# NOT ONLY MOVING BODIES:
# CONTESTED AND TRANSFORMING CONCEPTS
# IN MIGRATION STUDIES

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This text is focused on migration to the American and European continents. It deals
with the conceptualizations of the terms transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, the
source space, target space, country of origin. It shows the changes in the usage of
these terms over the past hundred years and also indicates some changes in the
migration and post-migration situations. For its interpretation, I have chosen the
discussion on immigration, which took place in the United States of America during
World War I and compare the argumentation then with the contemporary
conceptualization of the terms. I have selected the empirical examples of the changes
in contemporary migrations from my own research work and from other surveys,
which inter alia also took place in the Czech milieu.

*Key words:* migration, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, country of origin

## INTRODUCTION

In my contribution, I will deal with the migrations, which have manifested themselves
especially in recent years again as a significant source of social movement. A significant
influx of migrants had not been recorded into the Slovak Republic or the Czech
Republic. Nevertheless, international migration has become a topic of society-wide
discussion and catalyst of opinion polarization. It has become, in the words of Antonio
Gramsci, a component of the permanent "*war of position*" (Gramsci, 1971; Holmes &
Castañeda, 2016).

Discussion on the migration issue has shown how significantly the method of its
thematization and its articulation acts and what role the media play in the creation of
public opinion (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). Already the mere change of diction that
migrants flow not for instance into Germany and Great Britain but into Europe shifts
the conceptualization of the entire issue into another light and influences the thinking
and conduct of large groups of people. The changed contextualization of the issue can

lead for instance to a distancing from Europe as well as on the contrary to calling for pan-European responsibility. As for example Michal Buchowski shows, the emphasis on other words can change also the conceptualization of minorities, who have been autochthonic in the given territory for a number of generations (Buchowski, 2016).

In the introductory piece for the publication *Global Connections and Emerging Inequalities in Europe: Perspectives on Poverty and Transnational Migration*, Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine say that migrations and migration theory coming from them as have been studied in the last thirty years "*basically … can be grouped into those which address the structural (political and economic) conditions in the home and destination countries which encourage migration, those which consider migration as a particular manifestation of global inequalities, dependencies, or processes of underdevelopment, and those which are concerned with the experience and agency of migrants in making decisions, in pursuing migration pathways and during their time abroad as migrants*" (Kaneff & Pine, 2011: 19).

In my paper, I focus on several key terms, which accompany migration and which cut through all three topics and theories that were mentioned by Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine, although they probably concern the first mentioned area the most. At the heart of my attention are concepts of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, source space, target space and country of origin and last but not least the modern diaspora concept.

The transformations of the meanings of these terms indicate alternatives, with which thinking about migrations alters. Our examples show that with the progressive discussions on migration and with extended migration movements, concepts are losing clarity, alternative approaches and interpretations are increasing, and original radical solutions often make no sense.

The change of the aspects on which the emphasis is placed in the interpretation of the terms also symbolizes the altered conditions in which migrations take place.

## TRANSNATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM

The permanent discussion on the course of the level of the desired conformity from new arrivals in their target destinations usually culminates in the period of war conflicts, when immigrants who dwell in target countries from enemy states, are not so conforming as to not use the language, religion, customs or other characteristic features of the country with which their target destination is in conflict. It acts unwittingly like an enemy army on the territory, where they seek refuge and arouse a xenophobic reaction.

The United States of America just like other immigration lands has many times registered increased pressure on the conformity of fresh immigrants in time of war or international tension. It was significant for instance in the period of World War I, when the "Americanization movement" focused on rapid language assimilation of the new immigrants and on instruction of American customs became very popular (LeMay & Barkan, 1999: xxxiv). A similar role was played then also by the ideology "melting pot", but the xenophobic reaction also aroused an initiative in defence of the immigrants. In the tense nationalistic and assimilationist atmosphere, the concept of transnationalism, which gave the immigrants the space to develop their own language and cultural specificity, was activated as an opposite. From the period of World War I

are known for instance the texts of the young physically-handicapped essayist Randolph Bourne, particularly his vision from an article in Atlantic Monthly from 1916 entitled *Trans-national America*.

