

From the Synergy to the Discrimination - Analysis of Attitudes and Decisions of the Prison Staff Towards Muslim Prisoners in the Context of Multicultural Education

Arkadiusz Urbanek

Department of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences
University of Wrocław

Abstract

The aspiration to keep the synergy in relations between majorities and minorities repeatedly emerges as the cause of conflicts in social relations. It is also a subject of the interest of the multicultural education, particularly in countries of Eastern Europe, building contacts with the culturally and ethnically diverse groups to a wider scale. Relations in culturally, religiously and ethnic diverse societies, are becoming more and more related to the personal attitudes and a given policy. These issues acquire in the prison circumstances even greater significance, as given moods and personal attitudes of the prison staff create the pragmatic aspects of the professional activities addressed to the sentenced. Additionally, the key role is played by the quality of the penitentiary policy and the legal culture. The article presents the comparative analysis of the research carried out in 2016 amongst the prison staff in Poland. The subject of the research concerned attitudes that influence the decisive processes. The personal relations have been analyzed in the context of the relation with the sentenced Muslims. The aim of the research was not only to reveal the quality of the decisions concerning the sentenced Muslims, but also the sources of such decisions. The latter, in consequence, may shift, as the research results prove, towards synergy or discrimination. The diversification of the discrimination was one of the intriguing aspects, disclosed at various levels that not always explicitly concerned the discrimination of the minority.

Keywords: discrimination, multicultural education, muslims, prison staff, synergy

The wave of European migration as a perspective for creating social moods.

Migratory processes in Western Europe have been coming in a wave motion since the 1960s/70s and they seem to last incessantly (Islam in the European Union, 2007, 7-8). The migration waves are of different range which is indicated by quantitative data reflecting their scale and directions. Until 2008 asylum-seekers migrated from poor economy countries mostly keeping steering France (35160 people), Italy (31160), Great Britain (30550), Sweden (24350) and Germany (21370). For each country the migration directions were also differentiated because Sweden and Germany were destinations for dominant groups of Iraqis (25% and 31% of asylum-seekers), as well as for Serbs (8% and 7%). Turks (6%) and Vietnamese people (8%) arrived in Germany. Migrants from Nigeria (17%), Somalia (14%) and Eritrea (9%) mainly landed in Italy. Great Britain mostly received citizens from Zimbabwe (14%), Afghanistan (12%), Iraq and Eritrea (8%). France became the destination for migrants from Russia (10% of asylum-seekers), Serbia (9%), Mali (8%), Sri Lanka and Congo (7%) and Turkey (6%), (King & Black & Collger & Fielding, 2010). Current 2014-2016 migratory events have changed the ratio of migrants, apart from poverty, other reasons for escaping from military-conflicted or politically unstable countries have appeared. The migration to the European Union countries or to Turkey is the effect of criminal terrorist acts taking place in African countries and strongly connected with religious cleansing that is evidenced by massacres made on Yazidis by terrorists of Daesh.

According to a report published by BBS News (26. 02. 2016) the first wave of present-day migration of asylum-seekers in Europe covered: Syria (over 250 thousand people), Afghanistan (over one hundred thousand people), Kosovo, Iraq (from fifty to one hundred thousand migrants), Albania, Pakistan, Eritrea, Nigeria, Serbia, Ukraine (up to fifty thousand). The main migratory directions are Germany, Sweden, Hungary as well as Italy and France. One should also take into account tightening which hinders the migration in Great Britain. Although the country is one of the destination places for many migrants, the restrictions make just few people reach the British Isles and thus social proportions are changing, especially in those countries where historically the scale of refugee migration has not risen much so far. In 2015 the number of refugees seeking asylum was affecting on relatively homogenous nations and small populations. In proportion of asylum-seekers to one hundred thousand inhabitants the large rates were recorded in Hungary (1798), in Sweden (1667), in Austria (942), in Norway (602) and in Finland (591). In the whole European Union the average proportion reached the level of 255 asylum-seekers to one hundred thousand inhabitants. Being focused on realities connected with Poland it should be indicated that it is rather not a country of destination for migration. Ratio of the current refugee wave that has reached Poland is relatively not big. On one hundred thousand inhabitants the amount of asylum-seekers was 35 (BBS News, 2016). Poland is in the group of Eastern Europe countries where the amount of migrants, especially from Muslim countries, is minimal. It also important for the quality of solutions connected with jurisdiction and penitentiary aspects towards Muslims. The scope of cultural, ethnic or religious diversity of Islam in Polish prison policy is on the level of general solutions stressing their diversity. However, in contrast to those tendencies, the amounts proposed by European Union that illustrate refugee plans of relocation are significant for Poland. By such an inconsiderable real migration so far, the relocation would cover six thousand people what places Poland on the fourth position in the European Union after Germany, France and Spain (BBS News, 2016).

