

Preface: Europe's journey

Since 1989 our Europe and particularly the south-east part along the Danube has gained many facets which were not, to a large extent, known to us before. We not only have to come to terms with the emergence of new countries and altered maps, with new possibilities by virtue of similarities and the surfacing of new and old frictions, but also with changes in our lifestyle. This indicates that Europe is on a journey, so to speak. Each of us grew up with reports of the migration that destroyed the Roman Empire, of the emigration waves to America and Australia, and also of the streams of tourists which include ourselves. In principle, migration is nothing new, but each generation has to cope with it under its own particular conditions. This is more true than ever today, because the often unresolved outcomes of migration have striking consequences for life in our cities and villages, for the school system, for the working environment, and not least for our personal relationships as well. Resurgent nationalisms and populisms thrive on demonizing “the other” and the fact that we do not yet know each other well enough to have developed a mutual understanding.

The problems are not to be diminished – on the contrary, we are destined to face up to the challenge and to search for solutions. And solutions are possible. An analysis of history shows that humankind has gained infinitely whenever it succeeded in utilizing its heterogeneity and different experiences and talents. It is not sufficient to statistically record migration flows or to put forward demands regarding the conditions under which one can obtain a visa, a work permit or even citizenship. Cultural differences and relations, such as those in religion and language, become visible and show us the diversity and wealth that exist in Europe.

We should also be aware of forced migration and remember that recent migration flows have arisen from wars and political decisions, such as border changes, resettlements, and, worst of all, “ethnic cleansing”. Forced migration has strong social and economic impacts on the affected populations as it disturbs family bonds, communities and whole societies. Additionally, host countries face challenges from integrating migrants. While adapting to changing circumstances, migrants struggle with various problems often leading to their social isolation and increasing the likelihood of developing health conditions.

Talking about, pointing out and scientifically reviewing the problem is important, but not enough. We must also find ways to develop sensitivity, empathy, and often compassion as well. In the Europe of the 21st century this can not be considered a secondary goal, but must become a high priority on the European agenda. We are pleased about the relativity of the borders and the fact that the “global village” has long become reality; especially on a relatively small continent such as Europe. Europe constitutes the cultural variety, which is rendered fruitful only through our knowledge of, and most importantly, our mutual utilization of it.

In this sense we are travelers, not only through time and the world, but also through the diversity of our human condition. The present book kindly endeavors to make a contribution that will benefit all of us and our future!

Dr. Erhard Busek

Vienna, October 2009

Acknowledgements

As with any book, and particularly a collection of papers from different disciplines, the editors are not the only ones who contributed to the successful creation of the work. This collection of papers is the result of a series of conferences and symposia with more participants than authors represented in the book. The chapters therefore comprise reflections of many thinkers and researchers as well as practical experiences in the fields of migration, integration and mental health care. We would like to thank those who, in addition to the authors of this volume, actively participated in various discussions in the European Danube Academy, namely Dean Ajdukovic, Miklos Biro, Dinka Corkalo Biruski, Günter Chodzinski, Edgar Forster, Miroslav Plančak, Luis Miguel Villaescusa Prada, Bassam Tibi, and Norbert Winterstein.

We thank Doreen Pöppel, Kerstin Limbrecht and Toby Reynolds for their almost never ending work on references and the English text. Claudia Nitzschmann, Ute von Wietersheim and Karlheinz Spitzl have both been superb in translating and sometimes rather interpreting several chapters from German into English. Due to the varied nature of the contributions this work was in need of academic translation skills, not only because of the language, but also due to the complexity and different intellectual origin of some thoughts and ideas. Thank you so much!

Several of the empirical chapters are based on data collections from migrants and forced migrants. We are particularly indebted to the latter for their willingness to share with us their (traumatic) experiences.

The editors and the publisher gratefully acknowledge the personal and financial support of the Cities of Ulm and Neu-Ulm through the donau.büro.ulm represented by Gunther Czisch and Gerd Hölzel, and of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Ulm represented by Guido Adler and Klaus Michael Debatin. We are indebted to Heinz Kälberer, the executive director of the Service Point for East-Europe and representing the Baden-Württemberg-Stiftung in Stuttgart. We would like to thank our printer CPI Ebner & Spiegel for their help and financial support. Only through their generous sponsoring the migration conferences and this publication could have been realized.