Randolph Bourne in the essay speaks of Germans, Scandinavians, Czechs (Bohemians) and Poles, hence of groups from enemy or neutral, rather pro-German and Austro-Hungarian oriented states. In his treatise, he takes a very understanding position to their cultural customs and emphasizes that the immigrants do not come to the United States to become White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, but free people with their own way just like the previous settlers did not move to America to become American Indians. Immigrants also develop their creativity in the spirit of their previous experiences and it is better to preserve their spiritual original homeland than to make them into cultural outcasts. Bourne in his text considers in parallel immigrants and American society as a whole, which in his opinion needs to lose its isolation and parochialism and in that the transnational concept could help it (Bourne, 1916).

The resolution of internal political tensions and stagnation through openness to migrations is, as we see, a "traditional" concept, although it is now rather under communicated in neoliberal societies. Perhaps also because the work is contextualized into the social situation, which took place in the USA more than one hundred years ago, it helps us capture how the concept of transnationalism and the other mentioned concepts have changed.

First of all, we note that Bourne speaks of transnationalism in several meanings. In the introductory passages of the text, he speaks of a spiritual transnationalism, which could be perceived as preservation of the national distinctiveness and relationship to their country of origin. In the final passages of the text, however, he also supports the idea of dual citizenship and the free bilateral movement of people, thus transnationalism rooted in cross-border transfer. According to Bourne, this movement creates cosmopolitan society. Hence, not the amalgam arising from a melting pot, but a fabric of cultures (Bourne, 1916).

As it stems from Bourne's text, transnationalism has a relation to cosmopolitanism. Although cosmopolitanism is often tied to rather more qualified and educated groups of the population (Werbner, 2006), Bourne in his texts does not focus only on the modern or postmodern traveller[1] and supposed that even a number of the Slavs coming to the United States can be illiterate and still relates them to the transnational cosmopolitan society.[2] They are components of the new American society and at the same time retain specific features from the country of origin (Bourne, 1916).

In 2016 Maria José Canelo returned to Bourne's text and the type of cosmopolitanism that Bourne considers, categorized as rooted cosmopolitanism (Canelo, 2016), hence by the same category as Kwame Anthony Appiah created, when he named the feelings of his father Joe Emmanuel Appiah, an important lawyer, politician and diplomat coming from Ghana, but living besides in Ghana also in Great Britain, the USA and other countries. As arises from the interpretation of Kwame Anthony Appiah, his father felt like a cosmopolitan person but with a feeling of patriotism which bound him to the space of Ghana. According to Appiah, a synonym for rooted cosmopolitanism is cosmopolitan patriotism (Appiah, 1996; Appiah, 1997).

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1 Bourne works with the term postmodern and speaks in his text of the Japanese leap from the Middle Ages to postmodernity.

2 Bourne probably alludes to the former then protracted America-wide debate whether to allow illiterate immigrants into the country.

It seems that transnationalism can create various types of cosmopolitan awareness. Appiah describes another situation than for instance Ulf Hannerz in his text *Flows, Boundaries and Hybrids*, in which part of the population as if travelled between local cultures and picked them according to their own needs (Hannerz, 1997). Again, another polarization is created by Homi K. Bhabha, when he emotively describes his homeland and the experience after moving from Bombay to Oxford in 1970, where he could try dual cosmopolitan worlds; the cosmopolitan world of the upper classes and the cosmopolitan world of the very poor immigrants, which he called "vernacular cosmopolitanism" (Bhabha, 1996). Its polarity logically raises the question to what extent these worlds are comparable and whether in the second case the term cosmopolitanism is appropriate. Pnina Werbner asks similarly and concludes: *"Vernacular cosmopolitanism belongs to a family of concepts, all of which combine in similar fashion apparently contradictory opposites: cosmopolitan patriotism, rooted cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan ethnicity, working-class cosmopolitanism, discrepant cosmopolitanism."* (Werbner, 2006: 496).

From the examples given, it is clear that the process of expanding the ties and contacts through migration can be diverse and the cosmopolitan sensation from this process has a number of subjectively tuned connotations. For many migrants, the post-migration period can be just as well characterized rather by isolation. Especially *"individuals who migrate from collectivistic or socio-centric societies, who themselves are socio-centric, into individualist or egocentric societies may experience feelings of alienation and mental distress"* (Bhugra & Becker, 2005: 18; Bhugra, 2004) rather than cosmopolitan viewpoints. In the same way, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism needn't be in my opinion connected with migration as it was presented by Everett Lee, that means as a *"permanent or semi-permanent change of residence"* (Lee, 1966: 49). On the contrary, it can be the creation of international contacts based on trade, professional or interest relations in one locality.