Contemporary wave of migration is a contribution to take discussion not only on political, social or economic issues, but it seems to be a real problem for both jurisdiction and penitentiary policy towards aliens in all countries of Eastern Europe. Undoubtedly it is obvious that migratory movements are the cause of delinquency thus the questions about legal and organizational norms in prisons appear. Nowadays in Polish conditions, the discussion on proceedings with criminals of different culture, religion and diverse ethnic groups is very important and current. It follows from not too many experiences that have been collected so far, because the amount of foreigners in Polish prisons and custodial remands is minimal and comes to the level of 0,4 – 0,6% in whole population. To the most representative groups are citizens of neighboring countries from southern and eastern territories. The amount of Muslims is minor, but it doesn't eliminate organizational and mental problems. Quite the opposite, because the philosophy of carrying out a sentence and each criminal isolation assumes individual work with convicts. Scope of those problems is qualitatively different than in other European countries.

It is worth of stressing that philosophy in carrying out sentences towards offenders in Poland is of different meaning. Here, an important role play therapeutic, supporting and advising activities which can be found in a resocialization trend. It is a specific phenomenon because aiming at criminal's correction and his personal change, in some European countries like for example France, seems not to be interesting for penology. After execution every man should be given a chance for social existence. In Poland philosophy of resocialization is a part of pedagogy which notices the aspects of corrective work, changes motivation and identity of a prisoner, and is not only a social security (Stępnik, 2014, p. 34-38).

Therefore some questions about general possibility of preliminary custody and imprisonment towards Muslims appear. It is absolutely not about discriminating exactly that group of people, which is relatively small in Poland, but about emphasizing their cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. The philosophy of proceedings individualization towards criminals should start questions about synergy of rights, compromises, possibility of communication and observance of diversity. In addition, Muslims in Polish prisons show their ethnic norms of behavior, beliefs and rituals, which in their opinions, are a part of religion or Islamic law. But practice shows they often don't follow from law or religion, but from local customs and tradition. It additionally generates problems if about defining those people's needs, organizational conditions, and above all, the way in which they are perceived. Literature takes up a subject of hiding common rules, law and religion in human's existence which are wrongly combined with ideology. The ideology tries to find a historical grounds by creating itself as a source of

law, but in actual fact it is a creation that serves contemporary goals (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1984). Therefore, the crucial purpose of presented research results is to indicate the space in which those conditions can be realized. That is the space in which Muslim diversity is perceived by prison staff, where synergy or discrimination tendencies are being searched, where law diversity is stressed, or where compulsory assimilation to prison condition according to the culture of the country of majority is found.

Multiculturalism and transculturalism versus penitentiary policy.

