

THE IMPACT OF REFUGEE CRISIS ON THE SECURITY OF WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract: *Refugee crisis which has reached global proportions in the previous years has also acquired a significant impact on the security of countries throughout the world. This impact, in addition to the countries affected by war in Asia, Near East and North Africa, is particularly expressed throughout Europe. On the margin of Europe, refugee crisis has a great impact to all security levels of countries that are located in the territory of the so-called Western Balkan. In the paper we have described the impact of refugee crisis to the security levels of Western Balkan countries through the application of DEMATEL method. As a case study we have taken the Republic of Serbia, as one of the countries in this region. In examining the impact of survey, we questioned ninety-two experts for different security levels from state institutions of the Republic of Serbia. We have examined the impacts to the following security levels: human security, societal security and national security.*

Keywords: *Refugee crisis, security levels, DEMATEL method.*

INTRODUCTION

The extent of impact that refugee crisis has for the security of Europe and European Union can be illustrated by the statement of German Chancellor Angela Merkel for the German television ZDF “that it will be a greater concern how to solve the issue of migrants than financial situation in Greece or the stability of euro” (Beta & Tanjug, 2015). Having in mind that the greatest part of refugees comes to Europe from war-affected areas through so-called Balkan and Mediterranean routes, the first strike of refugee wave affects the countries of

Western Balkan, as well as Mediterranean countries that are members of the European Union: Italy, France and Spain.

In addition to the fact that final destination of the refugees is rich Western Europe, recent turbulent past, numerous unresolved economic, territorial, confessional and ethnical problems in sublimation with refugee crisis are again putting the Western Balkan to the center of security challenges (German Chancellor Angela Merkel has warned about this in 2015 with her statement that there is a possibility of a conflict on the Balkan territory through which majority of refugees passes if Germany closes its border with Austria (Beta, 2015b)). All of this points out that it is required to investigate the impact of a refugee crisis on the security of the Western Balkan countries, which is done in this paper on the example of the Republic of Serbia. The impact of refugee crisis is examined in relation to the security levels significant for the sovereignty and integrity of an individual state in accordance to the classical classification of security, as well as classification towards Copenhagen School (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998). Namely, the impact of refugee crisis on exclusively traditional threats for the country's security was not considered (here we primarily refer to military threats for security).

Main issue in this paper is the following: what is the impact of refugee crisis on security levels of the Republic of Serbia?

General goal of the study is to determine the impact of refugee crisis to the security levels of the Republic of Serbia.

Special goals that result from the general are:

- Determining the impact of refugee crisis on human security in the Republic of Serbia,
- Determination of the impact of refugee crisis on societal security in the Republic of Serbia,
- Determination of impact of refugee crisis on national security in the Republic of Serbia.

From the general question and goals of research, we have drawn the following general hypothesis:

Refugee crisis has a significant impact on the security levels of the Republic of Serbia. The refugee crisis represents the greatest threat to the societal security, its impact on national security is less, while it represents the least threat when it comes to human security of the refugees themselves.

RESEARCH

Numerous "coloured revolutions", as a consequence of hybrid wars in the East of Europe, North Africa and Asia have brought to armed conflicts of a low intensity, which result in humanitarian catastrophe leading to million migrations of population, mainly Muslims, towards the countries of European Union (Todorović & Milutinović, 2016).¹ On its road to

¹ „Coloured revolution” is a final phase of hybrid war, phase in which it comes to the change of power in the country, which is subject to hybrid aggression. Coming to power of collaborative circles is essentially the rejection of sovereignty and a complete submission to the aggressor, who is able to solve all the problems in relation to the given country with the help of marionette regime (Александр & Димитрий, 2010).

European Union, this river of refugees mainly goes through the region of West Balkan thus affecting the appearance of security implications, which can be considered through two, mutually separated, discourses. The first discourse refers to the appearance of xenophobia, while the second refers to real security threats that refugee crisis brings about.

