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Institute of Social Prevention and Resocialization
University of Warsaw
Ul. Podchorazych 20
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e-mail: socialpedagogy@pedagogikaspoleczna.edu.pl
EDITORIAL

Danuta Lalak

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CALL FOR PAPERS
Dear Readers,

Migration is a universal phenomenon, however in recent history it has never aroused such a great interest, fear and controversy as now. Migration processes have become a global and political problem, involving and at the same time questioning the main political forces of the modern world. They also cause problems within many societies, in everyday life.

The faces of migration are the subject of dynamic transformations - from economic migration to the moving for better life, or moving because of curiosity, or – a need for success. Today we experience mainly two types of forced migration. On the one hand, there is the sad face of political exile – it usually arises humanitarian impulses in the host society - and on the other hand, there are brutal consequences of the globalizing labor market. People involved in a network of corporations, often against their will, have to live and work wherever the company sends them.

Many questions that had already been answered (or we thought they had been), have appeared once again. Some of them are the questions about freedom of movement, providing shelter for political refugees, tolerance for religious and cultural diversity. Rich countries (or regions), these with high economic potential, were often the migrants’ goal and they usually opened their borders to migrants. Will the open-arms policy be held in the near future? Will the legislative solutions of individual countries and international law help newcomers in integration, in achieving the social status and standard of living that is comparable to the life situation of native citizens? To what extent is the current crisis associated with the wave of terrorism and will it influence the attitude towards foreigners (migrants, refugees), limiting the acceptance of their participation in the labor market and social life?

The message of this volume will be a thesis that cultural diversity and the problems of the modern world are an intellectual and social challenge. It should mobilize for the exchange of ideas, openness, communication and reasonable political decisions.

[Signature]
The key aspects to how the Swedish social insurance system is implemented are a high degree of universalism and the promotion of equality. The aim of this article is to explore certain issues of complexity in recent societal changes, in order to understand how to facilitate the provision of social welfare to disadvantaged migrant groups. The arguments presented in this article draw on contemporary research, current statistical resources and secondary sources in considering institutional aspects of social work and the provision of social pedagogy. The outlined contemporary issues concerning the migration situation in Sweden are reflected upon social segregation and social protection considered to be crucial to social pedagogy regimes. It is found that hidden social structures embedded in policy of e.g., multiculturalism may be counterproductive for the integration of new arrivers.

It is concluded that social work and social pedagogy practice need to go behind the hidden modes of explaining immigrant groups marginalisation and the occurred mechanisms of structural and institutional logics within and out of the social welfare system. New arrivers might need special attention as they are likely to suffer from vulnerability formed by poverty, dependence of social support and poor social cohesion in the host country. Awareness of these issues will make social pedagogy practitioner able to create a focal points of performativity and facilitate treatment of immigrant groups across the social service system.

Key words: Vulnerable populations, collaboration, social integration, social work, social care
Introduction

The development of the Swedish welfare system underwent a period of expansion that combined growth, economics and the international breakthrough of the Swedish welfare model. Traditional social welfare policy has been based on notions of solidarity and encompassed social security, income security, health, education, housing and personal social services provided through social work and the professions associated thereto (Bryson, 1992; Swärd et al., 2013). The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (NUTEC) and Statistics Sweden (SCB) have found health care and social services to be the largest and fastest growing sectors governed by counties and municipalities, and financed through taxes and user fees (Social Affairs, 2006). From 1960 to 1980, there were considerable investments into building the social welfare systems (Edebalk, 2000), but the current ambitions with the welfare system have developed into a more open-ended issue and the considerable investments are now on the decline. The contemporary, inclusive welfare policy has had difficulties balancing between economic growth and democratic redistribution (Björgren Cuadra, 2015; Swärd et al., 2013).

Formal safeguards with their focus on social and financial protective structures, as well as national delimitation of social insurance (Ferrera, 2005), in combination with ideals about equal treatment of different groups in the population, are being challenged by people’s mobility across national borders and ongoing migration. A brief historical examination of the development of the Swedish welfare state demonstrates concerns of horizontal equity, expressed in attempts to spread the burdens of social support over a range of social groups (Bryson, 1992). These inclusive social policy schemes are very important to vulnerable populations such as new arrivals. Knowledge of the numerical anatomy of the refugee crisis is widespread at this stage. Last year, over a million refugees made it to Europe, most of them from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2015, 162,877 asylum seekers came to Sweden (Board of Migration, 2016), which led to an intensive debate in both political circles and in the media about their reception and the lack of credible ideas about how to integrate the new arrivals into society. After the WWII Sweden welcomed a large number of immigrant workers in a phase of economic growth and welfare expansion. By the mid-70’s this type of migrants was replaced by refugees from Pinochet’s Chile, Lebanon’s civil war, Yugoslavia’s disintegration or – as in the last decade – the turmoil of Somalia, the Middle East and North Africa, which triggered calls for immigration control and changes to social policy. These calls, noted by Brochmann and Hagelund (2011) while exploring relations between the Swedish welfare state parameters, resulted in recent scrutiny of social policies in general and development of new legislative proposals for restrictions in granting permanent residence permits in Sweden and creating limited space for more asylum seekers (Government Offices of Sweden, 2016). Questions about transnational social responsibility, norms and ideas about basic security and admission, have had a drastic impact on discussions about the consequences, both in terms of social policy, migration policy and social welfare protection for the individual citizen. At the same time, helping those who apply for support is made more difficult by societal structures and the growing number of immigrants who need support from social services, as well as by uncertainty in terms of social welfare policy and the lack of collaboration between agencies and authorities (Björngren Cuadra, 2015; Swärd et al., 2013).
Universalism is considered a central aspect of social welfare systems, meaning that it should be accessible by all citizens in need of each respective service (Rauch, 2007). Research investigating international migration highlights immigrants’ over-representation in public social welfare programmes and social welfare provision (Boccagni & Richard, 2015), and their vulnerable position within different welfare systems (Björngren Cuadra, 2015). This emergence of new social service clients raises questions regarding the right of access to services, public obligations and the need for social pedagogy models in social work (Herz, 2016). Social pedagogy refers to the theory and practice behind the work of supporting and fostering the personal development and an individual’s overall welfare and social care. Actually within the Swedish social services there has been a growing interest in social work practice caused by the need of social interventions among immigrant populations (Herz, 2016). Developing social pedagogy approaches to social work involves solving challenges in accordance with a process of socialisation and social inclusion (Eriksson, 2014). In this sense, its core aspects involve a process of integration into a community, the prevention of social exclusion and support for socially vulnerable people (Grunwald and Thiersch, 2009). In European countries, it applies especially to individualistic, adaptive and mobilising approaches to social welfare schemes and social work arrangements (Hallstedt & Högström, 2005; Stephens, 2009).

The situational change of moving from one country to another and adjustment to new cultural beliefs through social interactions consist of the adaptation and transformation process called acculturation or integration (Berry, 1997). Integration is of interest to social work and social pedagogy field work among immigrant population because of its emotional and interactional impact on an individual’s social wellbeing, provision of social security and preservation of social identity. The concept of integration may have a range of definitions in a cross-societal perspective. According to Penninx and Gracés-Mascarenas (2016), integration occurs in relation to multiple societal domains as a process similar to socialisation and participation in existing social systems. Some scholars argue that the concept of integration into societal rules and structures, including underlying norms and values assumes the normative standard of adaptation towards the majority culture of the host society (Brinkemo, 2014). Yet, the mainstream into which immigrants are expected to conform is seldom clearly defined (Aman, 2012; Brinkemo, 2014). Thus, the debate on integration can be argued to have been overloaded by opposite viewpoints and policies that demand adequate follow-up and research in the future.

However, only a few studies have focused on the integration aspects of immigrant populations within social pedagogy programmes. The main aim of this article is to outline some actual issues concerning the migration situation in Sweden, focusing on general structural and co-existing issues related to social segregation and social protection, in connection with social work and social pedagogy programmes directed to immigrant clients. However, in acknowledging these issues, my intention is neither to present an exhaustive exposé of the contemporary societal or professional discourse, nor to provide a comprehensive model of social pedagogy practices. My task is to contribute to the ongoing discourse and to highlight the complexity of the new globalized societal context related to posed risk for social segregation among new arrivals. The present paper reflects on this development, discussing challenges and possibilities in relation to social pedagogy and professional social work. The two perspectives of social segregation and social protection are considered as crucial
in social pedagogy goals in empowering and supporting the individual’s social position (Eriksson, 2014; Hallstedt & Högström, 2005; Stephens, 2009).

Social segregation

As the Swedish Welfare system is an integral part of the taxation system, employment is considered a central aspect of its existence. Current economic data indicate that unemployment rates are highest among those with a low education and/or who are born abroad. For example, unemployment among those who had been in the country less than two years, and who did not graduate from upper secondary school, was 55 percent in 2014. Unemployment declines the longer someone has been in the country, but you need to look at the data for those who have been in Sweden for 30 years or more before you see similar unemployment figures as for those born in Sweden without an upper secondary school education (Nannesson, 2016). The high unemployment rate among new arrivals and the housing segregation indicate that Sweden has failed to develop a successful integration process, harness skills and experience or clearly show what is expected of new citizens. It is when society cannot relate to growing segregation, housing shortages, employment gaps between those born in Sweden and those born abroad, or growing problems in schools leading to parallel societies developing, that acceptance of migration is negatively impacted. Massive immigration to Sweden created social segregation primarily through enormous pressure, mainly for the refugees themselves but also for the state agencies concerned with receiving them and trying to manage the situation. Aman (2012) focusing on construction of a specific European identity by examining pedagogical narratives of intercultural dialogue in official documents identified tensions existing between the levels of pedagogy and performativity. On the pedagogical level the communities construct and verify identification with an inside of cultural space in opposition to the outside. The national identity verified as history is often falsified to maintain an illusion of a harmonious past. Performativity imply a creative moment in the present as pieces of everyday life: being, acting and living. Within this context of the levels of pedagogy that define - this is Europe, and performativity - we are Europe, dynamics of European society and to be a citizen of EU is understood as an act between inclusion and exclusion, where immigrants are perceived as neither Europeans nor part of European history or culture but rather possessors of characteristics conflicting with the existing rules and values (Aman, 2012). Such performative construction may be contradictory to social pedagogy as its approach is to be a bridge between individuals and their social environment and create a bond between subjects residing inside as well as outside the community.

While the population dichotomy may be perceived as a division into us and them, where who we are is defined by access to the services of the welfare state, a normalising majority culture is faced with processes of change in combination with demands of reciprocity. Demarcations between us and them and the ongoing re-creation in the meeting between domestic society, the cultural grammar of others and their need for help, consist of social positioning and notions of what is happening, what should be happening and what rights the new arrivals should be entitled to. A collectively ascribed identity of migrants as welfare recipients and a burden on society’s services consolidates institutionalised reinforcement of passive reception of support, as well as ethnic and social
segregation of new arrivals (Herz, 2016). Segregation in society along lines of ethnicity and class is reinforced by socio-economic inequality, particularly for recently arrived migrants who often have difficulties establishing themselves in a new society and labour market, and who settle in certain areas, thereby increasing housing segregation. A growing criticism in migration research highlights perspectives that focus on individual and economic factors, isolated from their social context (Björ gren Cuadra, 2015). Other important factors for successful integration, both internationally and in Swedish research, have shown how society’s structure, socio-political organisation and state agency operations classify and reproduce hierarchies of inequality in society (Bernstein, 1975; Chambon, 2013).

Swedish society adopted a normative ideological position in favour of multiculturalism (mångfald), accepting the impact of globalisation in Swedish civil society and as a symbol of tolerating differences. Multiculturalist ideology from an integration-societal cohesion perspective has been discussed and analysed by Aje Carlbom (2006), who has done research at Rosengård in Malmö with a population having its origins in Muslim countries such as Iraq, Lebanon, Syria etc. He highlighted how the politically good intention may enhance the social process rising among an imagined community of ethnic homogeneity of Arabic-speaking Muslims who are involved in religious-political projects where they try to avoid becoming influenced by the host country. Hamde (2008) noted that multicultural polices have resulted in increasing gaps among different groups rather than leading to societal cohesion or social justice. From social pedagogy perspective the multicultural and hidden political logics may be problematic, seeing past counterproductive issues basically because it may be more politically correct to show acceptance toward cultural rules and life styles originating in peoples’ old home countries (such as for instance women’s societal positions or religious-political tribalisation) rather than to objectively analyse the problem of approaching integration and support adaptation to the new identity. Moreover, some individuals may stand their ground and resist the influence of the host society (Carlbom, 2006). In addition, the process of integration over a time period encompasses first a phase of letting go of the old identity, second, positioning in-between the old and the new identity and finally the transition to a new identity (Berry, 1997). Consequently, social pedagogy schemes have to consider that the dominant multiculturalist perspective, occurred social degradation and loss of control increases vulnerability to individual’s identity in previous or in-between positioning which may hindrance integration and new self-image.

Social protection through mobilizing schemes

The relationships between social conditions, ethnicity, culture and identity has garnered increasing attention in research (Eliassi, 2015; Björgren Quadra, 2015). Accordingly, it is important to note that structural inequalities between the foreign and native population was found to be present in ill-health. Although there is numerous imaginable mechanisms that could have a negative impact on integration, Leao and colleagues studying socioeconomic characteristics of a Swedish population sample of more than 14 000 persons found increased poor self-rated health in immigrants who lived in the country less than 15 years and arrived at higher ages in comparison with the matched reference group of having Sweden as a country of their origin (Leao et al., 2009). This is in agreement
with previous epidemiological studies conducted in Malmö city, which found ethnic differences in self-rated health (Lindstöm et al, 2001). There are also strong links between immigration, integration and welfare state failure in delivery of universalistic policies (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2011). Several of the arrivals to Sweden, 35,369, had no guardian (Board of Migration, 2016), often young boys who were called unaccompanied children and adolescents. The situation for unaccompanied children places considerable demands on social work (Brunnberg, Borg & Fridström, 2011). Many migrants, both adults and children, have suffered traumatic events, been subjected to psychological stress, disintegration of family and have language difficulties in the new country. Confronting a new country brings significant challenges to the fore, which impact the life of the individual. That includes confronting a new culture, a new ethnic group with its traditions and norms, as well as confronting a new societal structure.

In these sociocultural systems of meaning, people try to create order and direction in their lives, which in theory is linked to a wider relativist perspective that emphasises changing social contexts. This means that the view of the phenomenon of culture and belonging may be based on fundamentally different ontological positions, either essentialism or constructivism. In order to explain the different dimensions of how societies are organised, researchers use e.g. clan theory as an explanatory model (Brinkemo, 2014). From that perspective, the cultural confrontations that occur can be interpreted partly through the way modern society is organised and partly through the organisation that forms clans. Organising society in clans is dominated by the members being held together through centuries-old historical and family ties. This type of society ensures order through clan structure rather than through a central power. The modern state rests on the principle of equality before the law and the idea of a general welfare system offering security, autonomy, freedom of opinion and equal treatment. The modern state is seen as an obvious way of organising human communities. If the state sees people as autonomous individuals, the clan sees people as parts of a collective organisation. If the state is weak, people tend to organise in clans, which historically guaranteed safety, context and security. Current research indicates that in safeguarding their own culture, ethnic groups may attempt to establish their historical affiliation and culture from a perspective of essentialism. This leads to many people having difficulties adopting new roles and positions in Swedish society, and instead becoming involved in socio-political problems in their country of origin. Other studies concerning conditions and structures for various forms of socially constructed subcultures, have explored e.g. young people’s street culture and creation of gangs (Lalander, 2009), social care for people with disabilities (Dychawy Rosner, 2015) and the elderly care (Magnússon, 2014).

Social work involves confronting everyday expressions of stress in contemporary society, such as difficulties gaining access to the labour market and the drawn out processes for immigrants to establish themselves in society. The drivers of implementation can be perceived based on tension between, on the one hand, preventive efforts aimed at combating social vulnerability and, on the other, work to promote stability and order in society (Payne, 2006). The current review of so-called violence-promoting extremism highlights the fact that implementation measures are affected by e.g. the view disseminated by the media, which is represented by a security policy doctrine (Herz, 2016). Social work, in particular with migrant youth who are vulnerable, needs to be grounded in a more structured manner in traditional social pedagogy efforts, and methods that are based on more
comprehensive knowledge about care provision in social work, in order to confront and relate to people in violent and vulnerable situations. It is about support in adaptation processes grounded in a context with structures that promote balance between the sociocultural aspects that individuals bring from their country of origin, and those they come across in the new country. A significant focus should also be placed on preventive social work such as polarisation, subcultures and interventions in violent environments.

The identification of traumas, need for socialisation measures and social pedagogy support are vital for the future integration of the new arrivals, as well as for their psychological and social well-being. The target group is perceived as a vulnerable group, where many carry memories of war and organised violence, and are in need of special treatment in a culturally foreign country. The social pedagogy approach is based on treating people with social problems and providing support through the role expectations available. The approach highlights the relational interaction between the individual and society. The objective is to eliminate existing exclusion and use social confirmation to change problematic situations and reinforce positive social interaction. The opportunities for social education in social work with traumatised clients can be developed on the basis of Eriksson’s (2014) three strategic dimensions. These are partly based on adaptive, mobilising and socio-dynamic interventions.

Concluding discussion

As a result of global migration there are growing multi-ethnic societies and multicultural group of clients’ populations that require integration into appropriate social services. This study highlights the complexity of and challenges for the social pedagogy in Swedish context. The existing dynamics of socio-political environment must take migration policy into consideration when formulating social work and social pedagogy practice. In today’s multicultural society with the existing notions of multiculturalism, it is difficult to define a uniform culture or homogeneous living conditions (Aman, 2012; Berry, 1997; Chambon, 2013). This calls for social pedagogy interventions toward migrant populations to improve social protection and decrease social segregation. Social pedagogy work toward integration requires sensitivity to a person’s world (Grunwald and Thiersch, 2009) and the specific patterns existing within societal transcultural similarities and differences that exist among people from various cultural backgrounds.

A simplified dichotomisation of a population with domestic and foreign backgrounds respectively, has been brought up in the current discourse where people argue that a negative focus on the migration perspective may obscure the heterogeneity of the population as a whole (Carlborn, 2006; Hamde, 2008). Dividing citizens into minority groups can lead to a culturalization of people’s living conditions that plays down the differences in power and the integration difficulties of minority groups. Access to financial resources and material circumstances constitute tangible power states that strengthen or limit the room for manoeuvre of the individual. Consequently, pattern of social segregation and demands in social protection correlate, in several aspects, with social work and social pedagogy field of implementation. Depending on the process’ character of integration there may be numerous obstacles that may define the situations involved in social pedagogy operations. The sig-
significant brake with the universalistic welfare state model implies the potential emergence of new poor and vulnerable population. Blume, et al., (2007) found immigration to be a determinant of poverty among newcomers. Social assistance formed as social pedagogy programs is in this context very important in enhancing the life changes of marginalised populations. Pedagogical performativity as a creative movement of appropriate support may improve lives of migrants currently in the in-between phase of the integration process.

Social work research indicates that social workers, facing the challenge of everyday practice, in general are subjected to high workloads. Social work in Sweden is currently experiencing severe problems with organising the work and different operations are experiencing difficulties in providing the support necessary for quality assurance and skills training of employees (Astvik, Melin & Allvin 2014). The provisions that regulate how social workers treat their clients depend on the organisation and the societal framework that regulates the current organisation. The current situation in society leads to social workers having to strike a balance between their clients' lifeworld and the regulatory framework in which they operate. The social pedagogy approach to social work normally relates to the living space that people create, rather than to institutions of bureaucracy (Grunwald and Thiersch, 2009). In social practice, employees are often faced with complicated pragmatic situations where they indicate difficulties in reconciling the hands-on knowledge with the existing bureaucratic framework (Astvik, Melin & Allvin, 2014). Beyond the everyday instrumental activities, such as assessment of assistance needs, phronesis is a social-ethical knowledge that engages with the objective of helping the client become part of the community. Building social reciprocity and a shared social life must be considered as being beyond instrumental operational patterns where the actions themselves are considered good in a social-ethical sense.

Current tendencies of accepting an impersonal professionalism, strongly linked to an understanding of bureaucratic limitations, create a dependency on individuals in social work situations. Thus, practice is linked to the bureaucracy's divided and strongly regulated fields of every day social work routines in relation to what Gibbon et al., (1994) call useful and serviceable application of knowledge developed on the basis of an instrumental form of expertise. The extant organisation that persists must be considered counterproductive in instances of complex demands and an increasing need for a flexible framework within which the social worker can operate (Boccagni and Richard, 2015; Bryson 1992). While it is strategically important in social work to focus on the lifeworld of the individual (Grunwald and Thierch, 2009), its efforts in the Swedish context are, to a great extent, framed by bureaucratic procedure (Herz, 2016). Simultaneously, Eliassi (2014) showed that Swedish social workers regard cultural differences as key when designing interventions. Thus, there is a need for improving professional awareness regarding the decontextualized officialdom and structural everyday inequalities that may be reproduced within social services among immigrant groups.

The new types of created contexts must not limit the social pedagogy pragmatism of the meeting with and treatment of a vulnerable client. Social work as a field needs to articulate its theoretical and pragmatic framework in order to be able to develop interventions that address new forms of sociocultural spaces and support inclusive social communities. Important research questions need to be asked concerning the educational models that social work requires in addressing clients in vulnerable situations who have different cultural affiliations. Currently, there is a growing
uncertainty concerning the existing level of protection and the growing class disparities, which pose a severe challenge to the future of the Swedish welfare system in a globalized world. Today's social work indicates an inherent tension between the fundamental tasks of practitioners, the demands of the position and the structural conditions of society. As integration and re-socialising are considered one process, social work and social pedagogy need to focus on the strategies used, how and under which conditions they are used, as well as the consequences of their use. Mobilised adaptation, a coordinated integration process and the motivation and confirmation of the individual should also be highlighted based on intersectoralism and the structure of the society in question. The key issue is whether there is a willingness and an opportunity to take responsibility for the other? What challenges will social work come across in integrating the newly arrived vulnerable groups? Will the Swedish welfare model need to be redefined and if so, in what way? Who will pay for development of a process of inclusion to the existing welfare level of new arrivals? In the end, it is not the rules alone that matter most, but the quality of actual provision of social services.

