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THE IMPACT OF THE WESTERN BALKAN MIGRANT ROUTE

ON THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

Mentor: **Student:**

Prof. Dragan R. Simić   **Tatjana Janković 525/2016**

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Student's first and last name: Tatjana Janković

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I hereby declare that I obeyed all the rules of academic integrity in the present paper.

This paper is solely the result of my own efforts. It is based on my own research and founded on the references listed below.

In Belgrade, August 2019

Student's signature

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1. Introduction

History has witnessed a constant flow of people's movements which have escalated as a result of various circumstances and have lasted for too long, leaving consequences both on the target and transit countries. The greatest threats were security threats – for an individual, as well as an entire international community. This paper deals with the security of the Republic of Serbia in the context of migrant crisis that burst out in 2015. The Republic of Serbia had an important role in the migrants' transition process towards the European Union. This paper will embrace all aspects of security - the political, economic, ecological, military and the societal one, as well as the ways of their infringement and the tools for protection.

The Migrant crisis has been caused by the mass migrations from the territories of Africa, Middle East and Asia. The largest number of migrants set out to Europe. According to the data from the Agency for the European border and coastal guard – Frontex, there are eight routes that connect the Middle East with Europe. Those include the west-African and the west-Mediterranean, the central-Mediterranean one, Apulia and Calabria, the circle route from Albania towards Greece, the Western-Balkan route, the east-Mediterranean route and the route on the eastern border.[1] One of the most important routes is the Western-Balkan one, which spreads from Greece, across Macedonia and Serbia, to Hungary and Croatia.[2] Crossing this route, they almost reached the centre of Europe, which was their initial goal. Although Serbia is one of the countries on this route, migrants have no wish to stay there for a long time. However, although it is just a transit country, Serbia is facing a series of security issues caused by the migrant crisis.

The crisis began in 2011 and escalated in 2015, with the creation of the Balkan route. There is a wide range of potential security issues migrations may cause. Namely, there is the risk of terrorist groups entering the territory of a particular country and disturbing the peace and security of its citizens. Also, conditions which question the relations of one country with its neighbors are made, and laws that keep the migrants captured at the border are passed. Other issues worth mentioning include the consequences that affect the economic development, disturbing order at the borders, endangering the free flow of people and goods,

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[1] Migrant routes, FRONTEX, https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-mediterranean-route/ (assessed on 11.06.2018.)

[2] Migrant routes – Western – Balkan route, FRONTEX, https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-balkan-route/, (assessed on 11.06.2018.)

and preventing the import and export due to the closing of the borders. The nature itself is also potentially endangered. From the ecological point of view, a large number of people staying in parks and on squares for prolonged periods of time significantly affects the environment and creates the space for the spreading of various contagious diseases.[3]

The topic of this research is the influence of the Western-Balkan migrant route and the migrant crisis on the security of the Republic of Serbia. With the occurrence of the Western-Balkan route, new land directions, adding to the already existing routes on the Mediterranean. That surprised not only the transit countries migrants were passing by, but also the states and institutions of the European Union which had already had an established control system focused on the Mediterranean borders. A large number of people set out to the Western-Balkan route which resulted in the filling up of the capacities of reception centres and further complications in getting an asylum in the countries that were a part of the Western Balkan migrant route. This route was taken by majority of people in 2015.

The first major issue that affected the Western-Balkan migrant route was the decision made by the Republic of Hungary to close the border crossing with Serbia and build a 174-kilometre-long fence along the border. This act changed the direction of the migrants' movement towards Croatia and Slovenia. Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia changed their migration policies; Slovenia required that migrants who left their countries voluntarily and due to financial reasons, and not exclusively because of war, be returned to Croatia.[4]

Events that took place at the beginning of 2016 brought about the closure of the Western-Balkan migrant route. New rules were applied in Austria, Germany and Slovenia, and the citizens of Afghanistan were no longer allowed to move to the north. Also, Macedonia built another fence on the border with Greece and started blocking new arrivals periodically. A Summit in Vienna took place in February 2016 during which all countries were invited to use the common standards for registration and strict application of criteria. All of this led to the introduction of quotas in Austria, and subsequently in all the other countries affected by the migrant route in the Balkans.

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[3] Dragan Simeunović, "Migraciona kriza kao bezbednosni izazov za zemlje Zapadnog Balkana - stanje u 2017. i perspektiva", *Kultura bezbednosti,* 2017. pp. 31-56
[4] Srđan B. Marković, *Ilegalne migracije kao faktor međunarodnog terorizma*, PhD thesis, University of Belgrade, The Faculty of Security Studies, 2018, pp. 42-43.

Finally, on 8th March 2016, the majority of countries on the Western-Balkan route stated that their borders were certainly closed for illegal migrants. After closing the borders along the Western-Balkan migrant route, thousands of migrants and refugees remained stuck on territories with no decent living conditions.

Temporally speaking, this research will encompass the period from the beginning of the migrant crisis and its entire course. Spatially, the paper deals with the region of the Western-Balkan migrant route, as well as the region of the Republic of Serbia.

The scientific aim of the research

The scientific aim of this research is the scientific description of the influence of the Western Balkan migrant route and its impact on the security of the Republic of Serbia. Besides, this paper aims to provide certain scientific explanations. In that sense, it will explain the consequences of the influence that the Western Balkan migrant route and migrant crisis had on the political, economic, societal, military and ecological dimension of security.

Social aims of the research

The social aim of this research is to introduce the wider audience in the Republic of Serbia to the consequences of the influence of the Western Balkan migrant route on the Republic of Serbia, as well as with experiences, problems, obstacles and the positive aspects of the Western Balkan migrant route. Apart from the crucial and the main topic, which is the influence of the Western Balkan migrant route on the security of the Republic of Serbia, the aim is to get the public acquainted with the causes of the migrant crisis, its process and consequences. The practical application of the research itself is in the opportunity for the interested audience to get acquainted with the problems and obstacles which the Republic of Serbia faced because of the Western Balkan migration route and its impact on the security of the Republic of Serbia.

General Hypothesis

The Western Balkan migration route has a negative influence on the security of the Republic of Serbia. By initialising the migration crisis, especially at its peak in 2015, the security of the Republic of Serbia got decreased and worsened. With the survival of the Western Balkan migration route and its likely existence in the years to come, migrations will continue to affect the security of the Republic of Serbia in all its sectors and spheres – the political, economic, ecological, societal and military one.

The first separate hypothesis

In spite of the certain positive effects that migrations may have on the society – first and foremost on its economic development – they may also have negative security consequences.

The second separate hypothesis

Although the number of migrants on the Western Balkan migrant route has recently been decreasing, this route is one of the most significant migrant routes leading to the European Union.

The third separate hypothesis

The Western Balkan migrant route negatively affects the security of the Republic of Serbia and is one of the major security threats towards the Republic of Serbia and the region.

This paper will be comprised of seven chapters, including the introduction, conclusion and references. The first chapter will discuss the term migrations and its categories. The focus will further move onto migrations as a multiple threat towards the national security of a country. The following chapter will deal with the Western Balkan route itself, with an explanation of the migrant crisis caused by the Arab spring and its origin. Furthermore, the characteristics of the route and the impact of the entire Western Balkan route on the countries

it encompasses will be described. The last paragraph of this chapter will provide an explanation of the Western Balkan migration route closure.

This paper is structured in such a way that the chapter which follows explains the influence of the Western Balkan migration route on the security of the Republic of Serbia, with an emphasis on the influence of the Western Balkan migrant crisis on the political, economic, societal and military security.

The main techniques and research methods

During the process of collecting and analysing the data necessary for this paper, different scientific methods were used. The topic itself is quite complex, thus requiring various research techniques. In this paper the compilation method, inductive and deductive method and analysis will be used.

The main techniques used in this research will be the quantitative and qualitative analysis. The most prominent ones in the qualitative approach will be observation, interviews and case studies, while content analysis has the key role in quantitative approach. The main references used in this research are books, studies and articles on the impact of the Western Balkans migration route on the security of the Republic of Serbia, as well as the documents of the Republic of Serbia related to its security and ascend agreements related to this area.

Scientific importance

The scientific importance of this research consists in the contribution it will give to the enriching of the fund of the scientific knowledge about the impact of the Western Balkan route on the security of the Republic of Serbia.

Social importance

The social significance of this research is in introducing the Serbian society and the wider professional and scientific circle with the influence of the Western Balkan migration route on the security of the Republic of Serbia and the impact the migrant crisis has and may have on this sphere.

Theoretical framework

The dominant theoretical approach in the master thesis is the sector security approach. Sector security approach is characterised by their mutual relations and the referent objects that dominate each sector. There are five security sectors – the political, economic, military, societal and the ecological one. This paper will explore the influence of the Western Balkans migration route on each of these five sectors, which is also the main approach to the topic in order to do a thorough research on this topic and prove the theses from the paper.

The sector approach to security will prove that the security of the Republic of Serbia was not stable at the time of the migrant crisis and that the mass inflow of migrants on its territory as well as that the Western Balkan migration route had a negative impact on the Republic of Serbia, with individual reference to each of the sectors. Apart from the negative impacts, there were also positive aspects of the migrant crisis. When it comes to geography, the Republic of Serbia holds an important position acting as a bond with the Middle East where migrants used to come from and which connects them to the EU countries. Bearing in mind that the Republic of Serbia borders with Croatia and Hungary, which are the EU member states, the migrants' goal was to cross Serbia and enter the European Union, which would further enable them to pass to their preferred countries. In this paper it will also be proven that the Western Balkans migration route was one of the greatest security threats for the Republic of Serbia, particularly because of the neighbouring countries that changed not only their policies of relations towards other countries, but also its legal framework, as was the case with Hungary. This caused the closure of the borders for migrants which resulted in migrants' being captured on the territory of Serbia, thus additionally worsening the security in all sectors. The sector approach to security will provide the best insight into the influence of the Western Balkans migration route on the security of the Republic of Serbia.

2. Security aspects of migrations

There are different definitions of the term security. According to Arnold Wolfers, security is defined "objectively, as the absence of threats towards the adopted values, and subjectively, as the absence of fear that those values would be attacked".[5] Also, Ulef Palme assumes that "the international security has to lie in the obligation of the mutual survival, and not in the threat of mutual destruction". The end of the Cold War brings changes in the concept of security. Namely, the term security gets new meanings, it is seen from a broader and deeper perspective so the traditional military aspects is spread to the political, economic, ecologic and other spheres. When they left the idea of a country as a single referential object and that country is the only one to be protected, a new concept of security was created. Referential objects now also include individuals, social groups, regions and the international system. In the contemporary era, security is studied from the point of view of sociology, anthropology, philosophy and other social sciences. The idea is in the sector approach towards security where the different ones are mutually dependent, they act together and complement each other.

People's movement is something that has been characterising them since ever. As a result of various interventions by great forces in the third world countries of the Cold War period, neighboring quarrels and problems among them which are as old as those countries, the modern world is facing new phenomena on a daily basis, new threats, births and disappearances of countries. When we reconsider the echo that has been produced in the past ten years by the Arab spring, the fall apart of Lybia, internal wars such as the one in Syria, the lack of opportunities for fulfilling the lives of the young, an increase in unemployment, the famine in certain countries in the 21st century, when enormous quantities of food are produced and thrown away, we cannot but question what has happened to the world, who is the one in charge, who guarantees security and to whom and what are the criteria. One can be sure that migrations as a social phenomenon of the contemporary world have been the central topic of the security studies, at least since 2015.[6]

There are billions of people in the world, and today there is one billion of migrants, be their movement forced or voluntary. Locals see them as people of unclear identities,

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[5] Dragan R. Simić, *Nauka o bezbednosti: savremeni pristupi bezbednosti,*, Sluzbeni list SRJ, Belgrade, 2002. p. 29.

[6] Dragan R. Simić, "Bezbednosni izazovi migracija", *Srbija I EU: Bezbednost i politika neutralnosti,* European movement in Serbia, Belgrade 2017, p. 5

characteristics, beliefs, habits, simply different from the ordinary people. The migrants feel that the moment they inhabit a territory and unconsciously accept that unequal status imposed by the locals. The new reality infringes both the security of transit countries and the target ones, but it also infringes the security of migrants themselves. The EU and its member states keep adjusting policies to migrants' needs, but a clear manner of full protection of migrants' rights has not been established. Today, the fear of terrorism that all the Europeans are facing, the obvious anti-migrant attitude and a vast number of irregular migrants deprive the regular migrants of human and humanitarian rights.[7]

We must observe the security aspects of migrations in relation to two things. The first one is immediacy, i.e. the moment of securitisation, and the other one is the intensity of the danger itself. "Securitisation is the discursive construction of something into a security threat".[8] It is important to pay attention to the third thing, which is what "sparks off" the threats. The best example for that is 11 September 2011, when terrorism was proclaimed the number one enemy and the main security threat. Stifling terrorism and the fight against it became parts of the national strategies of almost all world countries. In the same way, 2015 saw a great increase in migrations compared to the previous years, pushing the problem of migrations to the top of the problems the European Union dealt with.[9]

Professor Dragan Simeunović draws attention to the fact that migrations, especially the irregular ones, are increasing the danger for the locals in terms of contagious diseases, terrorist actions and crimes. He emphasises how shattered the economic security is, bearing in mind a large inflow of cheap workforce. The real danger of terrorism that the migrants bring with themselves is by far smaller than the amount of the media speech about it. Our never-ending fear for security does not allow the migrants to integrate into the society. The migrants are doing their best to be like the citizens of the country that was their ultimate goal. However, no matter how hard they strive to learn new languages and cultures, even the countries that are thought to be the prototype of democracy give them just legal equality, i.e. citizenship.

