. While the family had been getting cash before, now they needed an account for transfers. Getting benefits from Jobcenter, payment of rent, kindergarten fees, etc. is now possible in Germany by money

transfer only, and this requires a bank account. Today, opening a bank account by a refugee is not an ordeal it used to be. Since 1 May 2015 there is a law that requires all banks to open accounts for refugees.

Summary

To sum up, I have to say that even for me, a German person, it is very difficult to get to know and understand regulations applicable in Germany. I thus cannot even imagine how difficult it must be for refugees. They also face one more issue, i.e. they have no contacts in the new country. It was thanks to my acquaintances and contacts that we were able to find some of the flats. Now I realise that if you have friends at employment agencies, job centres etc, who are willing to help, you can do a lot for refugees, and that you are not alone. This was also what Asia Wojtarowicz was talking about earlier today. I met Assia in November, when she was helping refugees. As the refugees spent first and second holiday alone, we eventually made a party and invited them to come. Polish people also came, and Asia was among them. We cooked Syrian dishes, danced, sang, and enjoyed it a lot. Let me also say from my own experience that I have known Poland for 40 years. Germans are less open than Poles. However, when we first came to Poland with a friend from Syria, we felt very unpleasant. People looked at us, as we were something from out of this world. My friend did not understand it, he said – we are not animals, we are people! People were very unkind, and I didn't know why. Throughout the 5 months of working with refugees I learned how kind and warm they are. How much they can offer to another person. I know Poland and I like it very much, and I know that Poles are also warm people. My children are raised to speak both German and Polish. I know Polish people, they are hospitable, Germans are less so. This is why I ask you – give them a chance, they really are wonderful people.

Anna Linka
University of Szczecin Institute of Pedagogy

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE “IN SEARCH OF THE PERFECT BALANCE. POLAND AND EUROPE IN THE FACE OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS” AND THE PROJECT “EARNESTLY ABOUT REFUGEES: MORE KNOWLEDGE, LESS EMOTIONS”

On December 9, 2016, the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Szczecin hosted a conference “In Search of the Perfect Balance. Poland and Europe in the face of the Migration Crisis” organised by Ph.D. Fuad Jomma of the Institute of Politics and European Studies of the University of Szczecin, M.A. Anna Linka of the Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Szczecin, and by M.A. Eng. Maciej Patynowski of the “Kreatywni dla Szczecina i Regionu” (creative individuals for the city of Szczecin and the region) association. The conference was held within the framework of the project “Earnestly about refugees: more knowledge, less emotions” conducted by the “Kreatywni dla Szczecina i Regionu” association. The participants of the conference tried to provide insights on the opportunities and threats relating to the influx of refugees, on attitudes with which we should approach them, on the categories in which the refugee crisis should be considered, and on the prerequisites in choosing the best solution. The conference was inaugurated by Ph.D. Tomasz Czapiewski – deputy director of the Institute of Politics and European Studies of the University of Szczecin, and Andrzej Ulhurski – vice-chairman of the management board of the “Kreatywni dla Szczecina i Regionu” association.

Fuad Jomma was the first speaker, and elaborated on the issue of “Social, economic, and political reasons for seeking refuge in Europe on the examples of selected Middle Eastern countries”. The scholar presented the history of contemporary migrations

from the Middle East to Europe, as well as social, economic, political, religious, ethnic, and national reasons for migration, factors that attract migrants to the Old Continent, the number of immigrants who applied for a refugee status in the EU in recent years, the consequences of immigration both for Middle Eastern and European countries.

Then Ph.D. Anita Adamczyk, professor of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, spoke on "Immigration Policy in Poland after the 2015 parliamentary elections". Prof. Anita Adamczyk presented the migration situation in Greece and Italy in 2015–2016, described the proposed objectives of the Polish migration policy for the period of the migration crisis and their implementation, and presented the changes in Polish legislation, and new institutional solutions that came into force in 2015 and 2016. Prof. Anita Adamczyk also made a note on Poland's international activities within the of the Visegrad Group, and remarked on the significance of migration in long-term strategies and plans such as "Multiannual Development Cooperation Programme for 2016–2010", "Efficient State 2020" strategy, and in the implementation plan of the documents "Polish Migration Policy", "Poland 2030. Third Wave of Modernity. National Development Strategy", and "Strategy for Responsible Development"¹.

