



CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

Europe facing the refugee crisis

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Securitization of the Refugee Crisis in Visegrad Countries

The rise and intensification of nationalist and anti-immigration sentiments all over the European Union – but particularly in the Visegrad Group (V4) countries (Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and Czechia) – is arguably one of the most dangerous implications of the recent (and indeed in many ways ongoing) refugee/migration crisis. While numerous countries opened their doors to those arriving in large numbers by land and sea since 2015, many politicians, notably from the V4 group, depicted the asylum seekers as a threat to the European identity, internal stability, and welfare state. This in turn led to a securitization of the refugee crisis, bringing about not only significant increase in hostility towards regular and irregular migrants among V4 citizens but also more tangible ramifications in the form of border fences and closed borders.

Against this background, in this paper we analyze how migration has been socially constructed as a threat in the V4 countries. In order to do that, we first review migration-security nexus i.e. how migration and security have become interconnected in current discourse. To this end, we make use of a methodological framework developed by the Copenhagen school of security studies, according to which the concept of security is understood as a social construct, articulated through the discourse. In other words, there are no security issues as such, only those that have been 'securitized', i.e. constructed through securitizing 'speech acts'. Securitization of immigration is then the result of successful speech acts on part of the political leaders, who try to mobilize population against other groups of people by means of verbal interventions.

In our work we therefore apply discourse analysis method to examine speech acts of the leading politicians in V4 countries, through which the image of migration is being projected as a threat. We analyze public speeches, interviews, articles, and press conferences of the key policymakers starting from the beginning of the refugee crisis in 2015 until the end of 2017. Importantly, we note that while the extent to which each state was affected by the crisis varied greatly, the public discourse surrounding the

migration issue was virtually identical. Finally, we briefly analyze the political consequences of securitization.

Alfredo Rizzo

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The internal/external dimension of EU asylum and immigration policies in the perspective of the draft UN Global compacts on migration and refugees

EU asylum and migration policies encompass internal and external (bilateral-multilateral) features that involve aims of socio-labor integration of refuge seekers and of migrants. In the EU, articles 18 and 19 of the Charter of fundamental rights protect asylum seekers, but EU law deals also with third country nationals more broadly. Moreover, in the EU Court of Justice' view, EU Member States bear reciprocal obligations – such as intra-EU resettlement of refuge seekers – based on the solidarity principle sanctioned by art. 80 Treaty on the Functioning of the EU.

At the "external" level, the EU Member States have recently signed agreements with third countries that are not members of the 1951 Geneva Convention for the resettlement of migrants, including those potentially entitled for international protection. This practice raises critical issues on the treatment of international protection seekers in the countries "of resettlement", in the context of status assessment procedures that must be correct also in a socio-labor inclusion perspective. In fact, existing non-EU sources, such as some ILO Conventions, prescribe a set of minimum standards on access to work, treatment at work and family reunification regardless of the citizenship and of the regular status of the migrant in an host country. EU law amply complies with those standards applicable also to refuge seekers.

At UN level, the drafts of the Global compacts on migrants and refugees deal with the socio-labor integration of individuals concerned. EU law also prescribes that EU countries adopt policies aimed at the socio-labor integration of foreign nationals regularly resident, including refuge seekers. However, there seems to exist an asymmetrical relationship between EU law standards and the mere "observer" status that EU enjoys for the current negotiations on the mentioned UN Global Compacts, also in accordance to 2011 UN General Assembly Resolution 65/276 on EU status to the UN.

Danilo García Cáceres

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The European Union's actions at sea and the migration & refugee crisis – Focus to the human rights in the Mediterranean 'Migration Crisis'

The United Nations collective security system is, in theory, ineffective to address illegal activities performed by private individuals, so What kind of approach have Europe and

individual European countries to the migration and refugee crises? What kinds of changes are necessary?

The European Union's actions at sea represent an even greater humanitarian challenge. The European refugee relocation system struggled to get implemented because several member States failed to adopt it. On 1 February 2018, the European agency, FRONTEX, launched Operation Themis in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas. It follows Operation Triton. The European Union asserted its foreign policy and common security policy thanks to EU NAVFOR Somalia, also known as Operation Atlanta, a counter-piracy military operation off the coast of Somalia. In 2012, the EU launched EUCAP Nestor, a program which contributes to the establishment and capacity building of maritime civilian law enforcement capability in the Horn of Africa and the West Indian Ocean.

In 2013, the EU announced the development of a new operation to reinforce security in the Gulf of Guinea (CRIMGO). Can this global-regional approach be reproduced to address the migratory movements seen since 2015, in particular via the Mediterranean Sea? The European Union faced an unprecedented crises and it let Italy and then Greece to tackle it on their own. Then, other member States closed their land borders. In June 2015, the EU finally launched EU NAVFOR MED and Operation Sofia to dismantle the network of migrant traffickers and smugglers, and prevent the loss of life at sea. This military operation is supplemented by the presence of the EU in the Mediterranean Sea as part of operations conducted by the European agency FRONTEX, Triton and Poseidon. On 9 October 2015, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 2240 (2015), authorizing Member States to seize vessels that were confirmed as being used for migrant smuggling of human trafficking from.

Agata Dmochowska
Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń

The Refugee Crisis and the Western Balkan Route – the case of Macedonia

Europe is once again being flooded by migrants. Immigrants are trying to get into the EU using mainly two routes: the Mediterranean one and the Balkan one. The latter leads from Turkey via Greece, Macedonia, Serbia to Hungary and then on to Austria, Germany and Sweden. Some migrants from the Middle East also go to Serbia through Bulgaria, but this is still a rarely chosen route. The Balkan states have been struggling with the problem of thousands of people illegally trying to cross their territory to reach EU countries. After the construction of the fence by the Hungarian authorities on the border with Serbia, another migration route began to lead through Croatia. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has not rule out the possibility that further routes may begin to run from Greece through Albania to Montenegro and Italy, and from Montenegro to Croatia by sea.