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[7] Igor Novaković, "Kompatibilnosti neutralnog statusa sa članstvom u Evropskoj uniji", *Srbija i EU: Bezbednost i politika neutralnosti,* European movement in Serbia, Belgrade, 2017. p. 11

[8] Filip Ejdus, "Diskurzivna i praktična konstrukcija međunarodne (ne)bezbednosti", in, Dejan Jović, *Konstruktivističke teorije međunarodnih odnosa,* The Faculty of Political Sciences of the University in Zagreb, 2016. p 202.

[9] Dragan R. Simić, "Bezbednosni izazovi migracija", *Srbija I EU: Bezbednost i politika neutralnosti,,* European movement in Serbia, Belgrade 2017, p. 8-9

As the Balkan region has always been the greatest European war zone, apart from all the mentioned security threats migrations bring, we should emphasise the atmosphere they may create among the neighbors' who have historically been in unstable relations. The German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, stated that big quarrels would be ahead of the neighbours in the Balkans if Germany stopped accepting refugees. A particularly critical is a group of "violent migrants" whose behavior reflects in rapes and sexual harassment. The majority of such cases was noticed in Germany, which passed a special law on behavior of the migrants labelled as the group that does not respect the country's hospitality.[10]

In their text "Security aspects of the refugee crisis" Sinisa Tatalovic and Dario Malnar point out that the events in the Middle East at the beginning of the 21st century largely influenced all security sectors. Their standpoint is that migrations did not affect all countries to the same extent, nor did all countries react in the same manner. Speaking of this, some countries were final destinations, some were only transit countries, while others were prepared for securitisation in case the migrants reached their borders. Special attention is dedicated to illegal migrations, claiming that they affect economic welfare. They can bring about the increase of crime or affect the culture cherished by the local people if there are more migrants of the same ethnicity or religion. It is thought that it may substantially affect the collective cultural identity, as well as the structure of a society itself.[11]

They see a possible solution for the migrant crisis in desecuritisation of illegal migrations which would be a solution in accordance with the democratic principles. When the migrations securitisation occurs, it is not manifested as a threat towards the national sovereignty and territorial integrity, instead, it creates the space for other spheres of society as well and advocates for nationalism, hatred and discrimination on different grounds.[12]

To understand the migrations phenomenon and the conscientious behaviour towards them, it would be the best to be guided by Lidija Markovic's words: "If migrations are recognised as an unavoidable characteristic of the time we live in, and not necessarily a negative phenomenon, then the policies of controlling migrations should be in accordance

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[10] Dragan Simeunović, "Migraciona kriza kao bezbednosni izazov za zemlje zapadnog Balkana – stanje u 2017. i perspektiva", *Kultura polisa,* special issue, 2017, pp.37-39
[11] Siniša Tatalović, Dario Malnar, "Sigurnosni aspekti izbeglicke krize", *Političke analize,* vol 6, no. 23, pp.23-24.
[12] Ibidem, p. 28.

with the real trends and migrants' problems, since the restrictively defined policies which impose strict rules largely collide with basic human rights protection".[13]

2.1. The notion of migrations

According to the International Organisation for migrations, "migrations are movements of one person, or a group of people, across the international border, or within a country. That is a movement of inhabitants that encompasses any kind of people's movements, regardless of the length of the trip or causes, and it includes the migration of refugees, the displaced persons, the economic migrants and persons who move for other reasons, including family formations".[14]

If we look at the character of migrations, we can make a distinction between the spontaneous and induced migrations. Spontaneous migrations are the ones when people look for better living conditions, be it in order to satisfy their basic needs or just for the sake of improving the quality of life, which is usually sought in contemporary societies. Another type of migrations is induced migrations which come as a result of natural disasters or wars, when the movement from the affected territory is inevitable. Induced migrations may also be a consequence of moving or banishing people from a part of a territory of a country. In that case, we refer to migrants as refugees.[15]

Migrations have been typical of human society since its evolution, but in contemporary conditions they appear in unprecedented scales and in various forms. It is in the nature of a human being to strive towards better living conditions, be those conditions economic, climate, social or cultural ones.[16]

If we want to observe migrations from a more thorough perspective, we have to determine the reason of their origin. With this in mind, we distinguish between two factors for migrations – the suppressing and the attracting ones. The suppressing factors are well explained in Darko Markovic's PhD thesis, "Security challenges, risks and threats of illegal

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[13] Lidija Marković, "Migracije – izazov, problem, ili krakteristika našeg doba?", *Migracije kao izazov za Srbiju i EU,* Belgrade, 2017, p. 14
[14] The International Organisation for Migrations - http://www.iom.int (accessed on 12.4 2019.)
[15] Nemanja Starović, Miloš Savin, "Migrantska kriza u Srbiji 2015-16", *Kultura polisa,* special issue, 2017, pp. 275-286
[16] Veljko Blagojević, Branislav Milosavljević, "Političko-pravni okvir savremenih migracija u Jugoistočnoj Evropi", *Војно дело*, 2016, pp. 75-93

migrations". Those are the so-called forcing factors that made people leave their country. Here, factors which do not allow peaceful and safe life on a particular territory are discussed. Those factors include fear for one's life in a system, when wars and violence escalate, when people cannot be who they are and when there are discriminations on different grounds. Other factors are poverty with no hope for improving the living conditions, the environment full of famine, diseases and poor health systems that have no ways to suppress diseases.[17]

The European Union is the final destination for the people from Africa and Asia. They see the EU as an opportunity for life in a highly developed economy and welfare as opposed to the poor life standards in the countries they come from. For a topic like this, the examples of Syria, Lybia and Iraq cannot remain unmentioned. When a country is rich with potential, economic or natural, especially coal or energetic potential, it is the place where one will recognise all the above mentioned reasons for leaving homes, countries, even continents. In such situations, these people become marionettes of the great forces that exploit their own tools to be the first to use their potential. The living conditions become insufferable, escalating to different clashes, even civil wars. These regimes are characterised by complete neglect of the basic human rights, the country is weak and becomes powerless in relation to the problems and challenges it faces, and as such, it can no longer guarantee the security to its citizens.[18]

On the other hand, there are attracting factors of migrations. These factors reflect in the way of life available somewhere in some other country, while it is impossible to be realised in the country of migrations. Those are all benefits and opportunities not to be missed, available in a particular country and the reasons why people choose to leave their homes. While the suppressing factors mostly deal with the negative connotations of the societies which potential migrants leave, the attracting factors refer to the positive sides that the destinations may offer. These include all those things alluring to a common being, which are positive if compared to all that the potential migrant has been facing so far. When a country offers security, when democracy is present in all aspects of a country, when there is no space for discrimination on any grounds, when a young person gets a wide range of employment opportunities, when a man is free to behave according to their religion, to express their political views among people who do not share his/her opinion, without any fear,

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[17] Darko Marković, *Bezbednosni izazovi, rizici i pretnje ilegalnih migracija*, PhD thesis, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Security, Belgrade, 2016. p. 199-202

[18] Ibidem, pp. 200-201.

then the country becomes a potentially good place for life. High living standard and the opportunities that the developed and wealthy countries can offer have always been attractive. There are situations when these factors of attraction, act to mutual satisfaction, both of the country in question and the potential migrant. Namely, when these countries need workforce, they encourage potential migrants to move. Such migrations, which we call voluntary migrations, as a person decides to move due to their inner feeling, are mostly work migrations.

It often happens that migrations caused by wars and natural disasters (forced migrations) coincide with work migrations, but it is necessary to emphasise that the reason for their occurrence is not the same.[19]

Other than in relation to factors, migrations can also be categorised based on the following criteria. When it comes to the borders the migrants are crossing, one can distinguish between the national and international ones. The national ones are based on the movement on the territory of a single country, and when they cross the borders of their own country and inhabit another one, they are called international.

In terms of time, there are temporary, occasional and permanent ones. Permanent migrations are those when migrants stay in a country for a short period of time, after which they continue moving to a new country or return to their own. Occasional migrations are also called seasonal. They assume occasional movement and stay on some other territory for a limited period of time, after which they return to their homes. Permanent migrations assume the migrants' tendency to permanently stay on a particular territory.

If migrations are legal and are done on the precisely determined borders with the necessary documentation, respecting all laws of the country they come from, of the country which should be passed through, and finally the destination, these are called legal migrations. The breach of the abovementioned legislations is a characteristic of illegal migrations.

If there is an organised approach to gathering, moving and welcoming migrants in the target country, we differentiate between organised, or, otherwise, unorganised migrations.

Another classification of migrations is based on the condition. If there was a war in a particular country, or the policy of the country is such that a group of people is not allowed to

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[19] Ibidem, pp.202-203.

stay due to some discrimination, or if people are dissatisfied with the political system formed by the current government in that country, those are politically conditioned migrations. In these situations, people do not feel protected enough by the authorities and they find it necessary to leave such a country. When movements are based on finding a better living standard, better economy and a wider range of opportunities, these are economically conditioned migrations. Therefore, they leave underdeveloped countries, looking for the countries with better economy. This was the case with the wave of migrations of the so-called "Arab spring" when people set out to the EU due to all these factors. Ecologically conditioned migrations are those which were caused by natural factors that a man had no influence on. That is the case when leaving a certain territory is caused by natural disasters, floods and earthquakes.[20]

2.2. Migrations as a multiple threat for the national security

There are various definitions of national security. According to Charles Kegley and Yudgine Witfkoff, the national security is "psychological freedom of a country from fear that the country will be incapable of resisting the threats related to its survival and national values and which come from abroad or the country itself".[21]

Saša Mijalković, on the other hand, talks about the national security as if it was something larger than the mere security of people in a specific country, than a territory and the government over those people and the territory. He talks about the security of the society itself, regardless of the religion, ethnicity, race, ideology and the security of the country itself, but at the same time, about their contribution to security on the global level.[22]

The idea is to preserve and protect the basic values of a society, as well as the interest of the society, which is achieved by coordinated cooperation between different instruments of the government, coordinated actions in the military and civil sectors, governmental and

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[20] Veljko Blagojević, Branislav Milosavljević, "Političko-pravni okvir savremenih migracija u Jugoistočnoj Evropi", *Војно дело*, 2016, pp. 75-93

[21] Charles W. Kegley and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics - Trend and Transformation*, Faculty of Political Sciences, Diplomatic Academy, Belgrade, 2006

[22] Sasa Mijalković, "Obaveštajno-bezbedonosne službe i nacionalna bezbednost", *Bezbednost*, 6 September 2011, p.84.

nongovernmental security program, inclusion of international actors, different governmental and nongovernmental organisations in providing and maintaining national security.[23]

The migrants' arrival in a country, ethnically completely different, is a potential risk for a seemingly homogenous society to turn into a more complex multicultural form of a society. This is perceived as a tendency to infringe the authenticity of one country. Common history, tradition and culture connect the inhabitants and give them the feeling of belonging to a unique nation, while migrants, on the other hand, threaten to infringe that. It is certain that there are only few examples of fully homogenous countries in the international community, and it is fact that all the countries were established as a consequence of some earlier migrations.[24]

At first sight, countries have a ready and applicable security system which manages to respond to all issues regarding the security at their borders. However, experiences of some countries say it turned out they lacked readiness for such challenges on their borders. In such situations, countries opted for some not-so-logical and justified manners of behaviour towards migrants – walls, fences and wires were built to prevent their entrance. Such approach to this phenomenon puts migrants in similar situations where they feel endangered, just as they felt at their homes. Such actions send poor images to international community; they mainly cause the judgment of other countries, international organisations, and in more extreme cases, lead to sanctions.

Contemporary migrations bring various risks which embrace almost all aspects of life in a country, be it just a transit country in their movement, or the final one. Nowadays, the international community is facing a huge problem when it comes to migrations. The question is how to resist the mass phenomenon, what strategies of taking care of and providing for so many people are the most adaptable in the given environment.

Migrations caused by the Arab spring encompass a huge territory on two continents. The migrants' journey from the Middle East to the EU requires passing through a number of countries where each of them uses its sovereign right to protect its territorial integrity. Each of those countries should protect itself from various diseases that can spread and endanger their

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[23] Ibidem, pp. 84-85.
[24] Paul D. Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Routledge, Belgrade, 2013, p.595-596

inhabitants, from violence that endangeres the security of every individual, as well as from other forms of negative influences.[25]

The act of migrants' entering a country questions the national security. When they come across first obstacles, such as not fulfilling certain entrance criteria, the migrants opt for illegal ways to enter, thus becoming illegal migrants. All violent or illegal entrances are a threat to the national security of the country. The danger occurs when, due to the lack of the legal ways to enter the territory of the target country, they start smuggling migrants, which is equal to organised crime in contemporary migrations. Such mediation, in cases when movements are not accessible to migrants can often turn into serious human trafficking. The most common are the cases when women and children migrants become the object of exploitation and trafficking.[26] The experience says that the most frequent victims of human trafficking are people in search for better and safer living conditions and a better job; people coming from the countries destroyed by wars or with lower standard of living. There are very often the cases of migrants with falsified documents, kidnapping, forcing and taking part in illegal transfers across national borders. The whole system of smuggling is well-developed and the migrants are waited for on borders and subsequently transferred to their destinations.