The editors are grateful for the publisher's permission to translate and re-publish chapters of the book *MenschenStromDonau: Leben und Leiden an einem europäischen Fluss*, edited by Harald C. Traue und Sabine Presuhn.

Ulm, Tübingen, and London, January 2010

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Introduction

Migration and Integration: Contributions to the Development of the Danube Region

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Just as the Rhine symbolizes integration with the West, the Danube has become the symbol of connection between 'old' EU states and 'new' and potential member states in south-east and east Europe. The Danube region represents a newly formed transnational European region stretching from the Black Forest to the Black Sea, which today connects ten countries, many cities and regions, old and new democracies, and diverse nationalities and cultures representing thousands of years of history. In the Danube region Europe will continue with its further development. The Danube has the potential to become a symbol of understanding between nations and of the successful reunification of Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

The Danube region is home to approximately 80 million people living on the Danube. The river has connected cities and regions through their common interest in peaceful cooperation, freedom and a healthy living environment, and will continue to do so. The Europe of the future – an essential principle of European constitutional policy – will be established and developed through collaboration and partnerships between cities and regions. The European Council has asked the EU Commission to compile a "Danube strategy" by the end of 2010, which is intended to support politically the creation of an integrated European Danube region.

This outlook for the Danube region should be considered an important aspect of a broader development, namely that of a new European growth to the east. A mental journey from the west to the east along the Danube leads directly to the Black Sea, into Turkey, and then widens toward the Middle East, to the energy supply source of western Europe. It is not by chance that the new "Nabucco" gas pipeline is planned to run through Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary via Turkey – and thus parallel to the Danube – westward towards the village of Baumgarten in Austria. The capacity for integration might be greater when based also on physical warmth, rather than merely on a common system of values. EU enlargement along the Danube will become the key for connecting the European west and Russia, Turkey and the Near East. Thereby, in a new way the Danube region undoubtedly becomes a lively migration path between the West and the East.

Historically the Danube region has been, and to the present day continues to be, characterized by forced and voluntary migration between nations and peoples. The individuals

involved in these migrations carry cultures, languages and economic motives with them that offer vast opportunities for creative development. To capitalize on these opportunities, political answers to the pressing questions regarding integration are necessary. In his chapter of this book¹, Karl Schlögel highlights that the Europe we know is the result of both migration and displacement processes, that migration is in some respects the constructive-productive side of movement and locomotion, and that European history, a history of blending and amalgamation, is unimaginable without migration movements. Displacement is, in a certain sense, the opposite of migration, the interruption and blocking of migration, de-blending in the most brutal sense of the word. Europe today is the result of a de-blending on a scale without a historical precedent. Let us take Ulm, the largest city on the far western Danube, with its historical role for migration into southeast Europe, as a specific example: 300 years ago thousands of people set out from Ulm on so-called Ulm barges, heading downriver toward Southern Hungary, the Banat, and Bačka. Many did so out of sheer need, in the hope of finding a new home. For centuries they peacefully settled there with other ethnic groups and created a new cultural area which finally fell to pieces and “washed back” refugees during World War II. The fall of the former Yugoslavia also led to migrant flows back along the Danube. The Danube region has therefore become home to many people who by virtue of their origin have personal connections to the regions and countries in south-east Europe.

Before war swept the Balkans like a storm after the fall of the Iron Curtain, only a few people would have been able to imagine the excesses of violence, the historical dimension of the forced displacement and the ethnic cleansings that would take place in southeast Europe. The consequent task of integrating a large number of people will not be successful if the origins and extremism of ethno-nationalistic mobilization and violence are not correctly understood. The development of national enemy stereotypes and the use of violence have shaped the recent conflicts along the Danube and show how enemy stereotypes can be abused for the promotion of ethnic affiliations.

More than one million people became refugees, mostly fleeing to Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, or suffering internal displacement. By 2008 almost 80% of them had returned to Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNHCR-Report). The forced migration has a devastating social and economic impact on the affected populations, as it disrupts families, communities and societies (Ajdukovic, 2004). Host countries face challenges with integrating forced migrants. While adapting to changing circumstances, refugees struggle with various problems, such as changes in family roles and cohesion, unemployment, poverty and discrimination in host societies. This frequently leads to social isolation and an increased likelihood of becoming hostile or socially marginalized (Jasin-skaja-Lahti et al., 2006).