Bibliography


Herz, M (2016). *Socialt arbete, pedagogik och arbete mot så kallad våldsbejakande*


A phenomenon of migration shows that women suffer the consequences of migration differently than men. Therefore we focus on the specificity of socio-cultural problems of women-migrants in Poland. Biographical interviews with women-refugees from Chechnya and Ukraine reveal different paths of integration into Polish society. They also reveal tensions and conflicts that are experienced by women in the context of new socio-cultural system. Analysis of the city documents of Gdansk shows institutional conditions that are involved in the process of migrants’ integration and adaptation. Integration requires active migration policy and the searching for promising practices on the part of the host.
Тема статьи является спецификой социально-культурных проблем, вынужденных беженок в Польше. Наглядный феномен миграции через призму пола показывает, что женщины по-другому, чем мужчины, переживают от последствий вынужденной миграции (Фомина, 2013). Проблемы женщин-иммигранток связаны с функционированием семьи в новом обществе и также способами воспитания и социализации детей, нахождения места на рынке труда, а также с выявлением и адаптацией в социальной и культурной модели принимающего общества.

Концепция исследования была основана на фундаментальном предположении „исследования действия”, которое должно быть инструментом социальной эманципации „ущемленных” групп. “Исследования действия опираются на объединение размышления и действий, теории и практики, через сотрудничество с другими, направленных на достижение практических решений важных проблем для людей, также, говоря в целом, для развития индивидуального человека, как и целого общества.” (Цервинкова, 2012, 9).

В исследовании использованы триангуляции исследователей, методы исследований и система интерпретации. Пунктом начала было количественное исследование взаимного отношения жителей Гданьска и иммигрантов, устанавливающие условия для интеграции (Яворска, Алиева, 2015).

Биографические интервью с беженками показали различные траектории адаптации женщин в польском обществе. На основе наблюдений тематических исследований семей выявили напряженность и конфликты, с которыми сталкиваются иммигранты и иммигрантки при столкновении с новой социально-культурной системой. Анализ документов города Гданьска в области интеграции иммигрантов показывает институционально урегулированные условия. Элементы этнографии автора текста1 основаны на опыте исследователя, которые объединяют автобиографическую историю с более широкими культурными, политическими и социальными смыслами и предположениями (Марешаль, 2010).

Анализ положения женщин-иммигранток в семье, на работе и в обществе указывает на измерения, в которых они есть расположено по взгляду на пол, этническую принадлежность, культуру и религию, а также статус беженца в Польше. Измерения, в которых женщины-иммигранты находятся с одной стороны в неблагоприятном положении, а с другой стороны шанс для расширения их возможностей и эманципации. По идеи исследования действия, заключением является описание изменений индивидуальных, социальных и институциональных, которые как результат проведенного исследования произошли одинаково как в авторах исследования, так и шире – в группе женщин-иммигранток и в обществе города Гданьск.

Авторы текста принимают участия в процессе исследования адаптации иммигрантов в обществе Гданьска в разных ролях - педагога, члена Центра Поддержки Иммигрантов и Иммигранток и психолога, заинтересованного процессами конструирования идентичности в условиях социальных и культурных изменений. Оба участвовали в создании Модели Интеграции Иммигрантов в Гданьске2.

1 Примечание автобиографические Хеди Алиевой отмечены в тексте курсивом.
2 Модель интеграции иммигрантов является документом, показывающим главные области и направления действий, ведущих к эффективной и результативной интеграционной политике в органах местного самоуправления.

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Семья

По разным причинам, мусульманская семья эмигрируют в европейские страны. Она начинает испытывать большой стресс переселения. Вступает в контакт между ценностями собственной культуры, религии и стандартами жизни в европейском обществе. В семье начинается психологический конфликт между мужчиной и женщиной. Женщины лучше справляются с эмиграцией, лучше адаптируются чтобы обеспечить своих детей, выполняя любую работу - уборка в кухне, уход за детьми и т.д. Мужчины, не находя достойную и оплачиваемую работу, „теряют” свое место в обществе и в семье, в то время как женщины чувствуют себя нужными в новом обществе. В семьях происходит изменение роли кормильца, от мужчины к женщине. Многие женщины считают, что начинает новый этап в жизни, когда для мужчин это переломный этап.

Вступая в контакт с новой культурой, мужчина боится нового, демократического общества и пытается держать женщину под контролем. Мужчина начинает изолировать женщину от нового общества. Ограничивает круг ее друзей, а женщина наоборот - хочет найти место в новом обществе. Многие семьи находятся на грани развода. Хотя мусульманка-иммигрантки видит, что европейские женщины справляются с воспитанием детей по своей культуре, выносит психологическое насилие и материальное затруднение, а зачастую и физическое со стороны мужа. Муж использует религиозные аргументы и угрожает лишить материнских прав по обычаям своей культуры. Женщина конечно понимает, что в Европе другие законы, но судьба мусульманской женщины зависит не только от мужа и отца, но от братьев и старейшин семьи. Опасаясь и уважая традиции и законы, по которым воспитана женщина предпочитает терпеть и прислушиваться хотя она не чувствует и не понимает свою вину.

Ниже приведены примеры и реальные конфликты семей, борющихся с проблемами на фоне различных ценностей и культурных норм, в которых женщины долгое время оставались под давлением ситуации, прежде чем они решили обратиться за помощью к представителям польских учреждений: к учителям, школьным психологам, педагогам и социальным работникам.

Фатима

Женщина 44 года, (образованная) приехала три года назад со своей семьей, из-за угрозы безопасности в стране происхождения. Семья является многонациональной, муж происходит из мусульманской страны (Азия), жена с европейской мусульманской страны. Они общаются на русском языке между собой и с детьми. Мать разговаривает с детьми на своем родном языке.

Конфликт в семье в связи с тем, что женщина готова к контактам с новым обществом (работы, друзей, интеграционные проекты), и мужчина боится, что потеряет...
контроль в семье. Когда женщина выходит из дома, муж требует от жены, чтобы она просила у него разрешения. Сам не работает, хочет контролировать ее доходами, которые она зарабатывает и считает, что должен тратить их по своему усмотрению.

Мужчина ищет вторую жену, так как религия и культура страны позволяют Его жена не соглашается с его решением, так как знает очень хорошо право женщины в исламе, но и не хочет развода и не соглашается с его помыслом - это усиливает внутренний кризис в семье. Хочу отметить образование имеет важное значение.

В стране из которой происходит женщина, она всегда виновата и принуждают ее к послушанию, право всегда на стороне мужчины.

Конфликты между родителями и трудности в семье особенно влияют на детей, которые реагируют депрессией и проблемами поведения. Эта ситуация длится в течение трех лет, усиливая проявления психологического насилия со стороны мужа.

**Залина и Зарема**

Две мусульманские девочки начали свое обучение в польской школе. Оба носят хиджабы и длинные юбки. Встречаются не очень позитивное обращение со стороны польских ровесников - часто встречаются с оскорблениями, как “Цыганка”(хотя они научены, что цыгане тоже люди). Кроме того, в семье начались конфликты. Девочки хотят сменить традиционную мусульманскую одежду и не отличаться от польских ровесников. Родители, особенно отец одной из них, не согласен с этим решением, защищая свои традиции и обычаи, конечно боится обсуждения, людей со своей культуры. Матери бояться, когда девочки выходят из дома. Они опасаются, если девочки оденут европейскую одежду, польские мальчики захотят прикасаться (в культуре чеченцев применяют строгое разделение полов - не допускается физический контакт между мальчиками и девочками, даже случайное прикосновение может повлиять на репутацию девушки). Проблема в семье растет и в результате девочки отказываются ходить в школу.

**Лара**

Она происходит из столицы страны, из которой она сбежала во время войны. Они живут в Польше в течение десяти лет. Они говорят на русском и польском языках. Муж применял физическое насилие и поэтому Лара развелась с ним в Польше. У них трое детей, в том числе два с ограниченными возможностями, которые посещают специальную школу. Женщина раньше не до конца соблюдала национальные обычаи и традиции. Старший сын переехал из дома, что несовместимо с их культурой. Дети ведут себя как польские дети, не говорят на языке происхождения, даже если они это понимают. Мать хочет вернуться к своим традициям. Она хочет, чтобы дети вели себя в соответствии с национальными обычаями. Дети, воспитанные в польском обществе, воспринимают ожидания своей матери, как принуждение и моральное насилие, нарушение их прав.
Трудности в оказании помощи женщинам-иммигранткам из мусульманских стран вытекают из разных факторов. Женщины имеют глубокий страх перед тем, что могут узнать о проблемах в семье и в доме, что имеет огромное значение для чеченской женщины, со стороны мужа и окружающих. В дополнение к этому является позором, недоверие общества и также страх быть отвергнутым в собственном обществе. Последствия вмешательства общества в семье может коснуться и родственников, живущих в стране происхождения. Насилие исходящие из культуры, усиливает символическое насилие из деятельности функционирования институтов, неадекватность форм поддержки и низким уровнем межкультурной компетенции должностных лиц системы (Рефортович). С другой стороны, специалисты часто делят дилемму на фоне культурных различий и определения семейных проблем, диагноза ситуации в семье, также проблемы в определении целей работы.

Учитывая и анализируя факты, мы можем предложить поддержку женщинам-иммигранткам, но не в коем случае не учит их отказываться от своего прошлого опыта (это в реале невозможно) и следует принимать во внимание следующие факторы:
• Депрессия - из-за неустойчивости и стабильности социального положения, при котором резко снижается и в результате иммиграции социальный уровень сильно отличается от уровня жизни в своей стране;
• Чувство изоляции - мужчина изолирует женщину не только от европейского общества, но и мусульманского, компенсируя свою собственную неустойчивость;
• Непонимание - женщина не понимает, почему не позволяют ей адаптироваться в новом обществе;
• Тревога – женщина угрожает разводом и поиском другой жены;
• Страх - жена, опасается развода подчиняется, в результате нарастает психологический кризис в семье.

По устранению неисправностей психологического положения необходима помощь не только европейских психологов, но и помощь со стороны ассистентов мусульманок, которые знают не только гражданские права в европейском обществе, но и права, вытекающие из ислама и национальных традиций.

Я хотела бы добавить, что свобода мусульманской женщине дана пророком Мухаммадом (Да благословит его Аллах и приветствует) пятнадцать веков назад. В прошлом в обществе чеченцев женщина принимала участие в решениях на равных с мужчинами. Женщина была и хранителем домашнего очага, и воином. Женщина несет ответственность за семью и общество, наравне с мужчиной. Я задаю себе вопрос, где правда и ложь? Почему изменилось отношение к женщине, матери и сестре?

Работа

Работа для женщин-иммигранток есть средства выживания для себя и своей семьи, не только для одиноких матерей, но и для женщин, чьи мужья считают для

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себя низкооплачиваемую работу, как оскорбление и унижение собственного достоинства. Беженцы, которые приняли внезапное решение эмиграции, как правило, потеряли всю ценность накопленных достижений. В связи с потерей культурного капитала, социальных объектов и не признания накопленных в стране происхождения квалификации, иммигрантки, выполняющие работу в Польше, считают, что они “начинают с нуля”. На рынке труда они находятся в контакте с различными ситуациями, которые составляют систему внешних и внутренних барьеров и возможностей на пути их адаптации к новой жизни.

Временное условие проживания, способствует приостановки и планирование создания будущего. Это условие связано с затяжными процедурами, может занять много месяцев или даже лет. Дополнительно к этому приходиться справляться с внутренней напряженностью и тревогой о будущем. Результатом является то, что жизнь женщины ориентирована на достижение краткосрочных целей, направленных на удовлетворение основных потребностей своих и своей семьи. Содействие интеграции беженцев, гарантироваемых индивидуальной программой интеграции настолько недостаточно, что подавляющее большинство из них после того, как программа заканчивается по-прежнему сталкивается со всеми барьерами и препятствиями доступа на рынке труда (Глабицка, 2014).

При доступе к работе иммигрантки сталкиваются с предрассудками и как женщина, и как иммигрантка. Для этого часто добавляются предубеждения и этнические, и религиозные. В начале поиска работа не имеет связи с образованием, нет никакой стратегии или плана. Характерной особенностью выборов является хаотичность. Автоматическое снижение социального статуса вынуждает соглашаться на работу ниже своей квалификации. Профессиональное досье иммигранток состоит из большого числа различных случайных работ, в домашнем хозяйстве, уборка, уход за пожилыми людьми и детьми или услуги в области квалификации - например, приготовление пищи или шитье.

Обычно они начинают вне системы, нелегально часто среди своей национальной, языковой или религиозной принадлежности. Следующим шагом является работа у поляков, полученные на основе взаимной поддержки и рекомендаций. В конце концов, они достигают формальной системы: профессиональное консультирование, обучение языка и профессионально-технических и интеграционных проектов, осуществляемых государственными учреждениями и общественными организациями. Женщины используют каждую малейшую возможность выживания. Наибольшим барьером для нахождения работы является не знание языка. Не знание языка, общения не является существенным препятствием при работе на производстве, но язык является одним из основ средств развития карьеры.

На основании собранных историй невозможно создать единый образ отношения на работе, выделяются описания экстремальных переживаний - очень хорошие или очень трудные. В новой системе, которая является непонятной и неизученной, женщины-иммигрантки часто становятся жертвами жестокого обращения и насилия. Они
касаются всех аспектов занятости: стереотипы и предрассудки во время приема на работу, не соблюдения соглашения условий труда и оплаты. Требования работать дольше, чем согласовано договором, клевета, обвинения и угрозы, связанных с использованием против женщин нелегальных аспектов занятости труда. Когда есть элемент соперничества, напряженности или требования исполнения обязательств со стороны работодателя, в первую очередь увольняют с работы иммигранток. Бывают недопонимание на почве культурных различий, а также предложения, которые не соответствуют условиям рынка труда и понижением человеческого достоинства.

Кроме того, юридическая ответственность за нелегальное трудоустройство распределяется неравномерно между работодателем и иммигрантокой, которые могут цинично эксплуатировать некоторые работодатели, основанные на незнании реальности и тревога перед институтами и процедурами. Трудно отстаивать свои права законным путем – не пропорциональные силы, отсутствие ресурсов, чрезмерная продолжительность процедур и отсутствия доступа к юридической помощи - это преимущество на стороне недобросовестных работодателей.

Женщины начинают понимать ситуацию, в которой они находятся и пытаются использовать их в своих интересах. Например, соглашаются на маленькую зарплату или нелегальную работу, чтобы повысить свою конкурентоспособность или снизить затраты на оплату труда. Они также осведомлены о своих затратах, употребляют чрезмерную рабочую нагрузку и одновременно несут, ответственность за благополучие семьи. Чувство успеха интеграции, связанная с защитой семьи, знание языка, культуры и установления контактов, есть плата физическая и психологическая. В сочетании с трудным доступом к системе здравоохранения, даже при достижении субъективного успеха на рынке труда, баланс расходов и выгод может перевесить выгоды.

Со временем иммигрантки начинают сознательно управлять своими профессиональными способностями, на основании шанса, возможностей и риска, связанных с различными вариантами. Они проявляют большую гибкость и способность адаптироваться в меняющихся условиях. Производят свои собственные информационные сети обмена, рекомендации и работу по взаимным замещения. Взаимопомощь преобладает над конкуренцией. Они не теряют силы, чтобы конкурировать, наоборот - свести к минимуму затраты на эмоциональные и социальные конфликты. Это создает ощущение солидарности "иммигрантов", которая выходит за рамки национальной, этнической, культурной или религиозной.

Хотелось бы, чтобы люди поняли, что мы не пришли сюда из-за социальных проблем. Я работала у себя на Родине, на хорошей и поверьте занималась только любимой работой, зарабатывая на жизнь достойно, несмотря на сложную ситуацию. В целом могла себе позволить, мои дети не жили в нищете. Я так и не научила своих детей, что бывают трудности, но их может быть, нужна в жизни. Когда приехала, оказалось, что не хватает денег для удовлетворения основных человеческих потребностей. Мне не хотелось, чтобы мои дети „дегустировали“ или занимались кражей в супермаркете. Сознавая ответственность за своих де-
тей, была готова выполнять любую работу, мыть полы, чтобы обеспечить своих детей и дать им то, что они хотят. Мои дети сказали, что они предпочитают не есть, противостояли моим рассуждениям, потому что они стыдились, что их мать делает такую унизительную работу. Для меня это не имеет значения, только бы мои дети не были голодными. Я зарабатывала 20 злотых в день, занималась чисткой печей для готовки кебаба и каждый день я могла себе позволить покупать фрукты, конфеты, шоколад. Это были деньги, заработанные своими собственными руками, честно заработанные. Женщина берет на себя в любых случаях ответственность кормить свою семью, она думает о детях. Женщины легче найти работу, чем мужчины, по их мнениям, низкооплачиваемая работа и низкое оценка унижает их достоинства.

Я знаю, чтобы получить работу, нам нужна рекомендация самих поляков. Это помогло мне в поиске будущей работы. Я понимаю, что интеграция иммигранта зависит от самого иммигранта и существует страх перед «новым». Конечно понимаю, что всегда буду иммигрантом. Я думаю, что 36 миллионов поляков могут жить в Польше, что я тоже могу жить в этой стране. Чем я хуже? Я пробовала много работ и всегда работала честно. Когда меня взяли на работу в ресторан, я предложила свой проект работы и меню. Напладила отношения по доставке мяса. В ресторане я работала быстро, пыталась работать как можно лучше. Хозяин кричал на меня, унизжал. Он относился к нам хуже, чем к польским работникам, мы работали в разных позициях и условиях, хотя платили одинаково. После того, как он установил свои интересы на основе моих идей, меню и контакты, связанные с поставками, он вызвал конфликтную ситуацию и вынудил уйти с работы, без оплаты заработной платы. Когда я попросила об оплате, причитающиеся мне и сказала, что я пойду до адвоката, прислал мне смс: „Являются ли ваши документы в порядке? Если я вызову пограничников?” Хотя я работала на него на законных основаниях. Он хотел напугать меня, и я сказала, „Пан меня шантажирует?” Адвокат сказал, что он не имел никаких шансов вернуть деньги, заработанные, потому что контракт на бумаге был за меньшую сумму. Когда меня брали на работу мне объяснили, что поляки так делают, чтобы оплачивать меньше налогов. А что мы можем сделать, мы не можем выбирать работу…работа выбирает нас.

Хотя мне 45 лет, я хочу развиваться. Я всегда знала, что есть потенциал во мне, я не могла развивать свою предыдущую жизнь - из-за отношений в семье, войны, личных проблем. Я не хочу, сидеть дома и выполнять роль женщины, я несу ответственность за своих детей. Я хочу идти вперед и вырасти достойно своих детей, как подобает чеченской матери. Я готова выполнять тяжелую работу, чем больше у меня трудностей, тем сильнее я становлюсь. Работа для меня является проявлением моей личности, целью в моей жизни. Во мне есть сила, которую я чувствую, и я знаю, что делать. Я хочу работать так, чтобы не испытывали такие
трудности, что испытала я. Я думаю, мне очень много помогли мои польские друзья и я обязана помогать другим. Я чувствую, что эта моя миссия.

**Общество**

С учетом динамических процессов миграции, интеграции иммигрантов является, с которой сталкиваются не только отдельные люди, сообщества и учреждения, а также социальное пространство политики местного самоуправления. В Гданьске разработали собственную модель интеграции иммигрантов, которая основана на идее, где иммигранты чувствуют себя частью местного сообщества. Практика основана на опыте Гданьских государственных учреждений и организаций местного самоуправления, была основанной на типовых целях и задач в восьми областях: образование и культура, жилищное строительство и социальная помощь, занятость, насилие и дискриминация, городская община и здравоохранение. Авторы текста приняли участие в работе по разработке модели в области образования и социальной работы.

Наиболее важной областью интеграции иммигрантов является школа. Гданьский модель обеспечивает образовательную деятельность и интеграцию для преподавателей, администрации и обслуги, родителей, польских студентов и местного сообщества. Непосредственно привели, чтобы помочь студентам-иммигрантам и поддержка для их родителей.

Первый контакт у нас был со школой в Варшаве. У меня сложилось впечатление, что дети рассматриваются не как дети, а в качестве материала, в отличии от польских детей. Мы чувствовали себя в школе, как людей низшей категории. Я поняла, что пережитий шок эмиграции это не конец, это начало новой борьбы. Борьба за нормальную жизнь в польском обществе.

Когда мы приехали в Гданьск я чувствовал, что я нашла свое место. Я чувствовала тепло, поступающее от людей. Первые контакты с гданьчанами начались в начальной школе. По случаю праздника в школе, одели детей в национальные костюмы, в которых танцевали кавказские танцы. Таким образом, мы создали творческую группу детей и молодёжи. Эти мероприятия были фестиваль, во время которого нам предложили, чтобы показать жителям Гданьска, что среди них живут беженцы из Чечни. Мы приготовили еду и художественную программу. Мы встретили мэра города с хлебом и солью. Было такое чувство, что нас город символически принял. Тем летом наша группа была приглашена на различные события. Мы участвовали на различных фестивалях и на городских праздниках. Интеграция зависит от обеих сторон. Когда мы показали себя, поляки пришли к нам на встречу. Художественные и социальные контакты развивались очень хорошо. Тем не менее, в средней школе были столкновения между детьми. Школа приняла справедливую позицию и не разделяет детей поляков и иммигрантов. В результате школьников удалось решить разногласия. Культура была для нас первая ступень интеграции.
Творчество развивалась очень хорошо, а наука?
Не зная языка, мы не смогли никак помогать детям учиться. В начальной школе дети учат азьы образования, но обучение в средней школе является важным для образования. В конце учебного года, узнули, что все наши дети не пройдуют в следующий класс. Конечно, как родители мы также ответственны за это, но мы не ориентировались в сложившейся ситуации. Школа, городские и неправительственные организации, организовали для наших детей дополнительные занятия. Все поляки были в летнем отпуске, но нашлись волонтеры, которые работали с детьми беженцев. Когда дети начали пересдавать экзамены все получили хорошие отметки и перешли в следующий класс.

Идентичность и признание
При поиске своего места в новом обществе, женщины-иммигрантки борятся с вопросом о том, кто я? Объединяя собственную стратегию идентичности и аккультирование, реализованы и обусловлены отношения принимающего общества (Берри2004.). Приток беженцев из стран Ближнего Востока в Европу активизировали дилеммы идентичности иммигранток, разорванные между ее различной принадлежностью, которые являются пространство разделения, на фоне сегодняших глобальных конфликтов. Они бежали из своей страны, опасаясь за свою и жизнь своих детей. В том месте, где они рассчитывали получить душевное спокойствие и чувство безопасности новым вынуждены оправдать свою идентичность и защищать себя перед указыванием им их места на почве религиозных и национальных стереотипов. (Маалуфа)

Я хочу понять, по сей день, кто я? Что вызывают ненависть по отношению ко мне? Что я могу изменить, чтобы найти свое место в европейском обществе? Почему они видят меня на „другой“ стороне общества? Я сама себе задаю вопросы, и не могу найти ответ. Я хочу понять свою вину перед европейским обществом. Когда в России была советская власть, нас чеченцев дискриминировали за то, что мы не „русские“. После распада советской власти мы стали „террористами“, за то, что мы боролись за свою свободу. Во время войны в Чечне, Европа начала нам помогать и дала нам убежище. Теперь, после событий в Сирии, мы разделены на мусульман и христиан. Я хочу поставить вопрос перед европейской общественно и прошу объяснения.