When these aspects of illegal actions are connected with other types of organised crime, such as terrorism, the situation becomes extremely dangerous. It may happen that there are future terrorists among people who call themselves migrants and who are treated in that way. These are so-called "sleepers", who come to a territory with a mission. Calling upon the migrants' experience and leaving their home for various reasons, such as wars, poor living conditions and natural disasters, they freely enter the territory of the EU and Europe. An example of such abuse of migrants' movements is currently the most serious threat for the international peace, the Islam country of Iraqi and Levants, ISIL.[27] Another negative connotation is of psychological nature. Namely, migrants who have not managed to cross the border, who are stuck and insufficiently informed about possibilities are exposed to a huge stress and worry for their own existence.

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[25] Sasa Mijalković and Ivan Petrović, "Bezbednosni rizici savremenih migracija", *Zurnal za kriminalistiku I parvo,* June 29, 2016. p. 1-18

[26] Željko Bjelajac and Joko Dragojlović, "Migrantska kriza kao izvor ugrožavanja regionalne i gloalne bezbednosti", *Kultura Polisa*, 2017. p. 65-68.

[27] Darko Marković, *Bezbednosni izazovi, rizici i pretnje ilegalnih migracija*, PhD thesis, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Security, Belgrade, 2016. p. 313-316.

Migrations certainly influence the stability of a country in economic terms. The migrants are seen as a potentially poor and numerous group, which, as such, requires the allocation of a bigger part of financial funds, it is a burden for different resources of education, dwelling, health care, traffic, and a hostile attitude of the locals comes as a consequence of the exploitation of those resources.[28] Migrations bring about an increased workforce which shatters the stability of the existing market. On the other hand, the existing market is also affected by the black markets' formation. Despite the clashes between the legal and black markets, there are situations when even "the existing black market" is in danger. Namely, this provokes clashes to dominate illegal markets which can also be dangerous for a country.

From the demographic perspective, older inhabitants prevail in Europe, and therefore the need for the young is on the increase. It could be said that accepting migrants is one of the solutions to this problem. Such inhabiting affects the local and the regional level more. The inhabiting of the migrants causes demographic changes in the makeup of a population. That is how the conditions for clashes on different grounds are created, and those grounds are usually ethnic and religious. Such environment gives birth to xenophobia and racism, not due to a simple fear of the differences but due to the potential overtaking of jobs by the migrants and using the opportunities that locals see as their possession, and the fear of unemployment.

The consequences of migrations on health issues should also be mentioned. In this context, one thinks of contagious diseases. The trouble is in the fact that only the migrants who seek an asylum in a country are entitled to check-ups and hospitalisation. The conditions in which they move and live during the crossing of their routes are fertile for various forms of diseases and viruses. The most prone to them are the smugglers, as they are in direct contact with them, but the migrants are the most endangered ones, as well as the inhabitants they merge with; however, when diseases spread, the whole country is endangered and becomes a potential source of epidemics.

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[28] Paul D. Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Routledge, Belgrade, 2013, p. 596

3. Western Balkan migrant route

There were eight migration routes since the beginning of mass migrations in the Middle East. One of them is the Western Balkans Migration Route. The Western Balkans Migration Route offers two ways i.e. two possibilities to reach the Republic of Serbia, and further, the European Union. Namely, the first way is to come to it from Turkey, across Greece, Macedonia, Serbia to Hungary or Croatia; or from Turkey across Bulgaria to Serbia and then Hungary or Croatia.[29] Migrants were arriving in Serbia, to the territory of Preševo from Macedonia, taking the directions of: "village Lojane – village Miratovac, village Lojane – village Trnava, village Lojane – village Norča, village Lojane – village Strezovce. They were also getting to Aliđerca and Čukarak, and then over the reception centre in Preševo, legally or illegaly, they went on towards Vranje, Niš, Belgrade, Novi Sad and the border with Hungary and Croatia. They were also coming via Bulgaria: Sofija – Gradina – Dimitrovgrad – Pirot, Mihajlovgrad – Kadibogaz – Zaječar, Trn – Strezimirovce – Surdulica и Ćustendil – Bosilegrad".[30]

Picture 1: Migratory map[31]

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[29] Migrant routes, FRONTEX, https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-mediterranean-route/ (assessed on 11.08.2019.)

[30] Milosav V. Simovic, "Migrantska kriza", *Vojno delo*, January 2017, p. 212

[31] Migrant routes, FRONTEX, https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-mediterranean-route/ (assessed on 10.06.2019.)

3.1. The causes of the migrant crisis

The international community was quite shaken by the events which took place on the Asian continent during a short period of time. The Arab spring is the main cause of the mass migrations and is imposed as the central question whose consequences have been discussed by the majority of the European countries in the last few years. The mass movement of people from these areas have caused significant discordances in the member states of the European Union. After the first quakes in the Middle East, discontent spread across the whole region without any way of calming things down, there was an overall atmosphere of uncertainty, the area was bursting with conflict and the wish for absolute radicalisation. After the conflicts intensified, mass migrations towards the European continent have started and have moved the Arabs from the territory of their countries, taking the endangered African and Asian inhabitants who were far away from the epicentre of the clash. Mass migrations as a consequence of the Arab spring are becoming a serious threat to the European security, although they were viewed as a matter of acting humanely towards people asking for help due to the unfortunate events that happened in their lives.[32]

The Arab spring started at the end of 2010 due to the discontent of the inhabitants of Arab countries with the state of affairs at that particular moment. The first protests occured in Tunisia, Egypt and Lybia. The main reason was the lack of democracy and political freedom. Unhappy with the living conditions, the economic and political situation, schooling conditions, high unemployment rate and an enormous gap between the rich and the poor, the Arabs started uprisings against the current authorities. What was seen as the beginning of the Arab spring was the occasion when a street vendor called Muhamed Buazizi put himself on fire in front of the municipal building in Tunisia on December 17th 2010.[33] The young boy sold fruit and vegetables on the local market illegally in order to earn for a living, since he had no other option. On December 17th, 2010 the market inspection took his goods away and fined him. He tried complaining to the mayor and was ignored, so the poor boy killed himself as a sign of protest against violence and the corruptedness of the local authorities.[34]

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[32] Dejan Radinović, "Arapsko proleće i migrantska kriza: Bezbednosni izazovi za Evropske zemlje", in, Zoran Lutovac and Slobodan Mrđa (eds.), *Savremene migracije I društveni razvoj: Interdisciplinarna perspektiva*, Belgrade, 2018. p.272-274

[33] Srđan V. Starcevic and Ilija Z. Kajtez, "Arapsko proleće i bezbednost Evrope", *Srpska nauka danas*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 230

[34] Youtube - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=47d6fyaOjRM – accessed on 15.6.2019.

This event forced people to organise mass protests and demonstrations on the streets of Tunisia which immediately spread onto Egypt, Lybia, Siria and the rest of the Arab countries. This event was a "trigger" which made the people of Tunisia fight against the politcal authorities. This event caused the fury of the discontented people with no rights a reason o fight the injustice and a chance to act in a way that would cause certain social and political changes. Apart from all the issues mentioned earlier on, the biggest problem in Tunisia was the high unemployment rate, since the highly educated people could not find any jobs. The situation in the Middle East escalated very quickly. Mass protests and clashes with the police started in Tunisia the next day and have made the Tunisian president of many years, Ben Ali, flee the state.

Three months later, the protest in Lybia started, and were at first organised as an armoured uprising, which turned into a civil war requiring an international intervention which ended in the killing of Moammer El Gadafi on October 20th 2011. The president of Yemen gave up his power as well and the protests spread onto Jordan, Bahrein, Algeria, Kuwait, Oman, Liban and Morocco.[35]

The outcomes of the Arab spring were different. In some countries the clashes were resolved in favour of the state i.e. the police have put an end to the uprising, in Saudi Arabia and Bahrein, for example, while in other countries the protests have got out of control and turned into the civil wars, as was the case with Syria, Iraq, Lybia and Yemen. In some countries, a certain degree of democracy was shown so elections were organised after the protests, which resulted in the change of the authorities, in Egypt and Tunisia, for example, while in Jordan, Morrocco, Qatar, Oman and Lebanon certain political changes occurred, thus responding to the requests of the demonstrants in a positive way.[36]

Terrorism, which originated from this part of the world, epitomised in the so-called Islamic state, significantly deepened the instability and insecurity in this region and affected the relocation of the Arab population towards the European countries. The Islamic State took countless lives and caused an enormous tide of refugees coming from the Asian continent.

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[35] Srđan V. Starcevic and Ilija Z. Kajtez, "Arapsko proleće i bezbednost Evrope", *Srpska nauka danas*, vol. 1, no. 2, p.231
[36] Ibidem, p. 237

Picture 2: "Protests in Tunisia in 2011".[37]

Hundreds of thousands of people living in the war-struck areas, seeing no solution for the events in questions set out towards Europe, which is deemed to be the biggest migration after WWII. The Migrant crisis affected the security of both the European countries which were the final destination, and the transit countries they went across. The tide of refugees was followed by various negative phenomena such as clashes, organised criminal, social and political quakes in the countries they went through and came to. In many of these countries the refugees were seen as a threat to the economic and social stability and health security which affected the animosity of the local population towards the migrants even more. The migrant crisis is currently one of the biggest threats to the security of the European countries which brought along deeper political and social challenges Europe was facing with. This is manifested by the destabilisation of the relationship of the European Union, the inability of the European Union to solve the problem of the migrant crisis, the rise of extremism.

3.2. The basic characteristics of the Western Balkans Migration Route

The Republic of Serbia was the only country on the Western Balkans Migration route almost all the migrants went through, while Macedonia and Bulgaria were not exploited so

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[37] "Middle East protests: Major rally in Tunisia capital" - https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12585935 (accessed on 17.6.2019.)

much. Of eight possible routes the migrants were using, the Western Balkans one came to the top in the beginning of 2015. in term of the number of people that were using it. "764 000 migrants entered the territory of the Republic of Serbia during 2015, the majority of which were citizens of Syria and Afghanistan".[38] Given the fact that an increasing pressure was being placed on the Republic of Serbia due to a constant adding-up in the number of migrants. On June 18th 2015, the government of the Republic of Serbia formed a Working group for resolving the problem of mixed migration flows. A special working group which had the function of coordinating, following and analysing the mixed migration flows in the Republic of Serbia. Special attention is paid to the issues within these courses and the strategies and measures for solving them are being actively worked on. It is also competent for the coordination and harmonisation of views of all the bodies of organisations, both the state and the non-state ones, which are in charge of migrations.

After that, on September 4th 2015, the state has accepted "Reaction plan in case of an increased flow of the migrants".[39] The Reaction plan identifies the competent bodies, organisations and institutions, their tasks in case of a mass inflow of migrants, the measures and activities that shall be enforced, as well as the human, financial and other resources necessary for securing an urgent accommodation to the migrants and for an undisturbed access to their rights.[40] Based on this plan and according to the Law on managing migrations, the Commesariat for refugees and migrations proposes the measures for taking care of the illegal migrants to the government. Serbia is just a transit country on the Western Balkans Migration route, where only a small number of people intends to stay and start a new life. Some of them stay for more than a year, so both the governmental and non-governmental international organisations and the Republic of Serbia itself have tried to treat them the right way, as much as they could. The government of the Republic of Serbia had a positive view at the moment thousands and thousands if migrants were flowing in, and urged the whole society to help their temporary and humane accommodation. There are five asylum centers in the Republic of Serbia: in Banja Koviljača, Bogovađa, Sjenica, Tutin and Krnjača and 13 reception centers. After a Temporary Reception Centre for the registration and urgent accommodation of the migrants was founded in Preševo on July 8th 2015, three months later, a centre in Bujanovac was also opened due to an increased flow of the migrants and the need

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[38] Dragan Živojinović, "Migracije, geopolitika i Evropska unija?" In Dejan Milenković (ed.), *MIgracije kao izazov za Srbiju i EU,* Belgrade, 2017. p.15-21
[39] "Reaction plan in case of an increased flow of the migrants", Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2015 https://www.minrzs.gov.rs/sites/default/files/2018-11/Plan%20Vlade0001.pdf
[40] Ibidem.