Although we can conceptualize transnational ties with migrants as well as non-migrating people, the measurement is usually conducted with immigrants, or immigrant populations. The used indicators of transnationalism also correspond to that, which normally include the following: remittance, contacts, contact abroad, family abroad, visits to given country, attachment, language, and following information from the given country (Fauser, et al., 2015: 1502). If the mentioned indicators were used on data collected within the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), which contains a sample with the data of approximately 11,000 immigration families totalling 20,000 people,[3] the result with immigrants in Germany in the first generation indicated transnationalism with 80% of the people, mainly on the level of contact with acquaintances and with family members. Additionally 45 % of the people in the sample felt a strong tie with the country of origin and approximately half used their original language in everyday communication. Two thirds of respondents then visited the country of origin at least once a year to every other year (Fauser, et al., 2015: 1509).

In accord with my experience from similar surveys on smaller samples, it is possible to state that the extent of the transnational ties can hardly be put into the context of the integration into local or other defined societies in the target destinations. Fewer transnational ties do not in any way signal a greater extent of local contacts or the

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3    More detail at http://www.eui.eu/Research/Library/ResearchGuides/Economics/Statistics/Data Portal/GSOEP.aspx

opposite. In the case of the sample created within the German Socio-Economic Panel, it rather appears that the transnational ties from the selected sample of migrants are most often maintained by people from the higher social classes, hence the socially more successful in the target country (Fauser, et al., 2015: 1509-1511).

We would discover parallels to the finding in the German milieu also in the case of the research projects of controlled migrations of compatriots to the Czech Republic from Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Also in this case, we recorded that transnational ties do not weaken but are often also renewed with economic prosperity or with a deeper mooring of the resettled in Czech society, even in the second generation. It can sometimes result also in transnational economic activities (Uherek & Beranská, 2015), or in activities, which have the goal to renew friendship or familial ties or the family cultural heritage. An interesting case was a family of resettled people from Beroun,[4] who after settling down began to send their children regularly to summer camps in Russia and Ukraine to not forget Russia and possibly to create contacts there (research 2011).

Transnational ties can also strengthen the local patriotic ties without the person stopping perceiving himself as a cosmopolitan person as in the cited case by Appiah (Appiah, 1997). On the other hand, not every local patriotic anchored person with transnationally created ties becomes cosmopolitan. In the study of the resettlement of Czech compatriots from Ukraine to the Czech Republic in 1991–1993, which clearly created a scope for transnational ties, we have encountered cases several times of strong compatriot feelings of Czech nationalism, which increased in the course of the migration and also disappointment that the national culture is not devoted such attention in Bohemia as it deserved according to the resettled from Ukraine (Valášková, et al., 1997). However, the group did not tend towards cosmopolitism. Its ties were on the contrary developed in the local communities and even more in the compatriot communities across the Czech Republic.

The characteristics of transnationalism naturally depend to a great degree on the indicators, which we select for transnationalism. They can be any kind of regular cross-border ties or ties connected with economic activity. Only rarely the conceptualization of this term in transnational manifestation also counts visits to the family village or family grave abroad, which take place several times in lives of people as it was realized in the dissertation by Luděk Jirka, who studied the case of the Volhynia Czechs which resettled from Ukraine to Bohemia after the WW II (Jirka, 2016).

Transnationalism, which we have discussed so far, took place, as it was considered also by Randolph Bourne, between the country of origin and the target country. However, currently, transnationalism is also a question of the ties to other states. It is further necessary to include particularly the transnational ties, which take place in the target destination. It would also be possible to consider transnational contacts, which take place in the virtual world, through correspondence, Skype, or trade abroad via the internet. All of them correspond to the definition of transnationalism, which was used for example by Stephen Vertovec: "*sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning national states*" (Vertovec, 2009: 2). It thus opens a wide field of ties, the intensity of which can be very extensive and therefore considerable.