Recently multiculturalism has been having stronger and stronger meaning in dynamically changing social reality, also in Eastern European countries. Changing social proportions and departing from monolithic nation models requires to notice a cross-cultural space even though till now they were marginal matters. Migration, religious, ethnic and linguistic diversity that are distinctive features of minority are also reflected in penitentiary policy and practice of many countries. Especially when the norms of international law, human rights and humanity are fundamental in European Union countries. The above standards render impossible application the same rules while treating persons of different culture or religion. Diversity management in prisons is in a way immanent feature of culturally diverse communities (Achermann, 2009, p. 6). It is a large field to discuss because the use of separate norms or proceedings in penitentiary practice is not obvious. Especially in Eastern Europe countries (Poland, Czech Republic, Lithuania) which had no such problems before, and remain at the disposal of European Union law influences. At the level of law regulations e. g. Recommendation R(84)12 of Committee of Ministers concerning alien prisoners (Recommendation R(84)12, 21. 06. 1984) it seems to be obvious. However, a quality of penitentiary practice is complex and combines law issues, organization conditions, history and etiology of a certain philosophy in treating criminals. There is no ignoring social experiences in contacts with Muslims, as well as prison staff personal attitudes. Especially the last problem must be taken into consideration because prison service officers and the prisoners create one social organism, and therefore the quality of law fulfillment or creating standards are dependent on personal attitudes. This is the reason the above analyzing is concentrated on a scientific review of prison staff personal predictors which are a starting point to further description of standards and directions in acting with a Muslim prisoner.

Multiculturalism is also a part of prison life, and in a way, a state of mind of people who see others in the same social space. According to Marian Golka's opinion multiculturalism appears where there are various groups of relatively different cultural and racial features, and their different features contribute to mutual diversity perception with its different effects (Golka, 2012, p. 270). Diversity seems to be extremely glaring and immanent in the conditions of prison isolation. It divides the participants of that space into warders and offenders, punishment enforcers and convicts, Catholic and Orthodox believers, atheists and Muslims, and finally into strangers and homies. Alienation of Muslims in Polish prisons, despite a minimal amount of them, is significant and noticeable because of very clear differences in habits, norms and values. In addition, a small number of Muslim prisoners causes that all the decisions and solutions done to them are always exceptions to standard procedures.

Multiculturalism as a general term is not concentrated on different standpoints because the bounds in-between diversity sometimes are clear and sometimes not. However, the bounds and differences in Polish prisons are immensely sharp. Vertical relation between officers and convicts, and between homies and strangers is immanently full of mistrust, care and distance. Although those features are being generated by acts of isolation and potential risk from criminals' side, they strongly emphasize the conflict of interests. That's why Bruno Drwęski indicates a dynamic understanding a phenomenon of multiculturalism which notices a collision of interests in different groups, but also explains the genesis of conflicts. In his opinion the strength of so-called multi-culti isn't that each culture has the same rights to show its outward features in a particular country and particular moment. It is about convincing most of citizens- among minority groups- they are ensured with minimal comfort which is adequate to the level of the age. Features like: origin, ideological, nationalistic or religious belonging are not a barriers limiting personal and social development. They're also not the obstacles for social advancement of one's children (Drwęcki, 2016).

Arjun Appadurai represents an interesting view in considerations of clashes between different groups and their conflicts of interests. He points four confrontation circumstances. In his opinion, globalization caused relocation of many nations thus they lost their identity and support in homogenous commonwealth. Conflicts are also generated by excessively stressed division on minorities and majorities. It causes tensions, especially when minority's rights are limited by majority. The third reason of conflict origins is drastic economic, political and social inequality what was well illustrated by the above analysis of directions in contemporary wave of refugees. The fourth reason of multicultural conflicts is a large availability to the means of violence, whereas brutality expresses anger and hate towards the strangers (Appadurai, 2009, p. 12-13). Moreover, Marian Golka sees the genesis of multicultural conflicts in rivalry and removing groups from their territories. He also refers to structural reasons that are mutual conflicts of interests and goals. At the same time strong contradictions between values, behavior patterns, as well as psychological and social reasons are the conflict sources. They reflect accumulated prejudices, loss of safety or ambivalence. It entails limitation of one's own values, some risks and rivalry for advantage (Golka, 2012, p. 291-292).