for urgent accommodation. A transit reception centre was organised in Kanjiža in the meantime, and because of the redirecting of the migrant route towards Croatia, transit centers were also opened in Sid and Sombor. Additional capacities for the accommodation of the migrants were opened in Subotica and Kikinda, but due to the increased inflow of the migrants coming from Bulgaria, the capacities for their urgent acceptance and accommodation were provided in the municipalities of Bosilegrad, Dimitrovgrad, Negotin, Pirot and Zaječar.[41] Inside the reception centers, the migrants are provided with the necessary living conditions. Namely, they are given three meals per day, adequate clothing which is collected in different way, while the management of the centre provides them with the necessary products for personal hygiene. They can also address special centers if they have any health issues. Shall they have any questions, the experts from certain non-governmental organisations are also at their service.
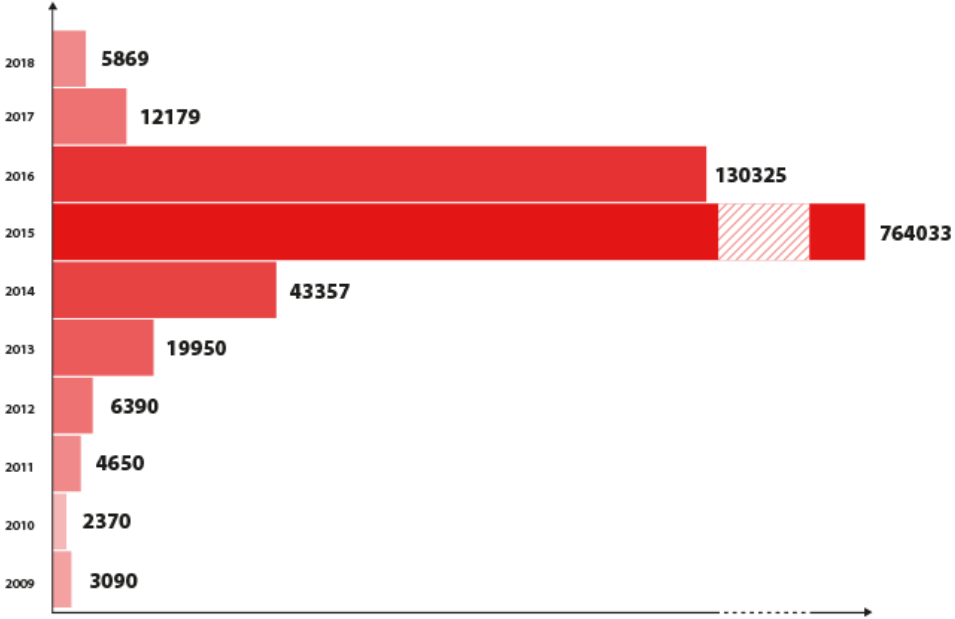
Picture 3: "The number of illegal entrances in the Republic of Serbia by years".[42]

[41] Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, http://www.kirs.gov.rs/wb-page.php?kat_id=50 (accessed on 24.4.2019.)

[42] Migrant routes – Western – Balkan route, FRONTEX, https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-balkan-route/, (assessed on 17.06.2019.)

There are three phases in the question of the relation of the Republic of Serbia towards migration crisis. The beginning of 2015 marks the first phase when Serbia saw fining migrants who were coming from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. All of this was happening without the necessary legal support and without the sufficient number of translators. It was known that a huge number of migrants was returned from the borders, and collective returning is the breach of refugee law. This crisis also showed loopholes in the work of authorized entities for registration of these persons, both in the reception centre in Preševo and in the capital, where migrants used to dwell in the park next to the bus station. The second phase begins by building a wall on the Hungarian border and changing the route of migrants towards Croatia. The main feature of this phase were bad conditions of the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Croatia which caused detaining of the free flow of goods and people on their borders. However, with the action of the EU entities, the relations stabilized, the cooperation between the two countries reestablished and migrants' movement towards the EU was enabled again. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel drew attention to the worsening of the relations in the Western Balkans and said that things could get extremely dangerous and that if Germany closed its boundaries for the migrants, serious clashes would be caused. The third phase began as a result of the two regional meetings in Vienna and Zagreb. In 2016, the chiefs of the police of Austria, Slovenia, Serbia and Macedonia made an agreement on the ways of limiting the movement of the migrants in this region. It was decided that those migrants who possess the necessary documents (which those who left their country because of the war destructions could not possibly have) will earn the right to enter the state. Discrimination was also present during the process of giving someone an asylum since it depended on the nationality of the asylum seeker. An additional complication was the fact that the translators had the right to decide and choose the people who would have the status of a refugee. The need to protect the security of these countries and their boundaries was at the centre of these negotiations, all of which was regulated by the "Declaration on the joint management of the borders". Such agreements were the basis for the very act of closing the Slovenian and the Austrian border, which resulted in the closing of the whole route in the end. This forced a decrease in the number of migrants in the EU countries, as well as the prolonged stay of the migrants in the Western Balkans region, which further caused the increase of the criminal rate, as well as the smuggling of people as the only solution for entering the EU and the loss of control of their movement due to the lack of the legal ways of entering it.[43]

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[43] Brankica Grupković, Miroslava Jelačić Kojić and Vladimir Petronijević, "Srbija na izbegličkoj ruti – humanitarni odgovor I pravna prilagođavanja", *Spoljnopoliticke sveske*, February 2016, p.5-20

Picture 4: "Migrants on the Aegean Sea"[44]

The journey from Turkey to Greece across the Aegean Sea is the most stressful moment that the migrants went through on their route. The migrants were travelling in small rubber boats which were often cramped and fell into the sea due to an enormously heavy load. Many people died on that route.[45]

Due to the seriousness of the situation and the constant inflow of the migrants and refugees on October 8th 2015, on the margins of the Council for the Judiciary in Luxembourg, a high-level Conference which discussed the challenges posed by the Eastern-Mediterranean and the Western Balkans Route was held. The Declaration which was accepted at this point gave prompts for the resolving of the migrant issue on these two routes: support for Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and the most struck transit countries was proposed, as well as cooperation in fighting the organised crime, resolving the key causes of forced displacement, as well as greater international inclusion with the aim of finding an adequate solution for the migrant crisis.[46]

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[44] https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/28917942.html (accessed 12.6.2019.)

[45] Ivana Vukašević and Boris Majlat, "Srbija nakon zatvaranja Balkanske Rute", Humanitarian Center for integration and tolerance, http://hcit.rs/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Srbija-godinu-dana-posle-zatvaranja-Balkanskerute.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1Bqa0sehQjzwsudJK1LgG5vC8RhpgWNFlV8_OWxPQ52b2CJvOyhN_Cp0M, (accessed on 18.6.2019.), p. 23.

[46] Commissariat for Refugees and Migration, "Overview of the activities on the increase of migrant flows"-http://kirs.gov.rs/wb-page.php?kat_id=160 (accessed on 10.8.2019.)

Jean Claude Juncker, the president of the European Parliament held a meeting in Brussels regarding the migrant crisis and the Western Balkans migration route. The chiefs of states and governments mostly affected by these routes were present at this meeting, when an agreement on the improvement of cooperation was reached, as well as the establishment of regular meetings of the states which are a part of this route. "A plan of Operational Measures" was accepted, which meant there would be a coordination and the naming of a contact person in each of these states for an easier and more controlled movement of the migrants on the borders.[47]

The European Commission proposed a new package of urgent financial help immediately before the closure of the Western Balkans' migration route, which was aimed at the EU members, especially Greece. Two days later, it presented a detailed plan on concrete measures necessary to restore control over the management of the external and internal border of the European Union, whose rules all member states should apply, and that the principle of passing through must be done away with, that the member states have to approve access to the asylum seekers and reject those who just want to go through. Serious flaws in relation to the external boundaries of the European Union also had to be removed. The aim was to abolish all the internal border controls as soon as possible, not later than December 2016. Given the fact that the pressure was not getting lesser, and that there were discrepancies regarding the behaviour of different countries towards the migrants, an overall solution on the level of the EU had to be reached. Otherwise, there was the dangerous possibility that the states would turn to the national solutions or agreements in smaller groups, which could pose a serious threat to the implementation of the Schengen Agreement.

The Balkan Leaders' Route Summit held in Vienna in the immediate aftermath showed that the EU member states held different views on the matter of the migtant crisis. Although it was gathered with the aim of finding a joint solution for the migrant crisis, i.e. the prevention of a new migrant flow across the Balkan route, no new solutions were proposed at the Summit. The German Chancellor, Angela Merkel underlined the necessity of reaching an agreement with the third group of countries on returning the migrants who did not meet the asylum requirements, as well as the strengthening of the Frontex for better control of the external borders of the European Union.

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[47] "Leaders agree 17-point action plan at meeting on migration flows across Western Balkans" - Available at: http://europa.ba/?p=37301 (accessed on 10.8.2019.)

Due to a large number of migrants who entered Hungary from the territory of the Republic of Serbia and the pressure it suffered, the Hungarian government decided to build a 174-kilomtre-long fence on the border between Hungary and Serbia. Having built it and making the procedure and the possibility of entering Hungary more rigor, the direction to Hungary was closed, which is why migrants changed their route towards the countries of the EU to the direction of the Republic of Croatia.[48]

Croatia, however, was not fully ready to accept such an inflow of migrants, so they decided to stop on all border crossings towards Serbia, which was caught in a very complex situation including economic losses, so it was forced to introduce countermeasures. After the appeal of the officials of the EU, Croatia opened the borders. Our country responded by abolishing countermeasures, which resolved the situation and the traffic has been working without any trouble since then. In the meanwhile, the communication with Croatia improved in terms of the situation with migrants, when "The Protocol for cooperation of border police about migrants" was signed. Bearing in mind that the "Agreement on the police cooperation" was signed first, with Croatia, and then "The Protocol of mixed controls enforcement at the mutual national border", the Ministry of the internal affairs of the Republic of Serbia suggested Croatians the establishment of mixed patrols of the two ministries of internal affairs.[49]

During the meeting of the ministers of internal affairs of Serbia, Macedonia and Austria in 2015 a "Memorandum on the Agreement and Cooperation regarding the protection of the state border".[50]At the next meeting the chiefs of the police of Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia and Austria agreed on the prohibition of entry to the migrants having no identity documents or giving false data on their nationality or identity. They also agreed to carry out a join registration of refugees on the Macedonian-Greek border and to grant passing only to the persons coming from the war-struck countries. Pursuant to this agreement Macedonia decided to grant passing only to the Syria and Iraq's refugees coming from Greece, which Serbia also started to implement shortly after. The implementation of stricter border rules has significantly lessened the migrant inflow, but also caused a hold on the

[48] Kern Soeren, "Europe's Great Migration Crisis", *Gatestoun Institute,* 12 July 2015, available at: https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/6146/europe-migration (accessed on 10.8.2019.)
[49] Veljko Blagojević and Branislav Milosavljević, "Političko-pravni okvir savremenih migracija u Jugoistočnoj Evropi", *Војно дело*, 2016, p.75-93
[50] "Memorandum of Understanding and Cooperation in the Field of Border Protection", signed in Ohrid, Available at: http://arhiva.mup.gov.rs/cms_lat/aktivnosti.nsf/040915-memorandum-ohrid.h (accessed on 12.8.2019.)

Macedonian-Greek border, when between 13 and 14 thousands of people coming to Greece from Turkey in the beginning of March.

3.3. The consequences of closing the Western Balkan migration routes

The official closing of the Western Balkans Migration route occured on March 8th, 2016. The decision was made at the Summit of Turkey and the European Union. The EU - Turkey Summit was held on March 7th, 2016 with the aim of coming up an overall solution to the migrant crisis, i.e. to drastically decrease the migrant flow from Turkey to Greece and to access the return and the readmission of the migrants, as well as to fight against the smugglers. The EU leaders met the Turkish Prime Minister, A Davutoglu at the Summit. The priority of the Summit was the quick and complete implementation of the EU Turkey action plan in order to stop the migration flows from Turkey, the return to the full implementation of the Shengen rules until the end of the year, the providing of the humanitarian help for the refugees and the closing of the Western Balkans Migration Route. A general agreement was reached to discuss the readmission of all the new, irregular migrants before the European Summit, those coming from the Turkish territory to some of the Greek islands that are not in need of international protection, and to pay an additional sum of three million Euros as a donation, as well as an additional help for the Syrian refugee camps. Other matters include the discussion on forming safer zones on the territory of Syria, the acceptance of the Syrian refugees coming from the Turkish camps by the EU on a "1 for 1" basis for every Syrian citizen coming from Greece that Turkey accepts, as well as a visa-free regime for Turkey until June as a step to accelerate the membership of Turkey in the EU, i.e. the preparations for the opening of the new negotiating chapters.[51]

The consequence of the closing of the route was the fact that a large number of migrants remained trapped on Greek territory on their way from Turkey to the European Union. However, during the EU-Turkey Summit, the EU supported Greece in its action of quick return of the migrants to Turkey. Besides, the NATO organised a succession of

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[51] "EU-Turkey Summit: Balkan route closed for illegal migrants" - Available at:http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/planeta.299.html:594558-Samit-EU---Turska-Balkanska-ruta-zatvorena-za-ilegalne-migrante – (accessed on 25.6.2019.)

activities in the Aegen Sea with the aim of supervising the flow of the migrants and returning them to Turkey if they find them in the Turkish waters.[52]

A report named "Closed boundaries" talks about the consequences of closing the Western Balkans Migration route, as well as the influence it has on the refugees moving across Macedonia and Serbia. The consequences have left their mark both on the states and state policies, as well as the migrants on their way to the European Union. "The establishing of the restrictive policies on the issue of migrations and the closing of the boundaries have drastically influenced the position of the migrants. The limitations regarding the asylum procedure is not only opposed to the International Law on Refugees and the international Human Rights Law, but it also causes an increased risk for the refugees making them resort to a longer and more dangerous journeys towards the desired country. More and more people opt for the services of the smugglers due to the fact that it is practically impossible to reach the desired country in a legal way. In cases when they cannot pay the smuggling services, the migrants are easily misused. Women and children, especially those travelling on their own, are particularly exposed to violence, maltreatment and the danger of becoming the victims of human trafficking. Since the journeys are becoming longer and more expensive, the migrants, and women in particular are facing with an increased risk of misuse, while some of them even resort to prostitution in order to survive. Other refugees remained stuck on the borders or the territories of the countries they found themselves in without the possibility of going through. The loss of hope that they would reach their destination combined with poor life conditions and the lack of information on the available options, as well as the asylum procedure have caused high anxiety and stress levels among the refugees. The fact has many of these people were either witnesses or victims of violence and destruction of the country in the country of their origin and faced numerous dangers on their way only adds up to the difficulty of their position. A number of them has lost family members or friends because of the war and the clashes in their country or during the journey. Many of them were displaced a few times before they set out to Europe".[53]

In Aleksandar Saša Gajić's paper "The influence of the regional crises on the contemporary situation in the Balkans: The geostrategic implications of the migrant and the Ukranian crisis", "region of the Western Balkans from a "water heater" into a "container of a

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[52] "The consequence of the closing Balkan route", Avaliable at: https://www.blic.rs/vesti/svet/posledice-zatvaranja-balkanske-rute-u-grckoj-zarobljeno-57500-izbeglica/015qlnk - (accessed on 15.8.2019.)