Macedonia experienced a huge impact from migrant crisis. This small country found itself caught between Greece, the main arrival point for refugees seeking shelter in Europe, and a vast area of countries unwilling to help them. With the closing of the

border between Macedonia and Greece, the influx of refugees decreased from more than 800,000 refugees in 2015 to only 89,197 in 2016. The main purpose of this paper is to describe the influence of the migration crisis has had on Macedonia. The research aims to contribute to the ongoing study of the current crisis affecting Europe.

EU member states facing the refugee crisis

Gerdien Jonker
Erlangen University

The refugee crisis in Germany

In the third quarter of 2015, the total number of asylum seekers in Germany peaked to almost one Million people. This happened after Chancellor Merkel invited 10.000 refugees, who were stuck in front of Budapest Central Station. Simultaneously, she instructed border control to let everybody in. The result was open borders, and, apart from the Syrian refugees for whom the invitation was intended, a large influx of migrants from South-Eastern Europe, North-Africa and the Far East walked past.

The first German reaction was jubilant. Everywhere in Germany inhabitants streamed to the train station to welcome the refugees with flowers, teddy bears, and food packages. Overnight, the "Welcome Refugee" Movement was born, offering more than a million voluntary workers a frame to do action: language courses, medical assistance, apartments, friendship. At the back of the frenzied atmosphere there was the deeply felt emotion of atonement, of finally being able to change Germany's (Nazi) image in the world. Not only did the German majority admire their Chancellor for her gesture of "humanness", but so did the French (*France Musique* even composed a special ode for her), the Americans, and others.

Initially, the German authorities were caught by surprise. With a view to EU regulations, the Federal Office for Migrants and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*, or BAMF) was used to handle 2.000 new asylum requests per year, not the half-a-million it was suddenly asked to process. *Vis-à-vis* the masses that were standing day and night in front of their offices, municipal authorities simply collapsed. Another problem posed the large number of unaccompanied adolescents who were entitled to special treatment. 50.000 of them were placed in families. But when during New Years' eve 2015/2016, a group of North African young men harassed women in the streets of Cologne, the mood started to change. Sexual (group) assaults and the murder of two young women in which Afghan youths were involved finally managed to tip the public perception.

As of Summer 2018, the right-wing party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AFD), backed up by 11 percent of the voters, has conquered a comfortable number of seats in the Bundestag. The tone is aggressive. What does the Parliament fight about? Not about the rising number of Muslims in their country. To the contrary, Muslim communities are regularly praised and receive support when they showing initiative to help the

newcomers. What is rocking the Parliament is the perceived “fact” that, back in 2015, decisions were “lawless” and that the authorities, through stepping up the asylum-seeking procedure, “cheated the public”. In the public eye, the responsible federal offices have failed to do their job.

Doubtlessly next year perceptions will differ again. But this is where we are at the moment. To counteract that situation is beyond my ability. But this is what we can do: produce straight descriptions of the actual situation in a number of European countries for comparison that could be used in didactical materials, and generate as many questions as we can come up with.

Monika Trojanowska-Strzęboszewska
Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw

The securitization and politicization of refugees in Polish political discourse since 2015

The presentation will focus on the analysis of refugees' images in Poland, in particular in the Polish political discourse since 2015. The aim of the presentation is to show the impact of these images on the process of politicizing refugee issues in Polish politics, and thus on the Polish position on the reform of European migration and asylum policy.

There will be several elements of the presentation:

- change in the way of presentation and problematization of refugees in 2015 - internal and external conditions,
- manifestations and methods of refugee securitization in Poland,
- manifestations of the politicization of refugees in political discourse in Poland,
- consequences of politicizing refugee issues for Polish and European migration and asylum policy.

Dominik Wach
University of Warsaw

Polish approach to the migration and refugee crisis.
Changes in policies, public and political debate, rise of Islamophobia

Migration and refugee crisis of 2014+ and an increasing inflow of migrants – mostly from MENA countries – changed public debate and political landscape in many European countries. Since 2015 we could observe widening gap between political parties, non-governmental organizations and non-formal groups or even individuals who saw this situation as a chance to show European solidarity and humanity from one hand, and those who saw it as a threat to European culture and values from the other.

Similar situation could be observed in CEE countries, mostly not affected by huge inflow of migrants from MENA countries. One of those countries is Poland, where additionally presidential and parliamentary elections coincided in time with peak of migration and refugee crisis. For the first time since political transformation of 1989, immigration and

integration of foreigners became a subject of public and political debate. Moreover, in an absence of asylum seekers in Poland (about 12.000 applications yearly in 2015 and 2016) and with a small Muslim population living in the country (roughly 10.000 or less than 0,1% of all population), inflow of "Muslim refugees" to Poland was and still is seen as one of the main threats. These elements not only helped right-wing parties and movements to rise but also severely changed language of the debate, attitudes towards immigrants (including refugees) and affected immigration and integration policies.

The text analyzes the main shifts in policies, debate and formal or informal actions of various subjects (including politicians, NGOs, Border Guards etc.) related to migration and refugee crisis and immigrants. The main questions which lies at the heart of the text is following: how did the migration and refugee crisis 2014+ affect Poland and what was the response of Poles? What changes in immigration and integration policies were driven by the crisis and were they reasonable? Is the rise of islamophobia driven by political debate or the debate is a response to public demand?