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4    Beroun is a town in the Czech Republic about 30 kilometres west of Prague.

In the text by Randolph Bourne, he considers only two territories: the country of origin and the target destination: the United States of America. Immigrants bring from the country of origin a specificity to the target destination, which could enrich it. However, in the world of cultural relativism, clear contours are not common. So, as the emic viewpoint of George Marcus relativizes Wallerstein's centre-peripheral conception where in the classification of global ties centres are and where peripheries are, because what is a centre for one can be a periphery for another (Marcus, 1998), in the same way in relocation many times and an emic point of view it complicates what to consider as source and what as target space. At the same time, it is not a pointless question. Patriotic feelings, feelings of home are often bound to the country of origin or source space, the country of origin is the land of immigrant's ancestors; a wide range of elements are connected with the country of origin, which a person identifies with and based on which he / she is also categorized by his / her social surroundings. Already in 1960s, Iva Heroldová hit upon the complication with source and target countries when she studied ethnic Czechs from Poland's Zelów, who situated their origin themselves geographically to Bohemia, but were often considered by their Polish and Russian neighbours particularly until the end of World War I according to their protestant religion and country of arrival as Prussians (Heroldová, 1971).

The problem of the country of origin is then complicated in the conceptualization of the migration groups and their surroundings in the case of the returning compatriot migrations, when the discourse on the country of origin changes based on the situation and the country of origin alternately becomes the source and target and vice versa. The immigration groups of compatriots from Ukraine were originally from Bohemia, but their country of birth was Ukraine, where they had their native homes, memories of childhood, where their ancestors were buried. Strictly speaking, their country of origin of their ancestors was Bohemia; their actual country of origin was Ukraine. The feeling of home with many of them tied them in a certain sense to both countries.

Nevertheless, the feeling of home does not have to be tied to the source country and the country of origin. With Roma migrants from Bohemia to Canada, for instance, I recorded after several years of living in Canada where they had already decided to remain that they strongly felt on a visit to the Czech Republic that they are already at home in Canada.[5] A number of resettled people from Ukraine, however, reacted similarly as well. After several years and visits in the residences of their origin, some said that they already looked forward to going home to Bohemia (Valášková, et al. 1997). It is thus the opposite reaction to the new milieu than Roma street buskers in Switzerland from the Slovak-Hungarian border felt, who left their families in their country of origin and only made money in Switzerland, as they are described by Jan Grill (Grill, 2011). Stanislav Brouček recorded an even more complex situation in the case of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, when the feeling of home of the parents and children often differ radically (Uherek, 2003; Brouček, 2016).

The relativisation of the concept of source and target countries and the transformations of this concept over time is also quite visible in the changing view of the migration of Czech settlement in Romania's Banat. The story of the Czechs there,

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5    The family resettled in 2012 and the trip to the Czech Republic was made in 2014. The interview with the family took place in Canada in 2016.

whose ancestors resettled the Banat forests at the beginning of the 19th century and built a colonization village there, which we know for example from the narrations selected for the film *Piemule* by Jana Ševčíková (Piemule, 1983), in many ways correspond to the view drawn by Jaromír Jech with Olga Skalníková and Vladimír Scheufler via field research in the 1960s (Jech, et al., 1992). It is an image of forgotten compatriots, who for more than a century have preserved a great number of elements of the original culture and to a certain extent also lifestyle. It is necessary to preserve this valuable object and show it to the public (Jech, et al., 1992).

The methods of Jana Ševčíková and the collective led by Jaromír Jech are not the same. Ethnographers of the 1960s collected the relicts of the Czech folk culture and from their analysis we have discovered much about the folk culture of the Banat Czechs, less on how the compatriots lived in Banat in the 1960s. Their texts mainly record elements of Czech folk culture, which the ethnographers captured among the compatriots.

Jana Ševčíková not quite twenty years later captures more on the life of this group in the scenery of the "folk culture", which surrounds them. Iva Heroldová, at the same time when Jana Ševčíková shot her film, devoted herself to remigration of these compatriots to the Czech Republic and writes this sentence in the recapitulation of the social and cultural background of the Banat Czechs: "Territorial isolation and the compactness of the agricultural settlement contributed to the ethnic integrity and cultural retardation ..." (Heroldová, 1983: 241).