[53] "Zatvorene granice – Programski izveštaj o uticaju zatvaranja granica za izbeglice u pokretu, sa fokusom na žene I decu u Srbiji i Makedoniji", Available at: http://azil.rs/azil_novi/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Zatvorene-granice.pdf - (accessed on 15.8.2019.)

particular kind" the migrants are accumulating in can be extremely harmful to the states in the Balkan region".[54]

4. The influence of the Western Balkan migrant route on the security of the Republic of Serbia

A number of authors believes that a detailed analysis of the concept of security has never been given, thus making it vague and unclear. Numerous definitions of this term have come into use due to this fact, yet none of them is being referred to on a regular basis. Exposure to the breach of security and its infringement i.e. danger, is regarded as its main element, which means that if there is no danger one should not discuss the matter in question.[55] Apart from danger, that is, the thing putting an object in danger, the ABC of security also includes the referential object, i.e. the endangered object, the subject of security i.e. the one that protects, and the security means or measures i.e. the way an object is protected being the last element of the concept in question.[56]

One of the most general definitions of the concept of security was given by the founder of the Copenhagen School, Barry Buzan, who claims that security is defined as an inclination towards the absence of threats.[57] However, it is important to point out that prior to the Cold War, the concept of security had been exclusively related to the military sphere, while in its aftermath, it had spread to the other ones as well, i.e. the political, economic, societal and ecological. Furthermore, the state is no longer the only referential object- it now also encompasses individuals, social groups, regions, etc.[58]

There are five security sectors i.e. military, political, economic, societal and the ecological one. The differences between these five sectors lie in the referential object of security and the threats to it. All of them are intertwined, however, and do not operate on separate plains. "The military sector includes the balance of powers, the political rapport of the authorities, the economic one denotes the economic relationships, the ecological sector is

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[54] Aleksandar Saša Gajić, "Uticaj regionalnih kriza na savremene prilike na Balkanu: Geostrateške implikacije migrantske i Ukrajinske krize", *Kultura Polisa*, Special issue, 2017, p.11-29.
[55] Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori i nivoi*, Službeni glasnik and Beogradski cenar za bezbednosnu politiku, Belgrade, 2012. p.36
[56] Ibidem, p. 36
[57] Ibidem, pp. 33-34
[58] Ibidem, p. 31.

related to the relationship of the man and nature, while the societal one is interested in the state of affairs between the social groups".[59]

4.1.   The influence of the Balkan migrant route on the political security sphere

The threats towards the political security sphere aim to endanger the organisational stability of a particular society. Throughout the human history, the social and political gatherings have been organised inside the town-states, sometimes the imperia, as well as empires and kingdoms. Nowadays, the state is regarded as the dominant form of a political organisation, thus making the political security closely related to its stability.[60]

Since the state is the only one that has monopoly over the legitimate use of force, sovereignty remains the way to ensure and keep its stability, which means that the sovereignty in question is the main referential object of political security. The main securing actors are the state and its political elites. The difference between military security and the political one lies in the fact that in the latter one, the opposing political parties are able to present certain occurrences as potential threats to the political security of the state. The side security factors apart from the state include the international media and organisations.[61]

It is of utmost importance to explain that not all countries are endangered by political threats in the same way. The reasons are numerous, and one should point out that the seriousness of the threat is not the only criteria. On the contrary, different states belonging to the international community, either the strong or the weak ones, will not be endangered by a certain threat the same way, nor will they have the same means of solving problems. When it comes to the power of the state, one can make a distinction between the internal and the external power. The internal power is manifested by the social-political cohesion, as well as the capability of the state to see to its duties responsibly. The strength and the weakness do not necessarily have to exclude each other, they can also be seen as two polar opposites. The

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[59] Branka Panić, "Socijetalna bezbednost – Bezbednost i identitet", in, Miroslav Hadžić (ed.), *Bezbednost Zapanog Balkana*, Center for Civil-Military Relations, Belgrade, 2009. p.30-31.
[60] Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori i nivoi*, Službeni glasnik and Beogradski cenar za bezbednosnu politiku, Belgrade, 2012. p.150-151.
[61] Ibidem, pp. 146-147.

states mainly find themselves between the two. The external power is defined as the international legitimacy i.e. the international recognition of the state.

In order to get a fuller understanding of the threats to the political security, one has to delve into their aim. They can aim to put pressure on the government of a particular state because of the certain politics it implements. Other aims may include its overthrowing due to the discontent with the way it operates, with the empowering of the secessionist groups so as to weaken and destroy the existing political structure, as its utmost escalation.[62]

The treats caused by the Western Balkans Migration Route have not had such consequences on the political security of the Republic of Serbia. The migrant who came to Serbia had not had such interests neither any public political gatherings nor protests against the government and its policies. It can also be said that they kept the distance between themselves as well. They originated from different social management, systems, cultures and in fact had more differences than similarities, apart from the only one, to live with dignity in a stable environment, that is, to go across the territory of the Republic of Serbia, which was the last one on their way to the European Union.

When it comes to the external factors of the infringement of the political security of the Republic of Serbia due to the Western Balkans Migration Route, one can say that no significant influences have occurred, due to the fact that a clear agreement by all the states on this route on one hand, and the European Union on the other, was reached. Jean Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission presented "An Agenda as a response of Europe to the Migrant Crisis". During the Conference which the high officials participated in the challenges imposed by the Eastern- Mediterranean and the Western-Balkan Routes were discussed. Serbia and Croatia ratified a "Protocol of Cooperation of the Border Police on Migrants" while a "Memorandum on Understanding and Cooperation in the sphere of Protection of the Border State" was signed by the Ministers of Internal Affairs of the states of Serbia, Macedonia, Hungary and Austria. A conclusion was reached by the directors and chiefs of the Police Departments of the states of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Austria that these countries were ready to respond by joint forces to the challenges imposed by the influx of migrants (e. g. the placement of foreign policemen on the Macedonian-Greek border).

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[62] Ibidem, pp. 150-153.

In general, it all ran smoothly with occasional minor issues. A slightly more serious problem developed when the Hungarian government decided to put a barbed-wire fence along the line of the border. The Hungarian authorities have implemented a stricter control of the migrants' entry on their territory, so the Republic of Serbia was forced to send a great number of migrants to another member of the European Union, i.e. The Republic of Croatia. The Croatian government regarded this act as one of an ill will, given the fact they believed that the Republic of Serbia could have sent the migrants to the border with Romania, also a member of the European Union. Their response to such an action carried out by Serbia was an implementation of the blockage of the border as well as a number of economic measures regarding the transport of people and goods. In the centre of such a decision on part of the Republic of Serbia was the very decision of the migrants to choose the shorter route towards the European Union via the territory of the Republic of Croatia, which would have made their journey easier either way. Thanks to a quick reaction of the European Union, the Republic of Croatia was forced to withdraw its decisions and normalise the flow of people and goods across its border. A few protest notes were exchanged between the two countries, which had already had some traditional neighbouring disagreements and unresolved questions. However, after the stabilisation of the situation on the borders, an end was put to the tensions between them. In certain regimes, situations such as these (e.g. putting a barbed-wire fence or blocking the borders) might cause an escalation of animosity or even become a serious dispute, which would be a significant threat not only to the political stability of the state, but its military and economic security as well. Fortunately, no such occurences were registered in the Republic of Serbia, so it can be said that such actions have not caused threats to the political security.

There are internal factors which may create threats to the political stability of the state as well. These include the involvement of different religious organisations, political parties, humanitarian organisations, as well as individuals who may produce the destabilisation of the state and cause a crisis of the society. One of the core influences causing threats on the internal level is the way certain political parties view the issues of security, territorial integrity of the state, as well as its economy.[63] The migrant crisis was not a part of the traditional discussion of the authorities and the opposing parties, morover, the latter had no major objections regarding the policies on migrants' whereabouts on the territory of the Republic of Serbia and put no pressure on the government, which had a positive effect on it, since it only

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[63] Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori i nivoi*, Službeni glasnik and Beogradski cenar za bezbednosnu politiku, Belgrade, 2012. p.150-152

had to deal with coordination and proper behaviour towards the migrants, without having to justify its ways and methods both to the opposing parties and the population in general. When it comes to the religious organisations in Serbia, a country where Christianity is the most common religion, but which, on the other hand, has a large number of members of the Islamic community, one can say with certainty that both of them have behaved properly towards the diversity of the migrants, and that no significant political objections in that respect have been registered, Both foreign and local humanitarian organisations have helped the government of the Republic of Serbia to overcome the newly created situation, without leaving space for critical views regarding this matter, mostly by greatly contributing to the augmentation of the budget meant for the resolution of this problem by means of donations.

When any kind of a violent act or an organisation becomes related to terrorism, or even worse, declared as such, its legitimacy is momentarily taken away. The definition of terrorism used by the government of the USA is among the most famous ones: "Terrorism is defined as a politically motivated violence planned in advance, aiming at the non-fighting goals, carried out by the non-state groups or secret agents in order to influence the audience".[64] The general public often regards the migrants as terrorists, even though a number of them has left their homes exactly because of the terrorist acts. Viewing the situation in such a way is partly justified due to the fact that a number of cases of terrorists trailing along the routes of migrants, for the sake of easier entry on the territory of the state they aim to put on a terrorist act, was registered. Terrorist acts greatly influence the individuals, the society and the state both in physical and psychological sense. Ever since the terrorist act in Paris which occurred on November 13th 2015, the citizens of Europe are frightened by this phenomena, as well as the general insecurity and unpredictability, especially when it is known that between 500.000 and a million of migrants is currently found in Europe, and that there is a great probability that some of them are members of terrorist organisations.

Migration-related terrorism is an international problem and the repression measures have to be carried out with the joint forces of the international community and particular states. The states can also fight terrorism by using the positive aspects of migrations. The easiest way to achieve this is to use the measures which make the social, political, economic, religious and cultural integration of migrants in the given state possible. The social relations achieved connect the migrants state of origin with the current state and greatly contribute to

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[64] Ibidem, p.155

their development. The financial means sent to their countries contribute to their development and a good impression about the state the money is sent from. The professionals among the migrants residing in the host countries can greatly contribute to the interests of the origin countries if the negotiating conditions in terms of the external affairs are ensured. When it comes to Serbia and the Western Balkans Route, no cases of terrorists which misused the migrant whereabouts in order to carry out terrorist activities on its territory were registered.

On April 29th 2008 in Luxembourg the Republic of Serbia ratified the Stabilisation and Association agreement with the European Union, then submitted a request for a full membership on December 22nd 2009, only to finally be given the candidacy status on March 1st 2012.[65] The Republic of Serbia was given a list of tasks and conditions as a part of the negotiating chapters which it should fulfil on its European course. On July 18th 2016, during the third conference held between the governments of the Republic of Serbia and the European Union it was decided that two new chapters shall be opened i.e. Chapter 23, related to judiciary and the basic human rights, as well as Chapter 24 which refers to justice, freedom and security.[66] The aim of successful resolving of the matters from Chapter 24 and its closing is to ensure such conditions that people will be able to move freely and that security is guaranteed to them. The Chapter consists of twelve points, and those relevant for this thesis include migrations, the external borders of the European Union, repression of drug and people trafficking as well as terrorism, and lastly, cooperation between the police and the customs office. The question of migrations is of utmost importance for a candidate country such as Serbia, besides the matter of the political asylum. Every country tends to protect its sovereignty and public policy and in that respect it has to align its legislation with the acts of the European Union related to this segment. The final goal of the accordance of these segments is their complete implementation. The issue of migrations is comprised of a number of subareas that the state needs to deal with. These include both legal and illegal migrations, readmission i.e. the return of persons who are trespassers on the territory of a certain country to the state of origin, as well as the rules for behaving towards the foreigners.[67] The migrations as a social phenomenon are extremely important for the European Union, Thanks to its position on the European continent, the Republic of Serbia is an inevitable part of the

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[65] "Chronology of the Republic of Serbia's Relations with the European Union" - Available at: http://eupregovori.bos.rs/hronologija-odnosa-srbije-i-eu.html - (accessed on 13.8.2019.)
[66] Ibidem.
[67] The Ministry for European integrations of the Republic of Serbia, "Chapter 24– the issues of justice, freedom and security", available at: http://euinfo.rs/plac2/eu-poglavlja/poglavlje-24-pitanja-pravde-slobode-i-bezbednosti/ (accessed on 13.8.2019.)

migrant route towards the European Union. When it comes to legal migrations, the laws on work permits of foreigners, their documents and the overall rules of their residence on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, as well as the requests for the merging of families, one needs to point out that the legislative acts need to be in accordance with the ones of the European Union. In matters of readmission, it can be said that the Republic of Serbia has ratified an "Agreement on readmission of persons who reside illegally in a certain country".[68]

If one talks about the political sphere of the Western Balkans migration route it is extremely important to point out the efforts and tendencies of the negotiating team of the Republic of Serbia who is doing their best to resolve all the issues belonging to this chapter and align the legislative with the framework of the European Union.