Giacomo Mennuni
University of Rome Tor Vergata

Migration and Islamic finance: housing patterns

The story of the Islamic Community starts from the Hijrah of 622 A.D., that is a migration. The term "Hijrah" appears in the Holy Qur'an repeated in twenty-seven verses and in most of these takes on a meaning falling within the semantic field of the word "abandon". Actually, the moment of migration represents also the passage from the pre-Islamic to the Islamic era, that is, the moment of the constitution of the community and of its social organization based no longer on the bonds of blood but on the faith. The modern Islamic migrations enclose these two meanings of the original Hijrah: the escape from persecution and the constitution of a new socio-juridical order, in which the fiqh stands as a key instrument for the harmonization of the shari'ah with the modern western juridical systems.

The relations between Dar Al-Islam and Dar Al-Harb, in the light of the contemporary migratory flows, also develop on the level of the common interest represented by the Islamic finance. "Common interest" because, if on the one hand the Islamic finance is becoming a useful instrument of cooperation of the Western Governments with the Islamic communities present in their territories, a trasversal interest in the contractual models of Islamic finance is emerging, that is, beyond the numbers and needs of the islamic communities.

A topic particularly tackled by the agendas of the European governments is that of housing: the Islamic mortgage models provide for at least two property transactions: the tax policies that regarding the exemption from payment of the double stamp duty, make the Islamic instrument convenient for Western Muslims who wish to access it and competitive with respect to other conventional mortgage instruments. Understanding how these instruments and the related measures adopted by the governments work,

allows us to predict the future of the models of integration of Muslims in the West and the future structure that their communities will assume.

Integration of migrants and refugees in Europe: policies, practices and challenges

Zuzanna Błajet
Jagiellonian University

Isma'ili religious institutions in Moscow and their impact on a processes of migrants' integration into a host society

Despite a vast research on the labour migration from Central Asia to Russia, a little is known about the Isma'ili Muslims migrants from the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region. The paper addresses the issue of activity of the Isma'ili religious institutions in Moscow as well as their role in a process of migrants' adaptation into a different cultural patterns. The presentation is based on the qualitative interviews with the heads of the Isma'ili organizations, teachers of religion and ethics, religious leaders as well as ordinary people. The analysis of these interviews presents two trends: 1) Isma'ili religious institutions in Moscow promote pluralism and tolerance towards everyone regardless of confession and origin, since these ideas are considered as one of the most important values of contemporary Isma'ilism. In addition, according to Aga Khan IV, a spiritual leader of the Isma'ili Muslims, it is desirable for people living outside of their homelands to adopt into the host countries' socio-cultural and political settings 2) However, activity of the Isma'ili religious institutions in Moscow favor strong consolidation of the community which as a result could encourage separation from adherents of the other branches of Islam as well as Russians. The Isma'ili religious education aims at preventing radicalization, perceived as one of the greatest threats for the young generation of Ismailis raised in Moscow.

Anisa Abeytia

A tale of two Norways: Active and passive integration in two Norwegian cities, mapping Syrian refugees' access to socio-spatiality in central and southern Norway

The research objectives of this study were threefold, 1) to observe the social interaction between Syrian refugees and Norwegian locals, 2) document the interactions occurring among non-profit organizations, locals, and Syrian refugees and 3) utilize data to form integration policy recommendations.

In-dept interviews and filed work were conducted in December 2015, June- July 2016 and March 2018. Interviews with asylum seekers and Norwegians revealed that space is an important aspect of the integration process and is allowing for novel patterns of interaction to develop centered around *dugnad*, community service. *Dugnad* activities

provided spaces for local and refugee populations to interact in meaningful ways despite religious, cultural and linguistic differences.

Programs developed by Mandal chapters of Norsk Folkehjelp and the Røde Kors created an environment of inclusiveness for locals and refugees as a means of integration. However, it was earlier grass-roots initiatives by residences within the first weeks of asylum seekers arriving in Mandal that set the tone and foundation for such *dugnad* programs.

In Asker the opposite occurred, and with limited assistance from locals and NGOs, Syrian refugees founded their own organization, Syrian-Norwegian Association of Asker, to assist their fellow refugees with the integration process and invited local participation.

This exploratory study utilized space as a vector of social analysis to categorize the interaction between Syrian refugees and Norwegian locals in two cities in central and southern Norway. Edward Soja's theory of Thridspace was employed to understand the impact of socio-spatial dynamics in the integration process and identified a pattern of active and passive integration efforts among locals, NGOs and Syrian refugees.

Additionally, five sub- themes emerged, 1) negative social determinants, 2) toxic nostalgia, 3) hyper-transnational connection(s), 4) voicelessness and 5) refugee's mental health status, which. This pattern may hold profound implications for integration efforts and warrants further study.

Nataša Simić and Jelena Vranješević
University of Belgrade

Refugee children in formal education in Serbia - multi-perspective views on challenges and good practices

After the official closure of the Balkan Route in March 2016, the length of stay of refugees from the Middle East and Africa in Serbia extended to several months and years, which opened up the question of refugee children formal education. Ministry of Education issued a policy document on the inclusion of refugee children in the education system in August 2017. By the end of 2017 there were 447 refugee children enrolled in 37 elementary schools in seven Serbian towns.

The aim of the research done within the project *Inclusion of children and parents in refugee and migration situation2* (November 2017 - February 2018) was to understand the challenges for the successful inclusion of refugee children in Serbian schools and to explore and promote good practices, in order to create a safe and supportive school context for learning and development. Focus group interviews and semi-structured interviews were conducted with 167 participants (80 representatives of schools and school administrations having experience with including refugee children in regular classes, ten representatives of the NGO sector, three temporary guardians of

unaccompanied children, 16 local children and 16 local children parents, 29 refugee children and 13 refugee children parents).