The discourses of both security threats are present throughout Europe thus affecting the security situation in the Western Balkan. One of the very frequent examples of xenophobic approach to migrant and asyleecrisis without entering deeper into differences in meaning of these syntagms is the statement of Vaclav Klaus for the Czech media “that by accepting the refugees, Europe commits suicide and that it is an obvious example of it causing the total decomposition of European culture, civilization values, religious structures (Lalic, et al, 2015)). On the other hand, the attacks throughout France (terrorist attack that occurred on 13.11.2015. when at several locations in town there were series of attacks in which more than 160 people got killed and 200 people were injured) Belgium(terrorist attack which occurred in Brussels on 23.03.2016. in which in the series of explosions died more than 30 and more than 250 people were injured), Germany, Great Britain (terrorist attacks that occurred on two occasions in May in Manchester and in June 2017 in London) by the terrorists in direct or indirect connection with Islamic state point to the justified concern of the countries of European Union in regard to the refugee wave that splashed the Europe. Significant problem of refugee crisis is also the number of refugees – mainly the ones who look for an asylum.

Historically observed, all global turmoils since the beginning of the XX century onwards have left a permanent trail on the region of Balkan (today we more commonly use the terminological syntagm Western Balkan, and the reason is a hypocritical attempt to distinguish, in a magical way, individual countries from “powder keg”, which this region certainly is, which have after gaining the independence and joining the European Union “reached” all the values of West civilization, including also the values of extreme nationalism which is growing precisely in the countries of European Union and which is based on unbelievable amount of xenophobia towards the nations of so-called second and third order).

Otherwise, the problem of refugee crisis, for which we often use the syntagms migrant, i.e. asylee crisis (having in mind that it is about the movement of population that escaped from war-affected regions, as well as movements of population due to natural disasters or political, ethnical, religious persecution (Bali, 2012)it seems correct to use the syntagm refugee crisis) is the attempt to escape from wars, political persecution and economic exploitation to the countries of Western civilization and it is the best way to illustrate that the current peace in the world looks like a soap ballon that can burst at any moment and escalate in conflicts throughout the world.

In addition to Mediterranean countries of European Union, the greatest security problems of the refugee crisis happen in the region of Western Balkan. This is the consequence of the roads that refugees are taking, in the public known as “Mediterranean route”, i.e. “Balkan route” (this route includes the refugees’ movement direction from Turkey, Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia and Hungary). The data on the number of refugees that use these routes is not known due to the administrations of certain countries on these routes that are not being up-to-date and dysfunctional. Based on the analysis of the data available, according to the data of UNHCR from 2015., the number of the citizens of Syria that look for an asylum in Europe is growing and it is about 10% of the total number of the citizens of Syria who have left the country since the beginning of the conflict. In Europe from 2011.

Till the end of 2015., asylum was required by 500.000 persons from Syria of which nearly 140.000 was only in the year 2014. Enormous majority of refugees has looked for protection in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. Unlike these countries, European Union tries in all possible manners to reduce the inflow of refugees to its countries – members. In the light of the problem of refugee crisis, there are the latest statements of the Turkish president Erdogan on the release of 500.000 refugees towards the Europe at monthly level. All these, precisely due to “Balkan route” has an enormous impact on security of Western Balkan countries, including the Republic of Serbia.

From the standpoint of the need to answer the main question and proving the hypothesis set, we examined the impact of refugee crisis to the security levels of the Republic of Serbia. We examined the impact of refugee crisis to human security, societal security and national security.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The data on the impact of migrant crisis are collected through survey technique. In total, there were 92 experts – specialists for security (intentional sample) that were surveyed (on a questionnaire of a semi-closed type). Through the questionnaire, we collected the attitudes on mutual impact of the security level of experts tested, as well as attitudes on indicators – contents for each security level individually.

For data processing and evaluation of the mutual impact of security level in relation to the Republic of Serbia, we applied DEMATEL method (Wu et al, 2007; Yang, 2008; Moghaddam, 2010; Sumrit, & Anuntavoranich, 2013).

This method (English: Decision – Making Trial and Evaluation Laboratory) was applied in order to determine the total direct and indirect impacts of each factor – security level to other factors – other security levels, as well as applied impacts from other factors (Moghaddam, 2010). On the same principle, we have also considered the contents – indicators of each security level mutually. By the application of DEMATEL method we have determined the connections and strengths of the impact of factors (security level, i.e. indicators) in relation to the refugee crisis. In addition, by the application of DEMATEL method we have eliminated less significant factors which do not affect other factors during refugee crisis.