Prof. Janusz Mieczkowski, professor of the University of Szczecin, was the next speaker, and addressed the issue "The Media and Refugees and Immigrants. Standards of Written and Spoken Reports on Migrants (selected examples)". First he introduced the concept of four media discourses on migrants, as distinguished by A. Grzymała-Kazłowska. The scholar then followed-up with an analysis of the image of migrants in the Polish media in 2015 and 2016. This prompted Prof. Janusz Mieczkowski to conclude that the Polish media, to a large extent, apply the ethnonationalist, and sensational-deviatory discourses. In the conclusion, the speaker presented the recommended standards for media reports on migrants: such reports should give voice to migrants themselves, refer to origin only when it is relevant, present the broader context of events and various points of view, avoid stereotyping, sensation and bias, make use of neutral language, and promote intercultural integration².

Khavra Elbazdukev of the "MultiOcalenie" foundation was the next speaker. She described her way from a person applying for refugee status in Poland to a member of the management board of the "MultiOcalenie" foundation, a translator, a language teacher, a trainer on religious and cultural differences, and a culture mediator³.

1 Conference power point presentation and video recording of the conference presentation are available on the conference web site: <http://mniejemocji.pl/index.php/konferencja>

2 Ibidem.

3 Ibidem.

Then Ph.D. Grzegorz Lindenberg of the "Europe of the Future" association presented his lecture "Is it Possible to Reconcile Sharia and Muslims with European Culture?". The author presented an outline of the concept of Sharia law, and presented a scenario in which its main assumptions are irreconcilable with the values of Western liberal societies. The speaker summarised the lecture by presenting the results of Koopman's research on Islamic fundamentalists in Europe, which demonstrate that Muslims will only be able to adapt to the European culture only if they lose their traditional beliefs⁴.

Prof. Dariusz Wybranowski of the University of Szczecin was the next speaker. He elaborated on the issue of the "Influx of Muslims and the Issue of Eventual «Islamisation of Europe» in the light of the selected works of political fiction". He presented visions of the selected *political fiction* authors relating to cultural and civilisational threats of the influx of Muslims to Europe.

Then Tomasz Cytrynowicz of the Office for Foreigners in Warsaw gave a lecture on the "Current Migration Situation in Poland and Europe. Involvement of Polish Services in Combatting the Migration Crisis". He presented the figures relating to the numbers of foreigners who received a residence card and international protection in 2011–2016. The speaker also showed the extent and complexity of migration to the respective European countries and the participation of Poland in the EU efforts aimed at organising migration flows, including the activities of Polish officials and border guards at reception centres and public institutions in Italy and Greece⁵.

Ph.D. Dorota Kowalewska of the University of Szczecin addressed the issue of "Poles and the Migration Crisis". The speaker started by presenting the results of studies on the attitudes of Polish people towards foreigners in 2005 and 2015, and towards refugees in 2015 and 2016, which shows that we have undergone a change from a society open to newcomers to a closed society. It was mostly brought forward by the fact that the major source of knowledge for Polish people Poles about the migration and refugee crisis consisted of social networking sites, i.e. a source conducive to the dissemination of negative emotions, and of low cognitive credibility⁶.

The next speaker, Ph.D. Małgorzata Mieczkowska of the University of Szczecin, presented a lecture "Political Correctness and the Policies of European Countries

4 Video recording of the conference presentation are available on the conference web site <http://mniejemocji.pl/index.php/konferencja>

5 Conference power point presentation..., op. cit.

6 Ibidem.

towards Immigrants and Refugees”, in which she touched on the issue of redefining the concept of political correctness and the evolution of the approach to the policy of multi-culturalism in response to the migration crisis⁷.

Dorota Parzymies of the “MultiOcalenie” foundation presented the activities of the organisation aimed at providing aid to foreigners and repatriates, and Romuald Zańko of the “Foundation under Gowns” described the actions aimed at aiding the civilian victims of the war in Syria – “Burning City” and “I am Rewriting this Poem”⁸.