The most noticeable challenges for the successful inclusion of refugee children at the system level are: a) lack of timely information, b) lack of comprehensive documents and standardized procedures of children assessment, c) lack of (financial) support to schools. The most relevant challenges at the school and teacher level are: a) traditional teaching methods and lack of individualization, b) teachers' low expectations and discriminatory practices, c) lack of cooperation with parents, local communities and NGOs. Although majority of local children demonstrate high level of empathy, there are still some students who discriminate against refugee children. All participants agree that the language is the main barrier for both learning and socializing. Good practices relate to good cooperation between schools, local community and NGOs, horizontal learning, creative, flexible and respectful approach to refugee children and their parents. Participants recognize improved teacher competencies, strengthened school capacities for inclusive practice and improved intercultural competences of local children as main benefits of including refugee children in local schools.

Imranali Panjwani
The University of Notre Dame, Australia

The creation of minority case law:
a possible solution for the recognition of Muslim refugee rights in European countries

Using the United Kingdom's asylum and immigration laws as a case study, this paper critiques three of its mechanisms with a view to uphold Muslim refugee rights in Europe. These are: the methodology of granting asylum by the Home Office, the use of expert reports in immigration tribunals and the role of country reports in supporting asylum cases. Despite the value in all of these processes in producing just and transparent UK immigration laws, they have distinct failings because they do not adequately investigate the religious, political, legal and social dimensions of a refugee's case. It is left to an unwitting member of the Home Office or one expert to make sense of a refugee's race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. The result is that refugees are not given a fair and rigorous voice to represent themselves. My question is: should the rights of a refugee hinge on the knowledge (or lack thereof) and decision-making power of a few individuals before hearings? And when a case goes to an appeal hearing, should the decision rest on a judge whose recourse to evidence is limited to expert and country reports?

These questions can be answered by rethinking the way in which minority communities such as Muslims who enter Western and/or European countries as refugees express their legal voice. Though it is understandable that others may speak on behalf of refugees, it is the responsibility of Muslim communities already existing within the UK or other countries to be united enough to create their own case law that documents the type of persecution that refugees face. This means producing evidence on specific terminologies, racial, cultural and faith practices and geographical data. At the same time, the dominant legal system should be accepting to this development to improve its

own immigration laws and policies. If this case law is produced in a format that an English or European judge who is not acquainted with Islam will understand, it acts as another evidential source to support the grievances and claims of Muslims.

In short, Muslims can create their own case law that gives due justice to their own concerns which aids the decision of a judge in asylum cases. It also puts pressure on immigration laws and policies that may suffer from bias, political agendas and procedural and evidential unfairness. This also means reinterpreting Islamic jurisprudence to be more visionary in working alongside dominant European legal systems. The paper will conclude by proposing what Muslim minority case would look like in practice and how it may also be adopted by other minority religious and ethnic communities in European countries.

Katarzyna Andrejuk
Polish Academy of Sciences

Unnoticed diversity? Turkish migrants and their integration in the Polish labour market

While the refugee crisis has largely shaped the contemporary image of migrants from Muslim countries to Europe, these refugee migration streams are not the only type of mobility from Islamic countries to Poland. A growing group of foreigners from a Muslim state are Turks, who (in opposition to the Turkish minorities in Western Europe) constitute the first generation of migrants in Poland.

The presentation deploys a notion of „unnoticed diversity” for two reasons. First, the Turkish community in Poland is mostly omitted by migration studies, while it has been constantly growing in the recent years. Second, the prevailing stereotype about Turks is associated with the image of ethnic owners of kebab takeaways, which does not capture the diversity of Turkish migrants’ occupational activities and patterns of their economic integration in Poland.

The presentation will focus on the forms of participation of the Turkish migrants in the Polish labour market. It will introduce a typology of workers: highly skilled migrants including transnational professionals; entrepreneurial activities who develop own small businesses in the host country; migrants who work in the secondary segment of the labour market. The qualitative research (in-depth interviews, conducted in 2018) allows one to reveal how migrants narrate the experience of being a Muslim newcomer in a labour market of a country which is almost homogeneous in terms of society’s ethnicity and religion.

Integration of Muslims – European experiences

Oleg Yarosh
National Academy of Science of Ukraine

Political conflict in Ukraine and its impact on Muslim communities: local developments and global connections

Present paper aims to analyze how political conflict in Ukraine, i.e. annexation of Crimea and war in Donbas impacted local Muslim communities. Since 2014 about 20,000 Tatars left the Peninsula. Some of them are members of Salafi communities, Muslim Brotherhood and Hiz at-Tahrir organizations, who were afraid of persecutions after the annexation of Crimea. We should also mention a number of Muslim IDP's from Donbas. This led to the resurgence of Salafi and Hiz at-Tahrir activities in the mainland Ukraine. In 2014 the first centralized Salafi organization in Ukraine "Association of Ukrainian Muslims" (AMU) has been established in Kyiv.

In 2014 the "Information office", an official representative institution of Hizb at-Tahrir in Ukraine was opened in Lviv. In 2016 council of representatives of 14 Crimean Tatar Muslim communities in the mainland Ukraine proclaimed establishment of the new Salafi-oriented Crimean Muftiat.