Each of the respondents has performed the evaluation of mutual impact of the security level of elements, i.e. contents through which each security level is manifested. According to the procedure of DEMATEL method in the first step each respondent has performed the comparison of security level per pairs and evaluation of each respondent is shown through a non-negative matrix of the evaluation of mutual impact of security levels (Sumrit, & Anuntavoranich, 2013). Based on individual matrices of mutual impact of security level of each respondent we have calculated average values and developed the matrix of a direct impact of security level (Table 1).

Table 1: Matrix of a direct impact of security level

| Level | Human security | Societal security | National security |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Human security | 0,00 | 1,31 | 2,63 |
| Societal security | 2,57 | 0,00 | 3,31 |
| National security | 1,43 | 2,42 | 0,00 |

In the second step, there is normalization of the matrix of direct impact performed according to the formula 1.

$$D = \frac{x}{\max\left(\max_{1 \leq i \leq n} \sum_{j=1}^n x_{ij}, \max_{1 \leq i \leq n} \sum_{i=1}^n x_{ij}\right)} \quad (1)$$

where – normalized matrix of a direct impact,

X – element of the average matrix of the evaluation of mutual impact.

Each element of the matrix of direct impact of security level is divided by the maximum value of the sum of columns and rows of the matrix of direct impact and a new matrix is formed – normalized matrix of a direct impact (Table 2).

Table 2: Normalized matrix of a direct impact of security level

| Level | Human security | Societal security | National security |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Human security | 0,000 | 0,220 | 0,443 |
| Societal security | 0,433 | 0,000 | 0,557 |
| National security | 0,241 | 0,407 | 0,000 |

In the next step, by the matrix of total impacts we expressed the overall relations between each pair of security levels. Elements of the matrix of overall impacts of security levels are calculated according to the formula 2, and the matrix is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Matrix of overall impacts of security levels

| Level | Human security | Societal security | National security |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Human security | 0,668 | 0,863 | 1,220 |
| Societal security | 1,223 | 0,926 | 1,615 |
| National security | 0,900 | 0,992 | 0,951 |

$$T = D(I - D)^{-1} u \quad (2)$$

$$T = [t_{ij}]_{n \times n}, i, j = 1, 2, \dots, n$$

Where:

T - is the matrix of overall impacts,

I - unit matrix of impact,

t_{ij} - element of overall impacts.

Based on previous table we determine whether migrant crisis affects a certain security level by calculating the value threshold. The value threshold provides the data on impact direction, i.e. whether the level of security affects other levels of security or the direction is opposite. Value of the elements in matrix of overall impacts greater than value threshold points to the existence of the impact and value of elements less than value threshold points to the existence of the dependence.

If only one security level depends on other security levels and does not affect the other security levels (which is not the case here), that level is not significant for migrant crisis. By comparing the values in the matrix of overall impacts of security levels with the calculated value threshold we determine whether security levels are significant or not. Namely, if all the values of one level are less than value threshold, then that level is not significant for migrant crisis.

Value threshold is calculated as arithmetic mean of the matrix of direct impacts of the security level by the formula 3 and it is 1,04. Having in mind that there is not a single security level that has all the values less than value threshold, we can conclude that all security levels are significant from the standpoint of potential danger from refugee crisis (Table 4).

$$\alpha = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n [t_{ij}]}{N} \quad (3)$$

where:

α - value threshold,

N - total number of the elements of matrix T.

Table 4: Comparison of the elements of matrix of overall impacts of security levels to the value threshold

| Level | Human security | Societal security | National security |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Human security | 0,668 | 0,863 | 1,220 |
| Societal security | 1,223 | 0,926 | 1,615 |
| National security | 0,900 | 0,992 | 0,951 |

By calculating the sum of mutual impact we obtain the total value of each security level (table5). Ranking of the impact of refugee crisis to the security level is obtained according to impact sum.