One can say that some countries, the most democratic ones on the international scene, have shown a discordance with the basic principles and values which the European Union is founded on due to its involuntariness to react to a massive inflow of the migrants onto their territories. Namely, according to professor Dragan Simeunovic, they have shown certain anomalies in their policies towards the migrants. He believes that the right of free movement, as one of the grounding principles of the European Union was greatly endangered during the mass flow of the migrants towards the European Union. He also claims that there is an increase of xenophobia in such non-migrational behaviour, which he deems completely unacceptable in today's modern conditions of life when all of us are aware that such hatred was the cause of wars and the loss of thousands of lives.[69] It is a great irony to talk about democracy and human rights all the time, and still allow for someone to not feel safe because of their identity or the fact that they belong to a certain group. This is especially true for countries such as Croatia, Hungary and Slovenia who went to great lengths and took extreme measures in this respect but were only used by migrants as connecting points where they had no intention of staying, on their way to economically developed countries. After the fall of the Berlin Wall no one ever thought that something like that would be made on the borderline nor that the free flow of people would ever be controlled again. Apart from these countries neither Poland nor Slovakia have accepted the order of the European Union regarding the number of migrants that each individual country had to accept.

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[68] Ibidem.
[69] Dragan Simeunović, "Migraciona kriza kao bezbednosni izazov za zemlje zapadnog Balkana – stanje u 2017. i perspektiva", *Kultura Polisa*, Special issue, 2017, p.35-41

Such actions speak volumes about the bad behaviour of countries in the periods of crises, since the goal of the European Union is that its members help each other, without the sheer using of the advantages that the membership in this international organisation provides. It can thus be said that in this respect Serbia has approached the Western Balkans migration route in a civilised and dignified manner, with all the threats to its political security that this route could have caused. The Republic of Serbia defended its territory within its national as well as international laws.

4.2. The influence of the Western Balkans migration route on the economic security sphere

The economic security can be defined in its narrower and broader sense. In the wider sense it is related to the absence of the economic threats, while this term in its narrower sense is covered by several definitions. We can thus speak about the economic security as the need for trade and manufacture. Namely, the state should produce and sell such products which help its ability to defend itself from potential dangers. In order for a country to be able to defend itself in the economic respect, it has to invest in the production of military equipment and its parts, weapons, technologies information systems, different types of fuel, oil, gas.[70]

The economic security in the narrower sense can also be defined by the means of the economic policy. First and foremost, these include the economic help, subventions but also sanctions, strikes, boycotts and restrictions. The third way is the possibility and willingness of a country to ensure its internal security, sustains or improves its position on the international scene with the help of its economic policy and constant economic development.[71]

The economic security shall also be regarded in view of an individual, and in this area it can also be analysed in its narrower and wider meaning. The former includes the availability of food, water and the basic needs for a normal life. In its wider meaning, one can say that the state should provide the necessary working conditions and repress poverty.

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[70] Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori i nivoi*, Službeni glasnik and Beogradski cenar za bezbednosnu politiku, Belgrade, 2012. p.161-164.
[71] Ibidem, pp. 161-164.

The fifth way of understanding the term economic security is the one of a global perspective. This means the maintenance of the world i.e. global financial system, the joint efforts in repressing negative trends such as terrorism, illegal markets and drug trafficking.

Poverty is seen as one of the main threats to the economic stability of a particular country. One could say that famine is caused by natural conditions such as barren lands, unfavourable conditions, etc, but in modern societies it is mostly caused by the political agendas of particular countries. In relation to the state poverty and famine are great threats to its economic security as well. A poor country where famine is a predominant state of affairs most certainly is a weak country, unable to defend itself from other influences and also a breeding ground for the breakouts of war, extinction and persecution of people. Poor countries are very often seen as a starting point and stronghold of terrorism. The global factor is also important, to that extent to which an economy of a particular country depends on the world one. The instability of the global market will have an influence on the internal markets of particular countries. In order to protect themselves, countries become founders or members of some organisations or blocks such as the European Union. The advantages of the global market include the fact that the communication is simplified on such a large market, it is easier for people, goods and money to move around. These benefits, however, also have their drawbacks, since the free flow has made an illegal sale of weapons, drugs and people possible.[72]

The mass movement of migrants greatly influence the number of inhabitants and the potential workforce of the state they decide to stay in. The influence of the inflow of a great number of migrants on the state, in the economic sense is mostly visible on its labour market and its overall financial actions. When a mass inflow of migrants to a particular country occurs, this contributes to an increase in the number of asylum requests. The European Union has its separate financial means which are given to the transiti countries and the migrants' countries of origin. The economy of the country accepting the migrants bears certain consequences i.e. there is an increase in the expenditures in the public sector, it is their duty to provide decent living conditions for the migrants, residence, drinkable water, food and medical supplies. On the other hand, the migrants become employed, which changes the existing structure on the local labour market. An advantage of such state of affairs is the fact that the migrants are willing to accept jobs which the locals are not so keen on doing.

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[72] Ibidem, pp. 168-171.

However, when the migrants are trained to do some jobs, have gained experience and posses the necessary knowledge in certain areas, then they become rivals to the locals. The market share of a particular country on the labour market, caused by the migrants' inflow is not immediately visible. The migrants become an alternative workforce in the countries where the majority of the population is elderly or where there is a deficit of the workforce. The young workforce can affect the development of the national economy in a very positive way. Of course, there are some negative sides of supplying the labour market with the migrant workforce. By supplying the labour market, the conditions for the forming of the grey economy are created. When this occurs, the grey economy increases rapidly and consequently leads the state to the decrease of quality of life. When it comes to the macroeconomic level, these include the breach of all legal procedures and regulations causing the tax evasion and illegal economic transactions. In the countries where great economic problems occur, the local population could show some animosity towards the migrants. The population of the Republic of Serbia has behaved nicely and shown a great extent of tolerance, even though they have a lot of economic problems of their own. When the economy is not greatly developed, there is a fine line between the influx of the workforce which will positively influence the local population and the state, and the situations which will cause an absolute unrest, fear and discontent. The migrants can have a positive influence on the labour market because they are ready to respond to the requests of supply and demand and fill in the gap in between. In that respect, a certain migration policy should be formed, one that would cause the development of certain sectors and the rejuvenation of the workforce in certain outdated yet important jobs which the young local population resorts to. The positive influence of the migrants' flow can felt in their origin countries, the unemployment decreases, the former bad interpersonal relationships in the communities disappear, there is an inflow of money and the financial means are sent to the family members which have not opted for mass migration.[73]

When it comes to Serbia, the main econonmic problems include unemployment and poor living conditions. "The Centre for Applied Social Studies" with the "Friedrich Echbert Foundation" carried out a research called "A Study on Refugees - The Republic of Serbia 2016" which analysed the opinions of the examinees in relation to the migrants. The question of the influence the inflow of the migrants on the unemployment rate and the overall living conditions in the Republic of Serbia was raised. 50, 5 % of those examined claimed that the

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[73] Dragan Simeunović, "Migraciona kriza kao bezbednosni izazov za zemlje zapadnog Balkana – stanje u 2017. i perspektiva", *Kultura Polisa*, Special issue, 2017, p.33-39.

inflow of migrants and their prolonged stay on the terriotry of the Republic of Serbia would have a great influence on the unemployment rate, while 19,7 % said that it would influence it to a certain, but not great extent. ¾ of the examinees believed that the keeping of migrants from the African and Asian continents would be a burden to the state finances. The propsed solution would be a bigger engagement of the foreign countries in terms of investments and different kinds of donations so as to provide an easier and better quality of life for the migrants in a particular country. The question of the best solution for the engagement of the migrants and their contribution to the economy of the country they reside in was also raised. The majoritz of those examined said that it was a cheap labour force, and also that they regard the migrants as significant factors for the development of the agricultural sector in the underdeveloped parts of the country, while a certain percentage of the examinees sees the migrants as new potential entrepreneurs with enough ideas as well as capital.[74]

The unemploment of the migrants can greatly increase the criminal rate in the country, since they resort to illegal actions due to the fact that they are not able to earn for a living.[75] If one takes a look at the unemploment rate in the Republic of Serbia and the underdevolpement of its economy it can be said that it has no pressing need to keep any number of migrants within its boundaries. Because of the Bill on human rights, the core value of humanity and the European solidarity, however, it agreed on accepting as many people as its capacities allow. Illegal money flows through the country and makes the efforts of the state institutions pointless because the existence of a number of smugglers has become an alternative way for the migrants to enter the country. The illegal and tax-exempt financial means are received via the smuggling of migrants as well as human trafficking, especially women and children. This type of criminal wrongdoing is extremely common in situations of mass inflow of the migrants, when very high prices are formed due to a great demand for illegal solutions of entering the country and a great wish of the smugglers to earn money in such a way. The smugglers are constantly cheating the migrants and taking money away from them by using force. There is also an increase in the number of killings because of their resistance, or the

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[74] Slobodan Nićin, Tamara Gajic, "Migraciona kriza i njene posledice na ekonomiju Srbije", *Politicka revija*, vol 54, no.4, 2017. p.112-113.
[75] Ruti Sinai, Adi Binhas, Yael Rockoff, "Alatke za rad za integraciju imigranata u Srbiju", International Organization for Migration - Mission to Serbia, http://www.kirs.gov.rs/media/uploads/Migracije/Publikacije/Alatke_za_rad_za_integraciju_imigranata_u_Srbiji.pdf, p. 6 – 70, (accessed on 10.8.2019.)

tendency of the smugglers to evade the carrying out of the promised transfer to a particular country.[76]

4.3.   The influence of the Western Balkans Route onto the societal security sphere

The societal security sphere deals with the relationships between the social groups. The referential object within the societal sector of security is the collective identity. Consequently, security can be endangered simultaneously with the human identity. Namely, "the societal security is defined as the ability of a particular society to protect its most important features even in unstable circumstances and despite the threats".[77] The concept of societal security was developed by Barry Buzan. According to him, "the societal security is defined as the sustainable development of the traditional patterns of languages culture, religious and national identities, as well as the customs practised in a particular country".[78] Ole Weaver defines the societal security as "the ability of a particular society to protect its core characteristics despite the changing circumstances and despite the possible or real threats".[79]

What makes certain individuals identifiable inside a particular social group is the collective identity. The collective identity is defined as the referential object of the societal sector of security.[80] When one talks about the collective identity, the one referred to is mostly the gender, racial, sexual, ethnic or religious one. The collective identity, however, can be any kind of identity which gives the individual the feeling that it belongs to a particular community. Every individual usually acquires different types of collective identities, from the basic to the more complex ones, e.g. the national and the religious one.

In political sense, the most important ones are the national and the religious one. The attention is usually paid to these when the living conditions are endangered. When the collective identity of a society is threatened, it usually has two ways of dealing with the

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[76] Dragan Simeunović, "Migraciona kriza kao bezbednosni izazov za zemlje zapadnog Balkana – stanje u 2017. i perspektiva", *Kultura Polisa*, special issue, 2017, p. 31-56
[77] Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori i nivoi*, Službeni glasnik and Beogradski cenar za bezbednosnu politiku, Belgrade, 2012 p.179.
[78] Ibidem, p. 179.
[79] Ibidem, p. 179.
[80] Ibidem, p. 179.

threats in question: either defending it by making it stronger and emphasising it (i.e. by lessening it and weakening the influence of the other, questionable identity) or by delegating the problem of the infringement of the collective identity from the societal sector onto the military or the political one.

If there is a fear of the infringement of the collective identity in a particular society, there is a threat to the societal security as well. The identity, however, is a very complex and dynamic concept in itself, so one can make a distinction between the ways certain changes of identity are regarded. Some will be treated as normal, while others will be seen as a threat.

The dynamics and the complexity of the collective identity is most prominent within the societal sector, in view of the mutually excluding identities, such as the religious and the ethnical one.

According to Weaver, Buzan and DeWilde, the social threats of this type are divided into four groups: migrations, horizontal competition, vertical competition and depopulation.