Another important problem is growing number of the Muslim asylum seekers in Ukraine. Most of them are Russian Federation citizens, mainly from the Northern Caucasus, who are wanted by the Russian law enforcement agencies on charges of involvement in extremist organizations and terrorist activities. Some of them came to Ukraine voluntary as asylum seekers or moved to the mainland Ukraine from Crimea, where they lived before, others were deported from other countries like Turkey or have been arrested by the Ukrainian security services on they visit to Ukraine or on transit to another countries.

The transnational Islamic networks have a substantial impact on the Muslim communities in Ukraine shaping the trends and moderating public discourse about Islam. These networks bring their mutual conflicts and struggle over the religious and political issues to Ukraine making Ukrainian Muslim community extremely polarized. While Ukraine experiences resurgence of transnational Islamic networks, authorities' policy towards them becomes more restrictive, and all of this leads to growing islamophobia.

Anna Cieślowska
Jagiellonian University

Muslim political refugees from Tajikistan, and uncertainty at the threshold of Europe

Until August 2015, the Islamic Rebirth Party of Tajikistan (IRPT) was the only officially operating political party in Central Asia referring to Islam in its program. At the end of

August 2015, the IRPT was de-legalised and the mass arrest of its members followed. IRPT leaders and activists received prison sentences or were forced to renounce their party membership. At the end of September 2015 the high court classified the IRPT as a terrorist group, alleging that the party had been planning a coup. Many activists, including the head of the party, Muhiddin Kabiri, went into exile, applying for refugee status in some EU countries including Poland.

While the members of the board have received a refugee status, some other people affiliated with the party have experienced difficulties in crossing the Polish-Belarusian or Polish-Ukrainian borders. They have been rejected to submit the application forms for refugee status. As a result, many of them have got stuck at the border waiting many days or weeks to be allowed to entry Poland, others have been forced to seek other alternatives in their way to freedom.

The main goal of this presentation is a discussion on the situation of the Muslim asylum seekers at the Polish-Belarusian or Polish-Ukrainian borders, on the example of members of the Islamic Rebirth Party of Tajikistan. The presentation is based on research material collected in Tajikistan (October 2015, after the Party's de-legalisation), the interviews with Party's members conducted in Poland, and information obtained from the human rights organizations, as well as other sources.

Marta Woźniak-Bobińska
University of Łódź

Muslims in Sweden: Middle Eastern Christians' perceptions and narratives

With fewer than ten million people, Sweden, a self-proclaimed “humanitarian superpower”, received 163,000 asylum applications in 2015 – more per capita than any other country in Europe. These refugees predominantly came from war-torn Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. Although the majority of them were Muslims, who now constitute 8.1% of the Swedish population, there were also some Middle Eastern Christians. The aim of the Defining and Identifying Middle Eastern Christian Communities in Europe (DIMECCE) project was to examine Assyrian/Syriac and Coptic diasporas. There are approximately 120,000 Assyrians/Syriacs and 8,000 Copts in Sweden. Both communities have been deeply traumatised by past as well as current events in the Middle East (i.e. the atrocities committed by the Islamic State), and have translocated their anti-Muslim sentiments from their homeland to Sweden.

Islamophobic perceptions are especially visible in Södertälje near Stockholm – the unofficial ‘capital’ of Assyrians/Syriacs who could be viewed as ‘the majority within a minority’ there. On the one hand, there are records of Middle Eastern Christians abusing Muslims in Södertälje, on the other hand there are cases of Muslims attacking Christians in Sweden’s refugee camps. The Swedish authorities seem helpless and still do everything to avoid religious-based segregation. However, such events undermine their multicultural policy. A growing minority of ethnic Swedes worry that the influx of refugees will hurt their welfare state benefits. The national consensus behind the open-door policy has begun to crumble. Furthermore, the anti-immigration Swedish

Democrats, the third biggest party in parliament, are becoming increasingly popular. So far, only individual friendships between second generation Middle Eastern Christians and Muslims give any hope for optimism. The aim of the paper is to present Middle Eastern Christians' perceptions and narratives on Muslims within the Swedish context.

Irina Molodikova
Central European University

**Muslim Refugees from Russia:
Do the Chechens Bring Their Own "aul" from Chechnya to the EU?**

From the middle of 90s (since the first Chechen war), Chechen migration has formed undrown flow to the EU. Chechen diaspora now is grown rapidly counting about 180 thousand persons in the EU. The integration of Chechens in different EU countries has peculiarities and features of traditional society they used to live in Russia influence their opportunities to be accepted as 'own' in the host societies. Gender gap as well as high level of religiosity are also work as constraining factors in their integration.

The author, based on the statistical information of EU, UNHCR, own interview of Chechen refugees in the EU countries and their relatives in Chechnya and media reports, evaluates the integration strategies of representatives of Chechen diasporas in their access to labor market, housing, education, build family relations and the Chechen identity.

<p>Politicization and mediatisation of migrants, refugees and Muslims – European case studies</p>
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Wajih Ayed
University of Sousse

**This Invasion which Is Not One:
Media Coverage of Immigrant Landings into the Heart of Europe**

Narratives of the refugee influx into Europe following the Arab Spring are as numerous as their humanitarian repercussions and political recuperations. Representations of the experiences of Muslim immigrants on the shores and in the camps of Fortress Europe are marked by the scars of past religious strife and mired in a renewed scare from the spectre of an Islamic conquest. Conflicting depictions of this recent influx of refugees have differently impacted public opinion and policy responses in (non-) EU countries and have therefore polarised responses to the crisis. In this paper, I study a representative sample of media reports on immigrant landings in Italy and Greece and I analyse certain policies which they triggered. My main objective is to show that news coverage of this ghost invasion has helped bridge gaps between refugees and host communities from different religious backgrounds.