Table 5: Ranking of the impact of security level

| Level | Human security | Societal security | National security | Total individual impact level | Level rank |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| Human security | 0,668 | 0,863 | 1,220 | 2,751 | 3 |
| Societal security | 1,223 | 0,926 | 1,615 | 3,764 | 1 |
| National security | 0,900 | 0,992 | 0,951 | 2,843 | 2 |

As you can see in the Table 5, and based on mutual impact of security level, refugee crisis mostly endangers societal security, then national, while the least endangered is human security.

In the same way as for the security levels, we determined the impact of migrant crisis on indicators of each security level individually.

In Tables 6 to 10 we observe the impact of migrant crisis to the factors – contents of human security.

Table 6: Matrix of a direct impact of human security factor

| Factor | Ecological security | Security of social communities | Economic security | Political security | Personal security |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Ecological security | 0,000 | 3,000 | 3,000 | 2,750 | 2,450 |
| Security of social communities | 2,800 | 0,000 | 3,100 | 2,700 | 1,900 |
| Economic security | 3,350 | 3,450 | 0,000 | 3,250 | 2,000 |
| Political security | 3,050 | 2,500 | 3,250 | 0,000 | 2,650 |
| Personal security | 2,050 | 2,250 | 3,050 | 2,950 | 0,000 |

Table 7: Normalized matrix of a direct impact of the human security factor

| Factor | Ecological security | Security of social communities | Economic security | Political security | Personal security |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Ecological security | 0,000 | 0,242 | 0,242 | 0,222 | 0,198 |
| Security of social communities | 0,226 | 0,000 | 0,250 | 0,218 | 0,153 |
| Economic security | 0,270 | 0,278 | 0,000 | 0,262 | 0,161 |
| Political security | 0,246 | 0,202 | 0,262 | 0,000 | 0,214 |
| Personal security | 0,165 | 0,181 | 0,246 | 0,238 | 0,000 |

Table 8: Matrix of total impacts of human security factors

| Factor | Ecological security | Security of social communities | Economic security | Political security | Personal security |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Ecological security | 1,690 | 1,845 | 1,975 | 1,876 | 1,522 |
| Security of social communities | 1,798 | 1,574 | 1,895 | 1,795 | 1,422 |
| Economic security | 2,008 | 1,974 | 1,890 | 2,005 | 1,578 |
| Political security | 1,924 | 1,852 | 2,023 | 1,730 | 1,556 |
| Personal security | 1,726 | 1,696 | 1,866 | 1,780 | 1,267 |

Table 9: Comparison of the elements of matrix of total impacts of human security factors with value threshold

| Factor | Ecological security | Security of social communities | Economic security | Political security | Personal security |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Ecological security | 1,690 | 1,845 | 1,975 | 1,876 | 1,522 |
| Security of social communities | 1,798 | 1,574 | 1,895 | 1,795 | 1,422 |
| Economic security | 2,008 | 1,974 | 1,890 | 2,005 | 1,578 |
| Political security | 1,924 | 1,852 | 2,023 | 1,730 | 1,556 |
| Personal security | 1,726 | 1,696 | 1,866 | 1,780 | 1,267 |

Table 10: Ranking of the impact of human security factors

| Factor | Ecological security | Security of social communities | Economic security | Political security | Personal security | Total individual impact of factors | Rank of factors |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Ecological security | 1,690 | 1,845 | 1,975 | 1,876 | 1,522 | 8,908 | 3 |
| Security of social communities | 1,798 | 1,574 | 1,895 | 1,795 | 1,422 | 8,484 | 4 |
| Economic security | 2,008 | 1,974 | 1,890 | 2,005 | 1,578 | 9,455 | 1 |
| Political security | 1,924 | 1,852 | 2,023 | 1,730 | 1,556 | 9,085 | 2 |
| Personal security | 1,726 | 1,696 | 1,866 | 1,780 | 1,267 | 8,335 | 5 |

As it can be seen in the Table 10, and based on mutual impact of the factors, human security can, to the highest extent, be endangered by the impairment of economic security, and the least by endangering personal security.

In Tables 11 to 15 we observe the impact of migrant crisis on the factors – contents of social security.