Во время войны в Чечне из миллиона человек было убито 300 тысяч. Нас убивали русские, мы не говорим христиане. Моего мужа убили русские - я не говорю, однако, что убили его христиане. Ирак был стерт с карты мира. Американцы - христиане. Война в Сирии - Россия, Америка, Франция - христиане. Массовое убийство целых народов, убивают невинных стариков, женщин и детей. Русские и американцы - христиане.

Но все время мы говорим - мусульмане.
Итог

Описанные явления и процессы, выявленные в ходе исследования стали основой для планирования действий в области самопомощи, образования и интеграции беженцев в обществе. Авторы артикула как инициаторы, соавторы и координаторы и участники принимали участие в проектах, которые были направлены на достижение стратегии интеграции сохранения собственной идентичности (Матуш-Протасевич, 2008). Наиболее оптимальной формулой идентичности в условиях мультикультурализма, так с точки зрения адаптации (Смолия, 1990), расширение прав и возможностей и психического здоровья (Божественное, 1992).

1. Организация самопомощи среди беженцев.
   • Группа для женщин-иммигранток, создана в результате как необходимость восстановления сильной системы социальной поддержки, которую потеряли в результате иммиграции. Женщины берут на себя очень большую, часто исключительную ответственность за обеспечение семьи. Кроме того, необходимость вступления в новое общество и соблюдения правил, признание культурных различий и разработки индивидуальной стратегии аккультурации, это процессы, которые требующих группы поддержки и уравнивания. Некоторые из иммигранток из стран с более высоким уровнем коллективизма, чем в польской культуре, болезненно ощущают потерю социальной поддержки в семье и обществе и другие правила организации общественной жизни. Группа поддержки основана на идее самопомощи, которая является заменой утраченных контактов, он позволяет обмениваться информацией, опытом и взаимопомощи, могут помочь в решении реальных социально-бытовых проблем. Группа обслуживает целый ряд социальных потребностей иммигранток - восстановить систему социальных контактов, создать свою собственную группу, найти друзей, чтобы предотвратить изоляцию и разделение.
   • Организация материальной помощи через собирание одежды и чистящих средств для беженцев, проживающих в лагере для беженцев, при поддержке учреждений и общественных организаций, и неофициальных групп населения.
   • Создание дома для беженцев, где жители могут культивировать ценностии и культурные традиции, совместное времяпровождение, торжественное отмечание праздников в большой группе, методы организации самопомощи и помощь для нуждающихся.

2. Образовательная деятельность
   • Проведение подготовки учителей и социальных работников, главной целью которого является развитие межкультурной компетенции в работе с беженцами в системе образования и социальной помощи.
   • Проведение занятия для студентов социальной работы и образования, на тему работа с беженцами.
• Распространение результатов исследований путем организации и участия в научных конференциях в области педагогики, психологии, социологии и социальной работы

3. Создание межкультурного центра.
• Создание межкультурного центра является результатом опыта и потребностей проживающих в Гданьске иммигрантов из разных культур и жителей, работающих на развитие культурного разнообразия города. Идея создания Центра основывается на введении Гданьска в качестве “Общей комнате” (Мендель, 2016 г.), практика действия “Строить Мосты” (Чижевский, 2012) между различными сообществами и группами, разделения через религиозный фундаментализм, национальные идеологии, исторические предрассудки и общественные страхи.
• Основной задачей Центра является повышение межкультурной чувствительности со всех сторон процесса интеграции - иммигрантов, профессионалов и жителей - через образование, культуру и развлечения. Работа центра находится на стыке между трех областей, описанных в Гданьской модели интеграции иммигрантов: образования, культуры и местных общин.
• Функционирование Центра как учреждения Межкультурный будет основываться на четырех принципах, которые определяют поровну, как его философию и долгосрочные цели: объединение, закрепление, видимость и сотрудничество (Бранка,Цешликовска 2014). Эти объединение предусмотрены со взгляда на перспективы, потребности, цели и ценностей различных групп меньшинств. Целью объединения является повышение возможностей, использование услуг, которые доступны для большинства.
• Укрепление (расширение возможностей) объекта, является развитием компетентности и повышенное влияниями иммигранток, с тем чтобы не изолировать их от общества.
• Восприятия, а также возможность развития и культурного наследия меньшинств через информацию, представления и образование, направлены как для общества, так и для меньшинства.
• Сотрудничество касается одинаково отношениями между представителями общества принимающих и группой иммигрантов, также создания широкой сети сотрудничества, организаций и групп в обществе.

xxx

Женщины-иммигранты признают факторы в системе, которые не в состоянии контролировать, “на пересечении ряда иерархических порядков, включая систему общественного разделения труда и миграционных режимов» (Свецковска, 2010, 20). Они способны определить сферы своего влияния и регулировать действия, расширяющие возможности для участия в общественной жизни, которые трудно доступны.
Благодарим участников наших исследований и действий, за соучастие в решениях, которых система отталкивает, могли развиваться и эмансицируются.

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The influx of refugees to EU states in recent years has contributed to the rise of xenophobic and racist sentiments. In at least several countries parties and organizations that are far-right, eurosceptic, with a negative attitude to the admission of migrants and demands for wide political changes got into public debate. This paper is a case study of German organization PEGIDA, which, as I will try to prove, is the avant-garde of new far-right movements. The features I will discuss include an extremely efficient use of social media websites to mobilize supporters and building transnational alliances with ideologically similar organizations from other European countries but not only. I will describe the history of establishing PEGIDA, profiles of its activists, relationships with other groups such as HoGeSa or the Alternative for Germany, as well as the demands they make, comparing individual topics with the situation of nationalist organizations in Poland. I will also show that the opposition to Islam, in spite of being the flagship slogan, is only an excuse for making a wide range of demands and reactivating anti-establishment resentiments, which I will discuss in detail. Finally, I will analyse the real roots of the rise of xenophobic sentiments on the continent, linking them to the economic crisis and the neo-liberal model of societies.

Key words: migration, refugees, Europe, PEGIDA, Germany

Far-right populism as a response to the crisis of multicultural Europe. PEGIDA case study

MATEUSZ PIETRYKA

University of Warsaw
When analysing the phenomenon of the recent years commonly called “the migrant crisis,” the researcher is confronted with a phenomenon that is associated with it, namely the rising popularity of the far right in EU states. Comparing the results of ten biggest eurosceptic parties in elections to the European Parliament, we can observe that eight of them won more votes in 2014 than in 2009 (Karaian, 2014). Germany was one of the countries that have accepted the biggest number of migrants in recent years. It was in Germany where the rapidly rising popularity of the far-right wing and the number of participants of nationalist demonstrations increased three times in 2015, compared to the year before (Cowburn, 2016). Over two and three years respectively, two conservative groups with a significant support among the society developed as well, i.e. PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the West) and the political party AfD (Alternative for Germany). I will focus on the former in my work. I am particularly interested in the rate of its development, its mobilization based almost entirely on social media, criticism of political correctness in its manifesto and a specific way of understanding it. I will also focus on similarities and differences between PEGIDA and the Polish nationalist movement, and I will try to put the establishment of PEGIDA into a broader context of increasing xenophobic and Islamophobic attitudes in Europe related to the economic crisis and the fact that the middle class is growing poorer.

The roots of these phenomena, thus indirectly the roots of establishing the new far-right wing in Europe, are in the September 11 attacks in 2001, which reactivated the theory of “the clash of civilizations” (Huntington, 2008) and the revived rich practices orientalising the Middle East, presenting its impassable dissimilarity, strangeness, the incomprehensible system of values which sooner or later must lead to a conflict between the enlightened West and barbarian, benighted, intolerant Islam/Arabic World/Middle East – these terms are from now on interchangeable as terms containing a complete set of features, prejudices, images which lead to implementation of specific policies both in nation states (which is manifested by cultural and institutional prejudices) as well as at international level (military interventions justified by cultural and religious enmity). The notion of terrorism, attributed by the Western world to the religion of Islam, is changed in media narratives into an abstractive, transnational mutation with cultural ideas rather than political or social facts (Wheeler, 2008). This is the first point I want to highlight, namely populist movements like PEGIDA do not come from a bottom-up, mass levy because what we call a mass levy is usually the direct result of practices implemented top-down and the discourses which create a specific political climate and hierarchical sets of antagonising images of the world and politics.

Such ideological sets, as the authors of Dialectic of Enlightenment called them (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2010), shape the language used by different populist movements.

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3I avoid using this term in my research, or I use it as a quote because of its ideological focus and a symbolic shift of responsibility. Speaking of “the migrant crisis” may suggest that the problem lies only in the masses of people coming to Europe, whereas geopolitical causes of migration and the way of responding to it are silently omitted.

4At the same time, it should be noted that one of the ten parties listed above, i.e. the Polish Congress of the New Right did not exist in 2009, but the party from which it evolved, i.e. the Real Politics Union, won 1.10% of the vote then, compared to 7.15% for the Congress of the New Right in elections in 2014.

5For the first weeks after it was established, its name was “Peaceful Europeans against Islamisation of the West.”

6According to a survey conducted in 2014 by the research company YouGov on a representative sample of 1107 people, 49% of the respondents expressed a positive opinion on PEGIDA demonstrations (30% supported them, 19% declared a positive rather than negative attitude). On the other hand, the AfD gained support at the level between 15 and 24% in a series of regional elections (Zeit Online, 2014).
Therefore, since the early 21st century, the narratives of far-right groups, focusing on biological distinctness of the enemy, have been gradually withdrawing to make room for discrimination due to differences in cultures and civilisations (Balibar, 2007). In Germany such groups have been developed as the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party of Germany, German People’s Union, Autonomous Nationalists that soon will be in their heyday in Poland, as well as the terrorist National Socialist Underground. While we associate Polish groupings that have had similar profiles over the last twenty years with dominant anti-Semitic and anti-communism issues because there is no actual Islamic enemy, for a long time in the West, including Germany, the blade of far-right criticism has been aimed at Muslims living in immigrant districts (Dolezam and Hellbling, 2010; Lucassen and Lubbers, 2011) and also immigrants themselves, including Poles. Obviously, it does not mean that the biological approach in the form of purely race prejudices has disappeared completely. The darker skin colour still matters, and the fact whether an Arab is a practising believer or not, or in general a Muslim or a new immigrant, or has had German citizenship from generations is less important. Propaganda puts the main focus on cultural criticism, namely a belief that integration with German society is impossible, and therefore it creates a potential threat. Furthermore, while earlier discourses about “moral degeneration/West corruption” enjoyed popularity also in Poland, in the first decade of this century there is a shift to the positions of “defenders of Western civilization”, which has gradually started to operate in Poland, since the rapes in Cologne in the New Year.7

In Germany newer and newer groups are emerging among the groups listed above, including Citizen’ Movement Pax Europa, the Identity Movement, some kind of movement is also developing around networks of right-wing blogs related to Politically Incorrect News, a movement against the construction of new mosques is growing. All these communities have their day and disappear, and are replaced by new ones. For the far-right wing the establishment of the Islamic State in 2014 and a series of military successes in the Middle East, which again mobilizes people to take to the streets, were a strong impulse to act. It was then, exactly on 26 October 2014, when the whole of Germany heard about a group named HoGeSa, Hooligans against Salafists. This is a community that earlier operated on the Internet, mainly on Facebook, where at its peak it had several dozen fans.8 It consists of football hooligans/fans from different clubs, and their objective is to fight against the Salafist fraction of Islam (De Genova, 2015). Earlier, this group took to the streets several times but it did not attract more than a few hundred people.9 A breakthrough was in autumn 2014, when 5,000 people took to the streets in Cologne under the slogan “Awakening of German spirit”, which ended up with struggles with police (59 injured officers) and attacks on nearby Asian outlets and people with darker skin (Pabst, 2014).

7During a series of anti-immigrant demonstrations in Poland and Germany women’s rights are presented as the achievement of Western civilization that is currently threatened by the influx of culturally different strangers from the Middle East and Africa. The president of the National Movement and an MP of Kukiz’15 party said during a manifestation in Warsaw in February 2016 (referring to the rapes in Cologne), “Just like we faced the invasion of barbarians in the 5th century, now an invasion has been launched. Hordes of immigrants want to trample us, destroy our civilization. We must cooperate with different nations. This does not erase our difficult history, this does not erase the scars we have. This is the moment when we have to stand together and this moment is the invasion of a foreign civilization” (Niezależna.pl, 2016). Manifestation “in defence of European women” was also organized in Poznań by KORWIN party whose leader is known for comments about restricting women’s rights.

8HoGeSa pages have been many times removed by Facebook because they promoted hatred. At the moment there is no central page.

9Demonstrations in Mönchengladbach, Mannheim and Dortmund in 2013-2014 gathered between a hundred and three hundred people and then were surprising for public opinion.
Kategorie C, a band linked to a neo-Nazi community, played a concert for the demonstrators. Police reports contain a comment that this is a completely new and surprising experience for police forces – mass riots of football hooligans who are strongly ideologized in terms of culture (Burger, 2016).

However, over time HoGeSa has lost momentum, two lines of a dispute cross each other inside. One runs between the formal wing that wants to turn the group into a political project and the underground wing that wants to limit itself to street riots and direct actions. The other, which is not a less important dispute, runs through divisions between football fans of individual clubs, often at variance with each other, which have an issue with taking to the streets together, particularly due to the fact that in Germany some part of extreme community of football fans is linked to an anti-fascist movement (Schwier, 2006). It makes “reaching an agreement across borders” against the common enemy much more difficult, which can be observed in Poland during annual Independence Marches, where football fans from clubs that fight against each other on daily basis demonstrate together their (far) right values. A year after the famous demonstration in Cologne, a HoGeSa anniversary demonstration is held in the same city, which attracts only a thousand people. The protest itself has a hooligan rather than anti-Islamic character, football hooligans are motivated mainly by the prospect of a confrontation with the anti-fascist movement, and it actually happens there (The Local.de, 2015). After the demonstration which was a great disappointment for far-right activists, activists from HoGeSa start to participate in PEGIDA protests.

The establishment of PEGIDA coincides with a well-known HoGeSa demonstration in autumn 2014, its sudden emerging and popularity embarrass both scholars and the media (which I will explain thoroughly in the next paragraphs). Before the description of PEGIDA, it must be pointed out that when it was being established, the AfD, a populist right-wing party, had already operated actively, gaining popularity in two areas: 1) criticising Angela Merkel, mainly for refugees, for giving up the nuclear power programme, for too few investments in the army and legalization of single-sex relationships; and 2) criticising the whole central German right for supporting Angela Merkel and her actions (Berbuir, Lewandowsky and Siri, 2015). “Normalization” is a topic that appears in speeches given by their leaders on regular basis. Thus, it may seem that the growing AfD, with more and more support by intellectuals and its successful presence in the mainstream media should gather all similar movements and be a catalyst for possible street protests. But it does not happen so. While the AfD achieves its first election successes, it is not able to lead a street mobilization. Compared to the cultural overtones of PEGIDA protests, the manifesto of the Alternative for Germany may come down to Euroscepticism (Arzheimer, 2015), thus it has a more political character (Brack and Startin, 2015). Euroscepticism is also present in PEGIDA’s manifesto which oscillates around the whole set of slogans of the conservative right but like HoGeSa it focuses

10 More on links between far-right football hooligans and PEGIDA in: De Genova, N., 2015, pp. 4-5.
11 As The Economist rightly observes, “The demonstrators do not even try to explain their manifesto. Convinced of their political correctness, they refuse to make a comment for the press” (The Economist, 2014).
12 A breakthrough was made only in the second half of 2015, when 5,000 people took part in an anti-immigration AfD demonstration in Berlin. Still, this is a much lower number than PEGIDA demonstrations at its peak.
on one thing – to stop the “Islamisation of Europe.” Despite very similar masses of supporters\textsuperscript{13}, PEGIDA and the AfD are different organizations at political and organizational level.\textsuperscript{14} Almost two months after creating its page on Facebook, PEGIDA takes 10,000 people to the streets. Only a month later, after the attack on Charlie Hebdo editorial office, a demonstration of Patriotic Europeans already has 25,000 people. PEGIDA sections are quickly established in other German cities, attracting between a few hundred and ten thousand people, and soon they also move abroad. An attempt to establish a Polish section is made but it is much hindered due to the anti-German attitude of football fans who support anti-Muslim protests.\textsuperscript{15}

Thus the opposition to Islam becomes PEGIDA’s flagship slogan, which does not mean that it should be taken literally. After a more detailed analysis of PEGIDA’s narratives, examining its supporters and slogans that appear at demonstrations, it should be rather concluded that “stopping Islam” is only an umbrella term, which concerns a wide range of resentiments and postulates. It is not an accident that the word “West” in the name “Patriotic Europeans against Islamisation of the West” means in original des Abendlandes, which is literally an Occident/Occidental civilization in English. This term originates from the Latin word occidentem, which literally means “a place in the sky where the Sun sets.” It should be interpreted symbolically as the end of the civilised world. This term was used in the 20th century in Germany by the proponents of cultural pessimism; Oswald Spengler is their best-known proponent. Basing on the achievements of philosophy of life, his works expressed the decadent atmosphere from the period preceding Hitler’s rising to power, the fear of a civilizational dominance of other races and the decline of politics (Spengler, 1990). Similarly, a quasi-apocalyptic atmosphere of the upcoming catastrophe of European civilization has been announced by the modern far right. Islam is not its main enemy but rather a symbolic personification of threats lying in wait. As anthropologist Nicholas de Genova points out (2015), “»Islamisation« here operates as a figure not necessarily construed to be in opposition to Christianity as such (...), »religion« matters here not really as a matter of doctrinal difference, not as a rivalry of competing faiths, but rather as a simple markers of the difference that is more elementary and fundamental.”

PEGIDA is developing not as an opposition to the influx of immigrants. However, when considering its declarations, this is a very moderate opposition, particularly taking into account the confrontational language of far-right movements preceding it. PEGIDA’s nineteen-point manifesto says, for example, that more restrictive asylum policy is to provide a better quality of support for current refugees. It also emphasises that the organization has nothing against Muslims who integrate well. Comments about immigration and religion interweave with a demand to increase the number of police officers, a protest against hatred to women, with freedom of sexual choices, support for Judeo-Christian foundations of Western culture/Occident (Abendlandkultur), a demand to introduce people’s referendum like the Swiss formula, opposition to “genderization”\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13}In a public opinion poll conducted by The Economist, 9 out of 10 PEGIDA supporters declare their support for the AfD (The Economist, 2015).
\textsuperscript{14}A high profile AfD politician, Hans-Olaf Henkel, called AfD supporters for not participating in PEGIDA demonstrations due to its possible “xenophobic or even racist links” (Huggler, 2014).
\textsuperscript{15}An anti-immigrant demonstration of Polish PEGIDA section was planned to take place in Wrocław in February 2016, however, according to the organizers, local nationalists and football fans threatened to use force to end it, in fear of competition.
\textsuperscript{16}The original contains the term Gender Mainstreaming and Genderisierung. Similarly, the richest translation into English in terms of meaning would be “gender ideology.”

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and political correctness (PEGIDA, 2014). As it can be easily noticed, one document contains a whole range of various topics, where “criminal immigrants”/“Islam” are only an issue holding everything together. Furthermore, although the official slogan is opposition to Islamisation, a demonstration against the Kurdistan Workers’ Party, i.e. a secular Kurdish movement fighting against the Islamic State, was the reason for establishing PEGIDA (Popp and Wassermann, 2015). As far as geographical and demographic conditions are concerned, the organization enjoys the greatest popularity in Saxony, where foreigners represent about 2% of the population, including no more than 0.1% of Muslims (The Economist, 2014, 2015b). Thus, we see that it would be a major simplification to claim that PEGIDA is simply a response to the real or imaginary lack of integration of Muslims who have lived in Europe in millions for several decades. A declaration to fight against Islam has nearly nothing to do with the immigrants themselves, it is a new way to express the ideology of nationalism which has been a taboo in Germany since the end of World War II.

It seems that the real motivation of the protesters in PEGIDA or AfD ranks is, like in the case of Poland (Pietryka, 2014a), opposition to elites in a broad sense, which are considered foreign, undemocratic, are believed to serve the interest of the European Union instead of the nation and control the media, education and the police. That is why both social researchers and journalists are confronted with ignorance or hostility during PEGIDA demonstrations. The current political set-up is described as Volksverräter, “traitors to the people.” The term Lüg enrresse is used in relation to the press. It means the “lying press”, and it is best expressed in the neologism lie-press. It is known mainly from the Nazi period, when the authorities called the content attributed to Jews and communists like that. According to PEGIDA and AfD interpretation, the lie-press are simply the mainstream media that legitimize government policies, multiculturalism, and censoring opinions of ordinary German citizens. The fact that it was given the title of “the non-word of 2014” in a well-known language competition, Sprachkritischen Aktion Unwort des Jahres, shows the popularity of this term. The Nation would be in opposition to Volksverräter and Lügenpresse. The main slogan of weekly demonstrations is Wir sind das Volk, “We are the nation.” PEGIDA supporters and activists demand more authenticity, representativeness of political representatives, to serve German interests. Their ideological package also includes an anti-American (opposition to American imperialism) and pro-Russian attitude (flags of the Russian Federation flew on their marches), alarming about the low birth rate among native Germans, and protecting cultural heritage.

Who exactly shows up on demonstrations of Germany’s new far right? Attempts to examine this issue are hindered due to their aversion to scholars and the media I mentioned.
that are perceived as part of the universe reproducing destructive *politische korrektheit*. So far, the most representative survey has been successfully conducted by researchers from Dresden University of Technology on the sample of 400 people, but they were only 35% of the respondents, most of them refused to answer the questions. Being aware of disadvantages to such low responsiveness, it is still worth presenting the results of research since it confirms the conclusions I have drawn in my work so far. An average participant of a PEGIDA demonstration is male, nearly 50 and comes from the middle class. Although he is afraid of “Islamisation of Europe”, this is not the main reason he takes to the streets. Most of all, he is extremely displeased with the formula of current policy that operates in isolation from citizens. This is the reason declared by the vast majority of the respondents, since for as many as 54% it was the reason of participating in the march, compared to 20% who expressed their aversion to the mass media, and only for 15% it was aversion to immigrants (Huggler, 2015a). The average respondent declares that he is not a follower of any religion and he does not support any political party. The results of research are similar to the description of Polish participants of far-right protests, where sometimes anti-immigration slogans are a catalyst for actions, but they are a fusion of the sense of no agency, sense of exclusion, slogans against homosexualism and “gender ideology”, anti-feminist slogans or calling for increasing the army (Pietryka, 2014b). The age structure of participants of PEGIDA marches is a noticeable contrast to similar movements in Poland, it mainly contains late middle-aged people, while at most Polish nationalist demonstrations mainly very young people can be observed (CBOS, 2015). It would be interesting to compare the wealth structure among Polish and German supporters of far-right groups. Although at the moment I do not know about such research, sociologist Maciej Gdula (2013) suggests that football hooligans gathering in large numbers, for example during the Independence Marches, are “the lower middle class, not excluded people.”