While analyzing situation in Polish prisons mostly psychological and social reasons are noticeable because they generate conflicts and diminish foreigners' rights to cultural diversity care. The thesis follows from current social experiences of country where ethnic, religious and cultural minorities are not as much visible as in Germany, France or in Scandinavia. In citizens' opinion Poland is nationally and religiously homogenous country. Unfortunately, such opinions are fed by nationalistic groups. In prison life personal attitude is of the same importance as the prison law which is implemented by people of certain beliefs. The law cannot impose them any vision- neither synergy nor discrimination – if its enforcers follow completely different beliefs. Additionally, prison is an institution where competing for dominance appears in everyday reality. Talking about discussed relations between Polish and Muslims, stressing different behavior norms, ethnic differences, or different social perception one can assume that dispute about value dominance is going to be unavoidable. This is another aspect showing difficulties connected with discussion on penitentiary policy and dealing with small group of Muslim prisoners. Transcultural conflicts may be generated by psycho-social reasons, and not necessarily by size of population. It is also worth to stress that in Eastern Europe countries studies on perceiving Muslim prisoners, and especially their different needs are not carried out on a large scale. It may be connected with trust in power of domestic and international regulations which try to sanction conditions of imprisonment and respect of sentenced foreigners diversity. Synergy seems to be strengthened in law, but the question is whether prison officers' opinions are convergent with that belief.

Social climate of perceiving foreign criminals in Poland.

Analyzing objective aspects of foreign delinquency in Poland it's hard to clearly point factors which shape social opinion towards that group. Delinquency occurrence is an indisputable fact just like the opinion that migration processes cause some of immigrants commit illegal acts and must be kept in isolation. Therefore thinking of law synergy it's worth to take into account factors which create social climate in Poland. In this case, the analysis covers objective data, of course one must be aware of stereotypes and opinions presented in media which are negative towards Muslims. Undoubtedly, the stereotypes, just like in other countries, appear together with the wave of migration from Islamic countries, and serve to media and ideological aims, as well as they become subjects in public debates.

By illustrating the amount of crimes committed in Poland by foreigners, it's noticeable there were different waves of intensity of that problem. Generally, the intensification of that phenomenon has been growing since 1990, when systemic changes in Poland started. Since then Polish police has been recording crimes committed by foreigners, and finally the problem has appeared in Polish custodies and prisons. According to statistical evidence presented by Polish Police Headquarters, crimes committed in the years 1990-2015 show the accumulation falls on period between 1995 and 2003 and oscillate on the level of 5. 1K – 8. 3K (Graph 1). Nowadays that phenomenon is on relatively low level and amounts about 2. 2K cases per annum. Nonetheless, a fear of increase in delinquency among immigrants in Poland is presented in media messages and is one of the arguments against welcoming refugees from present migration wave.

Second important aspect analyzing the phenomenon of perceiving Muslim criminals is the picture of foreigners' delinquency. For 90's and 2000's dominant group of foreigners were citizens from former Soviet Union. In comparison with group of Muslim criminals disproportion is significant and that tendency remains both in 1990-1999 and 2000-2012 (Table 1. and Table 2.). Those are estimated data applying to potentially Muslim countries. In Poland official police or prison statistics that could show declared religions are not being conducted. It comes out from belief that religion is a personal matter and is not associated with monitoring delinquency level. Moreover, international regulations don't allow administrations to gather personal data exceeding necessity.

Polish police statistical data indicate (Table 1. and Table 2.) that potential amount of criminals originated from Muslim culture is minimal in comparison to population of foreigners and to general population of convicts in Poland, which in the years 2014-2015 oscillated on the level of 80K and 77K people. Therefore there are no objective reasons to treat Muslim criminals as a very aggressive group. In addition, Polish penology is not strongly experienced in punishing them what could suggest the guards' opinions will rather aim at synergy and stressing different rights than at discriminating diversity. Nowadays, a small population of Muslim convicts potentially facilitates developing considerations and synergy standards. Going further, there should appear some specific actions of methodical resocialization work towards those people. But the key aim is to recognize personal opinions of prison staff which may not be consistent with objective premises and anticipated tendencies of political correctness.

Methodological objectives of the research.