Table 11: Matrix of a direct impact of human security factor

| Factor | Religious identity | National identity |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Religious identity | 0,00 | 2,50 |
| National identity | 3,35 | 0,00 |

Table 12: Normalized matrix of a direct impact of human security factor

| Factor | Religious identity | National identity |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Religious identity | 0,00 | 0,75 |
| National identity | 1,00 | 0,00 |

Table 13: Matrix of overall impacts of the human security factors

| Factor | Religious identity | National identity |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Religious identity | 1,000 | 0,000 |
| National identity | 0,000 | 0,998 |

Table 14: Comparison of the elements of the matrix of total impacts of human security factor to the value threshold

| Factor | Religious identity | National identity |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Religious identity | 1,000 | 0,000 |
| National identity | 0,000 | 0,998 |

Table 15: Ranking of the impact of human security factors

| Factor | Religious identity | National identity | Total individual impact of factor | Rank of factors |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Religious identity | 1,000 | 0,000 | 1,000 | 1 |
| National identity | 0,000 | 0,998 | 0,998 | 2 |

When it comes to societal security, based on mutual impact of factors, we do not observe any significant difference. However, it is necessary to point out that societal security is mostly endangered by refugee crisis and thus the indicators of this security level are also rather endangered.

In Tables 16 to 20 we observe the impact of migrant crisis to the factors – contents of national security.

Table 16: Matrix of a direct impact of national security factors

| Factor | Economic threats | Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | Social disorganization in critical areas | Criminal activities |
|--|------------------|--|--|---------------------|
| Economic threats | 0,00 | 2,98 | 2,38 | 2,81 |
| Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | 3,17 | 0,00 | 3,17 | 2,33 |
| Social disorganization in critical areas | 2,95 | 2,38 | 0,00 | 2,76 |
| Criminal activities | 3,45 | 2,86 | 3,45 | 0,00 |

Table 17: Normaized matrix of a direct impact of national security factors

| Factor | Economic threats | Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | Social disorganization in critical areas | Criminal activities |
|--|------------------|--|--|---------------------|
| Economic threats | 0,000 | 0,305 | 0,244 | 0,288 |
| Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | 0,325 | 0,000 | 0,325 | 0,239 |
| Social disorganization in critical areas | 0,302 | 0,244 | 0,000 | 0,283 |
| Criminal activities | 0,353 | 0,293 | 0,353 | 0,000 |

Table 18: Matrix of total impact of the national security factors

| Factor | Economic threats | Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | Social disorganization in critical areas | Criminal activities |
|--|------------------|--|--|---------------------|
| Economic threats | 1,809 | 1,864 | 1,907 | 1,921 |
| Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | 2,120 | 1,689 | 2,020 | 1,841 |
| Social disorganization in critical areas | 2,021 | 1,804 | 1,695 | 1,787 |
| Criminal activities | 2,323 | 2,080 | 2,213 | 1,808 |

Table 19: Comparison of the elements of the matrix of total impacts of national security factors to the value threshold

| Factor | Economic threats | Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | Social disorganization in critical areas | Criminal activities |
|--|------------------|--|--|---------------------|
| Economic threats | 1,809 | 1,864 | 1,907 | 1,921 |
| Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | 2,120 | 1,689 | 2,020 | 1,841 |
| Social disorganization in critical areas | 2,021 | 1,804 | 1,695 | 1,787 |
| Criminal activities | 2,323 | 2,080 | 2,213 | 1,808 |

Table 20: Ranking of the impact of national security factor

| Factor | Economic threats | Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | Social disorganization in critical areas | Criminal activities | Total individual impact of factors | Rank of factors |
|--|------------------|--|--|---------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Economic threats | 1,809 | 1,864 | 1,907 | 1,921 | 7,501 | 3 |
| Increase of intolerance extremism and violence | 2,120 | 1,689 | 2,020 | 1,841 | 7,67 | 2 |
| Social disorganization in critical areas | 2,021 | 1,804 | 1,695 | 1,787 | 7,307 | 4 |
| Criminal activities | 2,323 | 2,080 | 2,213 | 1,808 | 8,424 | 1 |

As it can be seen from the Table 20, and based on mutual impact of factors, national security can greatly be jeopardized by the increase of criminal activities and least in case of disorganization of society in critical regions.