The methods of PEGIDA operation must be taken into account, including two features that are typical for the new far right also in other European countries. The first one is mobilizing its supporters almost exclusively on the Internet and almost exclusively on one website, i.e. Facebook. PEGIDA, like the National Movement in Poland, uses its full potential. PEGIDA websites are managed professionally, with proper proportions between text and graphic posts, a specific number of posts per day, planning posts, advanced comment moderation, as well as high responsiveness to their readers and regular comments about social and political developments. Created by the end of 2014, PEGIDA fanpage had more than 200,000 people in May 2016. For comparison, Dresden Nazifrei, an anti-fascist coalition consisting of many organizations, gathered 55 thousand followers on Facebook over the last seven years. For now, it does not translate into proportions on the streets because when anti-fascist protests against PEGIDA marches started, they were several times more numerous (Huggler, 2015b).

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23 Surveys conducted regularly in Poland by CBOS also show that people aged up to 35 have the most negative attitude to refugees.
24 Like supporters of other far-right groups, PEGIDA supporters are very active also on other social and news websites, including Twitter. Case study concerning this issue: Puschmann, Außerhofer, Maan and Hametner, 2016.
26 [online:] www.facebook.com/dresden.stellt.sich.quer
27 At the beginning of 2015 in Hanover, Munich, Leipzig, and Dresden respectively 19 thousand, 20 thousand, 35 thousand, and 35 thousand people took part in protests against PEGIDA.
Nonetheless, the effective mobilization and the Internet range of Germany’s new populist right are as phenomenal as its establishment is.

The other distinctive feature is “nationalistic internationalism.” PEGIDA was very quickly based on an export model – its local sections were spontaneously established, including Austria, Bulgaria, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, and even Canada. On 23 January 2016 a meeting of 14 far-right and fascist organizations from all over the continent was held in the Czech Republic (Poland was “represented” by the National Movement), it was initiated by the Patriotic Europeans. The participants discussed the migrant crisis, and finally signed the “Prague Declaration”, i.e. a document against Islam in the public sphere and against further admission of refugees. It established the informal “Fortress Europe”, namely an association of present organizations that declare to protect Europe, even at the cost of their own lives, against the “invasion of Islam.” Typically, the objection to Islam was again used to criticise political elites and negative social issues: “The rule of global elites has brought only poverty, unemployment, corruption, chaos and the decline of morality.” The decision about calling for anti-immigrant demonstrations in the whole of Europe on 6 February was a direct consequence of the meeting. It showed that nationalist organizations are able to agree with each other but also carry out mass international actions in an efficient way.

If we assume that the alleged “Islamisation of the West” is not the real trigger reviving the far right, the question raises: What is that trigger? This is an issue for a separate work. Conclusively, I suggest that this phenomenon should be interpreted in the context of theories about the crisis of universal values and the economic crisis (which is the real meaning of the term “migrant crisis”). Critics of the liberal and conservative interpretation of mass migrations as a potential threat to material prosperity and/or cultural stability of Western civilization point out the functional meaning of such interpretations for the neo-liberal economic system, which makes use of the aversion to the other, relocating the resources of social dissatisfaction from the material sphere to the cultural one. That is why the demonstrations of dissatisfied citizens march under anti-Muslim, anti-Semitic or homophobic slogans. As Balibar (1998) and Wallerstein (1998) point out, contempt or fear are the secondary features of modern racism. Its main significance is to contribute to the additional value by controlling (as needed) the influx of cheap labour, namely immigrants who usually do not have rights, are employed illegally, are not union members, are not supported by the rest of the society or even victimized by it.

Despite common aversion of PEGIDA and similar organizations in other countries to the EU project, we cannot fail to observe a kind of symbiosis between the street protest against admission of refugees and the attitude of the EU, which is completely paralysed, severely criticized by organizations protecting human rights, and the governments of member states which, in spite of having all logistic and economic opportunities to control the crisis, decided to respond in the form of border militarisation, overusing force by police (Amnesty International, 2016), tightening asylum law, or the controversial and incompatible with human rights selection of refugees on the borders and their expulsion (Doctors Without Borders, 2016), which leads to a high number of victims (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Adverse feelings to foreigners do not
result from the actual characteristics of the refugees, who are diverse, and they are too varied in community to be able to describe them in any homogeneous way. These feelings are euphemistically developed top-down, they reach the society in the form of publicly expressed fears that migrants are not able to assimilate, spread potential diseases or religious radicalism. Already in 2007, German sociologist Georg Klauda (2007) alarmed that “Islamophobia has, at least in this country [in Germany], its relevance not as a mass phenomenon, but as an elite discourse, which, shared by considerable numbers of leftist, liberal, and conservative intelligentsia, makes possible the articulation of resentments against immigrants and anti-racists in a form which allows one to appear as a shining champion of the European enlightenment.” The way of perceiving Islam followers as obsessive about sexuality, lacking morality, violent barbarians is not a bottom-up, racist narrative of marginal (less and less) far-right groups; Western culture has been based on such a contrasting (barbaric, Muslim East – civilised Europe) perspective since the medieval times (Law, 2014). Multicultural policy tried to overcome it but finally, in the face of the economic crisis, it gives in.

Thus, social and political issues are again culturalized, which allows to block the admission of refugees as a potential threat. The particularism of such modern racism highlights the fact that parallel discourses on immigrants/Muslims/Arabs operate in European countries in relation to various, excluded minorities such as the poor (Górniak, 2015). Public opinion attributes such features to them as high reproduction, lack of personal hygiene, inadequacy, excessive use of social assistance (Charkiewicz, 2010). In other words, as Michał Buchowski says (2006), “workers, agricultural workers and farmers are blamed for their own, degraded position and social problems.” An analogical operation is observed in xenophobic arguments. The actual division into various social strata with separate interests is turned into a cultural division into things that are German and non-German, Polish and non-Polish, English versus non-English. Failures in life resulting from the fact that the state withdraws from the social sphere are identified as the effect of dividing national unity due to the influx of culturally foreign immigrants. A quote by Monika Bobako may summarize this issue: “Racism does not belong to the past, it is not a distinctive feature of marginal, small far-right groups either. It is a permanent element of modern societies and their economic system based on the unlimited accumulation of capital” (Bobako, 2015).

For many years the far right has achieved bigger or smaller electoral successes, but it was in anomy in terms of the potential of social mobilization, i.e. the actual, direct agency that emancipates beyond putting a vote into the ballot box. In the 21st century such phenomena as transnational solidarity of the far right (caused by reviving the myth of “the clash of civilizations”), combined with the power of mobilizing social media, allow to create a real mass movement. Like Syriza was to be a catalyst for the pan-European extreme left, PEGIDA has become a catalyst for the European far right that takes a new operational model, treating the national interest equally with the interest of the European continent, questioning the order based on the European Union, organizing social and political structures to overthrow it successfully. It is happening together with the fact that the middle class is getting poorer and poorer (International Labour Organization, 2016), the polarization between the income of the poorest and richest social strata is progressing
(Dallinger, 2013), as well as the unwillingness and incapability of European governments and institutions to solve the migrant crisis jointly (according to analysts the problem is going to get worse). This state of affairs means further radicalization of xenophobic, anti-establishment feelings and the rising popularity of the right wing on the political scene. In the second decade of the 21st century Schmitt’s triad Staat-Bewegung-Volk has found its missing, joining element (Schmitt, 1933). Regardless of further PEGIDA condition, with its activity, it has significantly strengthened the tendency, which has been progressing for several years, to use social dissatisfaction by the xenophobic far right, enriching it with new elements that in the near future may lead to a situation when more similar organizations emerge, and they will have more stability than ever before.

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Since the beginning of 2015 an increased number of migrants arriving in Europe has been observed. This situation has revealed the problem of violence, in particular experienced by women. It is violence that women experience in countries of origin and during the process of seeking asylum in other countries. Besides the violence related to the migrant status or origin, there is also another kind of violence against women, it is gender-based violence. The mere fact of being a woman becomes a factor of victimization. A woman cannot feel comfortable or safe anywhere because as a woman she is always exposed to violence. The aim of this article is to overview of various aspects of violence against women in the context of current situation in Europe, and in particular in Germany.

Key words: women, violence, migration crisis, Europe, Germany
Introduction

In 2015 almost one million refugees and migrants came to Europe, including single women. More and more women make their journey to Europe. The assessment team of UNHCR also observed a high number of pregnant migrant women, including in advanced stages of pregnancy\(^29\). The refugees mainly fled from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan but there was also a number of asylum seekers from the Balkan countries (Albania, Kosovo, Serbia) and North Africa and Eritrea\(^30\). This mass influx of refugees – never before experienced in the modern history of Europe – has raised many difficult questions. There are questions about the common asylum and immigration policy, the financial and economic costs of helping newcomers, as well as the solidarity with refugees and openness toward them. The challenge is not only to create a safe space for the refugees but also to confront the skepticism, reservations and fear that are on both sides – the newcomers and the receiving society.

Migration: review of literature

Migrations are related to the increased mobility of people, which results from political and cultural factors and technological progress. Migration, i.e. the migration process, can be defined as a type of a collective action which is caused by a social change and affects whole societies, both in the regions sending and accepting migrants.

The term “migration” is often interchanged (rightly or wrongly) with the term “refugee”. The term “refugee” is explained in the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees drawn up at Geneva on 28 July 1951. Article 1(3) says: „For the purposes of the present Convention, the term “refugee” shall apply to any person who as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”\(^31\). Taking into account the definitions and in order to avoid any definitional mistakes, we will use the terms “migrants” or “a migrant” when writing about people arriving in Europe. Since it is impossible to specify who is “a migrant” and who is “a refugee”, we use the former. We also assume that the terms “migrant” and “migration” reflect the migrant crisis and the people changing their place of residence, usually in an uncontrolled way, in a broad context.


\(^{30}\) BAMF: http://www.bamf.de/EN/Infothek/Statistiken/statistiken-node.html

Data on migrants

Since the beginning of 2015 an increased number of migrants arriving in Europe has been observed, which is related to the growing threat from the Islamic State. The world’s general economic crisis is also significant. It is difficult to specify the reasons for migration among people arriving in Europe outside the continent. Some of them migrate because they are affected by war and the regime in the country of origin, others migrate because of poverty and a desire to seek a better life. However, it is impossible to separate these two groups of reasons from each other. Migrations to Europe are the result of complex factors. Escaping danger and a risk to health is not the only reason for migration.

Statistics made available by various agencies are approximate and they do not reflect the full range of migration. The fact that migrants often do not have documents, sometimes they give a different country of origin during the registration, thinking it will make the asylum procedure easier for them, poses a problem. It is also difficult to separate war refugees from economic migrants who arrive in Europe using the same routes.

According to the statistics of International Organization for Migration 1,046,599 migrants arrived in Europe in 2015. They got there mainly by sailing across the Mediterranean Sea. As for asylum applications, in 2015 1,321,600 applications were registered in whole Europe. This number doubled compared to 626,960 applications in 2014 (431,090 applications were submitted in 2013, and 335,190 in 2012). In 2015 the largest number of migrants submitted their asylum applications in Germany, more than 470,000 applications were submitted. Another EU states where the migrants submitted asylum applications included Hungary (more than 170,000), Sweden (more than 160,000), Austria (nearly 90,000), Italy (more than 80,000), and France (more than 75,000). Graph 1 shows the number of asylum applications submitted between January 2015 and May 2016 (blue colour for the initial submissions and green for re-submissions).

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33 The presented statistics concern all migrants, not only those who arrived in Europe during the migrant crisis.
According to the data more than 21,000 initial applications for asylum in Germany were submitted in January 2015. Since then the number of applications has been growing steadily, reaching the level of nearly 60,000 in November 2015. Since January 2016 the number of applications for asylum in Germany has not fallen below 50,000. In May 2016 more than 54,000 initial applications were submitted. The graph below presents statistics on the nationality of migrants coming to Germany.
Graph 2 shows the top ten countries of origin of asylum applicants in Germany between January and November 2015. It indicates that the refugees mainly fled from two geographic regions: the Greater Middle East (including Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan) and the Balkans, (including Albania, Kosovo, Serbia and Macedonia) (BAMF, 2015).

As the graph shows, men are the largest group of migrants. This kind of situation is caused by several factors. The most obvious and frequently referred to is the fact that in Arabic culture – in Muslim countries – the model of a patriarchal family prevails in which a man is responsible for maintaining his family. Men decide to make their journey to Europe to find a job there and try and bring their families or maintain them abroad – by sending them money. This is a huge generalization, but quite popular. Another reason mostly men migrate is that in the case of Syria, Bashar al-Assad’s regime as well as the Islamic State forcibly recruit...
all men into their ranks; that is why a lot of young men flee from war-torn Syria. However, it should be mentioned that the statistics on men and children are becoming even and statistics on women are increasing, which is likely related to family reunification. A man arrives in a country, makes sure he is safe, and next brings his wife, children or distant family to the country in which he currently is. The low number of women and children is also related to the danger and the route itself, which the migrants cover. Many women decide to stay in transit camps in Lebanon, Yemen or Turkey (in the case of migrants from Syria). UN Women's Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia (ECA) revealed that “[…] while up to 42 per cent of refugees and migrants are women (17%) and children (25%), response planning, services, protection capacity and information are not yet sufficient to meet their needs and address their distinct vulnerabilities35.

The issue of violence

The current crisis has revealed the problem of violence, in particular experienced by women. It is violence that women experience in the difficult, often extreme situations, which is an escape from the country of origin and seeking asylum in other countries, countries that often have a very different culture.

Violence against women is the violence against the victims of armed conflicts, it is the violence against the weak and helpless, against civilians, mothers with children. It is the violence that occurs in the country of origin as well as in the process of migration and in the country to which women come and seek asylum.

It is about all kinds of violence - institutional, mental, economic, sexual, physical - violence that occurs because of the origin of women and their low status in the society. It is violence done by collective perpetrators and individual men, by institutions and individual units, by people who are unrelated and also related to women, often family members. The change of residence does not always prevent from being a victim of violence. Migrant women, also in the new life situation, are treated as the property of men.

Definitions of “Violence against Women” (VAW)

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines “violence” as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation36”. The “violence against women” is a term used to define actions of violence which harm or cause suffering and indignity to women and girls. The UN definition (1993) states that “violence against women” is any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in

35 Gender Assessment Of The Refugee And Migration Crisis In Serbia And FYR Macedonia, p. 3: https://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/download.php?id=446
36 Definition and typology of violence: http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/
public or private life". The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) explains that “violence against women is a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of women’s full advancement.” While according to the Istanbul Convention (2011) “violence against women” is understood as a “violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". The Convention also clarifies the term “gender-based violence against women” and it means “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately”.

Concluding, violence against women and girls is a violation of human rights. It is not limited to physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family (including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women), non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation. It is also physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within general communities (including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment or intimidation at work), in the educational institutions and in other places, as well as trafficking in women and forced prostitution. Other acts of violence against women include physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or allowed by the State as well as forced sterilization, abortion, use of contraceptives, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection.

Different contexts of life make women are in different situations and are more vulnerable to become a victim of violence. The vulnerability to victimization is not a single element but a result of the intersection of many elements, such as: gender, race, age, social status, ethnicity, dis/ability etc. As Kimberlé Crenshaw claims the intersection implies that a person can experience multiple forms of discrimination and domination because the forms of oppression interrelate, and as a result they create a system of oppression. In the case of a migrant woman there are many factors that lead to oppression and discrimination. One of the vulnerable factors that increases the risk of violence is being a migrant (social status and/or ethnicity), and another is being a woman (gender).

Violence against migrant women

The research on violence against women in the context of migrant women is conducted, among others, by Amnesty International. It shows that women and girls face violence,
assault, exploitation and sexual harassment at every stage of the migration, including European countries. The Organization interviewed 40 refugee women and girls in northern Europe in December 2015, who travelled from Turkey to Greece and then across the Balkans. The report states that “all the women described feeling threatened and unsafe during the journey. Many reported that in almost all of the countries they passed through they experienced physical abuse and financial exploitation, being groped or pressured to have sex by smugglers, security staff or other refugees”. All of the women were constantly scared during the journey across Europe. “Women travelling alone were not only targeted by smugglers but felt physically threatened when forced to sleep in facilities with hundreds of single men”. Women and girls interviewed by Amnesty International said that “they had been touched, stroked or leered at in European transit camps”. They reported that the conditions in a number of transit camps were very poor; even the food was limited. Pregnant women found little or no support. The problem was with the toilet facilities – women often felt unsafe as some sanitary facilities were not segregated by sex. Also some of the women reported that they experienced direct violence from other refugees, as well as by the police.

**Gender-based violence against women**

Besides the violence related to the migrant status or origin, there is also another kind of violence against women, it is gender-based violence. The mere fact of being a woman becomes a factor of victimization. A woman cannot feel comfortable or safe anywhere because as a woman she is always exposed to violence.

On New Year’s Eve of 2016 in German cities like Cologne, Hamburg and Stuttgart many women were abused. There were acts of sexual harassment and theft. “[…] women were sexually assaulted, harassed, groped.” There were numerous cases of women’s sexual harassments and assaults. Not every act was reported to the police:

“In Bavaria, 27 such attacks were reported to police, mainly in Nuremberg and Munich. In Bremen, there were 11 reports, in Berlin six and in Baden-Wurttemberg 25. In Hesse, there were 31 cases of sexual assault, sexual insults, thefts and attempted thefts. […] In Hamburg there were 195 complaints, most of them for sexual offenses. Investigators in North Rhine-Westphalia reported 1,076 crimes altogether, mainly in the cities of Cologne, Dusseldorf and Bielefeld. That number included 692 bodily harm or property offenses and 384 sexual offenses. Similar incidents were reported in Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, Saxony, Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland, albeit on a much smaller scale. Federal police, who patrol main railway stations, reported 43 such notifications.”

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44 Ibidem.
46 Ibidem.
47 Opinion: Suddenly, it’s about more than just male chauvinism: http://www.dw.com/en/opinion-suddenly-its-about-more-than-just-male-chauvinism/a-19101272
These events confirm that women not only experience violence in public places, but they cannot count on help and an immediate police response. Since the perpetrators were Islamic/Muslim migrants, the conspiracy of silence prevailed in the media\textsuperscript{49}. German media did not inform about the events because they did not want to “produce” or deepen the social discontent caused by the mass influx of migrants. The whole matter was forgotten – women have been treated as objects. Alice Schwarzer, German feminist, author of the book \textit{Der Shock. Die Sylvesternacht von Köln}, writes: “That night wasn’t just a shock for me. People all over the world saw it as a turning point. For the first time since the end of World War II, women were victims of organized mass sexual violence in the heart of Europe. […] And it’s not as much about sex as it is about power: They mean to scare women and drive them away from public areas.”\textsuperscript{50}

Violence against women is a result of the historical, unequal distribution of power between women and men. Therefore it is not only invisible, but is also tolerated in patriarchal societies. Especially the violence that women experience at home (by family members: fathers, brothers, husbands etc.) is not seen as violence; also women are socialized to blame themselves for the violence that they experience. Schwarzer says that violence against women is not an issue of the individual but is a structural problem: “Sexual violence is surely a structural problem among Germans, too, and not just an individual bad move.”\textsuperscript{51}

Other cultural factors that contribute to violence against women are the objectification of women and the impunity of perpetrators. Most of them depersonalize their victims – the perpetrators do not see victims as equal to them. The hierarchy of power as well as the tolerance for the use of coercion and physical strength allow for the long-term use of violence. Therefore the impunity of the perpetrators is an important factor that encourages the use of violence against women.

\textit{Concluding remarks}

The word “integration” quite often appears in the context of the migration crisis. The arguments are that refugees should be willing to integrate with the society they want to stay in and the society ought to be helpful to the newcomers. “There is a consensus among politicians on this point: people who are already here must be integrated quickly into work and society.”\textsuperscript{52} Providing accommodation and jobs, new educational opportunities for children and adults are some examples of the integration idea. Another important issue is education, in particular sex education.

In Germany – unlike in many countries – sex education is taught in school. It is not a taboo. Many of the migrants come from states where there are a lot of taboo topics, and sex is one of them. “Two months after a series of New Year’s Eve sex assaults in Cologne, the German

\textsuperscript{49} “Most of them were recently-arrived asylum seekers”: Reports: asylum seekers among Cologne attacks suspects: http://www.dw.com/en/reports-asylum-seekers-among-cologne-attacks-suspects/a-18966406

\textsuperscript{50} Alice Schwarzer: 'The perpetrators on NYE in Cologne were Islamists': http://www.dw.com/en/alice-schwarzer-the-perpetrators-on-nye-in-cologne-were-islamists/a-19251564

\textsuperscript{51} Ibidem.

\textsuperscript{52} Challenge for an entire country: https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/life/society-integration/challenge-for-an-entire-country
government launched a multilingual website to educate migrants about the body and sexuality. But not everyone thinks it’s necessary.53 Although “Zanzu” is not a site created only for recent refugees, it is a source of knowledge about fundamental life issues: sexuality, family planning and pregnancy, infections, relationships and feelings, rights and law. For example, in the rights and law section there is a topic that refers explicitly to violence and sexual violence. Another topic is related to female genital mutilation; it informs migrants that female genital mutilation is forbidden by law throughout Europe. Other themes in this section include sex and gender equality, partner violence or talking with a health professional. In addition to the explanations and the glossary there is some helpful information about counselling. All this is available in 12 languages.

The problem with initiatives like this website is that it seems to be adapted to the European way of acquiring knowledge. The assumption that everyone has access and uses the Internet as well as has the ability to read and understand terms such as “gender” seems to be a manifestation of eurocentrism. According to UNESCO, literacy among adult populations in the Arab States is about 80% but it concerns mainly men – there are huge disparities in literacy rates if it comes to gender.56 In this situation it is difficult to assume that all immigrants – in particular women – are ready and able to learn in the way Europeans do.

The efforts of providing help and seeking political solutions are needed but they should be adapted to the current conditions and the capabilities of migrants. Liberal and secular countries of Europe (generally speaking) seem to be reluctant to see that violence against women is not a problem of recent events; a problem related entirely to the migration crisis. Women experience rapes, harassments, insults and different kinds of inequalities in all European societies. The fact that this problem is now disclosed in the migration contexts shows that it is widespread (at homes and in public) and neglected (by politicians, media etc.) at the same time. Violence against women is the problem of all societies.