The research analysis was realizing the prospect of quantitative studies, using data from a survey carried out among 80 respondents. The research was conducted in the years 2015 and 2016 and covered prison service personnel in Poland. The respondents were officers and non-commissioned officers, employed at custodial remands and penitentiary institutions. Selection of the respondents was random and covered two group, penitentiary personnel and security staff. From the organizational point of view in Polish penology, officers represent various departments that are responsible for organizational duties (administrative and commissary personnel), penitentiary personnel- responsible for resocialization, and the most numerous group is security staff- responsible for safety and keeping effective isolation of criminals. Due to the scope of duties and direct relations with convicts, the research was focused on security guards and penitentiary personnel. Respondents were randomly selected from different regions of Poland. From the perspective of quantitative analyses that condition of random selection is of great importance because the opinions of persons from border-territories and their experiences may diversify declared opinions on relations with a 'stranger'. The results gathered from 80 officers: 40 officers and non-commissioned officers from penitentiary section, and 40 non-commissioned officers from security service were compared. The research was conducted in a diagnostic test method and written interview technique.

The aim of the studies was to show leading tendencies represented among prison personnel. Therefore a quantitative analysis accurately illustrates the results, showing the tendencies as general directions. They picture prevalent opinions on culturally different convicts; showing tendencies to synergy or discrimination. The research is to answer to a key question: whether the officers of prison service prefer unusual procedures of performing punishment because of ethnic diversity of sentenced Muslims? That perspective goes beyond correctness of international regulations which refer to a necessity of differentiated acting with such prisoners because religious freedom. The tested tendencies are both the result of own experiences and prognostic beliefs- how I'd like to behave towards a Muslim offender.

The second question: What were respondents' motivations?- is corresponding with analyzed tendency to respecting different expectations of Muslims. Personal opinions of respondents result from a certain motivation. They were defining the arguments of own decisions by giving their complications.

Procedures of acting with Muslims offenders.

Conditions of imprisonment and preliminary custody are absolutely total. They can't be changed by a person who being in isolation loses control over own decisions, gets experienced with deprivation of intimacy needs, self-determination and freedom. Total situation increases the meaning of legal and organizational procedures which decide on readability of taken decision and action unambiguity. Stay of foreigners with their different ethnicity and religion causes a serious disruption, because some procedures need changes and updating. Undoubtedly, for prison officers they are not standard actions, but they are strengthened in European law. Recommendation R(84) by 12th Committee of Ministers of EU Member States points explicitly in recommendation 26 a necessity of personnel education in field of different needs consideration and understanding problems occurring among particular groups of offenders. The procedures of imprisonment should be unusual, but an important question is if the officers are ready for that.

The research showed a few general tendencies showing readiness or its lack, to deeper reflections on the needs of sentenced Muslims. The discussed problem was the readiness to consider ethnic difference in opposite sex relations when subject matter contains knowledge not only about law solutions, but personal emotions. Up to now studies also proved that Muslims, both in refugee centers and in prisons present comments connected with relations with women. Women are performing functions as social workers and Border Guards officers and because of that they give orders and manage with males' issues. Much stronger subordination occurs in prisons where female officers act as sentence executors. Male Muslims claim that such a relation is against their tradition and socialization, and harms their honor.

It is a very complex issue because in Poland and in other European countries occurs a conflict, not only between social relations, but also in cases of equal treating of everybody, having rights to practicing professions or to be protected before sexual discrimination. In European culture a woman plays different role than that perceived by Muslim tradition. It is also hard to deny that some social relations are a part of male socialization from Islamic culture that they follow. Additionally, in that melting pot of contradictions, occur European recommendations which call for respecting different religions and traditions. Therefore, respondents declared readiness to respect submitted claims in order to place sentenced Muslims in sections served only by male warders. It is not about a general obligatory subordination and performing orders, but the fact those orders are given by females.

The research results were different for men and women, what is illustrated in Table 3. In group of 80 men the change of procedures towards Muslims was definitely unacceptable, almost 65% of respondents were against such concessions. Relations with female officers shouldn't be reduced because it is a fixed feature of organizational conditions in Polish prisons. Females' answers weren't so much unambiguous, 50% of respondents would accept a situation in which the rules of imprisonment were changed in response to Muslim convict's expectations. However, the decided situation was very complex due to a collision with the rules of equality between sexes. In that case, any concessions could be perceived as organizational changes, forced by convicts, what naturally arouses officers' care and resistance.

Officers' decision complications towards sentenced Muslims.

Motivation analysis followed by respondents is a determinant for general tendencies and a certain way of thinking about punishment. Basically, several thematic categories can be enumerated in which those motives can be found. The pros and cons were illustrated by Graph 2.

Arguments against the changes (see Graph 2):

- a). necessity of respecting the law and regulations being in force in Polish prisons,
- b). respecting the rules of European culture,
- c). respecting equality of rights and lack of discrimination due to sex,

Arguments for the changes:

- d). eliminating conflicts in relations between convicts and officers,

- e). observance of Islamic religion,
- f). positive relationships,
- g). female officers safety.

As for the Polish penitentiary law there are indeed no such directives to change the system of work organization, rather it is the case of the internal organizational dispositions. Furthermore, the recommendations of the European Union describe the scope of adjusting the penitentiary conditions to different ethnic and cultural needs in a rather general way. The proposal clearly puts the stress on the importance of the procedures regulating the work of public representatives. The prevailing view is that the national law should not make any exceptions when it comes to negotiating the ethnicity-related needs. Such motivation is, however comparable with the notion of the native culture being accepted as setting the superior standards.

The joining of the two similar arguments is worth stressing: on the one hand noticing the cultural requirements of a country (20%) and the other the parallel aspect: the cultural requirements of a country associated by respondents with the equality (11%).

Connecting almost identical decision-making motives results in the fact that the role of the majority culture, the role in which gender relations are defined differently than in the Muslim world, turns out to be a leading trend. It is crucially important in connection with the analyzed motives of the sources of conflict in multicultural societies.

The important role plays the battle about the domination of the majority, which is clearly indicated in the discussed research studies.

The findings show that defining the co-existence of different groups is based on the minority compliance concerning the existing tradition and standards of the majority. It is worth mentioning especially in the context of difficulties in constructing the political process, as well as in the methodology of penitentiary work towards foreigners.

Motivation connected with the respect towards the expectations of cultural diversity groups manifested itself reaching the level of 9%. The respondents were willing to change the standard recommendations on treatment of convicts due to their religious beliefs.

Of course, on the one hand readiness for change of attitude should be noted, but on the other hand another important aspect of penitentiary practice appears. The relations with women, the roles which are attributed to them, as well as the social dependencies are not the result of religion itself, but rather of ethnic tradition. The role of women differs widely from country to country and it is the effect of tradition, social communication and sometimes ideologization, which is used for the current political and social purposes (Hobsbawm & Rangen, 1984).

Patriarchal ideology attempts to regulate legally and religiously social relations in order to give them significance and subordinate them to specific goals as in Pakistan or Iran.

As the last revolts proved, in many Muslim countries the existing laws against female education or the strict dress code which does not clearly emerge from Quran (Khagat-Bennai 1959) change, together with the transfer of political power.

Thus, the decision-making process concerning social relations, as being a part of the Islamic world, raises some doubts, because dogmatically sanctioned events start to proceed, the ones which are not empowered to act in such a way.

It is very harmful for penitentiary practice, as there exists a high danger of manipulation and the convicts may try to take advantage of their situation, using their beliefs in terms of religious issues. Consequently, they tend to demand a deep respect for cultural diversity, which is not true, because into this category fall the ethical traditions.

In this case the results indicate that the decision-making process of the public representatives could be described as against gender equality and women empowerment. Their decisions could expose the staff to discrimination, although the

expectations of the convicts were not the manifestation of their cultural diversity, but rather they resulted from the ethical and multicultural foundations.

Taking under consideration the expectations of the convicts regarding this issue, a specific motivation concerning the limiting of the conflict escalation occurred (16%). The improvement of relations between the staff and the convicts reached the level of 7%. These were the circumstances which dominated in a group of prison officers, who were directly concentrating on interpersonal relations. Both, the pedagogues and psychologists were noticing the danger arising from ignoring the signs coming from foreigners. The difference in performing of professional tasks among penitentiary staff and prison officers indicated that they were emphasizing completely different issues: on the one hand the atmosphere among the convicts and on the other hand the obedience of penitentiary rules and the cultural aspects of a selected country, without any exceptions when it comes to Muslims.

Conclusion

The Polish prison officers do not have much experience working with Muslim convicts which is indicated by statistical data concerning imprisoned foreigners in general. Similarly, regarding the level of criminal activity, also the Islamic community perpetrators are not considered potentially dangerous to society (see Table 1 and Table 2). Despite this fact, the attitudes towards the possibility of using different penitentiary procedures towards Muslims are for the most part not accepted by the officers. Of course the analysis were carried out regarding the difficult and questionable situation when it comes to legal, ethical and organizational matters, confronting women's rights in Poland with the mental and ethnical differences in perceiving them by Muslim men.

Such complicated situations show the great difficulties in a decision-making process, as opposed to everyday issues such as for example the matter of religiously-based dietary restrictions.

The regular rights regarding cultural diversity have been determined by the penitentiary rules and for this purpose special procedures have been established and so this is the reason why they can be perceived in terms of the complete administrative solution. The rule-governed procedures do not raise doubts and do not involve personal opinions.

The data analysis indicates two crucial issues important in the Polish penitentiary system. On the one hand there is a strong belief that the standard procedures, not focusing on the cultural diversity, are the only acceptable ones. However, some opinions suggest the implementation of punishment system considering the issue of assimilation into the majority culture. It seems to be an interesting matter from the perspective of multicultural education, which deals with the assimilation as such, the integration of foreigners when it comes to both, the assimilation into the majority culture as well as to harmonizing the aspect of having rights and understanding. Based upon the results of studies it seems that theory does not influence practice, it creates no clear direction for the penitentiary policy. The results proved that especially the officers share the conviction of the procedure codification, so in the long run the lack of clear penitentiary regulations considering the synergy of rights may unleash the opposite tendencies.

Another problem deals with the easily accepted argumentation regarding religiously sanctioned diversity. It is a great challenge for the multicultural education as well as for the studies highlighting ethnic traditions and their local origins.

So far, there have been no inquires that related to sorting out the expectations and demands towards the convicted Muslims concerning their religion, Islamic law and the local ethnic traditions. Certainly, the existence of different types of schools and various ways of proclaiming Shariat make it difficult, but on the other hand the situation seems alarming when not only the convicts but the immigrants as such consider the issues which are merely the local tradition as being Shariat-related. Such situation may generate problems and favor manipulations and concessions, which is far from reaching compromise and synergy when it comes to multicultural societies. This confrontational situation appears to be difficult and it does not seem to have a clear solution, because its aim was to motivate respondents to act. At the same time it is the

area of cultural norms and patterns, which indicates on the one hand at the uncompromising attitude and on the other at the sensitive synergy of the matter.

Chart 1. Criminal activity of foreigners in Poland between 1995-2003.

Source: Polish Police Headquarters M. Perkowska, 2013, pp. 191-192

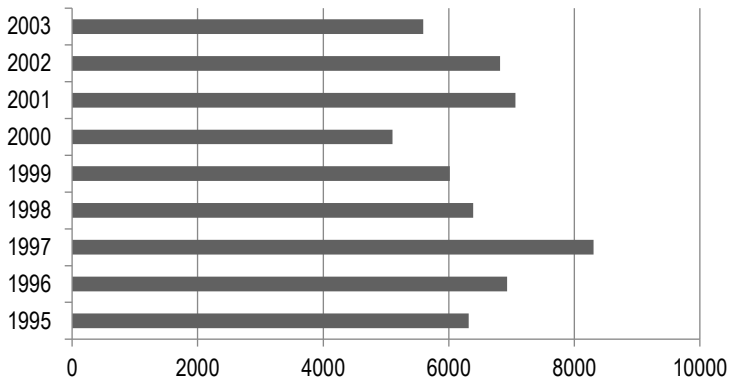


Chart 2. Distribution of arguments regarding the decision-making process among the officers

Source: based on my own research

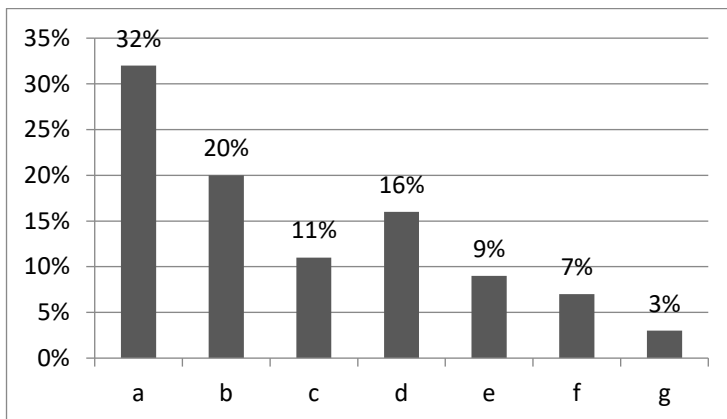


Table 1. The number of foreigners from selected countries suspected of committing (1990-1999)

Dominant criminal groups		Criminal groups from the countries seen as potentially Muslim ones	
Ukrainians	12 208	Turks	125
Belarusians	7 536	Afghans	121

Russians (ZSRR until 1992)	8 025	Iraqis	25
Germans	3 883	Lebanese	15
Lithuanians	3 045	other African countries	121
Romanians	2 429		
Bulgarians	1 087		
Czechs	898		

Source: Polish Police Headquarters M. Perkowska, 2013, pp. 191-192

Table 2. The number of foreigners from selected countries suspected of committing crimes (2000-2012)

Dominant criminal groups		Criminal groups from the countries seen as potentially Muslim ones	
Ukrainians	16 628	Turks	274
Belarusians	7 454	Pakistani	84
Germans	3169	Iraqis	35
Armenians	3 122	Bosnians	34
Russians	2 708	Libyans	31
Lithuanians	2 471	Lebanese	24
Bulgarians	1 519	Sri Lanka	19
Romanians	1 399	other African countries	565
Czechs	751		

Source: Polish Police Headquarters M. Perkowska, 2013, pp. 191-192

Table 3. The analysis of decision distributions considering taking into account the expectations of male Muslims in the examined groups of men and women N=80.

	<i>The change of prison conditions</i>	<i>No change of prison conditions</i>	<i>No data</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>M</i>	17	40	5	62

%	27,42%	64,52%	8,06%	
<i>W</i>	9	9	0	18
%	50,00%	50,00%	0,00%	
<i>Total</i>	26	49	5	80

Source: based on my own research

Reference:

- [1] Achermann, C., (2009). Multi-perspective research on foreigners in prisons in Switzerland. In. I. Van Liempt & V. Bilger. (Ed.), *The Ethics of Migration Research Methodology, Dealing with Vulnerable Immigrants*. Sussex Academic Pres, Brighton, Portland.
- [2] Appadurai, A., (2009). *Strach przed mniejszościami. Esej o geografii gniewu*. PWN Warszawa.
- [3] Khagat-Bennai, El., (1959). *Le Monde arabe au feminin*, L'Harmattan, Paris.
- [4] Drwęski, B., (2016). Antagonistic cultures or global stratification? Lesson of history and social analysis: the causes of tensions in multicultural societies [in.] *Multicultural Studies*, vol. 1.
- [5] Golka, M., (2012). *Cywilizacja współczesna i globalne problemy*. Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- [6] Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (1984). *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- [7] *Islam in the European Union: What's Strake in The Future? Study*. (2007). European Parliament, Policy Department Structural and Cohesion Policies, Brussels.
- [8] King, R. & Black, R. & Collger, M. & Fielding, A. & Skeldon, R. (2010). *People on the Move. An Atlas of Migration*, University of California Press, Barkley, LA.
- [9] Perkowska, M., (2013). *Przestępczość graniczna cudzoziemców*. Wyd. CH Beck, Warszawa.
- [10] Recommendation R(84)12 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States Concerning Foreign Prisoners, adopted at the 374th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies.
- [11] Stępnik, P., (2014). Kilka trudnych pytań o polską resocjalizację penitencjarną. In. P. Stępnik (Ed.), *Blaski i cienie współczesnej przestrzeni penitencjarnej. Człowiek a system* (pp. 33-41). Uniwersytet im. A. Mickiewicza, COSSW, Kalisz.
- [12] Wallensteen, P., (2007) *Understanding Conflict Resolution. War, Peace and the Global System*. Sage Publications, London.