M.A. Anna Linka was the last speaker. She presented an interpretation of the concept of a refugee, and defined the terms: asylum-seeker, immigrant, and safe country. For this purpose she referred to the respective international, European and Polish regulations. The speaker pointed out that in the face of the migration crisis these regulations turned out to be insufficient, and that the EU member states have failed to develop political and legal mechanisms to cope with the crisis. The crisis, however, might be an opportunity to establish new and consistent EU-wide migration solutions⁹. The conference was attended by 117 people, the majority of which were the employees of the institutions, offices and schools of the city of Szczecin¹⁰. As a follow-up of the conference, a scientific monograph edited by Fuad Yomma and Anna Linka “In search of the Perfect Balance. Poland and Europe in the face of the Migration Crisis” was published. The book is available in an electronic format at the following website: www.mniejemocji.pl/pliki/Publikacja_www.pdf. The conference „In search of the Perfect Balance. Poland and Europe in the face of the Migration Crisis” and the project “Earnestly about refugees: more knowledge, less emotions”. The framework of the project also enabled the development of educational materials: “Migration and refugees. information brochure for upper-secondary-school students”, and scripts for classes on migration and refugees by Anna Linka, as well as the brochure “Migration, refugees, legal status. Educational materials for employees of public institutions” by Prof. Anita Adamczyk. More than a dozen thousand copies of the materials were distributed to schools, communes, districts, employment agencies, district police departments, social aid centres, border guard centres,

7 Ibidem.

8 Video recording of the conference ..., op. cit.

9 Conference power point presentation ..., op. cit.

10 Document „Description of achieved results. Planned results and products of the project” of association „Kreatywni dla Szczecina i Regionu”.

etc. The materials are also available online: <http://mniejemocji.pl/index.php/materialy-edukacyjne>

The project also included three editions of two-day free-of-charge trainings "Working in a multicultural environment and working with refugees". The training covered the following topics: "causes, extent, and outcomes of the current migration crisis, immigrant versus refugee: legal regulations, state support system, cultural and religious differences, customs, myths and stereotypes about refugees, resolving conflicts in a multicultural environment, integration of people with war traumas and post-traumatic stress, cooperation between volunteers, non-governmental organizations and institutions and offices, involving citizens, psychological aspects of otherness and alienation, communication problems between public service workers and immigrants/refugees, development of skills to counteract prejudice, exclusion, discrimination and hate speech motivated by xenophobia, racism, or Islamophobia"¹¹. The trainings were provided by the employees of the „MultiOcalenie” foundation – Khavra Elbazdukaeva, Mohamed Ali Douiri and Dorota Parzymies. The trainings involved 87 participants¹².

Another activity undertaken within the project involved 31 information meetings in upper-secondary schools aimed at "raising the awareness and knowledge of young people on the issues related to migration, refugees, and cultural differences". As the authors of the project declared: "The meetings were not aimed at convincing anyone to receive or not receive refugees. The primary goal was to systematise our knowledge"¹³. The meetings were attended by 575 students of Szczecin schools¹⁴. In addition to the information meetings, school debates were held with the participation of immigrants. The promoters of the project declared that "The main purpose of the debates is not to decide (...) whether immigrants should be received or not. The aim is to shed light on the actualities of the Middle East, the multifaceted aspects of Islam and the richness of its culture, as well as the current situation of refugees (presented in a different context than terrorism or war)". At the same time, young people will have an opportunity to discuss predefined topics (e.g. within the framework of the Oxford model: start, debate, voices from the audience, summary, voting)¹⁵. The debates were attended by 293 students of Szczecin's junior high schools and

11 <http://mniejemocji.pl/index.php/szkolenia>

12 Document „Description of achieved results...", op. cit.

13 <http://mniejemocji.pl/index.php/spotkania-i-debaty-w-szkolach>

14 Document „Description of achieved results...", op. cit.

15 <http://mniejemocji.pl/index.php/spotkania-i-debaty-w-szkolach>

high schools. The meetings and debates at schools were held by Ph.D. Fuad Jomma of the University of Szczecin. The project also involved the establishment of an online knowledge base on migration and refugee issues, available at: <http://mniejemocji.pl/index.php/baza-wiedzy>. The evaluation of the project reveals that it involved 1072 beneficiaries (117 conference participants, 868 participants of information meetings/debates at schools, 87 participants of trainings). 96% of the 87 participants declared that they have gained knowledge on the laws and procedures relating to refugees, and integration of persons with war trauma, and that their intercultural networking skills have increased (“very high” increase: 48%, “high” increase: 48%). 83.9% of the conference participants declared that their awareness of the issues related to migration, refugees, and cultural differences has increased (“very high” increase: 43.7%, “high” increase: 40.2%). 778 participants of the project, including 377 participants of the information meetings, 250 participants of the debates, 73 participants of the conference, and 78 participants of the trainings declared that their interest in expanding the knowledge on topics related to migration, refugees, and cultural differences has increased (“definitely yes” or “yes” feedback answers). A total of 333 people declared in their feedback that the actions contributed to the increase of the level of public debate on topics related to migration, refugees, and cultural differences¹⁶. These statistics make it possible to conclude that the project has contributed to a substantial increase in the awareness and the competences of its participants, and thus its outcome is successful.