References


54 www.zanzu.de
55 The site is a cooperation between Germany’s Federal Center for Health Education (BegA) and the Belgian NGO Sensoa; it is a response to queries from counselors, information centers and doctors dealing with migrants. 56 UNESCO eAtlas of Literacy: http://tellmaps.com/uis/literacy/#/tellmap/-1082895961


Zanzu: www.zanzu.de

The presented paper deals with globalization in connection with ethical and moral dimensions, global ethics and ethical theories, ethical integration, and public administration. The core of the article is concentrated on the most influential and debated ethical theories and their influence on public administration. Special attention is given to the role of social consequences ethics in public administration and public administration procedures for taking ethical decisions.

Key words: globalization, ethics, theories, integration, public administration, decisions
Globalization

It may be said that morality and ethics in today’s world are lucrative goods, and to achieve them is only possible for a few people. (Perzanowska, M., p. 217)

Globalization is a phenomenon which dominates our contemporary world in all spheres of our life. It is mostly evident in the economic and technological interconnections, in the fields of trade, financial sectors, and mobility of capital and labour producing, and thus cementing our interdependence, not only in the field of commerce, but at the same time networking our culture, habits, minds, and the tenor of our everyday lives. As it is expressed by Kimberly Hutchings the word “global” is generally used “to signify something pertaining to the world as a whole. If something has global causes or global effects, then the suggestion is that either its causes or its effects are worldwide” (Hutchings, K., p.2). With its positive as well as negative impacts and effects it touches all world regions, and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the local, regional, and global. Deep influences are evident in the European Union as a whole influencing its big countries as well as smaller ones. At present the most depressing consequences of the worldwide financial crisis are placing an excessively difficult burden especially on smaller countries, such as Slovakia, attempting to moderate the most extreme consequences of the depression on their citizens.57

According to Hutchings, for people living in a world in which all humanity shares a common situation, the concept “global” indicates the following implications:

• a worldwide scale of commonality or sameness; commonality across people and peoples in which even the statement “we” signifies humanity as such; we participate in world markets, all of us are the subjects of international law, we all have some human rights, etc.
• a worldwide scale of interconnection and interdependence; thanks to easier communication, transport, and media events in one part of the world having an immediate effect on other parts of the globe and a direct influence on people to an unprecedented scale.

In spite of the widening spread of globalization supported by the integration processes, by the enlargement, and by concentration on the increase of the knowledge-based society underlined by the ideas of enabling progress and improvements in citizens’ lives, it is noticeable that all those proclamations are rather far away from ordinary European citizens, and lack legitimacy in their eyes together with the absence of a pan-European loyalty to those institutions. The vague conception and pronouncements of generally accepted ethical values, principles and norms are somewhere at the edge of all those processes. What is rather depressing in this situation is the existentially lost individual.

57 For more details see the contribution by S. Ručinská, D.Urge and R. Ručinský.
Ethical integration

The unification of the globalized world and the processes of integration are with us. They are even accelerating, but at the same time they are successfully avoiding such intrinsic values as common decency, honesty, integrity, openness, generosity, morality, and the rest of all the human ethical and moral qualities. So in spite of speedy European integration, the integration in the ethical infrastructure is falling behind, if not completely missing, being sometimes purposely, sometimes accidentally, pushed to the margins of our attention. In some ways it is more advantageous and profitable to close our eyes, be blind and not see the terrible and appalling things around us, and just let them pass unnoticed as they are. Generally speaking, at present it is still much more comfortable and easier to be unethical than ethical. We have only to agree with the words and opinion of Torbjörn Tännsjö that what we have left behind us when we look back at the 20th century is just unbelievable: cruelty, terror, violence, devastating wars, holocaust, inhumanity, and injustice. It is true that in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century most people accepted the authority of a morality which had to be observed and obeyed as it is expressed by Immanuel Kant in his writings articulated in the following way: “the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me” (Tännsjö, T., p. 1). In spite of the generally respected morality, morals, ethical principles, and moral law in the 20th century, adhered to, let us say, by the decent and highly civilized public, it seems that all those values and virtues had been relevant only in theory and, as we all know, their practical application had been in fact far away from what was theoretically and officially declared. At the start of the 20th century Europeans had some ideas and beliefs in moral progress, and saw human ferociousness, brutality, and civilized barbarism as being in retreat, but at the end of the century, as expressed by Tännsjö, Singer, Krejčí and many other authors and scholars, and also as we feel it ourselves, it is hard to be confident either about the validity of moral law or about any moral progress achieved, not only at that time, but at this time as well. Even today, when discussing global processes and European integration, we must admit that there are still lacking certain general and integral global, or at least European, ethical standards, which would create a kind of broad-spectrum of some clearly defined values, principles, and norms which might serve as a kind of guide for the appropriate and decent ethical behaviour to be followed. As mentioned by Małgorzata Perzanowska and Marta Rękawek –Pachwicewicz, today it is high time to call for more ethics in public life, using their words: “This is the time to build a different kind of European integration – ethical integration” (Perzanowska, M., Pachwicewicz, M. R., p. 217). Ethical integration is needed if we wish to make the interdependent and mutual relations among human beings more ethical and more human. This calls for the creation of a globally accepted European human identity and human relations. It is here where ethical issues arise and a link between the global, Europe and ethics is formed, “without morality, without universally binding ethical norms, indeed without “global standards”, the nations are in danger of manoeuvring themselves into a crisis which may ultimately lead to national collapse, e.g. to economic ruin, social disintegration, and political catastrophe” (Küng, H., In: Hutching, p. 11).

58Oskar Krejčí, scholar and international relations specialist presenting his views on morals and international politics and international environment in his book “International Politics” published in Prague 2010.
59It is evident from many contributions issued in the recent publication with the title “Public Administration in Times of Crisis” published in 2011, and in publication “Europe of Values”, published in Bratislava in 2004.

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Global Ethics

As it is presented by Kimberly Hutchings, ethics in its original meaning refers to codes of behaviour or sets of values that state what it is right or wrong to do in particular contexts and, according to what was said, the term ‘an ethical person’ denotes someone who aims to act following such codes of values. In one view of that, global ethics can be defined as “a field of theoretical enquiry that addresses ethical questions and problems arising out of the global interconnections and interdependence of the world’s population” (Hutchings, K., p. 9).

Of course, there are differences concerning the ethical values or what is good and right to do in our relations with others, not only among the individual European countries, but individuals as well, regarding their traditions, cultural and historical backgrounds, language differences, attitudes, standard of living, and finally, their own individual perception of understanding moral and ethical values. So moral truth might be perceived to be relative: what from one culture or temporal perspective is right, from another cultural or temporal perspective might be wrong. Anyway, there are some thinkers who try to find out a core of common beliefs, values and principles that operate across different conceptions and cultures in order to come to some reasonable starting point so as to arrive at global ethical standards that should govern human behaviour, e.g. there are theoretical conceptions from a theological point of view, such as Hans Küng’s “Global Responsibility: In Search of a New World Ethic”, or secular ones based on a set of wide-ranging universal moral standards that might be commonly accepted across different cultures and the world.

Ethical Theories

Most conceptions on Global ethics find their inspiration and arguments in developing the basic ideas of some traditional and extremely widely debated ethical theories. From all of them we can distil some important principles that can guide us in our ethical-decision-making. Let us mention at least some of the major ones which might provide the most practical assistance for creating theoretical as well as practical grounds for European ethical integration in the area of public administration.

One of them is the theory of ethical relativism which considers that it is not possible to come to a certain type of ethical values unification, as each individual, culture, or time is allowed to act in accordance with its own moral outlook. This conception was proclaimed for the first time in Ancient Greece by Protagoras and his disciples, who were known as sophists. According to their philosophical outlook, law is the creation of people, and therefore, it is always in accordance with the interest of the legislator. Following this idea, relativists come to the conclusion that law is nothing other than the enforcement of the free will of those who are in power and who can do what they want to do. Even in Ancient Greece their conception of ethical and moral relativism had been criticized and firmly refuted by Socrates and Aristotle because of the sophists’ conviction that truth is losing its objective foundation.
and their premise that when there is not an absolute truth, right and wrong are just vague and relative concepts.

Contrary to their theory is the conception of **virtue ethics**, developed during the period of antiquity, some 300 years before Christ. According to this theoretical conception, the most basic idea is not what we ought to do, but what kind of persons we ought to be. The virtue ethics approach focuses more on the integrity of the moral actor than on the moral act itself. For the first time the classification of virtues was done by Plato. However, his list of virtues is closely interconnected with the characteristic traits of his ideal state representatives. Virtue ethics were to be more precisely elaborated by his successor Aristotle in his work *Nicomachean Ethics*.

Typical of virtue ethics is its interest in general traits of character in contradiction to the traits of personality. It is assumed that traits of character can be developed by means of training and education, while traits of personality are closely linked to our biological nature. The prime moral virtues are: wisdom, justice, compassion and respect for persons, courage, temperance, generosity, kindness, reliability, and industry. If we develop these virtues, we are more likely to act rightly: a good character is a character that tends to lead to right actions. It is suggested that the most proper thing to do, instead of analyzing what makes right action right, is to focus our attention on those character features which ought to be fostered in ourselves and in our children through upbringing and education. Although virtue ethics as a philosophical tradition began with Aristotle, a number of contemporary ethicists have brought it back to the forefront of ethical thinking, especially the idea that ethical culture and behaviour in public administration can be deliberated, e.g. Linda K. Treviño and Katherine A. Nelson.⁶₀

Virtue ethics may be particularly useful in determining the ethical qualities of an individual who works within a professional community that has well-developed norms and standards of conduct. But it is also inspiring for management administration posts within public administration, of course, not excluding deontological and consequentialist approaches which are discussed below.

The action and its outcomes and consequences for the individual human being are in the centre of attention of the theoretical conception of **utilitarianism**. Utilitarianism is probably the best known **consequentialist ethics**.⁶¹ According to the principle of utility, an ethical decision should maximize benefits to society and minimize harms, so a consequentialist thinks about ethical issues in terms of harms or benefits. On the other hand, virtue ethics would suggest thinking about ethical issues in terms of community standards.

In consequentialist ethics a sharp distinction is made between actions that are right and those which are wrong. If an action is not right, then it is wrong, and if an action is not wrong then it is right. The actions which we ought to do (or the obligatory actions) form a specific kind of sub-class of actions that are right for us. So the utilitarian criterion for rightness of particular actions is stated by Tännösjö in the following way “...an action is right if and only if in the situation there was no alternative to it which would have resulted in a greater sum total of welfare in the world” (Tännösjö, T., p. 18). The idea that we ought always to act so as to maximize the sum total of welfare in the universe is hold by the utilitarian conception. According to classical utilitarianism we have to maximize hap-
piness and well-being, and utility means usefulness and convenience in order to bring pleasure. Our degree of pleasure is a quality of our total experience; the more our desires are satisfied, the better.

The utilitarian theory was for the first time presented by the English philosopher, lawyer, and social reformer Jeremy Bentham. He based his arguments on a view of human beings as naturally driven towards pleasure and happiness away from pain and unhappiness. And therefore, they have an interest in pursuing the former and avoiding the latter. On this basis he built up an ethical theory that had one basic principle – the principle of utility. He makes a distinction between higher and lower qualities of well-being and according to his conception of utilitarianism we should try to maximize higher forms of well-being rather than lower ones, following the idea that it is better to be a dissatisfied Socrates than a satisfied fool.

Another essential aspect of Bentham’s utilitarianism is the principle of acting impartially, meaning that in his decision-making the moral subject must respect the equality of other subjects’ interests, even the interests of animals. So there could be no moral justification for putting one’s own interests ahead of anyone else’s.

The radical ethical conception is the idea that ends up with the conclusion that we must always act so as to maximize the sum total of our own welfare. This most extreme conclusion is known as ethical egoism which is an extreme form of contractualism. The egoist need not bother about the far reaching consequences of his/her actions; it is only the welfare of the agent that counts. You act wrongly whenever you do not maximize your own best interests, so any decision is right, so long as it satisfies the interests of the agent. Ethical egoism confers too much moral license on the agent, who is, according to Thomas Hobbes, in his fundamental nature egoistic and selfish, and even if not, he lives in a constant fear of attack from others and desire for self-protection. When Hobbesian individuals are put in a state of nature, in which there is no external regulation of their deeds and actions, Hobbes argues that there will be a condition of “war of all against all”; “Bellum omnium contra omnes”; in this state of conditions there is no meaningful distinction between just and unjust, as Hobbes puts it, life in the state of nature is “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”. The only solution to normalize the given state of nature consisting of self-seeking individuals who live in a state of constant fear, danger, and violence is the idea of agreement (he terms it “covenant”) that has become known as the idea of “a social contract” where the individuals give up their natural rights to the newly created over-arching power - the state rule which would guarantee order, justice, and security. According to Hobbes, people must be forced to some extent by the state to cooperate; the state must supervise their actions and if they fail to respect the rules of law, threaten them by all sorts of punishment. Hobbes ethical contractualism is closely combined with politics. It is based on the social contract between people and the sovereign state power. Nowadays there are several different applications of contractualism

On the other hand deontological ethics or principle-based theory is founded on respecting duties, prohibitions to which the agent is bound irrespective of the con-

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62 Bentham gathered around himself a group of followers, including the economist James Mill, and his son, the philosopher John Stuart Mill. They were united by philosophical attitudes and social reformatory aspirations in the areas of law and justice, political institutions, education and women’s liberation. Bentham was also the pioneer in defending the right of animals; “we have good reasons to treat them no worse than we treat our fellow humans” (Tännsjö, T., p.17).

63 Hobbes ideas regarding state power are expressed in his work “Leviathan”

64 The roots of the word deontology comes from the Greek language, words deon meaning duty and logos meaning science.

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sequences which might follow them. The best known representative of deontological ethics is the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. According to deontological ethics, some types of actions are prohibited and some are obligatory irrespective of their consequences. He declares that there is one general idea and that is the supreme and absolute duty, he calls it “categorical imperative”, which has to be followed, using Kant words: “to act only in accordance with that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it become a universal law” (Tännsjö, T., p. 58). So a maxim is simply the rule we follow in any deliberately intentional act.

In By Kant’s critical philosophy, human capabilities are limited and conditioned by the human inclination to natural passions and needs similar to the Hobbesian view of human nature. But according to Kant at the same time human beings are endowed with pure “practical reason” which offers us possibilities of transcending and taking priority over our passions and natural partiality, “…human perfection lies not only in the cultivation of one’s understanding, but also in that of one’s will, moral turn of mind, in order that the demands of duty in general be satisfied. First, it is one’s duty to raise oneself out of the cruelty of one’s nature, out of one’s animality more and more to humanity…” (Kant, I., p. 44 - 45). Only a rational human being has the power to act in accordance with his conception of laws. It is the capacity to be able to detect and act on what is required by the moral law, so acting morally is ultimately equivalent to acting rationally. Moral principles are universally prescriptive and acting morally does not mean acting in accordance with those moral principles, but uncompromisingly acting because of those moral principles. As is mentioned by Hutchings the criterion of universality is central in Kant’s conception of human beings as non-angelic, who act morally only respecting and acting in accordance with the universal categorical imperative. The moral law stands for all rational human beings, human or non-human as well. “The difference between humans and angels is not to do with different moral standards, but with human imperfection that means that we experience moral rules as a constraint on our non-rational drives and desires” (Hutchings, K., p.42).

Kant’s philosophical theory is quite often comprehended as contradictory to Bentham’s utilitarian ethics, when, in Bentham’s theory, the importance of utility dominates as an outcome, Kant considers the importance of moral principles regardless of their consequences in particular contexts. Where Bentham accepts some toleration of exchanging some rights in pursuit of the maximization of utility, Kant insists on the obligation to respect every individual as an end in him or herself.

However, all of the presented ethical theoretical approaches have some limitations; none of them in itself provides perfect guidance in every situation, and each of them finds its own areas of application which are more practical and useful to be applied following the dictum of the specific case and situation. In spite of many differences among the various theoretical conceptions all of them are interconnected by generally accepted universal human values, principles and norms which are more or less respected and observed by everybody and everywhere. As is emphasized and brought to our attention by Jan Vajda,65 this common foundation which ought to be followed as the leading principle for the code of behaviour of all human beings in all spheres of our life should be the basic principle of humanism, the principle of justice and

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65Jan Vajda, a Slovak scholar and ethicist is the author of his famous “Introduction to Ethics” published in 2004 in Slovakia.
fairness, and the principle of honesty and meticulousness which cover in themselves a deep awe of and respect for not only all human beings, peoples, nations, one’s own homeland, love and respect for freedom and the qualities of other individuals, but at the same time articulate responsibility and a deep respect and esteem towards all living creatures, the natural world, and the entire environment around us. In its essence the principle of humanism is many-dimensional, highlighting the qualities of the human being, which ought to be placed at the top of the value pyramid, expressed by Kant’s words: “Act so as to treat humanity in oneself and others only as an end in itself, and never merely as a means; … the freedom of the agent… can be consistent with the freedom of every other person according to a universal law…” (Kant, I., p. XIX, p. 39), or by the well-known classical Biblical ruling “to regard a neighbour’s interests as we do our own.”

Public Administration

As has been already mentioned before, there is no doubt that global changes have evidence of their progression and thus of shaping the world around us, especially, by exercising deep impacts on state governments and public administrations, and in this way directly influencing citizens as they are the citizens who are most closely interconnected with them. Decisions taken by public servants and dignitaries affect considerably the fulfilment of individual and collective needs. The time of economic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe was a period which left enough room for unethical deeds and actions in the area of public administration. Carrying out public services leads to many situations that confront the individual with difficult choices, either to gain personal advantages, which are a big temptation, or to be honest and serve their society following the public interest. Furthermore, even when people know the right thing to do, they often find it difficult to do it because of environmental pressures; it might be the pressure from society, a group, an organization or an institution.

In addition even when they are aware that they are facing some ethical dilemma, cognitive limitations and biases often limit their ability to make the best moral judgment. We have to be frank and we have to admit that there are such situations when it is hard to take the proper stance and to decide. Therefore, a certain kind of standardized European system of socio-ethical norms and guidance in decision-making processes is necessary. The European proper standard system of values, principles, and norms seems to be very urgently needed mainly in public administration which plays the most decisive role in the future of European integration processes, since there are the quality and effectiveness of ethical values and norms which are creating conditions for the decent and human social order in all aspects of life. To acquire ethical standards and values means setting up some definite determinants which might lead and regulate individual relations among people. Social trust and ethical standards produce the most fundamental elements of the desirable European social capital.

At present it is generally accepted that there is a crisis of values and authority affecting nearly every sector of public life, and that is why there is a pressing need to seek new ways of motivation in carrying out our professional duties. In this connection a certain kind of revival of ethics initiatives has increased and has continued since the 1970s, especially in the
USA and some Western countries. At present some initiatives have been slowly finding their place in Eastern European countries as well. There is no doubt that at present the quality and effectiveness of public affairs management are coming to the fore and are being extensively debated and evaluated by scholars as well as by practitioners.

The right to good administration is guaranteed by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union in paragraph 41. It says: “Every person has the right to have his/her affairs handled impartially, fairly and within a reasonable time by the institutions and bodies of the Union.” Besides that, the right to participate actively in public matters governance is guaranteed by the majority of the European countries constitutions, e.g. the right of Slovak citizens to take part in public matters is stated in Article 30 of the Slovak Constitution. The comprehensive analysis of the Article is presented in the monograph “Proceedings on Legal Regulations Control before the Constitution Courts of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic” by Julia Ondrová.

Besides the legally stated rights to good administration, the direct participation of all subjects by means of direct democracy plays one of the most decisive roles as is dealt with in more detail by Alena Krunková in her article “Direct Democracy under the conditions of municipality self-administration”. The difference between the legally stated norms in comparison to moral norms consists in reality in that they are stated by the norm - creating authority and consequently they comprise in themselves a kind of binding enforcement including sanctions and punishment. Anyway, between morals and law there are dual interrelated complementary relations which in many aspects complement and adjust each other (Geffert, R., p.210).

**Ethics of Social Consequences**

Finally, concerning good administration it would be convenient to mention one of the recent ethical theories of the Slovak scholar Vasil Gluchman which might create a serious theoretical ground for practical application in the area of public administration. It combines in itself the universal validity of moral and ethical values and principles, without excluding a certain kind of moderate situational relativism which is applicable mainly in decision-making processes. Moderate situational relativism attaches a special importance to taking into consideration the significance of the particular and specific contexts which might decisively influence our decision taking. His theory is called ethics of social consequences; the core of his theoretical thinking is his theoretical conception of the crucial social consequences on individual human beings and their social and natural environment caused by the moral subjects’ decisions. Furthermore, he stresses the importance of the traits of the moral subject character, such as his views and attitudes which play a decisive role in the moral subject’s decision-making processes directly influencing his actions and deeds which might have an unprecedented impact on the conditions of people’s lives and the locality where they live. In the ethics of social consequences, priority is given to action consequences, and motives and intentions are the subject of investigation, especially, in connection with negative social consequences. The positive moral social consequences which the action of the moral subject should be aimed at constitute the highest
principle of the ethics of social consequences. Positive social consequences create good resulting from right and just decision-making which is in accordance with the principles of humanity and human dignity. To reach goodness is not achievable without justice. Goodness is in compliance with the highest moral principle which is aimed at the fulfilment of a human being's happiness guaranteeing for people peace, social security, and providing them with feelings of satisfaction and safety.

So at the beginning of the 21st century the ethical theory of positive consequences might be the answer to the question of in which way to drive European ethical integration in order to foster the creation of such conditions as would assure the fulfilment of decent economic, social, cultural, spiritual, family, and professional aspirations for as many people as is possible to achieve. The basic Moral Code of the European Public Administration regarding their decisions is to eliminate to the minimum negative consequences and to promote positive ones to the maximum.

**Ethical Decisions in Public Administration**

Having in mind the importance of taking decisions in public administration, besides the spontaneous immediate deciding, which is usually determined and influenced by one’s personal character traits and social background, it is necessary to take decisions which are based on rational thinking and reasoning.

The theory of taking eight linear steps elaborated by Linda Treviño and Katherine A. Nelson regarding taking decisions in the area of business might be applicable to public administration as well.

The first step is defined as “Gathering the Facts”, it concerns itself with gathering necessary data and facts required for an objective, proper, and impartial decision in order to solve the problem in question. Sometimes it is not so easy to find out all needful information and facts, but in spite of the limitations of this first step, we have to try to bring together all the facts which are available.