Iva Heroldová states in the text that the cultural peculiarity of the Banat Czechs, problems with becoming accustomed to the cooler climate in the Czech lands after 1945 and the position of the autochthonic population to those re-emigrating, whom they often called Romanians, led to some of the re-emigrants secretly travelling back to Romania.

The arrival of the compatriots from Romania to then Czechoslovakia suddenly changed the country of their origin. While in Romania their country of origin was Czech Lands, in Czechoslovakia their country of origin became Romania, not only for their autochthon Czech and Moravian neighbours, but apparently also for them themselves and for the ethnographer who conducted the research among them. Additionally, the valuable relicts transformed into anachronisms slowing integration.

Lukáš Hanus, who returned to the Romanian case in his doctoral theses from 2015, captured the specificity of the migrating group from another perspective. Whereas Olga Skalníková demonstrated using the example of the Romanian Czechs how this group preserved the Czech elements of the lifestyle of the 18th and 19th century in their isolated localities and Iva Heroldová using groups that had returned after 1945 found examples of how difficult their integration back into the Czech milieu was; Lukáš Hanus shows in his example of Czechs from Romania coming to the Czech Republic in 21st Century that their need to integrate into the new milieu means something else than integration meant for their ancestors. Whereas integration still in the middle of the 20th century meant inclusion in the majority population, for Czechs coming from Romania now it means especially knowing how to commute between the milieu of Romanian villages with a Czech population and the milieu of the Czech Republic. Present-day migrations mean expansion of the active radius into more localities rather than a change of the place of residence (Hanus, 2015).

Migrants currently do not typically leave the place of origin entirely, but only partially. Communication by Skype, telephone and easy travel causes that absence in

the place of origin is frequently only temporary and partial. Consequently, however, the presence in the new milieu can be temporary too. More advantageous position can be frequently between local societies than inside them. Creating new communities can frequently be easier than to integrate into old ones. Lukáš Hanus in this context speaks of a transnational field, which compatriots created in the direction of the Czech Republic. Commuting between two or more countries relativize which of them is the source and which is the target country. The process is well described by Nina Glick-Schiller and her co-workers in her study with the symptomatic name: *From Immigrant to Trans migrant* (Glick-Schiller, Basch, Szanton-Blanc, 1995) or in the text *Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism* by Roger Rouse (Rouse: 1991).

In the end, this new situation corresponds also to the authorization of dual or multiple citizenship, which a number of states including the Czech Republic, have implemented in their legal norms.


## CONCLUSION

At the end of the several previous examples, we have returned to the concept of transnationalism to focus now on the causes that transnationalism and other mentioned terms are currently considered otherwise than approximately a hundred years ago.

It is evident from the text that the migrations themselves are transforming. Even moving a great distance does not interrupt the contacts with the country of origin. The ending of contacts with countries of origin is not assumed nor is clear integration into the society in the target space assumed. It is not necessary to fight for transnationalism now; it simply is. The migrants continue to be used as an instrument of economic growth, but the checks on the abuse of migration flows for purely commercial purposes is increasing. The forced transfers typical for colonial powers and entrepreneurs on the American continent in the 16th – 19th centuries, the most alarming form of which was the so-called triangular trade – a component of which was also the transfer of the black population from Africa to North America in the 16th – 18th centuries (Castles & Miller, 1993), are recorded on a small scale to this day, but they are criminal.

After a period of spontaneous to massive migration to the North American continent[6] in the 19th century, migration to the USA after World War I began to be regulated as a risk factor. The long-term discussion on immigration policy and inclusion of immigrant groups into America society (LeMay & Barkan, 1999) in 1920 resulted in the introduction of immigration quotas. The reaction to the ethnic and confessional difference and negative views of the public especially of groups coming from states that were enemy at the time of World War I or from states, whose lifestyle and religion differed distinctly from the norms of Anglo-Saxon protestants, was also captured by Emory S. Bogardus, when he published his experiments with measurement of the social distance based on an empirical collection of the data in 1925. He then drew the conclusion that the greatest distance was felt by the population of the United States to the Turks (Bogardus, 1925).