¹ This introduction contains direct quotes from the contributions to this book for the purpose of providing informal abstracts for the respective chapters, and therefore these quoted passages are not highlighted as such.

Refugees in host countries have a higher risk of health problems: They are about ten times more likely to suffer from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) than age-matched general populations in these countries; one in 20 suffers from major depression and one in 25 has generalized anxiety disorder (Fazel et al., 2005). Recent epidemiological studies in the Netherlands have revealed high percentages (30-57%) of mental health disorders among refugees (Gerritsen et al., 2006). Although most forced migrants are able to function fairly well, a considerable number continue to be unemployed, in receipt of benefits, fail to learn the language of a host country and do not integrate into the mainstream society, which in turn adversely affects their families, children in particular.

For the people who are affected, back-and-forth migration is therefore associated with considerable suffering and hardship. The more these displacements were caused by differences in ethnic affiliation, the more brutal and ruthless the methods of transfer became, increasing the number of victims (cf. Schlögel in the present work). Southeast Europe has been and still is particularly affected, especially the countries along the Danube. The countries of former Yugoslavia and the surrounding regions were the latest focus of this process (Mooren, 2001).

Throughout the course of history the entire Danube region has time and time again witnessed dramatic shifts in migration of large populations. It has become apparent that helping the people who have been affected is impossible without a fundamental understanding of their historical, religious, cultural and political background.

The lack of knowledge regarding these extremely varied circumstances can also be a stumbling block to the political and socio-economic integration of the Danube countries into the EU, because “the banks of the Danube are a test for the Europe of tomorrow; not in the test tube but in reality. We Western Europeans have forgotten to research in this open air laboratory and therefore fail to understand the problems in former Yugoslavia”², writes Martin Graff (1998). To this one can add that we do not sufficiently understand the entire Danube region. This anthology intends to improve our understanding of history, the current development and the perspectives of the Danube countries in relation to the European integration process.

The idea of European integration presupposes that ethnic ideologies, which in the 20th century have led to immense and violent migrations, can be overcome. At the same time it must be understood that migration is a normal element of the cultural and economic development of the Danube region. Integrating the resettlement and displacement experience within the Danube region into pan-European displacement events is a difficult task which can only be performed by qualified experts. It is an exceedingly important topic because even today and before our very eyes, violent expulsion continues. In his contribution, **Karl Schlögel** outlines European displacement history over the last 100 years and thereby confronts the false impression that the displacement problem is only a German, Polish, Kosovan or Bosnian one. It is important to understand that Europe as we know it

² Translated from the original German by the editors.

today is the result of migration and displacement waves. He sees the Danube region as a miniature Europe, and writes that everything one could see from the European perspective is reflected in the Danube region with great clarity and radicalism.

“The Displacement of Ethnic Groups Within the Context of World War II and the Role of German Warfare” by **Hannes Heer** directs the view to a special epoch, which emanated from the ideas of world power detailed in Adolf Hitler’s “Mein Kampf”³ and his plans for their implementation. This epoch culminated in the politics of the national socialist “Third Reich”, which aimed to “reconnect” German society and German minorities living abroad wherever common borders had existed, and to resettle certain ethnic groups into the German Reich. The final goal was an “ethnically clean state”. After presenting in detail the importance of the Hitler-Stalin Pact for the resettlements and describing the resettlement activities of German ethnic groups into occupied Poland, Heer focuses his attention to south east Europe and the local displacements of ethnic groups starting from 1941, including the exceedingly brutal practices of the respective occupying forces.

Henrike Hampe studied the luggage of German refugees from Hungary and Yugoslavia as an indicator of the integration processes. Rather than taking the sociologists’ approach of looking at business relationships, private and organized contacts, and marital relationships, in an attempt to understand the extent to which a group has been integrated, Hampe illustrates the integration process by analyzing items that the migrants brought with them from their country of origin. The role of these items and the manner in which they are used has changed significantly from the time of the refugees’ arrival to the present.