“Define the Ethical Issues” is the second step in order. The aim of this second step is to avoid quick decisions and solutions of problem-areas without taking into consideration all ethical and moral aspects. The deontological, or the principle-based theory or other theories discussed above might help us to solve the dilemma of our decisions. While virtue ethics would suggest thinking about the ethical issues in terms of community standards, a consequentialist approach would entail thinking about ethical problems in terms of harms or benefits. It might help to resolve the dilemma when we present the problem to our colleagues, who might help us to see the matter-in-question from a different angle.

The third step covers the art of empathy known as “Identification of the Affected Parties”. It means trying to see the problem from the point of view of the citizen who comes with his/her complaints, problems, and objections. This is especially important in the case of public administration, since one of its main goals is actually the need to deal in the best possible way with issues important for citizens and communities. The empathy or role-taking
method, as it is called by Lawrence Kohlberg, finds its practical relevance in decision-taking processes in various organizations and institutions including public administration as well. This theoretical and practical approach is based on using moral reasoning so as to see the situation through others’ eyes in order to take into consideration all affected parties and to comprehend the particular situation from different perspectives. In this theory the Golden Moral Rule is incorporated: “treat others as you would like others to treat you, or try to put yourself in their shoes” (Treviño, L., p. 96 -97).

The fourth step concentrates on “Identification of the Consequences” of our decision. This step is derived from the consequentialist approaches. The impacts on citizens and community have to be identified and in our decisions we have to try to avoid particularly negative impacts, and/or at least try to minimize the negative ones. Here the application of the approaches of ethics of social consequences is relevant.

Step five gives attention to “Identification of Obligations” which are indispensably to be fulfilled, e. g. obligations towards community, the affected parties of our decisions, and the people involved.

Step six points to “Consideration of Character and Integrity”, meaning whether we will feel comfortable if our decisions are disclosed and made public. Public Administration decisions have to be transparent, open, fair, objective, and unbiased. Linda Treviño and Katherine A. Nelson used the words of Thomas Jefferson to express the spirit and real meaning of this level of decision-taking: “Never suffer a thought to be harbored in your mind which you would not avow openly. When tempted to anything in secret, ask yourself if you would do it in public. If you would not, be sure it is wrong” (Treviño, L., and Nelson, K. p. 9).

Step seven emphasizes “Creativity in Thinking regarding Potential Actions”. Before taking any decision it is good to consider all the alternatives and to choose the best one. Being the representative of public administration we cannot allow ourselves to be forced into a corner by some interest groups, individuals, or even bound by some measures which are usually being applied in similar cases. It is always wiser to focus on finding out (even if different) a more proper equivalent.

The seventh step is concerned with not excluding one’s “Intuition and Insight Perceptions”, meaning that it is essential to be sensitive to situations where something is not quite right. If facing an ethical dilemma it is advisable to combine our inner intuition with rational thinking.

Nevertheless, we have to say that the ethical decision in public administration is not always a linear process and the presented steps of decision-taking might be useful only as a kind of guide, inspiration, or helpful tool to make public administration decisions more accurate and righteous.

Finally we can conclude our short discourse in ethics using the words of Linda Treviño and Katherine Nelson that “ethics is not about the connection we have to other beings - we are all connected - rather, it is about the quality of that connection” (Treviño, L., and Nelson, K., p.18).
Bibliography


In the first part of the article the history of the influx of immigrants to France in the 19th and 20th century was described, as well as the characteristics of the number of refugees in the years 1991-2015. The next section examines the asylum procedure and refugee problems related to housing. The situation of unaccompanied minors was also discussed, as well as the integration process, which consists of six elements: professional integration, housing, access to civil rights, healthcare, social assistance and family reunification. The last part of the article describes organizations helping refugees, including France Terre d'asile, Forum Réfugiés-Cosi, La Cimade, L'Association nationale d'assistance aux frontières pour les étrangers (ANAFE), and Groupe accueil et solidarité (GAS).

Key words: immigration to France, refugees in France, integration, refugee organizations.
France is the oldest immigration country in Europe. Compared to other countries of Western Europe, it has a long history related to the influx of immigrants. By the 19th century, it had already opened its doors. It was related to the development of civilisation, labour shortages and a demographic decline caused by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. At the beginning of the 20th century economic migrants from Italy, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia arrived in France; later, also migrants from French colonies in North Africa and China joined in. As a result of World War I and World War II and the loss of life, France needed workers for reconstruction and work for economic development (Czapka 2006, p. 48). In 1954-1974 more than two million people from different parts of Europe and Africa arrived. They were sent to special districts in the outskirts of towns and cities, which quickly turned into ghettos full of poverty, unemployment and conflicts with local people (Balicki, Stalker 2006, pp. 278-281).

In 1973 due to a fuel crisis, France and other countries of Western Europe stopped recruiting economic migrants (Rabczuk 2002, pp. 11-18). In the 1980s a public debate on immigration and integration of different immigrant groups began, including those who arrived for economic reasons, students, as well as refugees and people who came through family reunification. In the 1990s immigration policy was tightened, which was related, for example, to the implementation of the reform of nationality law in 1993. The reform made arrival and settlement more difficult for those who wanted to find safety and decent standards of life. Today in France the majority of immigrants come from Algeria (667,000), Morocco (619,000), Portugal (565,000), Italy (342,000), Spain (280,000), and Turkey (225,000) (Jankowska 2010, p. 263). There is also a huge group of immigrants from Africa (Senegal, Mali) and Asia (China, India, Pakistan) (www.ed.frog.org.pl – accessed on: 23.12.2014). They usually arrive for three reasons: family reunification, studies and economic immigration. There is also a big group (from 200,000 to 400,000) of undocumented migrants (sans-papiers). They come from the former French colonies – mainly from West African countries (www.ed.frog.org.pl – accessed on: 23.12.2015).

As a result of wars and armed conflicts in the world, a lot of people are seeking refuge in Western European countries. Refugees often choose the target country based on its history and a link with the former oversea colonies of Western European countries. Therefore, mainly the inhabitants of the Maghreb arrive in France. In the years 1991-2002 the number of refugee status applications varied from 17,405 in 1996 to 47,291 in 2001 (Oleksiewicz 2006, p. 219; Uchodźcy świata 1997-1998. Wyzwania humanitarne 1999, p. 187). The year 2002 saw the highest number of submitted applications, i.e. 47,260; including 9,703 people who were granted refugee status. Most of them came from Turkey, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), China, Mali and Sri Lanka (Skudlarska 2002, p. 11). In the years 1993-2011 the highest number of refugee and protection statuses was granted in 2005 (it was granted to 13,770 people), and the lowest number in 1996 (4,244 people). In the years 2012-2013 the largest number of applications was submitted by people from Russia (nearly 6,000 people), DRC (5,500), Kosovo (5,505 people), Albania (5,045 people), Bangladesh (4,470), and Sri Lanka (3,825) (Bitoulas 2014 – www.epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu – accessed on: 05.12.2015). From January to September 2015 the majority of people who submitted applications for protection (including

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66This group contains only several thousand refugees. In literature on the subject the period from 1945 to 1973 is called The Glorious Thirty (Trente Glorieuses).

67In 2003 it concerned 100,590 people.
refugee status applications) came from Kosovo (3,870), Sudan (3,075), Syria (2,810), DRC (2,800), and Russia (2,495). In total, 50,840 people submitted applications (http://www.asylum.europa.eu/reports/country/france/statistics – accessed on: 21.06.2016). In 2012 176,900 people were granted refugee status or protection status in France. These were mainly the inhabitants of Sri Lanka (23,225 refugees), Cambodia (12,666 refugees), DRC (12,588), Russia (11,438), and Turkey (10,887) (Giner, Maier, Thirode 2013, pp. 15-16).

Since 2014 we have been struggling with a mass influx of immigrants from the Middle East and Africa (www.ec.europa.eu – accessed on: 08.07.2016). There are anti-immigrant moods in Europe (and in France); many far-right parties, organizations and nationalistic groupings are gaining ground, including “New Force” in Italy, “Golden Dawn” in Greece, “Jobbik” in Hungary (Movement for a Better Hungary), “Blood and Honour” in the UK, the Nordic Resistance Movement in Sweden, Patriotic Europeans against Islamization of the West (PEGIDA) in Germany, the National Front in France led by Jean-Marie Louis Le Pen, or the National Radical Camp (ONR) in Poland.

An opinion poll on the image of Muslims among the French conducted by the French Institute of Public Opinion showed that already in October 2012 43% of the respondents claimed that Muslims posed a threat to French identity, and 67% of them said that Muslim society was not integrated with the French society. As for the terms describing the image of Islam, 63% of the respondents said the distinctive features of Islam include “a rejection of Western values”, “fanaticism” (57%), “obedience” (46%), “violence” (38%), and only 4% of the respondents said they associated Islam with “democracy” (Musiał 2014, pp. 42-43). In Febru-
ary 2016 the French Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, declared that France was going to accept 30,000 out of 160,000 refugees but this would be the final number, and he was not going to propagate the “open-arms” policy for immigrants like Germans do.

Asylum procedure

In France foreigners can submit a refugee status application in three ways: at the border (if they do not possess valid documents to enter the French territory), then they are taken to so-called detention zones (French zone d'attente) located at ports, airports, and train stations, where they are waiting for their applications to be preliminary examined. They can submit an application when they are in a detention centre (CRA), or when they are already in France. The examination of an application submitted by a foreigner who is already in France consists of a few stages. Upon arrival, the foreigner should come to the nearest prefecture to get a form of the application for refugee status and a temporary residence permit. The prefecture checks if there are any formal or legal obstacles to submit it (most of all it concerns the regulations under Dublin III Regulation69, http://eur-lex.europa.eu – accessed on: 13.07.2016), and makes a decision whether to channel the application into a regular or an accelerated procedure (Guide for asylum seekers – information and orientation 2013, p. 10). If the foreigner has been granted a residence card (Autorisation provisoire de séjour, APS), he or she completes an application (in French) and has to send it to the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons (Office Français de Protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides, OFPRA) within 21 calendar days. Then the so-called regular procedure is carried out. However, the prefecture can refuse to grant a temporary residence permit (then the so-called accelerated procedure is conducted). It applies if the foreigner comes from a country considered a safe country, poses a serious threat to public security and order, or the application contains false statements or it has been submitted to prolong the removal procedure. Then the foreigner has 15 days to send an application to OFPRA. As far as people covered by Dublin III Procedure are concerned, they are refused the temporary residence permit. They are not allowed to have access to OFPRA if another country accepts responsibility for examining their application. Both in the regular and accelerated procedure, the foreigner who was given a negative decision by the first instance can submit an appeal to the Refugee Administrative Court (Cour Nationale du Droit d'asile, CNDA) within 30 days. The appeal automatically leads to suspending the regular procedure and does not protect the foreigner from deportation. The Administrative Court may annul the negative decision of OFPRA and grant refugee status or protection status, or it may confirm the negative decision. The foreigner can make another appeal before the Council of State (Conseil d'Etat) within two months. It does not result in suspensive effect. If the Council of State decides that the application must be examined again, it sends it to the Refugee Administrative Court for reviewing. It can also grant protection to the foreigner or confirm the negative decision of the appeal body of the second instance (Salignat – accessed on: 22.12.2015).

69Regulation (EU) no. 604/2013 (Dublin III Regulation) lays down the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application.
Diagram 1. Asylum procedure in France

Application at the border/examination of whether it is really unfounded

Granting of an 8-day entry permit to submit an application at the prefecture

Refusal of entry if the application is unfounded

Refugee status application submitted in the detention centre within 5 days

Application submitted in France

The prefecture decides whether the temporary residence permit should be granted or not

Accelerated procedure: refusal of the temporary residence permit. The foreigner has 15 days to submit an application to OFPRA

Regular procedure: granting of a temporary residence permit. The foreigner has 21 days to submit an application to OFPRA

Procedure under Dublin II Regulation: refusal of the temporary residence permit

If France is responsible: the prefecture examines whether to grant a temporary residence permit, the foreigner has access to OFPRA

If another country is responsible: deportation

Refusal: appeal lodged within one month

Protection granted at the first instance by OFPRA

Refusal: appeal lodged within one month

If the protection Subsidiary is granted: appeal lodged within 1 month

Protection granted at appeal stage

Refugee Administrative Court: suspensive effect in the regular procedure/no suspensive effect in the accelerated procedure

Another appeal before the Council of State lodged within 2 months: no suspensive effect

Protection granted at the first instance by OFPRA

Refusal: appeal lodged within one month

If another country is responsible: deportation

Protection granted at appeal stage

Another appeal before the Council of State lodged within 2 months: no suspensive effect
The foreigners waiting for the OFPRA decision should find accommodation themselves. If they are not able to do so, they can come to the reception centre for asylum seekers (Centre d’accueil pour les demandeurs d’asile, CADA) run by France Terre d’Asile (FTDA), a non-governmental organization, but only if they have been granted a residence card. The reception centre provides them with accommodation, food, medical, administrative and psychological support, and covers the costs of school attendance. Those who do not have such a card, come to a different centre providing accommodation and food (Centres d’hébergement d’urgence, CHU). The centres for people who have already received refugee status provide a different kind of support (Centres Provisoires d’Accueil, CPA), Dispositif Provisoire d’Hébergement des Réfugiés Statutaires, DPHRS) (Amin-Robein 2009, p. 4; Livret de Santé Bilingue, français/russe. Двуязычная медицинская брошюра, французский/русский 2005, pp. 80-84).

In 2001 in France there were nearly 7,000 places available for 40,000 people (Skudlarska 2002, p. 11) and every year this number increased. In 2002 151 centres operated. They were able to accommodate 10,317 people, in 2003 there were 188 centres for 12,470 people, and in 2004 222 centres for 15,470 people. In 2005 there were 254 centres for 17,470 people (Sukiennik 2008, p. 29), and in 2009 271 CADA centres operated; they could accommodate around 20,000 foreigners. In 2013 there were 270 centres of this type and they could accommodate 23,369 foreigners (out of more than 60,000 people waiting for protection to be granted).

In 2013 the average length of stay in a CADA centre was a year and a half. Since France struggles with the serious problem of accommodation for foreigners waiting for refugee status, some of the foreigners have to live in night shelters or in the street. According to the Ministry of Interior Affair in June 2013 only 32% of the foreigners (i.e. about 19,000) were accommodated in CADA centres (Pollet, Soupios-David, Quaid 2014, p. 103). Radoslaw J. Ficek, deputy director responsible for asylum seeker accommodation in France Terre d’Asile, says, “Every year about 6,000 foreigners submit refugee status applications only in Paris, and there are only 300 places available. But we accept only a few people because the waiting time for application examination is very long. It varies from 18 to 21 months and in the meantime only several beds are available again. When we don’t have any, we call homeless shelters and ask about accommodation but there’s no guarantee that it’ll be available. When a person arrives alone, without family, in 9 out of 10 cases he or she spends the first days in the street”.

Due to a difficult situation, in 2013 “emergency accommodation” was prepared for about 22,000 people. It consisted of hotel rooms (56%), flats (23%), and multi-bed rooms (20%). Even so, it was difficult to have access to these places. In 2013 in Lyon the average waiting time for a hotel room was between 10 and 12 weeks. In the meantime foreigners lived in homeless shelters or in the street. R.J. Ficek says, “In northern France there’s a centre for physically

70Asylum seekers are allowed to move freely across France.
71For example, the two non-governmental organizations: France Terre d’Asile and Comité d’Aide aux Réfugiés (CAAR) provide accommodation for 6 months after the foreigner is granted refugee status (in 2011 France Terre d’Asile supported 424 people, and CAAR – 9 families). Another organization, Groupe Accueil et Solidarité (GAS), provides 20 flats for a year (Giner, Maier, Thirode 2013, p. 41).
72This number included more than 21,000 asylum seekers and more than 1,000 refugees.
73I conducted an interview with R.J. Ficek on 30 September 2011 in the main facility of France Terre d’Asile: 24 rue Marc Seguin, 75018 Paris. The author has the recording in digital format.
74By the end of November 2013 290 people in a difficult situation, i.e. families with little children and pregnant women, had nowhere to live.

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disabled but there are no special centres for people with mental illness and those who suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder. And this is our biggest problem”.

Unaccompanied minors - uncertain future

In France also unaccompanied minors are seeking refuge. In 2013 they submitted 367 applications in France\(^75\). Neither they nor other vulnerable people are treated in a special way. According to Human Rights Watch data\(^76\) about 500 unaccompanied minors are detained at the French border every year\(^77\), they are taken to more than 50 detention zones at border crossing points (90% of them are placed in the biggest zone at Charles de Gaulle Airport – Zone d’Attente pour Personne en Instance n°3, ZAPI 3)\(^78\). They can spend no more than 20 days there, their legal situation should be resolved by then\(^79\) (www.hrw.org – accessed on: 30.12.2014). Those who have submitted a refugee status application (and it has not been rejected) are placed in centres for unaccompanied minors. France Terre d’Asile runs six such centres in four regions: Île-de-France, Lower Normandy, Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Picardy. First, Stéphane HESSEL CAOMIDA Centre in de Boissy-Saint-Léger was established in September 1999. It supports unaccompanied minors over 15. The average age is 17. The centre provides legal, psychological and educational support. The young people from this centre come mainly from DRC, Chad, Guinea, Afghanistan, Angola and Bangladesh. Ninety per cent of them are men. In 2010 sixty-seven minors were given help in the centre, and in 2011 fifty-seven people. Since 2008 the centre has also been able to accommodate seven young foreigners of full age. Young people also find shelter in the reception centre Service d’accueil pour mineurs isolés étrangers (SAMIE) established in 2006 in Caen. It is intended for people between 16 and 21. After a short stay in this centre they are placed in assisted living flats, where they learn a responsible and independent life. They obtain legal, medical, social, educational and psychological support, and prepare an individual plan for their personal development and career, taking into account their skills and capabilities and the situation on the labour market. Support for refugee children in the area of Paris is funded, for example, by the French government and from the European Refugee Fund. It covers:

- The Emergency Centre (Permanence d’accueil et d’orientation des mineurs isolés étrangers, PAOMIE), operating since September 2011, which assesses the reason of applying for refugee status and the health of unaccompanied minors.
- Opened in April 2010, the House of the Young Refugee (Maison du jeune réfugié, MJR) has 75 places in hotels funded by the state. The aim is to help and support refugees in

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\(^{75}\)In 2000 it concerned 849 people, and in 2001 – 1070.

\(^{76}\)The research was conducted in February 2014.

\(^{77}\)In 2008 this number increased to 1,000 people, and in 2011 to 542 people.

\(^{78}\)In 2006 96.5% submitted a refugee status application at Roissy Airport, 3% at Orly Airport, and 0.5% at other airports and sea ports (Freedman 2009, p. 27). In 2012 there were 8,883 people in detention zones, including 416 unaccompanied minors. About 30-40% of the detained people at Charles de Gaulle Airport are send back to their countries. The detention zone at this airport can accommodate 160 people in 60 rooms. There are three rooms with two beds for children (espace mineurs). If there are more than six children, those over 13 are moved to the adult zone. In October 2013 ten of them were in the adult zone. Two organizations, the French Red Cross and Family Assistance help unaccompanied children at the border (see Lost in Transit. Insufficient Protection for Unaccompanied Migrant Children at Roissy Charles de Gaulle Airport 2009).

\(^{79}\)Within 20 days OFPRA checks if the refugee status application submitted by the child is “really unfounded”. If so, the minor has 48 hours to make an appeal. If he or she does not make it or it is rejected, then he or she can be deported at any time.
the integration process, including studying French and sports and cultural classes. The teenage refugees come mainly from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Guinea, DRC, and Mali.

• Opened in August 2011, *Le Dispositif de mise à l’abri Stendhal, DMA Stendhal* is a centre for young people between 16 and 18 provides accommodation in a building with multi-bed rooms (50 places) and in hotels (25 beds). The refugees come mainly from Mali, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Guinea, and Algeria.

• Opened in January 2010, the Centre for Unaccompanied Minors (*Accueil des mineurs isolés étrangers*) provides 25 beds in single rooms for teenagers between 16 and 18. Together with social workers, they prepare an individual plan of integration and are given social, educational and occupational support.

Young foreigners can also find shelter in the main facility of *Amie Miguel Angel Estrella* opened in 2012 in Créteil. It has 20 beds for boys aged 16-18 who are allowed to live there for two years. There, they learn how to be independent and how to prepare an integration plan related to, for example, employment, which involves internship and training in different companies. Another institution providing support for unaccompanied minors is the House of the Young Refugee opened in 2012 (*Maison du jeune réfugié, MJR*) in Saint Omer. It can accommodate 30 people; its objective is to identify the teenagers arriving in Calais. If they submit a refugee status application within 5 days, they are given legal, social and educational support, and French classes are ensured. Another institution established in January 2013 is *Dispositif d’accueil pour mineurs isolés étrangers* (*DAOMIE*) in Amiens, it can accommodate 20 teenagers aged between 12 and 18. Another institution is *Pôle d’évaluation et d’orientation des mineurs isolés étrangers* (*PEOMIE*) Centre in Créteil, it was established in November 2013. Its objective is, among other things, to assess the children’s age\(^{80}\) (www.france-terre-asile.org; www.infomie.net – accessed on: 28.12.2014). Another centre for unaccompanied minors – run by EMDH – is *Centre Enfants du Monde (CEM)\(^{81}\); it was established in 2002 in Le Kremlin-Bicêtre (Île-de-France region). Since 2010 the Centre has been operating under the patronage of the French Red Cross. Teenagers stay there on average for two months and during this period they are provided with help and healthcare, psychological and integration support, as well as support in contacting institutions and organizations that help asylum seekers. The Centre organizes French language courses, drama workshops, sports and cooking classes, and classes in French culture and history, whose objective is to outline French principles, norms, and law. The Centre can accommodate 19 people (www.ed.frog.org.pl; www.fondation-lnc.org – accessed on: 28.12.2014).

**Integration. Multicultural dilemmas**\(^{82}\)

Since the mid-1890s there has been a discussion on integration and French nationality in France. As Dorota Pudzianowska writes, in republican tradition “there is a strong
The process of refugee integration covers six areas: occupational integration, housing, access to civil rights, healthcare, social assistance and family reunification. Since 2007 all those who have been granted a permanent residence permit (including refugees) have had to sign a contract (Contrat d’Accueil et d’Intégration, CAI) where they are obliged to attend a civic knowledge course (6 hours) and participate in a French course (400 hours). One-day courses are also organized, for example, in basic rights, access to healthcare, accommodation, vocational trainings and employment (they are held in 4 different languages).