Edina Lilla Mészáros
University of Oradea

The politicization, mediatisation and the visual framing of the refugee crisis in Hungary

At the beginning of 2015 the EU was hit by an unprecedented number of third country nationals seeking better life, asylum and international protection within its borders. This influx has shown that the community's present institutional and legislative framework is not suitable for the management of the crisis, leading to profound divisions among Member States. This division has become highly visible with the emergence of fragmented *media coverage* and *public discourse* along national/supranational lines, expressing the EU's incapability to provide a scene for genuine discussions amongst Member States. Undoubtedly, the mass media and political discourses have an agenda setting power framing the perceptions of the public, by communicating through various channels certain information about certain events. The intrinsic role of the media is to provide the public with accurate information about what's happening in the world in order to be well informed and prepared for future challenges. However, we must not forget that the media has a manipulative nature, shaping when something enters into, or is removed from public and political consciousness.

Therefore, this article endeavours to present in a sequential way how did the Hungarian government frame the refugee crisis since 2015, influencing the public opinion, turning into an agent of (in)security and manager of anxiety. Using Giorgio Agamben's state of exception approach it shall be revealed how the declaration of state of emergency and the framing of the refugee/migration crisis as an existential threat enabled the Hungarian government to undertake measures which under normal conditions wouldn't be possible. Furthermore, we stress that Hungary is only following a trend started by various European countries such as Italy, France or Greece, which have turned the declaration of humanitarian/state emergencies into an enduring governance practice. Departing from the fact that the vast majority of the refugees/migrants coming to the EU and to Hungary were Muslims, our research also wishes to demystify the self and other dichotomy (the *Christian self* and the *Muslim other*), analyzing how the Muslim migrants/refugees were framed by the Hungarian governmental apparatus and media.

Ernst Furlinger
Danube University Krems

The Topics 'Islam' and 'Refugees' in the Election Campaign of the Freedom Party
Austria in 2017

The refugee crisis of 2015/16 and the series of jihadist terror attacks in Western Europe had a severe impact on the national elections in Austria in October 2017. The election resulted in the victory of Sebastian Kurz (ÖVP) who formed a new coalition with the

Freedom Party Austria (FPÖ). 12 years after the former ÖVP-FPÖ coalition (2000-2005), the party became part of the national government again.

The themes „Islam“ and the arrival of refugees in 2015/16 in large numbers in Austria dominated the political contest before the national election at October 15, 2017 in Austria. This processes represent an example how political parties in Europe used the refugee and jihadist crisis as a opportunity structure in their struggle for power.

The paper focuses on the role of these topics in the election campaign of the Freedom Party Austria. It demonstrates the commingling of the themes of radical-islamist extremism and terrorism, Muslims in Austria and refugees with muslim affiliation in the public discourse of the Freedom Party Austria, as an element of a strategy of political mobilization.

The paper analyzes this form of public political communication by applying different conceptual tools, like politicization of Islam, mediatization, and demographic and cultural panic. It examines the function of the invented enemy, the „muslim other“, for the self-understanding and identity construction of the nation.

Anna Visvizi
Deree American College of Greece

Greece and the refugee crisis in Europe: law, politics and foreign policy

Even if Greece occupies central position in the debate on refugee and migration crises Europe has been exposed to since 2015, Greece's voice in the debate in hardly ever heard in that debate. Greece, along with Italy, has received the largest number of migrants and up to day 70000 people are hosted in receptions centers across Greece.

Several questions arise in that context. These include: To what extent the issue of migration and the refugee crisis itself have been instrumentalized in the dominant political discourse? How the society has reacted to the surge of arrivals over the past few years? To what extent the existing asylum framework of the EU has predefined the scope of Greece's reaction to the challenge of migration. What other factors have been at play and conditioned Greece's stance toward the refugee and migration crises The objective of this presentation and the paper is to address these issues.

Different faces of Islamophobia in Europe

Simon Goodman
University of Coventry)

The role of Islamophobia in (anti) migration and refugee talk in the UK

This talk addresses the role of Islamophobia in talk about migrants and refugees integrating into the UK. It is shown how the focus on integration in the UK has its roots in far-right opposition to Muslim migrants, but that the focus was shifted onto the migrants rather than the far-right. A discursive psychological approach to talk about integrating Muslims into the UK is taken as this allows for a detailed analysis of the ways in which talk about integration is used flexibly in debates. A discourse analysis was conducted on 960 newspaper articles published in the UK between September 2015 and January 2016, at the height of the 'refugee crisis' where integration and refugees were mentioned. Analysis shows how refugees and migrants are assumed to be Muslim and therefore are 'othered' as incompatible with British values. Examples of more overt racism are presented, where Muslims are presented as a threat to the UK and as unable or unwilling to integrate, which forms the basis of arguing for their exclusion. Islamophobia is therefore shown to be an integral part of anti-refugee sentiment in the UK.

Konrad Jajecznik

Islamophobia, welfare chauvinism or a New Member States' influence on an European decision-making process?

The V4's partial solidarity in responses in the refugee crisis in Europe

Waves of humanitarian migration combined with economic migration coming to the EU since 2014 from Northern Africa, Middle East and Ukraine contributed to further increase in political divisions: while EU-core countries seemed to welcome the non-European migrants, and expressing concerns about economic migrants from CEE, the New Member States, and the Visegrad Group countries in particular, took an opposite approach. Characteristically, that despite the mass-scale influx of job seekers from Ukraine (mainly to Poland, which has so far adopted up to 2 million of people therefrom) they have been blending into the host societies and labour markets in V4 without inciting public emotions, yet the societies have been unwillingness to adopt a non-European refugees. Ruling parties and the majorities of societies remained astonishingly consistent on that issue.