Migrations definitely are the most analysed concept within the societal sector. As such, they are often regarded as a serious threat to the collective identity of a particular community. In horizontal competition there exists a threat to the societal security when certain cultural influences of other groups that are not present on the territory in question are seen as real threats. Vertical competition occurs when there is a number of different social groups within a particular state. It can also be carried out inside a state in the form of the acts of secession, Secession is not treated as problem related exclusively to destabilisation of the political sector and the military one, i.e. a thing that only threatens the territorial integrity and soveregnity of the state, but as a phenomenon which will have enormous consequences onto the collective identity and the national one in particular, i.e. significantly endanger the societal sphere of the state. Depopulation occurs as a consequence of certain phenomenon such as wars, famine, poverty, diseases, natural disasters and catastrophes which have the aim to banish and destroy the hostile population.

It could be said that rivalry lies in the root of these conflicts, in the tendency to protect the identity, as is the case with the horizontal and vertical competition, or the main motif could be something completely different, as in the case with the depopulation and the migrations.

There are examples of Islamophobia on the terriotry of the European continent due to an enormous inflow of the migrants. It is constantly increasing, and it can be said that this phenomena is justified to a certain extent given the fact that the inhabitants of Europe have witnesssed certain incidents caused by the Islamic extremism and which creates a sense of fear and worry for one's security. On the other hand, Islamophobia occurs as a logical consequence of the fact that the population sees itself as a victim of the infringement of the Christian identity. These fears are based on the fact that none of the institutions in charge can provide the public with the exact number of Muslims in Europe, neither to completely identify the threas and consequently prevent the catastrophe such as that one which occured on the airports, squares and fairs of European capitals. The eact number cannot be determined due to the fact that the legal framework prohibits the creation of the population register on religious grounds, so Europe is facing an enoromous number of Muslims who are excluded not only from the population register statistics, but also from all other systems which would have to take responsibility for them. So, when it comes to the infringement of the collective identity of Europe and the Western Europe as well "it being the ultimate goal" it is inevitable that Europe has the so-called paralel Islamic reality which it controls less and less every day.[81]

In order to include the Muslims into the Western European society, an individual belonging to this religion should regard the thing that seems unacceptable to its general framework as an option. Namely, they should place their identity onto the individual plane, as is the case with any citizen of Europe in the multitude of religious identities, so as to find their own place in a different environment, one which will not threaten their values, beliefs and habits. Due to the nature of the Islamic religion, a small number of Muslims is ready to do so, this even being visible among the Muslims that have been citizens of Europe for generations. On the other hand, one needs to point out that this is extremely difficult for them, especially the migrants following their routes, since they are constantly meeting environments they have nothing in common with. The West created its views on migrants on the most basic types of Orientalism, while the latter have also formed their one-sided perception on Occidentalism.[82]

The migrant's whereabouts have left its mark on some people on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, while the everyday activities of the others were not harmed in any way, nor were the values cultivated by that part of the population endangered. Various groups of people accepted them in various ways. On one hand, during the biggest inflow of a large

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[81] Ljubiša Despotović and Nebojša Kuzmanović, "Idejni aspekti duhovne krize hrišćanstva: religijski kontekst migrantske krize I identitetske posledice po evropske nacije", *Kultura Polisa*, Special issue, 2017, p.61-62.
[82] Ibidem. P.64-65.

numbers of migrants in Serbia various organisations, foundations, individuals and humanitarian actions collected help in order to help them in any way possible. For example, a humanitarian action organised in Novi Sad under the slogan "We are all human - be humane" asked people to bring water, food, shoes, clothes and toileteries to several locations in Novi Sad round the clock.[83] Different groups of migrants were taken into account, so the organisation "Save the babies" asked for help for the babies on the Western Balkans migration route and pleaded for contribution by bringing diapers, bottles, food etc.[84] Members of different humanitarian organisations, international organisations, as well as individuals in Belgrade were constantly checking on various migrant groups and brought different kinds of help and all the necessary things to them, first of all- food, water and clothes. On the other hand, there are people who have not welcomed the migrants warmly. The citizens of Obrenovac, Vračević and Mladenovac organised protests against the accomodation of migrants in municipalities they lived in, blocked the delivery of food and water due to the distrust and the prejudice towarda the people on the migrant routes.[85] The "Atina" , citizens organisation, produced a publication "Migrants and Migrantess in the local communities in Serbia" which dealt with the examination of migrants on one side, and the representatives of the Centre for Social Services, the Youth Department, the police, the Asylum Centre, thes educational institutions, etc. The abovementioned research has shown that the Serbian population in the local communities feared for the harming of the collective identity. Namely, the statement that "you go through your own birthplace as through a gauntlet, as if you live in Arabia or Afghanistan". The inhabitants of certain places were full of prejudice regarding the migrants' education, lifestyle, everyday habits and physical appearance.[86]

The migrants also had various experiences with the local population in different places in the same way the locals did. "I feel bad. Really bad. It is difficult. I have a different skin colour, different hair. Maybe that is the reason the people I met this morning did not want to talk to me. There is absolutely no interaction with people".[87] Those are the words of a migrant

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[83] "Gathering support for migrants", *Dnevnik*, available at: https://www.dnevnik.rs/novi-sad/sakupljanje-pomoci-za-migrante (accessed on 13.8.2019.)

[84] https://www.021.rs/story/Info/Srbija/115141/Danas-sakupljanje-pomoci-za-migrante-kod-autobuske-stanice.html (assessed 13.8.2019.)

[85] Tijana Morača, "Migrantkinje i migranti u lokalnim zajednicama u Srbiji", *Atina – Udruženje građana za borbu protiv trgovine ljudima i svih oblika nasilja nad ženama*, http://www.atina.org.rs/sites/default/files/Migranti%20i%20migrantkinje%20u%20lokalnim%20zajednicama%20u%20Srbiji.finalno.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0gTQE_ngofB-WzA44iGptLVHJL00Gnm6dblCImC8MNSgbW_lChqQdqZlw, (accessed on 13.8.2019.), p. 44

[86] Ibidem, p. 66.

[87] Ibidem, p. 67.

who was not welcomed warmly. On the other hand, there were statements such as "the population of Bogovađa is compassionate towards the asilants. They see us, give us fruit sometimes, call us. They know who we are and that we have escaped the war" and "when we were bying tickets we onlyhad Euros, and the woman working at the bus station told us we could not pay in Euros, and told a boy waiting in line to buy a ticket, to show us where the Excange office was. He came along with us, asked where were we from, and helped us change the currency".[88] In that respect, one can say that both sides have had negative as well as positive experiences and that these were influenced by different factors such as education, age, language competence, trust, personal experience, etc.

Although it is all about the same country, there were differences in its developed and underdeveloped parts regarding the behaviour towards the migrants. In large and developed cities people have accepted the migrants, tried to understand their situation and even felt compassion towards them at certain moments and helped theem as much as they could, while in the underdeveloped parts of the country and smaller places the fear of harming the people's collective identity. In both cases, the Western Balkans Migration Route did not significantly affect the societal security sphere.

4.4.   The influence of the Western Balkans Migration Route on the military security sphere

According to Filip Ejdus, military security can be defined in several ways. The traditional view is that "military security is defined as the tendency to free oneself from military threats".[89] Up to the 1980-s, military security was defined as the freedom of the state from military threats. In the aftermath of the Cold War, after the fallout of the Soviet Union, the military defense was put aside, the emphasis was put on other aspects and it was believed that the war was ended, at least for a short period of time. However, the opposite proved to be true due to the wars in ex-Yugoslavia, terrorist attacks in the USA and the military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan.[90] This did not bring the world back to its previous state of wars, destruction and banishments, but has restored the need for military force.

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[88] Ibidem. p. 67.
[89] Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori i nivoi*, Službeni glasnik and Beogradski cenar za bezbednosnu politiku, Belgrade, 2012 p.125.
[90] Ibidem, p. 126.

The international framework is stable when the balance of powers is. This balance of powers can harm the operating framework of a state, a great power enlarging its military capacities. In that case, the smaller countries have two options: they can either improve their military power on the internal plane, or form military alliances, unions and pacts. The second solution means joining the smaller countries to the great power in question, which will interfere with the balance of powers on the international plane. If any of these alternatives is not applicable, the only remaining option is the war. After the Cold War, the security sector had more and more been transferred to the human rights, political and economic security as well as the ecological problems, while the traditional military sphere is not so much taken into account.

The territorial integrity and sovereignty of a particular state is regarded as a referential object within the military sector.[91] The military security is analysed in relation to the subjects, the majority of which are national states and among which there can come to a breakout of dangers which may call for the use of military force. The territorial integrity and sovereignty may be harmed by the actions of other external factors, state and non-state factors and certain inside quakes and unrest. The referential objects can often belong to other sectors as well, which means that securing them might demand the use of the military capacities. The secessionist groups threatening the peace and security of the country are an example of this phenomenon.

Under perfect conditions, when the country is strong and the only one to use force legally, it represents the key factor of security. In fact, this is the kind of situation when certain political elites are deciding on what is harmed, by whom and to what extent and what the appropriate defence mechanisms for the problem in question are. The army, the media, the police, the bureaucrats and different research centres do not take part in the securing process directly but greatly contribute to the understanding of the situation in question and making it easier. The response to the securing process could start with providing arms, move onto the threatening with force only to end with the use of the military force.[92]

Given the fact that the territorial integrity and sovereignty is the referential object of the military security sphere, that phenomena threatening to harm it should be mentioned. During the great inflow of migrants in the Republic of Serbia, especially in its distant and

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[91] Ibidem, p. 129.
[92] Ibidem, pp.129-130.

critical parts, clashes between the police and the migrants were very common, the traffic could not operate in the usual way, the borders were blocked, and the public order was harmed. Illegal actions such as smuggling also affect the sovereignty of the state in a direct way since the illegal entries onto the territory of the state mean that the state is unable to control its own territory.[93]

The military security sphere was under great pressure due to the fact that the Western Balkans Migration Route was one of the main migrant routes in 2015 and that it was spread across the territory of Serbia. In the second half of 2015, in order to secure the state border, members of the Gendarmerie and other staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs had to be engaged, and so was the Serbian Army a few months later. Pursuant to Article 39 of the Defence Law "If a part of the territory of the Republic of Serbia, its border, the lives and health of its people and animals, or the material goods on that territory is harmed, the government shall form the police and military forces for the enforcement of joint tasks, according to the proposition of the Minister of the Internal Affairs and the Defence Minister and with the approval of the President of the Republic of Serbia"[94], in order to secure the border with Bulgaria and Macedonia and prevent the migrant inflow, a "Command of the Joint Forces of the Army and the Police" was formed.

Serbia had to secure its state borders and prevent the entry of illegal migrants. The Serbian Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have tried to maintain the same security level by patrolling and ambushing. The first option assumed that the migrants would give up on entering the state if they saw that the patrols were not hidden. The ambush, on the other hand, aimed to prevent the migrants from doing so, if any of them opted for it. A large number of migrants could be prevented from crossing the border by using an adequate strategy and by a timely reaction of the army and the police. According to the data, more than 23 000 migrants was prevented from entering the country from the second half of 2016 to the second half of 2019.[95]

Apart from engaging additional staff in securing the borders, there were checking points employed by the Joint Forces and placed across the country. The Joint Forces were

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[93] "Migrant Crisis as a threat to the Republic of Serbia", available at: https://www.vesti.rs/Vesti/Migrantska-kriza-kao-bezbednosna-pretnja-republici-Srbiji.html (accessed on 12.8.2019.)

[94] "Defence law", Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, no.36, article 39, Belgrade, 2018.

[95] Asylum protection center, "Serbian Army handed over the jurisdiction of securing the state border to Bulgaria and Macedonia to the Ministry of the Interior of Serbia", available at: https://www.azilsrbija.rs/vojska-srbije-predale-mup-u-obezbedjenje-granice-ka-bugarskoj-i-makedoniji/ (accessed on 15.8.2019.)

mostly comprised of the military and infantry police units, while the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent the people from the administration of the border police, the Gendarmerie, the Intervening Unit, etc.[96] The main task, however, indeed was the securing of the borders, but the members of the Serbian Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs had to put a lot of effort into the prevention of the smuggling of people both inside the country and outside its borders. The Serbian Army announced that during the period when 23000 migrants were captured, 154 tries of smuggling and 2177 people were also prevented.[97]

It can thus be said that the Serbian Army, together with the police has contributed to the security of the territory of Serbia and the region as well during the migrant tide, and that it will continue to do so in the future. The only important thing in the whole matter is that the state helps this endeavour in staff and technique in order to keep the pace with all the security challenges in the future in the best way possible, and to secure the borders.

Due to its geopolitical position, the Republic of Serbia, as a transit country, is potentially endangered by different types of extremism, criminal, terrorist actions, however, all this cannot even begin to be compared to the threats that the migrations pose for some more developed countries. As long as the migrations last, there will be a latent threat, but this does not give the right to the country to behave in a reckless way and use its military forces in situations which do not call for full readiness, just to show off its power and frighten the people entering it in order to keep them within the legal framework of the country when doing so. The country is asked to behave wisely, in a synchronised way, to improve the level of cooperation among the relevant departments for a better flow of information, and to keep to all the action plans, tactics and strategies so as to maintain the security level.[98]

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[96] Serbian Armed Forces, "Cessation of engagement of the joint forces of the Serbian Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior", available at: http://www.vs.rs/sr_lat/vesti/61CFE4D9413C11E8AF6A0050568F5424/prestanak-angazovanja-zajednickih-snaga-vojske-srbije-i-mup (accessed on 15.8.2019.)