The logical reaction to the fears and assimilation pressures is usually mobilization of a pro-migration opposition, which inter alia puts emphasis on the humanitarian

6    For more detail William Petersen discusses free migration and mass migration on the American continent in his General Typology of Migration (Petersen, 1958).

aspect and at the same time, seeks arguments on how migration is useful for the wider society. Although the security domain is usually in the hands of the state, the criticism of the increased regulation of migration usually concerns also the state itself and the state of the society protected by the state.

As we could already convince ourselves several times, the demand for scientific data increases in similar situations. If the scientific results are not special-purpose products ordered by one or the other group, the data refine the theoretical thinking and shift the knowledge on migrations ahead, but they do not resolve the dispute between the two debating camps, because it is not a dispute on knowledge but a political dispute. The illustrative example is the Chicago School of Sociology that precisely at the time of which we speak collected empirical data on migrations and created a number of methodologically enriching texts on the investigation of immigration groups (Simons, 1901 – 1902; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918 – 1920; Hannerz, 1997), but they practically did not intervene in the dispute.

Randolph Bourne is an example of the mobilization of the humanitarian-oriented and critically tuned intellectual elite, which reacted to the discussion on anti-migration measures and assimilation pressures on migrants and sought arguments against the assimilation projects and migration restrictions. His argumentation reflects the method of migration then, when it was possible to determine clearly the source and target country, to name the differences in the way of life of the arrivals and their values, with the contribution of which it was possible to create a cosmopolitan society. He puts the changes in the actual migration practices into a different light particularly:

1. The aspect of migration as a unilateral move from the source to the target space. Migrants currently do not move to new destinations so that they would be separated from those original ones but they connect them and usually seek the benefits of both destinations. The migrant normally is not a turncoat, who strengthens one group at the expense of the other, he is a keystone, who connected the two groups, creates informational, skill but also personal ties.
2. Randolph Bourne builds transnationalism chiefly on the movement of people. Currently, as we have shown, the fundamental aspects stand on the creation of ties.
3. The element of assimilation loses its sense. In contemporary diversified societies, the term assimilation is very hard to grasp, because we are not a monolithic culture in which uniformity is to occur. It might be possible to speak of assimilation in cases of mixed marriages into small isolated communities. Linguistic assimilations commonly occurs, integration in the area of employment, conformity with local societies, but also in this situation a scope remains for diverse overlaps into other societies than those which appear to be target.

At least societies in the European Union are currently shaped so that mainly an institutional networking into the state and local wholes is required of immigrant groups. Strategies can thus be created of both close contact with the population in the localities and also create their own full-fledged relatively closed network, diasporas. In European societies, their existence has the same old history as the existence of cosmopolitan groupings.

For the existence of contemporary diasporas, however, the physical proximity of their members is no longer essential. In this context, Steven Vertovec speaks about new or dispersed diasporas which operate especially throughout Europe. As a person only partially leaves the source destination, one only partially integrates into the new milieu. Thus, diasporas secure and develop their specific kind of relationships,

oriented by specific ties on history and geography, a tension on political orientations, and specific kinds of economic strategies (Vertovec, et al., 1999: XVII–XVIII). A known fact is that immigration groups bring with them their language, habits from everyday life, religion and other elements, which they pass down some times from generation to generation for a long time. It is true in the case of both external and internal migrations. While the state develops concepts of integration, migration groups frequently create mechanisms for preserving their original cultures and habits. Thus, a newly redefined term of diaspora can become a tool in their cultural politics (Cohen, 1999). "*Diaspora has arisen as part of the postmodern project resisting the nation-state, which is perceived as hegemonic, discriminatory and culturally homogenising*" (Vertovec, 2009: 132). "*Diasporic identity has become an occasion for the celebration of multiplicity*" (Tölölyan, 1996: 28) but not cosmopolitanism. The aim of this type of solidarity is not to revive the majority scene but to preserve one's own (traditional) integrity in the global world.

Migrations are a complex phenomenon, and therefore movement is intrinsic to society as a whole; the society as a whole represents itself in migrations and the position to them. Therefore, it is possible to decipher in the discussion on migrations what individual societies fear, what they place emphasis on, what they would like to change in their surroundings. Shifts in the concepts related to migration indicate a dynamic of changes in the society, which we are trying to understand.

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**Zdeněk Uherek**

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