Because of the easier access to jobs and bigger chances for help from non-governmental organizations, the majority of refugees live in Île-de-France region. Unfortunately, the high density of immigrants in this region causes that there is not enough public housing. The unfavourable housing situation among refugees is related, for example, to their low human and social capital (poor French, a lack of education and support networks, and discrimination on the labour market). As studies on immigrants show (Parcours et Profils de Migrants, PPM), only 34% of the refugees are employed (including 17% of women). The main barriers in accessing the labour market include low level of education and/or professional experience and poor French. Their bad social and economic situation as well as underemployment result in disorders and mental and physical illnesses intensified by traumatic experiences in their country of origin and insufficient access to healthcare in the receiving country.

**Refugee organizations**

In June 2012 the Ministry of Internal Affairs developed a list of non-governmental organizations that may help foreigners in deportation facilities and detention zones. Such organizations include France Terre d’asile, Forum Réfugiés-Cosi, La Cimade, ANAFE and l’Ordre de Malte (Military Order of Malta).

There are many organizations supporting asylum seekers and refugees in France. One of them is France Terre d’asile (FTDA) – an independent, secular non-profit organization. Since 1971 it has been supporting the rights of asylum seekers. It helps stateless people and those who were refused protection in France. Furthermore, it safeguards the implementation of international provisions on asylum seekers. This organization supports legal immigrants and foreigners waiting for refugee status from the beginning of their legalization procedures to obtaining protection. It helps find a place in refugee centres and have access to social assistance services. It helps them in the process of social and occupational integration: it gives legal, social and psychological support; organizes language and vocational courses; helps open a bank account; helps

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83 In France the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for integration.
84 Longitudinal studies (Enquëte Longitudinale sur l’Intégration des Primo-Arrivants, ELIPA) on the integration of refugees showed that only 14% of them have higher education.
85 Since more than half of them declare poor contacts with the native French, they are “condemned” to institutional (formal) methods of job seeking.
receive medical insurance. France Terre d’asile consists of four divisions: Staff and Vocational Training for Workers, Social and Housing Support for Asylum Seekers, Protection of Unaccompanied Minors, Integration (Employment and Accommodation). It runs more than 30 centres for CADA refugees throughout France. Every day more than 5,000 people are given support by the organization. Another non-governmental organization is Forum Réfugiés-Cosi, which promotes the rules of the state of law and the development of civil society. It was established in 2012, linking two non-governmental organizations from Lyon: Forum Réfugiés, established in 1982 in order to accept and protect refugees, and Cosi (Centre for Information and Solidarity with Africa) established in 1990 whose aim was to promote and protect human rights (mainly in DRC) and help African refugees to integrate with the French society. Forum Réfugiés-Cosi cooperates with many institutions at local, national, European and international level. It provides various types of support for asylum seekers. Since 2002 it has been running Accelair Programme for social and occupational integration under the European programme “Equal” (including help in access to housing, employment and education). In 2005-2007 integration actions were taken under the European Social Fund, and in 2008-2013 as part of the European Refugee Fund. Since 2014 the actions have been carried out under the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (FAMI), which is a new EU fund established for the period 2014-2020. Furthermore, Forum Réfugiés-Cosi runs a reception centre for asylum seekers; it can accommodate 1,160 people and has temporary accommodation centres for refugees. Foreigners can receive legal, social and medical help in the centre. It also provides legal advice in three detention centres for foreigners in Lyon, Marseille, and Nice. Since 2007 it has also been running a specialist medical centre for those who have experienced trauma and for torture victims (www.ecre.org – accessed on: 30.12.2014). Another non-profit organization is La Cimade (Comité inter-mouvements auprès des évacués), which was established at the beginning of World War II by a group of Protestant students to help people who had been internally displaced, mainly from Alsace and Lorraine. Today its objective is to support asylum seekers, provide information and organize trainings for foreigners as well as legal support for people in deportation facilities (www.en.wikipedia.org – accessed on: 30.12.2014). Another organization – Groupe accueil et solidarité (GAS) – (Association for Solidarity with Refugees) was established in 1979. It supports people who are seeking refuge and safety in France, those who have submitted a refugee status application. The association focuses on two actions: to provide legal and psychological advice and financial support. It helps refugees to get furniture and temporary accommodation. Together with one of the Catholic organizations, it provides catering in hotels in which refugees live, organizes French courses and “a flea market” several times a year so as to collect funds for refugees. Additionally, it conducts information campaigns on the situation of refugees in the world (www.gas.asso.pagg-espresso-orange.fr – accessed on: 03.01.2015). L’Association nationale d’assistance aux frontières pour les étrangers (ANAFE) – (National Organization for Border Assistance to Foreigners) was established in 1989. It gives legal support to people detained in detention zones, mainly at Roissy Charles de Gaulle Airport. The organization Comité d’aide aux réfugiés, CAAR (Refugee Assistance Committee), was established in 1979. It gives legal support, including information and advice on the asylum procedure, and helps complete an application for OFPRA. Additionally, it

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86France Terre d’asile. What we do, a leaflet from the organization’s main office in Paris.
87The names of the French organizations are not translated literally into English.

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provides medical, psychological and accommodation help; it has 20 beds for asylum seekers (L’hébergement d’urgence pour demandeurs d’asile, HUDA) and 45 places in the reception centre for asylum seekers in the following communes: Bois-Colombes, Garenne-Colombes, Colombes et Asnières, and in Île-de-France region. In this centre (opened in October 2003), apart from lawyers, also a social and education consultant works there, informing foreigners about their rights, for example, to social insurance, helping to open a bank account and organizing free time. The centre also runs computer and French courses (wwwprofil.action-sociale.org – accessed on: 04.01.2015). The Refugee Assistance Committee provides 35 beds for refugees in temporary flats (Le dispositif ALT, Aide au logement temporaire) (www.caar.fr – accessed on: 04.01.2015) and conducts activities helping them in social and occupational integration. Another organization is l’Ordre de Malte (Military Order of Malta), which provides legal support to those who are in deportation facilities. Another organization is Accueil aux médecins et personnels de santé réfugiés en France (APSR) – the Reception of Refugee Medical Staff in France. This is an association established in 1973, which helps healthcare workers who have been granted refugee status in France in the process of occupational integration. It also supports people during the refugee procedure and stateless people (www.ritimo.org – accessed on: 01.01.2015). Association des avocats ELENA FRANCE (Association d’avocats liés au Conseil européen pour les réfugiés et exilés) is a non-governmental organization that operates under the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). They associate lawyers defending the rights of refugees. Comité d’aide exceptionnelle aux intellectuels réfugiés (CAEIR) – (Committee Supporting Refugees with Higher Education), established at the beginning of the 1950s, helps graduates working in their profession (mainly from the countries of the Eastern Block: Russia and Romania). In the 1970s mainly people from South America (Argentina, Chile) benefited from their assistance. Today it gives advice on vocational education, organizes various courses for refugees, helps in the notification of a diploma as well as provides ad hoc financial support, including publication of a doctoral thesis or obtaining a scholarship. It also provides refugees with an opportunity to work in libraries or various associations and organizations archiving documents for a short period of time. The objective is activation of refugees on the labour market (www.liberation.fr – accessed on: 05.01.2015). Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) – (Doctors Without Borders) – is an international non-governmental organization established in 1971 by a group of French doctors. Since 1987 in France, and since 2007 in Paris, it has been providing medical and psychological support for asylum seekers who do not have medical insurance and do not speak French. 38% of the people using their psychological support are refugees from Chechnya. It employed doctors, nurses, psychologists and social workers. In 2013 its programme in Paris was completed (www.msf.org – accessed on: 05.01.2015).

Conclusions

Coexistence and education in multicultural society are not an easy process. On the one hand, it can lead to cultural enrichment and values which the Others (those with different skin colour, different language and religion) bring to the receiving society, who in search...
of safety and a job had to leave their countries. It also leads to greater openness and tolerance towards immigrants. On the other hand, discrimination, the stereotypes and prejudices of indigenous inhabitants towards them can result in mutual animosity and aggression related to social and economic inequalities. In recent years France has experienced many religion, social, national and ethnic conflicts. One can list at least the riots in the outskirts of Paris (Clichy-sous-Bois) in 2005 (Gajlewicz–Korab 2011, p. 14; Pszczółkowska 2005; Weinard 2005, pp. 2-3), or the terrorist attack (on 7 January 2015) on “Charlie Hebdo” conducted by French fundamentalists of Algerian origin and the attacks of 13 November 2015 in Paris and Saint-Denis. Zygmunt Bauman said, “The presence of migrants reveals the fragility of social and cultural safety among the natives; it indirectly shakes the whole sense of security because social and cultural safety is directly threatened” (Bauman 1998, p. 189). What can you do about it? Can life in a multicultural society be based on peace, or is it doomed to conflicts and prejudices between people with different views and values (Szyniszewska 2007, pp. 250-264)? This question remains open because today (in the 21st century) it is difficult to find an unambiguous answer.

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Pedagogy of the Oppressed has been inspiring our educational spirit since the first time of reading it as a preparation for critical pedagogy. The situational contexts within Freire’s work have shared similar understanding and experiences with the authors of this writing. The historical and educational contexts of Vietnam have led educators, teachers, and generations of learners to the in-depth understandings of his work on Pedagogy of the Oppressed. The effects of the elite dominators in educational, cultural, and social scenarios have consistently influenced thoughts of the majority of teachers, educational leaders, and educators in this context; therefore, the traditional teaching in a different academic term as banking education with consciousness of the oppressed and oppressors has been popular.

An Investigation To Vietnamese Educational System: A View From History And Paulo Freire’s Pedagogy Of The Oppressed

NGUYỄN DUY KHANG

PHAN THỊ TUYỆT VÂN

Vinh Long Community College, Vietnam / University of Gdansk
Rationale

“Pedagogy of the Oppressed” has been inspiring our educational spirit since the first time of reading it as a preparation for critical pedagogy. The situational contexts within Freire’s work have shared similar understanding and experiences with the authors of this writing. The historical and educational contexts of Vietnam have led educators, teachers, and generations of learners to the in-depth understandings of his work on Pedagogy of the Oppressed. The effects of the elite dominators in educational, cultural, and social scenarios have consistently influenced thoughts of the majority of teachers, educational leaders, and educators in this context; therefore, the traditional teaching in a different academic term as banking education with consciousness of the oppressed and oppressors has been popular.

Education plays an important role in human society. From the early time around 3500 B.C, the writing systems entered the stage of development marking the appearance of formal education and from that, providing human beings with ability of taking notes instead of the way of word-of-mouth and gradually leading them to the new era of sciences (Tokuhama-Espinosa, 2010). The role of education is contributing to the development of a nation by meeting the needs of human resources. The point of view is clarified by Arthur (1991) as it is to train and prepare people for knowledge and skills to enter the labor market, to serve the social needs in terms of both economy and politics.

Similarly, to be aware of the significant roles of education in socio-economic development of the nation, Vietnamese government has paid deeper and broader attention to education and training by specifying its role right at the beginning of a strategy for innovating Vietnamese education as follows:

“Education and training play an essential role in the preservation, development and continuation of human civilization. In the era of scientific and technological revolution nowadays, education and training are becoming the main motive force for the developmental acceleration and considered as a determining factor for the success or failure of a nation in international competitions and for the success of each individual in his life. Thus, the Government and people of every nation highly appreciate the role of education and training”. (Vietnam Government, 2006)

However, it can be seen that though series of strategies and policies about renovating education and training have been applied in all over the country with slightly positive results, the goal is still out of reach due to many different aspects. One of the main causes has been considered under the critical views of Freire towards education along with tragic but heroic history of Vietnam. In fact, every problem has its own root and so does the education. Experiences from Freire’s work can be used for the understanding and explanation to the urgently-facing problems prior to the new movement of national reform in education.
**Contexts and theoretical backgrounds**

In this part, a brief summary of Freire’s life and one of his influential works to the researched issue are presented, at the same time, the portrait of Vietnam under the pain and glory time together with its roots found similarly to the work of Freire are reflected lively and critically.

**Profile of Freire and his work**

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire (1921-1997) was a Brazilian educator and pedagogue best known as one of the first and most influential engaging in critical approach to education. He was born in a middle class family in Recife of Brazil. He himself experienced the hunger and poverty as an unforgettable stage in his life because of being under the Great Depression in the 1930s. The poverty made him being left behind at school, in other words, it directly affected his learning ability. Freire’s assertion towards his circumstance was quoted by Stevens (2002):

“I didn’t understand anything because of my hunger. I wasn’t dumb. It wasn’t lack of interest. My social condition didn’t allow me to have an education. Experience showed me once again the relationship between social class and knowledge.”

Then, his family’s condition was gradually improved; however, thanks to this experience, he felt sympathetic towards anybody who was suffering and came to the decision of devoting his life to improving the life of the poor or the underprivileged. Actually, he paid much attention to better life of the poor, especially the spiritual life by carrying out specific actions as teaching literacy to illiterate people based on his own theories, and writing books on the standpoints of people who did not have a voice in society.

Among a number of Freire’s works, the most influential work titled “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” is considered to be the classic publication in critical pedagogy and one of the foundations of the critical pedagogy movement in education. In this text, Freire cleverly conveyed his views and perspectives towards education by integrating the antithetic aspects of education such as teacher-student relationship, banking model of education versus problem-posing education with correlative ones in politics under the terms of the oppressor and the oppressed. This, as commented by Mayo (2007, p. 527), “enables people to read not only the word but also the world”. In fact, from reading and learning about the deep meanings he wanted to transfer from the book, we find the problems are universal and simultaneously recognize the image of Vietnamese history. By mentioning and analyzing some characteristics drawn from the history of Vietnam on the basis of the some issues raised in the “Pedagogy of the Oppressed”, we can also trace the roots of the current situation that Vietnamese education has faced.
An overview towards Vietnam’s history

Vietnam is an Asian country with the total area of 331,698 km² located in the southeast of the Indochinese peninsula. Vietnamese history if taking into consideration from the presence of human beings, existed thousands of years BC; if it was calculated when the state was formed; it would be about more than 4,000 years ago according to Vietnamese tradition. It can be said that at the very day of founding the country, the Vietnamese had to cope with the invasion of a considerable amount of outside forces. The length and frequency of wars, uprisings and wars of national liberation are very large. From the second century BC, Vietnam was under the domination of the northern feudal dynasties for four times in total accumulated up to 1,096 years, civil conflicts for 261 years, French domination and Vietnamese resistance against the French colonialists for nearly 100 years, Japanese domination for 5 years and resistance against U.S. imperialism for 21 years. In other words, since the war against the Chinese Qin dynasty to the late twentieth century, there were 12 centuries during which Vietnam had conducted hundreds of struggles for independence and freedom. Twelve centuries are certainly not a short period of time during which Vietnam underwent great hardship, suffering and oppression by different invaders.

Ironically, the two main invaders of Vietnam—China and France—as the oppressors shared the same characteristic of using education as a powerful tool to oppress the oppressed. As stated by Freire (1970), the oppressors use education to maintain unequal power relations with the oppressed.

First, in order to fortify its domination in Vietnam for centuries, China had carried out assimilation policies thoroughly. Education became a useful form of oppression. The policies can be recognized from the spread of Confucianism into Vietnam aiming at serving the needs of assimilation of the Vietnamese.

Confucianism was a system of ideological philosophy, ethics, and ruling regulations and appeared very early in China (under the Western Zhou Dynasty). At that time, immediately after appearance, Confucianism began entering Vietnamese society as a tool to enslave as well as provide the assimilation of ideas and spirit of Vietnamese people, especially to act as a Pooh-Bah for the distinguish of “the Emperor” and “subjects” with its theories of legitimacy and fatalism (Nguyen, 2011). In other words, the ultimate goal of the Chinese feudalism was to make Vietnamese people disregard their national consciousness and lose their will for regaining the independence of the country by establishing not only a political system but also a social structure and manners and customs exactly like itself. To effectively spread Confucianism, Chinese oppressors had opened schools not only to teach Chinese characters but to train Vietnamese mandarins as an efficient henchman group for the dynasty. Confucianism with its own principles, in a certain historical period of Vietnam, had become prevalent and a useful political tool in dominating the oppressed. At the same time, Chinese characters played the role in propagating the customs, practices, and rites of the Chinese feudal ruling class. It also noted that Confucian education is a “banking” type of education as in Freire (1970) which will be analyzed apparently with its bad influence on Vietnamese education up to now in the other part of this paper.
Second, similarly to China’s, education was also used as one of the tools for obscurantism by the French when invading Vietnam in the mid-19th century. Culturally, French colonialists had implemented a colonial policy which poisoned and obscured the mind of the oppressed; it simultaneously spread the culture and education of its own. The purpose of this policy was to mentally enslave the masses, made them become self-deprecating and cowards in front of the power of the oppressor as well as completely losing their faith in the resilience of the nation (Tran, 2010). In addition, the French limited the number of schools due to the fact that illiterates were easily influenced and oppressed. In fact by fostering the ignorance of education and degeneration of culture to the Vietnamese, the French could benefit from an invaluable support for fully exploiting a colonial country.

Obviously, the educational policy of the French was to serve the purpose of training the interpreters and staff for the colonial administrative apparatus, and gradually propagated French and Vietnamese script; on the contrary, it limited the influence of Chinese characters. To fully perform their ambition, the French had eliminated the fine tradition of the Vietnamese peoples from the teaching contents; instead, they provided a program which gave prominence to French civilization. The deep targets, according to Tran (2010), was to create a generation of Vietnamese forgetting their origin, not being aware of the fate of a nation’s lost indigenous knowledge, and from that becoming an efficient and obedient staff for the colonial government.

From the aforementioned information, it can be seen that both the two oppressors wanted to impose their will on the oppressed by directly impacting on the consciousness of the oppressed that they were incontrovertibly born with a given destiny. However, the questions are whether these ways can help execute the conspiracy to conquer Vietnam and whether the Vietnamese accept their fate resignedly. The following part will deal with clarifying the questions and focus on the duality of oppressors and oppressed within a fragile boundary of human beings.

Long struggles against oppressors and the unexpected results

Whether being ruled by any countries or any political regimes, the Vietnamese also had to live their life in misery and destitution. During the period of domination by the northern invaders lasting more than one thousand years, the grassroots had suffered a variety of oppressive forms and exploitation such as having had their lands appropriated, becoming serf in their own homeland, paying heavy taxes and fees, and being forced to pay tribute to the mother country in all the form of their yield and minerals.

The unreasonable tributes along with their allocations was recorded in the Three Kingdoms book as taxes, lands reserved for the local authorities; the other valuable items such as gems, ivory, jewels, medicinal aroma, rhino horn, tortoise-shell, crystal gem, and rare birds didn’t need to limit exploitation in order to bring as much booty to China as possible (Nguyen, 2011).
With thorough exploitative and plundered policies, the oppressed were driven to the end of a tragedy of lowly life. Indeed, their life was so poor and hard that they were compelled to sell everything, from themselves to their wives and children to the rich class. A dominated consciousness attributes epiphenomena and transfers to the latter forces.

“Individual of the middle class often demonstrates this type of behavior, although in a different way from the peasant. Their fear of freedom leads them to erect defense mechanisms and rationalizations which conceal the fundamental, emphasize the fortuitous, and deny concrete reality.” (Freire, 1970, p. 104)

At this point, we can recognize two separate ideas but strongly link together from the two sides- the oppressor and the oppressed, mentioned in Freire (1970) as the ruler is always looking for ways to control everything while the dominated subjects accept their fate as an object of domination and haven’t thought of changing the fatalism situation. Ridiculously, the subjects expend much effort to overcome the difficulties even being ruthless to themselves and others at their side. It also noted that Confucian education with its own books used to transfer ideology and social rules of Chinese feudal regime, concurrently played an important role in assimilating the oppressed. Teachers’ role was like “center of the universe” who knew everything; on the contrary, learners were just the “copycats” who repeated exactly and learnt by heart what all teachers said. As a result, that way of education annihilated creative ability and critical thinking of the learners and made them become easily accept the reality without any resistance.

However, the situation was just contemporary which existed in a certain historical period. Vietnamese has a saying “even a worm will turn”, and so does the oppressed. Frankly speaking, once stamina reaches the peak, the oppressed would need a revolution. According to the historical record, from the very initial stage right after a long time of independence under the Hung Kings (258 -207 BC), Vietnam was engulfed under Chinese domination for more than 1,000 years. A number of Northern dynasties invaded and dominated Vietnam recognized one after another to be the Han, Eastern Wu, Jin, Liu Song, Southern Qi, Liang, Sui, Tang, and Southern Han. In 938 AD, Ngo Quyen won a great victory towards the Southern Han and established Ngo Dynasty helped open a long period of independence for the nation. It would be a miss not to mention other uprisings against the first three Chinese dominations through a variety of oppressive ruling dynasties throughout history. The uprisings in turn governed by the Trieus, Trung Sisters, Anterior Ly’s, Khuc’s and Duong Dinh Nghe had been won but unfortunately they could not keep their reigns long enough until the enemy came back.

It can be said that the triumph of Ngo Quyen was a big achievement for the ancient Vietnamese and this also proved that human beings couldn’t be easily subjugated by dehumanizing ways. Nevertheless, this victory was a revolution for self- liberation or to restore one’s own humanity, not fully expressing the duality of human as Freire’s conception towards two social components of oppressors and oppressed opposite but parallel exist in every human. It does not mean that what has not happened does not happen, and what to come will come. This truth can be illustrated based on the Vietnamese historical happenings.
Through many sovereign dynasties afterward, the ancient Vietnamese were able to be happy with the peaceful life without any oppression from the outside influence. In case that there is any invader attacking the country, it would be two cases of assumptions. The first possibility would be a fierce fighting against the enemy in order to protect existing independence, or the second one would be a compromise with fatalism again because people have probably forgotten the misery their ancestors had been experiencing in the past.

The first possibility happens whenever people are fully aware of the adverse situation and from that having corresponding action to transform it. This issue belongs to some kind of praxis which is defined by Freire as “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1970, p.51). Unforgettable traumas and the glory of victory provided the Vietnamese with praxis for a new struggle. In fact, in 1014, under the time of Later Ly Dynasty (Anterior Ly Dynasty in 544-602), a northern nation named Dai Ly led troops to occupy Vi Long and Do Kim (the two administrative divisions of Vietnam at that time). The Later Ly Dynasty resisted violently and at last gained a victory over the enemy, in other words, Dai Ly nation was completely defeated. Again, the “oppressed” had accomplished their mission- the mission of restoring their own humanity but the story did not stop there. The result of this may be the beginning of another as an endless cycle of oppression. In this case, by taking the opportunity of a stronger state, the Dynasty merged the territory of the loser into Dai Viet (present-day Vietnam). Similarly, the 4th Chinese domination by the Ming Dynasty in 1407 was also defeated. It can be said that the triumph of Later Ly Dynasty is the important premise and becomes one of the ways helping the following Vietnamese feudal dynasties expand territory to the south to get the S-shaped currently (Vietnam's history through a video clip).