Based on the processing of data by applying DEMATEL method, we determined that refugee crisis significantly affects all three security levels. However, based on results processed we determined that this significance is not the same. Namely, the refugee crisis has the greatest impact on societal security, while the least impact it has on human security. In addition, the significance of refugee crisis for the indicators of security level is not the same.

Based on the implemented study, we can conclude the following:

1. There is a positive verification of the set general hypothesis performed and it says:

Refugee crisis has a significant impact on security levels of the Republic of Serbia. This impact is different in relation to security levels. Refugee crisis represents the greatest threat for the societal security of the Republic of Serbia. Refugee crisis is the significant threat for the national security of the Republic of Serbia as well, while the human security of refugees is least endangered.

With the results obtained we achieved the general goal and special goals of the research, i.e. we determined the impact level of refugee crisis to the different security levels and the extent of the threat that refugee crisis represents for the societal, national and human security.

Research is scientifically justified because through the research results we come to scientific knowledge at the level of scientific explanation of the connection between refugee crisis and security level, as well as the application of the new method (DEMATEL method) in the study of occurrences in the field of security.

Social justification reflects itself in the fact that research helps in developing control social and state factors in order to have a better monitoring of the phenomenon of refugee crisis and efficient reacting of the state and society to it.

DISCUSSION

It might seem at the first sight that the results we have reached by applying the examination method – survey and DEMATEL are surprising. However, having in mind the tradition and culturological base of Serbian nation, as well as the experience from war conflicts during the whole XX century, including recent experiences from civil war on the territory of former SFRY, we can reach certain conclusions that are in favour of the research results.

Namely, according to the research results the greatest threat from the refugee crisis is to the societal security. Reference indicator of societal security represents the collective identity (Panić, 2009). This level of security refers to the ability of society to preserve its essential characteristics due to variable circumstances and in spite of possible or real threats (Hough, 2004). According to the prominent sociologists, in the center of societal security we have the national identity (Anderson, 1991). However, having in mind the experience of the Serbian people through centuries, we can rightfully include religious identity into main indicators of societal security. Danger for the societal security is not the consequence only of refugee crisis, but also of the other global changes, primarily economic crisis, BREXIT, which has affected even greater drop of the employment. With the beginning of SFRY industrialization, the migrations of the population to bigger cities also began and this process was the most expressed in the beginning of the XXI century. In addition, the beginning of the XXI century has also led to the continuation of migrations of population to the countries of Western Europe. Today, the most competent and professional part of population goes to Western Europe, mainly young people. All of this has led to a difficulty demographic situation, and as main indicators of this we can mention big age of the nation and numerous regions that are left without or are being left without population with working ability. In such a situation, the inflow of a great number of refugees could lead to tectonic disorders in regard of national and religious identity in the Republic of Serbia. Greater part of the countries of European Union is aware of the problem of endangering societal security. Schengen Agreement is almost not applied at all anymore, European values do not exist anymore and European countries try to keep the outlines of their identity precisely through the cultural – ethnical principle of the nation and state. These countries, whose concept of nation – country was taken over by most other European countries, have under the impact of big capital, global corporations in previous period, in the search for the workforce, imported a great number of Arabic people, by which European Union gains in multiculturalism. However, there comes to a problem when multiculturalism grows into multinationality and when, as until now, no

matter how paradoxically it seems, the rights of minorities supported by the same countries (the most obvious example is the support for Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija) grow into confessional, cultural and national terror of the minority over majority under the excuse of the rights of minority in the so-called civil society.