[97] Asylum protection center, "Serbian Army handed over the jurisdiction of securing the state border to Bulgaria and Macedonia to the Ministry of the Interior of Serbia", available at: https://www.azilsrbija.rs/vojska-srbije-predale-mup-u-obezbedjenje-granice-ka-bugarskoj-i-makedoniji/ (accessed on 15.8.2019.)

[98] Boriša Lečić, "Aktuelne migracije ka Evropi i problem terorizma", Ljubiša Despotović, Aleksandar Gajić (URS), *Kultura Polisa*, Institute for European Studies, Belgrade, 2017. p. 114.

4.5. The influence of the Western Balkans Migration route on the ecological security sphere

Ecological security arises from the need to affect the activities which harm the environment and its core elements which are required for the existence of all the living organisms. The aim of introducing this security term is to draw attention to this problem and to activate as many institutions which will keep the policy of protection and maintenance of the environment, i.e. the healthy lifestyle of the population, as possible. The key factor in the ecological security sphere is the relationship between the man and the nature. What is characteristic for this sector, in comparison with the others, is the fact that it is extremely difficult to find the referential object for it, on the state plane. Barry Buzan believes this is true due to the fact that the limits of climate changes are not strictly determined. If a climate disaster occurs, it can be either local, regional or global. It cannot be national. Barry Buzan has given a definition by which he claims that "the security of the environment refers to the maintenance of the planetary biosphere, as well as the local one as a core support system all other endeavours depend on".[99]

The starting point for Arthur Westing is the relationship between the man and the nature. He reckons that the natural resources are the prerequisite for the existence of the mankind. In his opinion, the rapid increase in population and the effort to make the living conditions for all people the same as in the highly developed countries has a bad effect on the environment and that the constant battle for personal use of the resources can cause clashes.[100]

The ecological security encompasses the protection of the citizens from an uncontrolled use of natural resources, the relationship of the society with the animals, plants, the soil and the inefficient state institutions which are in charge for this area, as well as the rapport that the people have with the environment.[101] The biggest threat for is the human factor, one that includes the expansion of the nuclear weapons, migrations, an increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons, global warming etc.[102]

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[99] Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori i nivoi*, Službeni glasnik and Beogradski cenar za bezbednosnu politiku, Belgrade, 2012 p.198.

[100] Ivana Lj. Ilić Krstic, *Socijalno-ekološka bezbednost, održivi razvoj I kvalitet života,* PhD thesis, University of Niš, Faculty of Occupational security in Niš, 2016. p.43-44.

[101] Mirko Cicmil, *Uticaj globalizacije na ekološku bezbednost sa osvrtom na vodne resurse,* Specialist thesis, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Security, 2016, p.23-24.

[102] Ibidem, p. 24.

A Handbook for the assessment of the health conditions of the refugees and the migrants in the European Union has shown that due to bad living conditions in reception centres and campuses there is a possibility for the occurrence of parasites which could be the carriers of the diseases in some circumstances. Cases of migrants coming from Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan have been infected with a recurring fever during their stay in Belgium, Finland and the Netherlands. The data from the European Centre for the Prevention and Control of the Diseases have confirmed the presence of Hepatitis Type A, as well as malaria and tuberculosis among the migrants. The conditions that help the spreading of these diseases most certainly include common rooms, poor hygiene and the scarcity of medical help. The risk is far greater in the winter months when the temperatures are low. The migrants definitely are the most harmed group, which also means that the people they reside among are also exposed. In order to prevent the breakout of the epidemics and the accumulation of diseases in the population, these problems need to be seen to and the sick taken care of. When it comes to the diseases the migrants can carry, the competent stitutions find themselves posed in front of a big challenge, because they have to assess the risk of a certain disease in advance, i.e. the potential diseases that the migrants can carry with them, as well as the ways they can be cured.[103]

A conclusion has been reached that the Western Balkans Migration Route has not significantly influenced the ecological security sphere due to the analysis of the relevant sources with the exact data and the reports of the Ministry for the Environment, as well as the Agency for the protection of the environment. This had to be done since the migrant tide on the Western Balkans Migration route had both negative and positive effects on different security sectors.

However, in 2015, the population of the capital of Serbia has witnessed the parks in its very centre packed with migrants, sleeping and spending their time. They most certainly did not behave properly towards nature, but the potential threats that could have caused critical ecological states were removed thanks to the active efforts of those in charge for the municipal parks system.

Thousands of people were placed on a relatively small, ecologically and hygienically contaminated, surface. Personal hygiene could not have been attended to. There were not enough dumpsters for the disposal of garbage, or toilets, for that matter. All this has enabled

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[103] Ina Stašević, *Migracije I zdravrstveni rizici*, PhD Thesis, European Faculty, Faculty of Health Sciences, p.5–8

the occurrence of ecological consequences on that environment. Similar situations have happened in other cities migrants have been to.

Picture 5: Migrants in park in Belgrade[104]

Another threat to the ecological security sphere was caused by the placement of a larger number of migrants on the borderline forest areas, especially during the winter months. Fires caused by their need to get warmer could have broken out, while their carelessness could have caused serious consequences. From this point of view it can be said that no such situations have happened, but the possibility of a serious ecological catastrophe on the territory of the Republic of Serbia could have been caused.

5. The security perspectives of the Republic of Serbia in the context of the Western Balkans Migration route

All the causes of the migrant crises are still active. The Middle East is still not a safe place to live and there is always the possibility for the breakout of wars. When it comes to Syria, the need for the destruction of the Islamic State, which is a serious threat to all the

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[104]http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/drustvo/aktuelno.290.html:565233-Stize-nam-jos-7000-migranata (accessed on 16.08.2019.)

states in the international community, is the only thing that the USA and Russia agree on. When it comes to a long-term solution, however, their views completely differ. History has taught us that, when it comes to a disagreement or completely different points of view between great powers on a certain matter, the consequences are mostly felt by small countries which do not take part in the decision process. If we look at things that way, one can say that the race for dominance on the international scene, the exploiting of the potential of the countries on the Asian continent for one's personal gain can easily cause a climate suitable for new wars and unrest in that area, which will consequently cause a new wave of migrations.

One can assume that the number of illegal entrances on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, when compared to 2017. and 2018. will continue to decrease, and this assumption helps to explain the perspective and plans for the maintenance of security on the territory of the Republic of Serbia. It is believed that a small number of migrants will decide to stay in Serbia or return to their country of origin. The majority of them will still want to continue their journey towards their aimed destinations, the countries which are members of the European Union.

"UNICEF" predicts that in 2019. 18 000 people will go through Serbia, even though the Western Balkans Migration Route is closed, and that every third person will be a child. They believe that the children in pursuit for better living conditions are greatly harmed, especially those travelling without supervision. The government of the Republic of Serbia and UNICEF have great cooperation and both aim for it to remain on the same level in the future, since the current relationship has proved to be extremely efficient. This cooperation serves as a means for finding the most endangered children among the migrants, as well as the most adequate solutions i.e. finding social workers and special care which is essential for such children, and it will continue to do so. Solving problems in the area of gender violence and sexual exploitation is also something currently worked on, as well as the development of cooperation in the field of education, which will enable the children to acquire working habits while on their way of transition, and make their schooling in Serbia or some other final destination easier.[105]

The number of migrants which will remain "captured" on the territory of the Republic of Serbia will depend on the flow of people on the Croatian border, as well as the Hungarian

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[105] UNICEF, "The refugee and migrant crisis", available at: https://www.unicef.org/serbia/izbeglicka-i-migrantska-kriza , (accessed on 17.8.2019.)

one. However, it is predicted that there will be a trend of decrease in the number of migrants passing through the "closed Western Balkans Migration route" in the years to come unless a new war breaks out in the Middle East or the Northern part of Africa. If something like that occurred again, then the majority of migrants would go across this route because it proved to be the safest and the best one.

If some of the borders become more cramped, a slight increase in the number of people opting to stay in Serbia or return to their origin country with the help of our state shall be expected.

Because of its history, inflation, evacuations, sanctions, unemployment, the falling out of the countries whose part Serbia was, and the 1990-s which have destroyed its economy, Serbia is believed not to have a great migration potential nor to be attractive for the migrants. It can be said that the consequences of those days are still felt, or that that period is repeating itself. The young are leaving Serbia to get more for their knowledge and skill, while the so-called working class people are going to the foreign countries because the jobs they are qualified for are far better paid.

The conditions for a lower level of security in the Republic of Serbia will continue to exist as long as people without any kind of identity documents are travelling across the country, whose identity, origin or direction cannot be precisely determined.

6. Conclusion

This paper aims to shed light on the influence of the Western Balkans migration route on the overall security of the Republic of Serbia. Separate chapters have dealt with the influence of security on the political, economic, societal, military and the ecological security. The basic assumption was that the route had had a negative influence on the security on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, and that at its starting point, and especially at its peak the security was additionally lowered and worsened. It is predicted that the migrations will continue and consequently bring changes to all the dimensions of security of the Republic of Serbia.

It is indisputable that at its peak in 2015. and 2016. the external-political and military security of the country was greatly threatened by the Western Balkans Migration route. This was related to the closing of the boundaries between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Serbia, the changes in the Law on borderline control dated to July 5th 2016 and the installation of a fence along the border with our country. Diplomatic incidents occurred in the aftermath of re-direction of the migrants towards the Republic of Croatia. Croatia has closed its borders by using force and placed one-sided economic measures for all citizens of the Republic of Serbia. This incident was resolved quickly and without any greater consequences thanks to the mediation of the European Union, so the migrants were re-directed towards Slovenia, which is in the Shangen area, via the territories of Hungary and Croatia in an equal measure and a controlled way.

If all aspects of security are taken into account, it can be said that the migration crisis has had a positive influence on some of them, while it brought no changes for others. A confirmation of the fact that the crisis has had positive influences can be found in the societal and political dimension of security, since all the relevant political, social and societal structures had the same viewpoint on the matter of behaving towards the migrants at the time the crisis reached its peak and the biggest number of them was going through the country. Due to the fact that the highest authorities have asked the citizens to help the migrants and understand their problems, a shift in the way they see things has occurred.

When it comes to the influence of the route on the economic security, it can be concluded that it was a multi-level one. The state had to activate a whole range of resources, from the human ones to the economic in order to organise the flow of migrants across its territory in accordance with the legal framework and prior policies with its neighbours, as well as the competent bodies of the European Union. All this calls for a number of financial expenditures, engaging the army, the police, health services and the communal services. One needs to point out that Serbia falls into the category of poor European countries and that the very act of giving money for better qualities of life of the migrants has caused revolt among the population who has been living on the brink of poverty for years, without any hope for the improvement of those conditions.

In response to such claims, one could say that the Republic of Serbia was to a great extent financed by different countries, international organisations and individuals from the whole world. That help was visible not only in different projects, but also in donations for

different governmental and non-governmental organisations, for schooling and educating the professionals who could help in such extraordinary circumstances, and personal engagement of volunteers from whole Europe. Financially speaking it is difficult to determine whether the state has gained or lost more, but it can be said with certainty that facing with the new, unexpected situation required a lot of work and effort, all of which ended in a positive way on the migrants and without any serious consequences for the state,

The Republic of Serbia, on its European course has to follow the appropriate migration crisis policy, propagated by the European Union. Due to the geopolitical position of the Republic of Serbia, the migrations are sure to go across its territory in the future as well, so the only option is to create conditions that will enable an effortless transition across its territory, which can be achieved by determining the rules and procedures that would regulate those issues, by ratifying agreements with the neighbouring and regional countries, all of which will make the resolution of the common problems easier. Taught by this crisis, it can be concluded that the state should be better prepared for the new migrant tides, and that no space for the repetition of the past mistakes regarding the sense of security. The countries need to be ready since, as it was said earlier on, there is still a chance for the breakout of new wars in the Middle East, while there is still a trend of increase in the number of people.

Migrations were always present during the course of human history, and will continue to be since the pursuit of better living conditions is something people are born with. The only changing things are the factors that cause it, their intensity, their aim and consequently, the effect on the security of the individual, the state and the international community on the whole. The world is facing an immense irony while resolving a global problem such as the migrations. A question whether the free flow of all people, goods and capital as an epitome of democracy all the principles of a modern society are based on can be secured due to the securing of the illegal migrants as an overall threat for all the aspects of the countries on the European continent. The European Union has not demonstrated enough readiness to face the migrant tides. The strategies and policies it carries out are full of negative sides, they are becoming more and more restrictive and causing an accumulation of migrants on the borders of transit countries, i.e. the gates of the European Union. Clashes occur among the neighbouring countries, discrepancies happen in terms of the views that should be common, which certainly proves the inefficiency of the migration policies of the European Union. The most frightening thing, however, is the fate of the migrants, whose lives were threatened in their home countries so they had to leave them. They are most certainly the ones suffering the

most serious conditions, in times when democracy is seen as the basic characteristic of every society, they are not allowed to move freely, their personal security is questionable, they have to think about whether they will be able to feed themselves and their families. Migrants are devoid of protection because the European countries have to protect themselves first. It is an utmost necessity to reach a compromise which will create an atmosphere where these two types of protection will not be mutually exclusive, and where anyone will be able to become the creator of their fate and find their spot under the sun.

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