An anti-refugees/anti-immigrants resentments have been strongly influencing on political debate on European level and on—'old' and 'new' as well—Member States level. Arousing a cleavage between proponents and opponents of a so-called 'welcoming culture' has been determine a domestic party dynamics (a rise of new radical-right and populist movements) and electoral processes in Member States located on an irregular

migration roots (e.g. Austria, Italy) as well as in those which has adopted very limited (if any) number of refugees. A general crisis of trust, triggered by EU mandatory refugee relocation mechanism, has been determining a local political debates as well as European decision-making process regarding the reform of common asylum and immigration policy, as the June EU summit on migration clearly illustrated.

This paper will present a findings of a political discourse analyse in the V4 in order to identify a major narrations that have been driving this EU-coalition's response on the refugee crisis. This will be done by, first, comparison a determinants of welcoming approach to job seekers form Ukraine and such strong distrust to refugees and immigrants (who do not meet asylum criteria) coming from out-side of Europe. This will included reflection upon distinctions between the economic vs. humanitarian, and cultural and ethnic factors. Secondly, the results of those assessments shall be compared in respect of their influence on the domestic political debates, and on the electoral processes. Third, the paper will seek to find out the Europeanisation impact, since political actors seem to cooperate in respect of the migration issue in order to influence on the European decision-making process.

Ima Sri Rahmani
Université Catholique de Louvain

Counter Islamophobia in Belgium: An Analysis of the discourse of Belgian's non-government organisation (UNI-A and CCIB)

Apparent religious expression in public sphere and increasing suspicion become two main issues to which the Muslims in Belgium are daily encountering. This situation is the consequence, partly, of the existing of an active international Islamic political movement, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, *Ikhwanul Muslimin*, and an extreme conservative religious orientation, such as the Salafi-Wahabi groups. This is aggravated by several terrorist attack across Europe which has escalated the rise of Islamophobia in Belgium. However, this condition created an interesting phenomenon, namely the emergence of non-governmental organizations in order to counter the Islamophobia issues.

This paper aims to describe and then to analysis two different organizations discourses to counter Islamophobia: UNI-A (Centre for equal opportunities and the fight against racism) and CCIB (Collective contre l'islamophobie en Belgique). The UNIA consist of Belgians from diverse religious adherence (even secular, agnostic, and atheist) and political views, while the CCIB consist of Belgian Muslims. Although this two organizations have different members' background, but at practical level they have a same objective. These NGOs provide both legal aid and psychological support to the victim of Islamophobia. They also make a public campaign asking to change some policies deemed discriminative to Muslims and to challenge public opinion against Islamophobia.

The paper attempts to answer what discourse they used to counter Islamophobia issues in Belgium using social media. The way and discourse how they attempt to

encounter Islamophobia will be discussed here using the social constructionism theory. The data is gathered from the organizations' reports, the social media postings and responses on Facebook, and Twitter, and the interviews with some actors in these organizations. The paper would argue that the role of these organisations is enormous in counteracted as well as counterbalanced to the issue of Islamophobia which caused many acts of violence. Through their discourse counter Islamophobia, they succeeded, to some extent, to reduce the act of violence, physically and psychologically, targeting Belgian Muslims.

Marat Gibatdinov
Tatarstan Academy of Sciences

Preventing Islamophobia through education
(mutual understanding as the case of Tatarstan in Russia)

Tatarstan Republic as the multicultural area paid a special attention to the promoting mutual understanding between main cultural and religious groups, especially between Muslims and Christians, who represent majority of society and most influenced confessional groups.

Each of them represent almost half of population (53 and 45% respectively) and regional authority tried to keep balance of interest of both religious groups. In the contrast, the federal authority paid more attention to the promoting Orthodox Christianity, trying the use religion as political instrument. Such attempts became especially visible during the implementation of compulsory school subject "Basics of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics" with the special focus on the Orthodox religion. Tatarstan however, protested against and promoted studying of "Basics of World Religious Cultures" without stressing only one religion. The experience of Tatarstan in this direction widely known in whole Russia, as the positive example of promoting mutual understanding through the education

Bolaji Balogun
University of Leeds

Not Exactly Black and White:
the marking of racial microaggression in contemporary Poland

Despite the increase in literature on racial microaggressions and its negative effects on the people of colour, in Poland, racial microaggressions are often modulated as trivial and never acknowledged as being racial. This created a gap in the understanding of 'race' and racism in the country. In this discussion, I draw from historical and contemporary examples of racial microaggressions in the US and the UK and provide often neglected significant empirical insight into the manifestations and implications of racial microaggressions in the everyday experience of people of colour who are mainly migrants from sub-Saharan Africa living in Poland. In doing so, I argue that racial microaggression did not emerge from a vacuum, it is often mediated through the early

conceptualisation of race; categorisation of people and later a social structure that is organised, to a significant degree, by the concept of 'race'.

Other(s) – perceptions, responses, narratives

Melek Aylin Özoflu
Corvinus University of Budapest

Perception towards Others of Europe in times of Crisis: A visit to Social Identity Theory

This paper investigates how Islamophobia has been articulated within the European political scene in the recent years especially during the wave of the refugee crisis. To this end, it would conduct a discourse analysis of the European decision makers from the perspective of Social Identity Theory (SIT) which was proposed by Tajfel in 1974. Adopting SIT is valuable to utilize its main inspiration regarding the how individuals' sense of belonging to a particular society is shaped by identifying themselves as 'us'. Inquiry of individuals' identification of their belonging to a particular group is of critical importance to observe the rise of Islamophobia in Europe, which would trigger fear and hostility towards Muslims in general and refugees in particular. Another prevailing reason for adopting SIT is to unveil the act of 'othering' against refugees by the right-wing parties which thereby forming an 'ingroup' of European identities.