Unlike cultural – ethnical principle of nation and country, state-territorial principle has immediately shown its consistent character. Multiculturality is possible and it develops through civil organizations, but the very thought of multinationality is strictly punished and disabled. The examples of this are precisely the countries, founders of such an approach in the perception of the nation, USA and Great Britain (primarily England). Having in mind the above-mentioned, we can observe the significance of the impact of refugee crisis to the societal security of the Republic of Serbia. While all others are protected in all possible ways, in these countries, particularly those where Orthodoxy dominates, there is so-called citizenship based on ateism created, as the greatest paradox of the false civil society. The best example for that is the American civil society, in which there exists (in its own way) a principle one citizen – one vote, rather than one nation one vote. In addition, American civil society, as well as the Anglo-Saxons in England, do not have a problem with the fact that each President of the USA decorates a tree for Christman, rather than New Year and that he is a believer, orthodox-protestant, as a rule. However, civil society in the Republic of Serbia seems to be bothered by orthodox believers, Serbian Orthodox Church, because civil society must be atheistic, or at least agnostic. In it, each person has its right to vote, under the condition that he/she is the citizen, even if he/she is against the country he/she lives in (can we expect of a Bosniak or an Albanian on the territory of Serbia to be greater citizen of Serbia than greater member of ethnical group – nation, i.e. Albanian or Bosniak). In such conditions of pseudo-citizenship, the Republic of Serbia faces the refugee crisis with all economic difficulties that they have encountered. In such a conditions, the security system of the Republic of Serbia according to all its functions must react in a manner to proactively protect primarily the cultural, national and religious identity of own people and sovereignty of own territory (Anthony Smith distinguishes main characteristics of national identity which unite and strengthen it: historical territory, i.e. native country, common mythology and historical memory, common culture, common rights and duties of all members of community and common economy that implies territorial mobility of all members (Smith, 1991)). Bad migration policy would, through a small door, allow the migration of diverse people of other confessionalities in the territory of the Republic of Serbia, hoping that someone else will solve this problem later. That somebody, if it comes to that, can only be able to define the situation which will be that Serbia is a multinational country in which the Serbs do not have their religious and national identity anymore. In addition to the vulnerability of societal security, there is also the statement of the spokesman of European Union Natasha Berto that European Union will, based on the Readmission Agreement, return to Serbia all the migrants who don't get the asylum in the countries of European Union, based on which a great number of refugees would be returned to Serbia.

Having in mind everything previously mentioned, we can conclude that there are numerous arguments that are in favour of the realized search and vulnerability level of the security of the Republic of Serbia, as a consequence of refugee crisis.

Research has shown that refugee crisis has a significant impact on national security of the Republic of Serbia as well (we must mention that it is extremely difficult to autonomously

observe security levels having in mind that each security level is partially contained in other levels as well). From the standpoint of the national security, here we do not observe only a classical concept that refers to military threats to security. Namely, in this paper we primarily observed a new concept of national security whose main indicators (examined in the paper) are: increase of intolerance, extremism and violence and social disorganization in critical areas; criminal activities and economic threats. In addition, within national security, we also observed the segment of regional threats to security (specificity of security issues that refer to the region of Western Balkan). Increase of intolerance, extremism and violence is not the characteristic of Serbian people, regardless of the corrupted media image in the last decades. Namely, today, for example, only a small number of people knows that the Serbs have, in the first attack of the Nazi Germany, taken tens of thousands of Slovenian to their homes (among others, there was also the first president of the Independent State of Slovenia, Milan Kucan). Serbian people are not prone to xenophobic approach, although they are constantly being attacked by xenophobic environment. In addition, for the majority of refugees, the Republic of Serbia is only a transient station in the search for a better life so that according to this indicator national security is not directly endangered. Having in mind previous experiences, except the extreme situations, social disorganization in critical regions is also not endangered, having in mind that the Republic of Serbia is not a final destination for the refugees and the economic vulnerability is not in the forefront. However, we must stress that mass inflow of refugees must lead to the problems of social disorganization if the borders remain closed from the part of Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia and Bulgaria. In this case, there can come to the blockade of borders, interruption of road and railway transport, more serious impairment of peace and order, conflicts between the police, refugees, demonstrators and so on. There is also a danger from criminal activities and regional threats for security. In the territory of the Republic of Serbia, as well as entire Balkan, i.e. Mediterranean Route, there comes to human trafficking. There are frequent illegal passings across the state border which brings to question the ability of the state to establish the control over its territory (Vietti & Scribner, 2013). In addition, the abuses of false identity are also possible, as well as weapons and human trafficking, trafficking of drugs, cultural goods from the war-affected regions, etc. Unlike the terrorist attacks that take place throughout Europe, the Republic of Serbia still hasn't been the target or terrorist groups. This is a consequence of a rational and responsible approach towards the refugees, as well as the fact that the Republic of Serbia, for now, is not an interesting region for expressing terrorist activities (Serbia does not in any manner, materially or military, support or take part in conflicts in Asia and South Africa).