The project was co-funded by Fundusz Inicjatyw Obywatelskich (FIO), the Szczecin Municipal Commune (Office for Non-Governmental Organisations of the Szczecin City Council) and the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy.

16 Document „Description of achieved results...”, op. cit.

AUTOR'S NOTE

Marek Rymsza – Professor of sociology working in the Institute of Applied Social Sciences of the University of Warsaw. Head of the Department of Preventive Functions of Social Policy. Member of The National Development Council of Poland President. Coordinator of The Section for Social Policy and Family. Presidium of the Main Board of Polish Sociological Association President. Editorial board member of quarterly magazine “Więź” and the think-tank “Laboratorium Więzi”. Caritas Polska panel of experts member. He lives in Warsaw.

Fuad Jomma (Kurd from Syria) – doctor of political science, adjunct in Institute of Political Science and European Studies of Szczecin University. Author of the book „Kurds and Kurdistan” (Gdańsk 2001), co-editor of the volume „Poland and Europe in the face of immigration crisis. In Search of the Golden Mean”. (ed. F. Jomma, A. Linka, Szczecin 2016) and many scientific articles issued in collective works and scientific journals. Member of the scientific council Misan Journal of Academic Studies which is issued at Basic Education College/Iraq/ Expert of National Science Center.

Rafał Iwański – doctor of economic sciences, Adjunct in The Chair of Social Pedagogy of Szczecin University. Member of Polish Gerontological Society. His research and scientific interests are focused on social policy, and particularly social assistance, social work, social and economic gerontology.

Piotr Briks – Professor of theological sciences, working at Institute of History (University of Szczecin). Member of Polish Historical Society and Association of Polish Bible Scholars. Graduate of Higher Theological Seminary in Szczecin, University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński in Warsaw, Lublin Catholic University and École Biblique et Archeologique in Jerusalem. Author of numerous publications on antiquity, archeology and theology of Middle East. Tourist guide in Middle East countries.

Claudia Schippel – social worker with 35 years of experience in intercultural social work. Long – term employee of The Red Cross. Co-founder of the Network Supporting Voluntary Guardians for Unaccompanied Minors (AKINDA). Coordinator of projects in organization HÎNBÛN which deals with Kurdish families in Berlin.

Filip Przytułski – member of Refugees Szczecin association ,doctoral student at University of Szczecin, , author of scientific articles in the field of history of idea, history of Poland and Hungary (1944-1989).

Monika Grotzinger – social worker, psychological and social counsellor, educator, coordinator of project for support and readaptation of victims of human trafficking from Nigeria.

Anna Linka – doctor of social sciences, Pedagogue. Professor's assistant at Institute of Education of Szczecin University. Co-editor of the volume „Poland and Europe in the face of immigration crisis. In Search of the Golden Mean". (ed. F. Jomma, A. Linka, Szczecin 2016). She deals with issue of migrants integration and preparation of Polish institutions to work with migrants.

Romuald Zańko – social activist, traveller, President of Fundation „Pod Sukniami” in Szczecin.

Hammad Alramadan – journalist, and activist from Syrian refugee living in Germany.

Agnieszka Radłowska – pedagogue, graduate of University of Szczecin. German language teacher for refugees in Pasewalk, Germany. Since 2015 provides in Germany integration courses for refugees and immigrants – German as a foreign language.

Paweł Glapiński – graduate of Pedagogy of Social Work and Resocialization at Education Institute (University of Szczecin). His MA diploma was acknowledged at Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin. Since 2008 he lives and works in Berlin. Since June 2015 employed as a social worker at Polish Social Council (Polnischer Socialrat e.V.), working on project „Migration Counselling for Adults”.

Joanna Smagło-Yildirim – graduate of Jagiellonian University in Cracov. Cultural and social advisor, project coordinator. She coordinates project of Polish Social Council „Gemeinsam Schaffen” which supports refugees in Berlin by volunteers service.

Kerstin Zablocki – interpreter and teacher of Polish and German languages, manager of cultural and intercultural projects on Polish-German cross-borer. German language teacher for refugees, integration advisor and member of „Pasewalk Hilft!”.

Barbara Kromolicka – Professor at University of Szczecin, social pedagogue. Head of the Department of Social Pedagogy, Vice-president of the Committee on Education Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Member of section: Social Policy, Family, at the National Development Council at the President of Poland. The head of Social Welfare Council in Poland at The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy.