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THE MIGRATING MOVEMENTS AND THE MULTICULTURAL LANDSCAPE IN THE POSTCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Abstract

The multicultural context of Southeastern Europe existed even in the beginning of the XX century. The historical implications were present much earlier, but the political turbulences in the last hundred years have changed the demographics and the social landscape as well. This part of Europe faced various types of migrating implication. The ethnocentrism as a poisoning appearing in these types of movements is a very important issue. The European so-called "pillar" countries are covering the migration routes with the political aspects and leaving the multicultural policy unjustified and practically useless. The national coordinates of the newborn countries in the beginning of the XXI centuries are starting the unlikely process of nationally constitution of the land. The migrating processes are practically the emerging of the "age of ideologies" to the "age of culture" and the nationwide streams would be very soon replaced with the cultural diverse environment. The ethnos is not a practical category and it doesn't secure any mechanism of coexistence. The multicultural concept is also the new understanding of the freedom and the articulating of the cultural differences into the proper legislatives will change the landscape of the Southeastern Europe and will relax the irrational tensions. The role of the media is exceptional in these hard but very productive processes. The migrating waves in the end of the second decade of the XXI century will not bring another economic crises and inevitable poverty, the civic concept and the multicultural character of these countries will open a new range of possibilities. The inclusiveness is not a burden, it's a new kind of mutual life. This paper is trying to reconsider some experiences and theoretical approaches where the crossroads of the migrations and multiculturalism lead us – circling or to the future prosperity.

Keywords: Migration, multiculturalism, nationalism, media, diverse

THE ORIENTATION OF MULTICULTURALISM IN THE TRANSITIONAL COUNTRIES

In the nineties, the heart of the Southeastern Europe's multiculturalism propagated exclusively by the hybrid country so-called Yugoslavia had been declining, but together with the other post-communist countries (The Check Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Poland and the countries established after the decline of the USSR) announced the new political convergence where the ethnic communes openly presented their needs for diversity on every grounds. In the beginning of XXI Century, especially in its second decade, Southeastern Europe faced various types of migrating implications. The reinforced migrating displacements embraced with the wide political and social legislative of countries like Canada and Australia provoked very huge and serious disputes that in the nineties had full swing considering the high argumentations around the "attenuate and exacerbate perception of the cultural threat. Multicultural proponents contend that under democratic government by the majority, minorities face disadvantages of recognition and accommodation, requiring cultural specific minority group rights."(Kymlicka 1995, Kymlicka 2001, Taylor 1994). The new countries (Sweden, Netherland) that support the policy of open acceptance of the migrating populations create their own policy about them and their own social legislative and funds for accepting and accommodating of the migrating communities as well but, these policies were criticized by the new observers who recognize the "opportunism" between the lines. Namely, the scientific critics blame the multiculturalism for "exacerbating social divisions, fueling divisiveness, retarding immigrants' and in some cases, undermining a country's liberal democratic values." (Barry 2001, Gitlin 1995, Hollinger 2000, Huntington 2004) From this point of view, so established multicultural policies increase such irritated relations between the divisiveness and trust claiming that the diversity undermines even the civic character of the host society and the political engagement of the migrating communities as well. But, in the practical sense the proofs discover that multiculturalism "promotes collective-mindedness among immigrants by providing them with instrumental support and symbolic legitimacy which could increase overall "stocks" of social capital as immigrant population grows". (Bloemraad 2006, Vermuellen and Berger, 2008) Hooghe and his colleges highlight the intermediary effect of the multicultural policies positive or negative, but emphasizes that such policies don't mediate any diversity-trust link. Their researches identify two competing hypotheses: one suggests that multiculturalism promotes trust and engagement in the context of diversity, while the other suggests that it ignites a backlash lowering aggregate trust and possibly willingness to engage in collective endeavors. The third aspect is exceptionally contradictory, and it might

increase general distrust by highlighting differences, but this might motivate people to join a group, rather than honking down. (Hooge at al. 2007)

In this types of movements the ethnocentrism appears as a very important factor, mostly in the countries who were traditionally oriented to basically registrated populations as the carriers of the statehood like the countries of South Eastern Europe. In the nineties, the democratic processes in the post-communist countries open the possibilities for political differentiation of the ideological aspects on every social level. And despite the exceptional domination of the left orientated political subjects, the right orientated Demo – Christian parties initiates that multicultural dialogue that took very strong swing together with the movements inspired by the migration processes. Economically strengthened Poland, Check Republic, Slovakia and former USSR republics Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and especially the former DDR Germany opened the doors for the lower economic relapsing countries like Slovenia, Croatia, particularly Bosnia and Hercegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia. The Yugoslavian Federation's symbolic multiculturalism exploded into ethnic intolerance with bloody consequences, and that intolerance was reflected even in the countries not affected with the military conflicts. The silent segregation in that ethno tolerance under the guise of banishment on the famous Bare Island in the Adriatic Sea, after the numerous victims in the very end of the XX century confirms the hypothesis that the multiculturalism in the new era, in the democratic environment, doesn't understand ideological conventionality nor does it understand severe civic linings. The Post-Yugoslavian countries are still struggling with the ethnocentric symbioses that in the new wave of immigrants from the present wars in Syria and Iraq alerted them to draw the multicultural mosaic where there will not be the preferential nations and the owners of the people's good and the spiritual bosses of the national treasure. The medias in this context are playing a very important role because of their mediating efforts in the most sensitive moments; moments when on the post-communist countries' borders are many starving immigrant families, not to mention the number of immigrants who died trying to reach desirable destinations in Western Europe.

THE POLITICAL SYMPTOMATISM OF MULTICULTURALISM

We could divide the migrating movements in the South Eastern countries into two segments: migrations that use governmental and social mechanisms of those countries for their painless and appropriate transferring of the immigrants from the third country to the Western world's destinations and the migrations that start from South Eastern countries to the west. This territorial differentiation on the first side is

just a product of the legislatives and of the social justifications, but the implications that media denote expose numerous questions exceptionally symptomatic toward the political reality of the countries where the migrations are aimed to and the countries through the migrant groups are transferred. As the third migration segment in the South Eastern countries(mostly in the Post-Yugoslavian countries) is the "interior" type of migration or so-called "forced migrations" initiated during the military conflicts and very soon after them very infamously known with the phrases "ethnic cleansings" or "human movements" especially present in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, and partly in Croatia too. This type of migration is mostly present in the early nineties and is completely motivated by the political turbulences and symptomized by the fierce ethnic homogenization and its distorted in the countries where the immigration is aimed to as a negative ethnic process.

Generally, according to the details by MIS (Migration Information Service) the countries that accepted the biggest amount of immigrants in the period from 1990 to 2000 are : Germany (1.200.000), and after are Austria (221.000) and Switzerland (144.000), but in the end of the nineties Italy (606.000), Greece (500.000) and Spain (420.000) went over those numbers. Mostly, these migrations are economic, but it is evident that after Yugoslavian war these migrations changed the demographic picture of these countries. The immigrants of the post Yugoslavian countries that had been hosted by EU countries in that period were: Bosnia and Hercegovina (600.000, this number enormously rose after the war), Croatia (72.000), Slovenia (20.000), Macedonia (23.000), Yugoslavia (here are Montenegro and Serbia as the parts of the remaining of post-war Yugoslavia) (1.100.000). The other South Eastern countries have these amounts of immigrants to EU countries: Albania (104.000), Bulgaria (151.000), Chech Republic, (150.000), Hungary (180.000), Poland (570.000), Romania (330.000), Slovakia (55.000). Here are also the former USSR republics that became independent countries: Armenia (102.000), Azerbaidjan (660.000), Belarus (625.000), Estonia (167.000), Georgia (510.000), Kasakhstan (710.000), Kyrgyzstan (162.000), Latvia (50.000), Lithuania (49.000), Moldova (220.000), Tajikistan (81.000), Turkmenistan (69.000), Ukraine (1.600.000), Uzbekistan (325.000) and the immigrants from the Russian Federation (740.000). The Southeastern countries count 1.540.000 immigrants, post Yugoslavian countries 1.815.000, the former Russian Federation countries 3.730.000. The number of the immigrated citizens from the transitional and post-communist countries in the most turbulent period (1980 – 2000) is 6.010.000. The war initiated migrations are much bigger, so the post-Yugoslavian countries are more frequent then the countries from the Eastern Europe. Here we have also the painfully transitional countries like the former Russian Federation are, but the balance are almost the same given the bigger population of those countries.

The immigration movements unconditionally change the multicultural policy of the most powerful economic countries in Europe, but also of the countries in the other continents. Twenty five years after, the medias (especially the printed ones) conclude a tired multicultural strategy of the western world. The statements of the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, that the multiculturalism in Germany is unsuccessful (Guardian 2010), as well as Horst Seehofer's, the leader of the Bavarian Christian social union that "the multiculturalism in Germany is dead" (Speiegel 2010) initiates very dangerous animosity towards the huge contingent of the disadvantaged and is predetermined to be unworthy in the lands with a strong financial capital. Here, in a very symptomatic mood we could include the former French President Nicola Sarcosy who explicitly states that the multiculturalism is a missing concept and France " was too much concentrated on the identity of the persons who are arriving there and not enough on the identity of the country who accepts them" (The Telegraph 2011). With a very restrained, but critical statement joins the former British primeminister David Cameron too say that "The British longtime policy was a failure" and calls for "better integration of the young Muslims who will struggle more with the growing "domestic" extremism". (BBC News 2011). Here are also the less notable statements of the Spanish former Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar (The Washington Times 2012) and the Australian Prime Minister John Howard (Telegraph 2010) also related to the unsuccessful multicultural policies in their countries. The statistics are to the contrary with the statements about the bad multicultural policy indicated by these very important statesmen and they indicates seven million resettled people in the countries of Western Europe, the population equivalent to 30% of the whole population of the former Yugoslavian Republics. The legislative that enables social and economic safety is additionally symptomized by the political turbulences and highly contradicted as indicated in the medias by Angela Merkel's statement from 2014 when she said that "you immigrants are very important to us" (novosti.rs 2014) This statement is a reminder of the animosity to the immigrants in the middle of XX century when the anthropologists and the ethnologists, as well as economic analytics, were indicative of the "the cultural closings" of the host countries for the immigrants, something that on the other side in the beginning of the XXI century had led to certain segregated gatherings of the settled cultures. This is a kind of conflict which forms in political activity when influent political structures attempt to strike back and is indicative on the multicultural level as a relaxing model of interaction. As a side effect here exists the so-called media "blindness" of the European countries, their occasional imperviousness to the migration waves, the conflict situation that produces ethnocentricity, on which the European Union is continuously indolent, particularly in the second decade of the XXI century. There is a very big difference

in the methods and aims of both types of migrations mentioned above, but here the cultural policy of the host countries is the same - multicultural societies without policy against ethnocentric political streams. It is obvious that the political uses of the immigrations erode the multicultural character of every country, and the reversible performance in that direction could directly affect the economies of the powerful Western European countries.

THE MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE – THE THREAT OR THE SOCIAL CONSISTENCY

The identity discourse in the political distortions that affected Europe in the transition from XX to XXI century becomes very problematic exactly because of its dynamic restructuring. The multicultural matrixes imposed by the migration more and more instruct the civil concept, so the processes of redefining of the states on the Western Balkan became painful and tough. The XXI century began that very complicated process of transforming from the "age of ideologies" into the "age of cultures". The migration processes are not something that appeared here and now. The multicultural matrix had its ground back on the other historical streams, but the civil qualifier was excluded from the social and governmental life.

Every culture during the migration carries its traditions with itself, historical justifications for its national contexts - intimate and collective. The civil identity is the part of the constitutional policy that starts from the reality and strives to come to a compromising solution of all group and individual conflicts in the frame of the existing political and legal institutions. Habermas very precisely thinks that the relationship between "ethnos" and "demos" had a very short life given that the citizenship had never been related to the national context of the country. Based on that kind of differentiation, the modern understanding of freedom could be separated from the nationalism where it obviously descended from. (Habermas 1995) Kymlicka tries to connect these diametrically different concepts by the conceptualization of the so-called mutual national identity, or the multicultural citizenship saying that "the citizenship is not only legal status defined by the collection of rights and responsibilities, but it is also the identity, the expression of somebody's membership in the political community." (Kymlicka 2009) The migrations emphasize the liberal point of view to the national identity and in that direction we have a very precise statement of Yael Tamir who claims that he couldn't recognize the opposing to the ethnocentric nationalism in the complete denial of the national interests, but in the alternative understanding of it. (Tamir 1993) The migration processes exactly distorted the statements of the pillar countries in

Europe. Every understanding of the identity of the native and the immigrant both has its liberal and non-liberal components. The proper balance between them opens the doors of the multicultural policies, although the poison of the ethnocentrism has only political references.

The Balkan countries, especially the former Yugoslavian descendants continually face the migration processes passing through them, but on the other hand their governments' burn up the ethnocentric flames and the civil concepts there are very far from the proper implementation. The last transferring immigrant routes through the post-communist countries to Europe left behind the challenge for another rethinking of the multicultural policies; namely, the attitude that the people from the different national groups will have mutual affection to the society only if they understand it as to where they could develop their national identity without subordinations. (Kymlicka, Opalski, 2001) For not to be understood as a utopia, the practical implementation of all these statements has their predestinations punctually in the mass movements. The economic stability is a challenge, but the cultural and the social balance have intimate values. The Western Balkans is moving very slowly in that direction. The poisoning ethnocentrism in the period of the immigrant crisis in 2015 and 2016 via various types of medias almost demonized the migrant movements burning up the nationalistic aspect which, for the sake of the truth always appears by demand. For its successful inclusion, the solid multicultural policy has to be well-funded economically and financially. In that case identity doesn't matter; most important are the benefits of mutual life before all the civil prerogatives. As I mentioned above, the countries of the Western Balkans see the multiculturalism as a threat, as the suffocation of the patriotic feelings and the denial and erasing of the modalities, but exactly those multicultural modalities have a future and they will work only if the global political reality in South Eastern Europe will be balanced finally and properly. All that is required is:

-    Opening of the special funds for social protection for those who decide to begin their life in the places they finally migrated;

-    Real, and before all punctual media coverage of all movements and complete referring for the conditions with very intensive dynamics;

-    Impregnating of the multicultural matrixes in all segments of living – politics, economy, education, culture;

-    The exact demographic coordination of the movements of the settled persons and their proper treatment;

-    Complete regulation of the civil rights that require the right to vote and the right of the use of their native language, equality in applying for employment and the right for an education on their native language;

THE CONCLUSION OR THE BALANCING OF THE CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

South Eastern Europe post-communist countries very quickly and successfully got through this transitive period. The worst fate of the multicultural aspects and the influence of the migrations had the countries of the post-Yugoslavian Federation and despite their economic instability (Slovenia and Croatia are exception) they hardly implemented the multiculturalism in their social movements. The pseudo-segregation conspired on the policies of the southernmost countries (Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia) inspired black social and political burn ups, which would be extinguished only through the multicultural civil concept and at the same time the undesirable conflicts and consequences would be avoided. The balance between national and civil concept in those countries should not be solved only theoretically and only as the political promise. Those countries should definitely deliberate themselves of the ghosts from the past and all their national symbols mustn't be used for the delineating of the territories. The cultural dialogue between particular entities has to find its positive moments and the multicultural aspects have to find some practical application in all segments of living as soon as possible. The ethnos is not a practical category and it doesn't secure any mechanisms for coexistence. The coexistence has its intimate and communication prerogatives. The articulating of them in the independent and legally supported legislative, the cultural differences will find their own similarities. They all have their human components; the importance is in the proper balancing. Finally, USA as the intensive example of a multicultural paradise is created only by immigrants.

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