However, this paper also argues that such acts of othering by the European politicians is two-phased. Accordingly, the first phase consists of othering against 'refugees' by forming an ingroup of European identity along which individuals can identify his/herself with other members of a certain group. The second phase covers othering within this ingroup of European identity in order to form smaller 'ingroups' along with the lines of 'national identities'. In that sense, it presents the typical shape of Russian Matroska dolls which implies the fact that member of a smaller community is also a member of a larger community at the same time. The second phase of othering which was mobilized by the right-wing parties has detrimentally triggered the Euroscepticism and rise of nationalism all over the European States. Therefore, this paper also aims to enlighten the extent to which the articulation of Euroscepticism and Islamophobia might trigger the rise of right-wing parties and nationalism or vice versa.

Elodie Thevenin
Jagiellonian University/Sciences Po Strasbourg

Element of Societal Change? Threatening Other? Discursive Representation of Migrants and Refugees in Polish Parliamentary Debate.

The increased number of migrants and refugees coming to Europe since 2015 has challenged the member states of the European Union (EU). In spite of the small number of refugees coming to Poland, their arrival has been framed as a major issue for the country. While having a significant multi-ethnic history – before the Second World War

– the 2015 shift in the Polish government marks a turning point regarding the rhetoric against the acceptance of refugees and migrants, as the political discourse toughened. The aim of this paper is therefore to analyse the images associated with migrants and refugees in the parliamentary debates of this specific EU member state.

Building on concepts such as otherness and national identity, the paper focuses on the discursive representation of migrants and refugees: how images and narratives around migration are created and reproduced in political setting, i.e. the *Sejm*. The main question leading this paper concerns the concept of securitisation and how political actors, in this case members of parliament (MPs), link migration with security through discursive practices to legitimise anti-migration views. The methodology used is primarily discourse analysis, applied on data collected from 2014 onwards in the Polish parliament.

The discursive construction of claims demonstrates that throughout the migration crisis migrants and refugees tend to be more and more associated with the image of an outsider threatening the nation and its society – especially taking into account the 2015 political change in the Polish parliament. The migration crisis intensified as well Eurosceptic rhetoric, as the EU is regarded as responsible for the migration situation.

Veronica Kostenko
Higher School of Economics

Gender attitudes of Muslim migrants and sending societies

This study aims at analyzing differences in gender attitudes between Muslim migrants in Western Europe compared to people in their sending societies and to European locals. This study uses the European Social Survey, European Values Study, and the World Values Survey as the data sources for the period of late 2000-s - early 2010-s. I employ cross-classified multilevel analysis to compare individuals with respect to their country of origin and receiving society characteristics simultaneously. The results show that migrants are closer in their attitude to gender-equal employment rights to local Europeans than to publics in their sending societies. People who left their predominantly Islamic countries of origin are much less prone to gender discrimination than those who stayed, and female migrants show egalitarian patterns regardless of their country of origin.

Mustafa Switat
University of Warsaw

"The Other" in Poland – the anatomy of narratives

With respect to the current migration crisis in Europe, the Other (bad and dangerous) is generally identified with the Arab or Muslim communities (refugees). Negative perceiving of those groups in Poland is often based on stereotypes, myths and exaggerated facts. The paper will be concentrated to present an analysis of the genesis,

history and effects of this phenomenon, illustrated with the example of the Arabs/Muslim in Poland – a country where both of those communities are small, where there are few immigrants as a rule, and which is not directly impacted by the refugee crisis.

In the paper, I will try to deconstruct Islamophobic narratives, its reasons, consequences and perspectives and to present public discourse on Muslim and refugees in Poland versus their reality. I will also propose practical solutions how Islamophobia can be counteracted. The proposed analysis is based on the field study of an Arab community in Poland, with emphasis on the differences between the Arab migration to Poland/Eastern European countries and their migration to other European states.

Ali Sarikaya
University of Pecs

The rise of political Islam in Turkey and its impact on EU-Turkey deal for Muslim refugee crisis

Throughout the 20th century, the Muslim countries have always found themselves within an Islamist dictatorship or nationalist framework. Compared to other Muslim countries, Turkey was built on a strong secular foundation in 1923. That's why Turkey differs from other Arab-Muslim middle-east states.

Despite the political conflict, military coups and a few attempts of a regime shift, Turkey could manage to maintain its secularist administrative mentality until the 2000s. Besides that, Turkey always pursued European Union full membership process. Turkey has come under the rule of an Islamic nationalist-influenced government since a general election in 2002. The Justice and Development Party won over 6 elections and took power alone. Politics, identity and religious nationalism in Turkey from Atatürk to the AKP were completely changed.

In this respect, this article will first clarify three main significant events that happened during the rule of AKP and that continue to have an effect on Turkey. The first one is the Gezi Park Protests, which began as an attempt to protect a green area and then expanded to all over the country as anti-Erdogan. The second event is the corruption scandal that was directly related to some ministers and their relatives. Third one is failed military coup attempt and a referendum. Turkey held a referendum for the presidential system in 2017 that the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has achieved victory in a historic referendum on a package of constitutional amendments that will grant him sweeping new powers.

This analysis comprises of brief review of the relations between EU a Turkey during the Syrian on-going civil war and Muslim migration wave to Europe and impact of Syrian Muslim immigration of European societies, too. Particularly it lays emphasis on the deal that was made by EU and Turkey about the European migrant crisis in 2015. The conflict in Syria continues to be by far the biggest driver of migration.