In parallel with the struggle to preserve and extend the country, the struggle against assimilation also took place intensely by the ancient Vietnamese. To not only resist assimilation but maintain and retain cultural traditions, the Vietnamese, on the one hand, strengthened the outstanding features of traditional culture to create capacity against the conspiracy of invasion and assimilation; on the other hand, they improved and developed the cultural identity of the nation, including the progressive acquisition of Han culture, aimed at enriching the traditional culture and adapting well to new circumstances. Undoubtedly, due to the duality of humans in terms of oppression, it can benefit Vietnamese both in defeating the long-term Northern enemy and keeping their own language no matter how long they have been protected and lulled into a false sense of freedom.

A new page of history has been opened since France started attacking Vietnam in 1858. If the previous stage is considered the nation construction phase with complete S-shaped, an important job for this stage will be how to maintain and protect the territorial integrity of the country.

With its Western civilization, the French had used demagogy to have “correct cause and strong words” for invading Vietnam. In fact, France’s excuse for its presence in Vietnam and other Indochinese countries was to bring “civilization” as a typical justification of western imperialist politics. The real essence of that civilization was to provide for a domestication and renovation to be westernized. The nature of a domesticating mission was a form of colonial
exploitation taking place under brutal oppression. This represents colonialism as entailing unequal relations between the colonizer and the colonized. Immediately after invading Vietnam, French colonialists set up an apparatus of colonial domination and conducted illegal exploitation thoroughly and comprehensively in every aspects of social life including natural resources, cheap labor, and a new goods consumer market. However, why do dominant elites not become debilitated when they do not think with the people?

“From the point of view of the dominators in any epoch, correct thinking presupposes the non-thinking of the people. [The answer is] because the latter constitutes their antithesis, their very reason for existence. If the elites were to think with the people, the contradiction would be superseded and they could no longer dominate.” (Freire, 1970, p. 131)

A newly imported mode of capitalistic production absolutely changed inherent attributes of the economy of Vietnam. Rural economic relations were broken down; new urban centers and residential areas were formed instead. Actually, due to the fact that this mode of production was not fully applied into Vietnam but still maintaining feudal economic relations at the same time, Vietnam was not able to develop capitalism normally. Vietnam became a semi-feudal colony country whose economy was underdeveloped and completely depended on the economy of France.

The society of Vietnam at that time showed that the masses or the oppressed had to cope with two layers of oppression from the feudal landlords in the country and French colonialists simultaneously. It is worth paying attention that 90% of population at that time was farmers and this class was the most exploited (Vu, 2013). The policy of exclusive economy, exorbitant taxation, and loan at an illegally high interest rate of the imperialist and feudalist rules pushed the Vietnamese farmers into the path of pauperization. Some of the farmers accepted the truth that they became penniless and self-sold their labor to work in factories, mines, and plantations or being forced to work as a coolie in other colonies of France. The other large quantities of farmers tried to cling to the land that once was theirs regardless of how much pain they had to suffer.

Apart from this, the French severely terrorized and put down every rebellion and bloodily suppressed revolts of the Vietnamese. In addition, they turned the King and mandarins into puppets and henchmen. More maliciously, France divided Vietnam into the three regions of North; Central and South where being ruled by different policies to easily dominate. Furthermore, the three regions were merged into Laos and Cambodia to establish French Indochina, therefore, Vietnam totally disappeared from the world map. As a certain consequence and maybe the scheme of French colonialists, enmity and wedge between the three regions, religions, ethnic groups, provinces and even between families; between the Vietnamese and other peoples in the Indochinese peninsula happened more and more seriously. The disunity and lack of mutual trust may lead to the situation that people have a “magical belief in the invulnerability and power of the oppressors” as described by Freire (1970, p.64). Instead of fighting against the real enemy, the colonized had a profound hatred for their same people and that sense of power-
lessness also caused the fear of freedom (Freire, 1970). Freire’s judgment about human nature is completely exact. Human as any other creatures in this living land usually want to have a secure life, and as a result, they rarely dare to escape from a current state or change it even that state becomes worst and worst. Furthermore, the jealousness and suspicion among people make them become dull and powerless. They are in conflict even with themselves and are easily oppressed by the stronger people who they consider to be their protector.

The oppressed, more than ever, fell on an unsteady and inescapable situation in which they did not know who and what they were able to rely on. Not only did the French forbid patriotic movements, but they also prevented the influence of progressive cultures from entering Vietnam. Obscurantism was fully utilized in order to easily dominate the oppressed. The policy of colonial education was reflected in the work “Verdict for French colonialism” (in French: Le Procès de la colonisation français) by Ho Chi Minh (1925) as follows:

“Indochinese people earnestly ask for opening schools because it is lacking in schools seriously. Each year, in the opening time, many parents have to go knock on the door, run about soliciting favours, and sometimes pay double the amount of money for boarding, but still cannot find a place for their children to learn. And thousands of children would rather be stupid because of the shortages” (p.12)

Because of the issue of national liberation, this stage was completely different from the previous one. It requires a correct revolutionary course of action which could help unite people together domestically and abroad. Actually, Vietnam really needed a “critical pedagogy” that would instruct the masses, as Freire believed, in “limiting situation which they can transform” (1970, p.49).

Being aware of the importance of a right revolutionary way, a number of patriots went abroad to find ways of saving the country. Ho Chi Minh was one of most famous patriots spending many years (for more than 30 years) going to several countries in Asia, Europe, Africa and America to thoroughly learn about the nature of capitalism, explore the shortcomings of the previous revolutions and from that finding out an appropriate way for a revolution in a liberated Vietnam.

On May 7th, 1954, in Vietnam there was a surprising event attracting much attention of the world. It was the victory of the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in which two strong enemies, French and American imperialists were defeated. This victory meant tremendous historical significance which encouraged 17 French colonies in Africa to struggle for independence. It was also the first time a colonized country gained military victory over a colonial imperialist and this became an important prerequisite for ending classical colonialism existing past 400 years in the world.
Vietnam today and some problems resulted from historical facts in educational system

Few decades have passed since the date Vietnam gained its independence. Wars receded into the background and wounds caused by the wars have been being healed. Vietnam has been consistent in its socialist path which was established in the very early days of national liberation. Vietnam can be proud of keeping national identity, with its own language, manners and customs. Although being still a developing country, Vietnam is trying with every effort to catch up with the development of the countries in the region and around the world. This has been observed from the fact that Vietnam adopted a market economy, together with entering into the ASEAN bloc and World Trade Organization.

However, in Vietnam nowadays there are many problems existing in socio-economic life, especially in the educational system. Throughout its long history, Vietnam was recognized as a country with a tradition of protecting the nation from foreign invaders and traditional fondness for learning. Ironically, these traditions cannot help Vietnam be well-recognized in attaining considerable achievements academically in the international arena. One of the possible problems could be seen as written in Freire’s work.

“Many political and educational plans have failed because their authors designed them according to their own personal views of reality, never once taking into account (except as mere objects of their actions) the men-in-a-situation to whom their program was ostensibly directed.” (Freire, 1970, p. 94)

It can be a situation that the desire to change in both political and educational views has been processed from the sides of elite authorities. As a result, Vietnam is still struggling to find effective ways to reform education in order to meet the requirements of industrialization and modernization in the context of international integration. Using this critical view as a fact that no positive results are expected from an educational or political action which fails to respect the particular view of its people in a bigger world different from authorities (Freire, 1970, p. 95).

Specifically, Vietnamese education has been identified for ages by quantity rather than quality. In fact, a large number of graduates cannot find jobs (101,000 ones in 2013) (Bich Diep, 2013) just because of not satisfying the social needs. In addition, there were not any evidences showing that the Vietnamese have had invention towards scientific technology but very innovative in the field of battle (Duong, 2013). The situation of Vietnamese education can be explained by some consequences of being oppressed many years ago.

Firstly, that the feudal ideology along with Confucianism lasted quite long in Vietnam and education under French domination was just to create the “parrots” even lacking in general knowledge lead to ways of teaching and learning being heavily influenced in both thinking and performing. It is not difficult to catch an image of a teacher lecturing while his
students silently recording as much as possible. This habit of learning can be seen similarly to that in the Freire’s work with precepts to prevent thinking from the non-elite classes or the oppressed.

“That atmosphere of the home is prolonged in the school, where the students soon discover that (as in the home) in order to achieve some satisfaction they must adapt to the precepts which have been set from above. One of the precepts is not to think.” (Freire, 1970, page 155)

With a long historical effect, Vietnamese students rarely dare argue with their teachers about the knowledge they provide in class, even in case that knowledge is not quite right or reasonable. In other words, the education, particularly at primary level still focuses on one-way transfer of knowledge without any or a few debates from students. Again, the problem seems to come from Confucian education in the past which focused on “mimicry” as a core, since that prevented students from debating ability and critical thinking. It is quite similar to the form of banking education mentioned by Freire. It is not the matter of memorizing information and say it again as to an automatic bank-teller machine. Education really needs the practice of freedom which does not begin when the teacher-student meets with the students-teachers in a pedagogy situation.

Besides, curriculum at all academic levels is also worth considering. It is indeed so heavy in time limit, inadequate in scientific aspect, and not practical for the real life; and methods of teaching and learning are out of date (Chu, 2008). In practice, Vietnamese education does not create happiness when attending school. In Vietnamese society nowadays, going to school is a burden and hardship with school hours dealing with theoretical lessons being dry and diverging from reality. According to Chu (2008), “school is a place of hardship and suffering for many children; and their childhood is being “stolen” by a heavy, boring and impractical curriculum”. This is completely different from the philosophy of “studying is happiness” of the modern civilization.

Next, the psychology of being left behind so long and being imposed by other cultures and educations makes people fall into a confusing situation in choosing an appropriate path for development. As a matter of fact, Vietnamese people want to have an education that is good enough to catch up with other countries because they know exactly that developing education is a best means for developing the society. For that reason, any teaching methods which have been considered good in other countries can be found in Vietnam. This is not bad but the application at separate schools causes the inconsistency for educational systems and to tell the truth it is not easy to determine what is really the philosophy of Vietnamese education nowadays or in other words, Vietnamese education does not have a strong philosophy which plays an important role in creating an identity, innovation, or processing the points of libertarian education for one’s education.

It is noted that currently Vietnamese government has paid much attention on reforming education by carrying out more specific solutions such as changing curricula, writing new textbooks, and upgrading teachers’ knowledge. On November 4th, 2013 the Resolution
29 was promulgated and brought out a comprehensive view about Vietnamese education. The highlight of this Resolution is determined as it not only pointed out the strengths and weaknesses of the current education but also mentioned the causes and solutions to cope with it. Recently, this Resolution was stated as a philosophy of Vietnamese education by the Minister of Education and Training. It seems to be a good signal but unfortunately the contents are still general, and the gap between theory and practice is still big. As a result, Vietnamese education needs to have more time for a real and stronger change.

Last but not least, the condition of a nation under the oppression for centuries has made people have a desire to change their life fiercely. Learning to become mandarins or governmental staff used to be the best way for Vietnamese to overcome the adversity during the time under domination of foreign countries. Learning to make life better and it is emphasis more on certification rather than learning. Everything has two sides and so does the expectation towards learning. In fact, getting degrees as high as possible to have a good job or to get promotion accompany by a series of negativity in testing and using fake degrees become popular in Vietnam currently. This leads to a question of whether the expectation of the Vietnamese along with their way of learning have made them learn as a “machine”, and concurrently formed a psychology of exaggerating the importance of degree over the knowledge and skills.

Solutions and implications

“The important thing, from the point of view of libertarian education, is for the people to come to feel like masters of their thinking by discussing the thinking and views of the world explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own suggestions and those of their comrades. Because this view of education starts with the conviction that it cannot present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people, it serves to introduce the pedagogy of the oppressed, in the elaboration of which the oppressed must participate.” (Freire, 1970, p. 124)

Everything can be possible and as from Freire’s critical views, new change, new renovation, or new system should take into account the ideas of having dialogues, contributions, and elaborations from the oppressed as well. Nevertheless, it can be deeply realized that Vietnamese government has paid much attention to the national education and training by considering it to be “the determining factor for economic growth and social development” which needs aforementioned critical perspectives (Vietnam Government, 2006). By this consciousness, a number of solutions or action plans have been proposed and carried out for both the short-term and long-term to resolve the problems.

Plenty of workshops and meetings have analyzed the achievements and weaknesses of Vietnamese educational situations under different aspects of the social and economic life, accordingly, a series of measures to be taken to solve the problems which were briefly mentioned above. However, currently Vietnam is still struggling to find out the appropriate solutions for innovating basically and comprehensively the national education. In recent years, Vietnam-
ese government has enacted some schemes and action plans to help the educational system imbue with national identity and integrate and keep up with the education of all of the countries around the world. Some considerable projects are recognized as:

- Decision 1400 / QD-TTg on September 30th 2008 of the Prime Minister on approving the project “Teaching and learning foreign languages in the national education system in the period 2008-2020” aiming at comprehensive renovation of the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the national education system.
- Directive number 296/CT-TTg on February 27th 2010 of the Prime Minister on management innovation stage of higher education from 2010 to 2020 has identified “upgrading management capabilities and focusing on the effectiveness of scientific research in universities and colleges, contributing to the improvement of the training quality and the development of socio-economic.”
- Decision No. 911 / QD-TTg dated June 17th 2010 of the Prime Minister on approving the project “Training doctoral faculty for universities and colleges in the period 2010-2020” has allowed teachers to approach advanced education of foreign countries. It has been to raise the skills of expertise, research, teaching and management of teaching staff in universities and colleges.

These three big action plans coming into enforcement initially brought good signals and positive changes to the education. However, a lot of shortcomings have still existed during the implementation process such as wasting of money, human resources and time, specifically for the project “Teaching and learning foreign languages in the national education system in the period 2008-2020.” (Nguyễn, 2014)

Besides, variety of solutions such as innovating educational approaches, redesigning or changing curriculum, or changing the ways of testing and evaluation,... partly help improve the quality of education but cannot help put a new face on education. The negative issues in education still take place daily in Vietnam; the dropout rate of children is still high, and the negativity in examinations and using fake degrees are still a persistent problem in Vietnam.

All the solutions have been realized for years and seem to be great but until now they cannot help achieve the desired results. It may because of not paying adequate attention to factors rooted from the history as analyzed in the previous part.

 Obviously, the time under the wars in Vietnam lasted long enough for people to strongly wish for a freedom in their actions and choices. They really need an education that they can decide by themselves at certain levels. From the teachers’ perspective they should have the fundamental right in choosing their own syllabus for teaching as long as meeting the requirements of the courses or the output. They are also allowed to choose the most appropriate and differential ways to deal with each target individual students. From the students’ perspectives, they should be encouraged to talk and debate more and more. In addition, the learners must be the ones who can decide on the learning programs right at the early stage of schooling due to the fact that human beings have different types of intelligence, and are responsible for their choices. In this sense, there will be no gap between the teacher and student, they would become equal subjects and try to learn from each other (Freire, 1985d).
Preservation of cultural values is a good thing for any nation and so does Vietnam. However, along with the tradition of “being deferential to teacher and respecting for morals” in Vietnamese education, it should apply the new values to it. The role of teachers should not be put in the position of high in the upper high as in the education of Confucius which creates an invisible distance between teachers and their students anymore, but they must be a psychologist who can understand the psychology of the students and they are also sympathetic and open enough to treat equally to every student and stimulate his or her own potentials, regardless of any personalities and economic conditions. In others words, the relationship between teachers and students must be based on the mutual-understanding and loving, as mentioned by Cho (2005), loving relationship between two parties can help them both acquire self-knowledge and recognition.

Changing beliefs ingrained in the minds of the current generation of Vietnamese on the important roles of degrees is not an easy process. It should be intervened in the early stage of education. The appropriate investment in education of children should be the top priority in education innovation. Curriculum with more fun and practical activities can provide kids with favourable conditions for acquiring knowledge and skills naturally as well as activate their critical thinking and capacity of confront with situations happening in the real life. Sense of self-responsibility for one’s actions and decision for life which is still a serious limit in awareness of Vietnamese people needs to be an important part of kid education and general education as well.

A philosophy appropriate to divergent socioeconomic conditions and historical characteristics of every separate country can help closely solve the related problems and train human resources for that country, however, a philosophy of education is not something too complicated to waste plenty of time, money and effort for seeking. An education happens as its nature just simply from the love and thorough understanding between people and people, or speaking specifically, between a number of parties as administrators and teachers, teachers and students, teachers and families, and families and students……

**Conclusion**

As analyzing in the above parts, although there are a few highlights in Vietnamese education such as the fondness for learning or the expectation for quick development as well as a good signal from the Resolution 29, it has faced some serious problems because of the influence of history. For that reason, to reduce the drawbacks and successfully change the situation of Vietnamese education, the government should consider the common words and issues of the community as expressed in the theory of Freire regarding education. It means an appropriate education must be considered under the specific conditions of one’s own society and politics.

In other words, the Vietnamese government should think carefully about the socioeconomic as well as historical characteristics of the nation to determine what are necessary to change, modify or apply to have a suitable and strong education. A philosophy is also an important guideline for developing education. The problem-posing education of Freire which helps
students “engage in acts of cognition rather than transfers of information” (Freire, 1970, p. 79), for instance, can be applied to the process of comprehensive reform of education in Vietnam. It can be concluded that the education described by Freire is reserved not only for the oppressed within a specific nation but for all of the nations whose people are in limited conditions. By reading and learning the deep meaning of his work, we can thoroughly understand and explain the hidden causes of the problems in every society's education and from that finding out correlative solutions. It is also the affirmation of Freire that “estudiar no es un acto de consumir ideas, sino de crearlas y recrearlas”.

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A REVIEW OF


We all know such a distinguished scholar as Basil Bernstein, well known him as a sociologist of education and the author of the theory of language codes. We all know his work that is universally used by researchers in many disciplines especially in the field of education. It is worth mentioning that Bernstein's theories and approaches have several continuations. Some closely related to Bernstein gathered under the Systemic Functional Linguistics or Legitimation Code Theory (further - LCT) labels. Unfortunately, the reception of these approaches in Poland seems minor. However, LCT became one of the most promising theoretical framework for analyzing knowledge practices. It integrates approaches of Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein. LCT offers a conceptual toolkit allowing readers and researchers to analyze knowledge practices in manifold social contexts. The outline of the theory was first published in Knowledge and Knowers. Towards a realist sociology of education by Karl Maton. It turned out to be new and effective explanatory framework for empirical research used and practiced all over the world in the empirical research on knowledge.

Regrettably, there was no reception of Karl’s Maton and other LCT makers in Poland. One of the reasons is that it is a completely new approach to knowledge and social practices analysis. Knowledge-building: Educational studies in Legitimation Code Theory edited by Karl Maton, Susan Hood and Suellen Shay is a great example of using the theory in research. It is a review of major research projects conducted by LCT users in the field of knowledge building. The opening statement of the book says: “Education and knowledge have never been more important to society, yet research is segmented by approach, methodology or topic” (Maton i Hood red., 2016, p. 1). It not only shows the way of analyzing knowledge by LCT users but also gives the possibility of consolidation of theory and practice in the research.
The book presents case studies of research projects providing practical insight into the LCT approach to knowledge. It consists of two parts offering different approaches to knowledge research and issues on knowledge-building in many educational contexts and the additional third part is also important, dealing with the resources and architectural glossary of LCT very useful tool for newcomers for LCT. It is worth mentioning that it is one of the most sophisticated tools enabling dialogue between theory and data in qualitative research.

The first part is, in a nutshell, a practical theory of LCT. It comprises such topics as LCT in qualitative and mixed method research, e-learning environment and finally connections of LCT with Systemic Functional Linguistics. It is also a great introduction to research design using LCT, which overcomes the dichotomy between theory and practice. The first study, LCT in qualitative research, is an example of development of external language of description overcoming the discursive gap between theory and data. In the third chapter Karl Maton and Sarah K. Howard present an instrument for qualitative data in enacting LCT. Instruments suggested by authors provide new ways of understanding the importance of relational and topological thinking. The fourth chapter is a kind of exploration relation called ‘praxis’, perceived as enacting theory within practice. The authors show different uses of an LCT concept called semantic waves, which illustrates movements between simple and complex meanings in the context of the e-learning environment. The fifth chapter illustrates possibilities stemming from the research using LCT and Systemic Functional Linguistics. It is remarkable that this kind of studies combining linguistic and sociological perspectives is successful in many fields such as art, education, music, law and politics. Interdisciplinarity is a demanding feature of our times. The perspective presented in the paper is an interesting response to it.

The second part consists of several studies concerning knowledge-building in an educational context. In the sixth chapter, Susan Hood uses LCT in context of ethnographic research and the phenomenon of segmentation. It considers storytelling as knowledge practice and offers the analysis of the discourse of stories based on LCT and Systemic Functional Linguistics. In another case study shown in Chapter Seven Suellen Shay and Diane Steyn comprise the analysis of principles underpinning the selection and sequence of design project: vocationally-oriented undergraduate qualification at the Faculty of Informatics and Design. They have created promising conceptual framework based on LCT that enables users to analyze different forms of knowledge in the curriculum, which is an example of how LCT can be successfully applied in the context of vocation education. Chapter Eight, which concentrates on secondary school English literary studies by Frances Christie, explores writings of individual students of English literature study using one of the concepts of LCT, namely semantics. It demonstrates how semantic gravity and semantic density are enacted in students’ writings. This kind of study could give substantial insight into the analysis of the process mastering knowledge within the subject. The Putting physics knowledge in the hot seat chapter proves that LCT could be a valuable approach to the study of physics education. In this case the framework analyzes thermodynamics module in first year undergraduate physics. It uses the concept of ‘semantic gravity’ in analyses of student responses. It is another example of how LCT can be used as a way of ameliorating the process of learning so that students understand difficulties in modern physics. In the
ninth chapter on music and musicality Jodie Martin enacts Specialization (dimension of LCT) in order to explores how music students construct themselves and evaluate musicians chosen by themselves. In short, it explores the basis of knower-code specialization in the field of music. The chapter Knowledge and knowers in tacit pedagogic contexts by Célia Poulet is an analysis of masonic form of ‘pedagogic device’ in the context of freemasonry writings. She recognizes tacit codes and processes in the discourse practices produced by members of freemasonry.

It is clear that LCT is one of the most promising approaches to the analysis of knowledge in manifold contexts and connections to the relation of power. It is suitable to diverse subject areas such as physics, cultural studies, music, chemistry and many others not mentioned in the book. It is clearly expressed that with this approach one is capable of analyzing such different contexts of learning as curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. The book offers insight into an astonishing way of analyzing and building knowledge about knowledge and its practices in different contexts.

Bibliography:

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