Refugee crisis, along with economic crisis, BREXIT, increase of nationalism throughout Europe and serious political crises in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM), on Kosovo and Metohija and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as, once again, stressing of the hatred towards the Serbs in the Republic of Croatia (returning to the so-called roots of the Independent State of Croatia from the Second World War) significantly affects the increase of the regional threats for the security of the Republic of Serbia. It is required also to stress the desires that last for centuries to connect the "green transversal" from the region of Asia Minor and Near East with Europe which leads precisely through the region of Western Balkan (with the support of some Western countries). In addition, there is also the desire of Albanians to form the Great Albania as a secular, civil state (creation of a civil state is anticipated by the support of the West, especially USA), although it is about the attempt to

create an Islamized state, which is the ultimate goal of the Turkey and some Arabic countries where Islamic fundamentalism blossoms and this is something that can endanger the security of the Republic of Serbia in the future.

Based on the research results, we can observe that the refugee crisis has the least impact on human security. Namely, historically observed, the Republic of Serbia has encountered humanitarian catastrophes many times. From the closer past, the examples of it are the inflow of about 300.000 Serbs from Croatia in 1995, as well as a few hundreds of thousands refugees, non-Albanians, from the region of South Serbian province – Kosovo and Metohija. Such a refugee wave in the end of XX century has left a deep trace in Serbia people and developed a human relationship towards the refugees. In addition, faced with the problems mentioned, state institutions have developed efficient mechanisms in case of the inflow of a great number of refugees. From the aspect of human security, the Republic of Serbia has established legal mechanisms, registered the refugees that entered its territory and offered the protection to the refugees. There is provided physical security and protection for them, physical and sexual violence is prevented, as well as human trafficking, separation of families due to deportation, and in open centers for the reception of refugees there are main conditions for life and health protection provided (main elements of human security of refugees are explained by Vietti & Scribner, 2013)). All of this has brought to the incidents between domicile population and refugees to be rare, as well as that the order among refugees is kept under control, while smaller or greater incidents were efficiently solved (human security of refugees in Serbia is by far at a higher level in relation to FYRM, Hungary, Greece and Croatia where refugees are being maltreated, humiliated by the police and kept in inhumane conditions (Al Jazeera, 2015; Tanjug, 2015). In all fields of human security, from personal to economic security, there is an efficient protection of refugees in the Republic of Serbia.

CONCLUSION

It is certain that the problem of refugee crisis is omnipresent throughout the Europe. Although final destinations of the majority of refugees are the rich countries of Western Europe, we must not forget that the route of their movement is the region of Western Balkan. This region, which includes the Republic of Serbia, is even without refugee crisis faced with numerous security problems. Refugee crisis can only deepen security challenges of the Western Balkan and the Republic of Serbia. It can lead to the change of ethnical and confessional structure, especially in case of closing the borders and prevention of further movement of migrants towards the North from the part of countries of European Union. This danger can in the future bring even to the disappearance of some nations and countries in the region of the Western Balkan, especially orthodox people.

The Republic of Serbia must be especially aware of this danger because it was exposed to enormous, multi-million suffering, through the wars during XX century, as a consequence of wrong evaluations and wrong strategic decisions. In that aspect, we must also observe the results of this research, which is carried out in order to determine the impact of refugee crisis to different levels of security of the Republic of Serbia. In that aspect, it is required to develop future directions of studying this issue in order to be able to timely react to the future security challenges related to the refugee crisis. In addition, it is required also to prepare state apparatus, institutions and society as a whole in case of another exodus of Arabic

population through “Balkan route”. In addition, it is required to develop national strategy in order not to bring into question the territorial integrity, national and religious identity of Serbian country and Serbian people in case of further expansion of refugee crisis. On the other hand, it is required to still nourish human relationship towards refugees and be aware of the fact that being a refugee is not something that is someone’s desire but it is the lack of possibility to have a dignified life in the countries they had to escape from.

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