In his empirical contribution **Goran Opacic** and his co-authors report data regarding refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). According to UNHCR (2009 a, b, c) slightly more than 3.7 million refugees and IDPs were counted by the UN on the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This represents 15.83% of the total population and indicates that almost every sixth citizen of the former Yugoslavia has experienced forced displacement. Opacic’s study reveals several important results. Probably the most robust finding of the study is the importance of “economic” factors. It seems that the return of refugees/IDPs to a country/region of origin where they represent an ethnic minority depends crucially on factors which reflect their ability to meet basic economic needs (housing and income). Secondly, differences in personality, the level of war-related traumatic experiences and the perception of safe living conditions in the country/region of origin appear to be irrelevant for the decision to return. Thirdly, prejudice towards the ethnic majority in the country/region of origin (indicated by social distance and the level of contacts with members of the ethnic majority) is relevant for the refugee versus returnee status, although far less so than for the economic factors. Opacic and his team argue that the brutality of the conflicts in the Balkans has blurred the perception of motives and that the behaviour of the great majority of common people was (and still is)

³ English title: “My Struggle“

mainly concerned with their families' basic needs, and much less with nationalistic rhetoric and ideology. This study examines only refugees and repatriates within three Balkan countries, but its findings may be relevant for understanding Balkan refugee movements to other countries as well (predominantly into Europe, North America, and Australia). In his deliberations regarding "Morality, Nato Force, Human Rights and International Law – The Use of Military Means on the Example of Kosovo", **Dieter S. Lutz**, in a sometimes almost uncomfortable manner, makes the reader aware of the present time's blindness to the truth. This article opens the chapter "Historical Conflicts and the War in South-East Europe". Starting with the definition of genocide according to the convention of 1948, Lutz reviews the monstrous crimes that accompany genocide and that in some cases substitute moral dilemma and morality for politics and law. Using the example of the recent Kosovo conflict, and by pointing out repeatedly that attack and defence, terror and struggle for freedom, justice and guilt are all terms defined by the victor, he shows the urgent necessity to strengthen the United Nation's monopoly on the use of force, which should not be undermined under any circumstances. Those who want to prevent genocide must either take preventive measures in a timely fashion or win the support of the United Nations if sanctions seem necessary. The alternative would mean opening the floodgates to criminal arbitrariness.

The unusual contribution "There's Not a Lot of Philosophy" considers the development of enemy stereotypes and violence on the basis of biographical analyses of former combatants in the Post-Yugoslavian wars. **Natalija Basic** deals with this fundamental societal problem and the most important characteristics of biographical constructs of former soldiers and fighters. She does not focus on the major agents of war and displacement, i.e., the political establishment, but concerns herself with the mass of the "minor agents", the "common men" with their subjective experiences that turned them into fighters. Basic's explanations take on a very specific nature by virtue of including excerpts from an interview she conducted with a 29-year-old combatant from Osijek in Autumn 1998. In an exemplary fashion she details the circumstances that this former soldier describes as the inception of his readiness to use violence. At the end she concludes that the defence perspective that all interviewees take, the idea of an existential threat, represents an important component in the chain of actions that constitutes the process of military collectivization – of a defence identity – which finally allows all forms of violence.

Josip Babic, Germanist by profession, examines the question concerning the responsibility, obligation or guilt of intellectuals with regard to the third greatest catastrophe of European civilization in the 20th century. As a literary scholar and Balkan resident he writes carefully and states that he can only contribute more or less personal impressions regarding this problem. He expects more competent answers from experts in fields such as political science, sociology, and psychology. To overcome the insecurities of a literary scholar he chooses a renowned writer, namely Hermann Broch, as his informant. During his years of American exile, Hermann Broch tried to analyze German National Socialism and Italian Fascism as manifestations of a pathological, psychosocial condition and attempted to offer suggestions for fighting and preventing these movements in the future. Since in

many respects the outbreak of nationalism in the Balkans shows similarities to the conditions examined by Broch, it appeared sensible to Babic first to provide a description of the former Yugoslavian situation and subsequently to apply Broch's theory of "mass hysteria", which contains some important historical, economic, political, individual, social, psychological and anthropological aspects he deems essential for an analysis of the recent past. The chapter written by **Ulrich Weiß** deals with the relationship between history and politics, including the situation of the Danube countries. He particularly focuses on the question of whether and how history interferes with current political action. This analysis follows a philosophical approach originating from the field of political science. Its applicability is ensured by virtue of empirical references to Germany and the political 'problem' region of the Balkans. Weiß cautiously hopes that reflections will at least spark some thoughts which go beyond daily topicality. He proceeds from two basic beliefs. First: The power of ideas in politics is great and often underestimated. Second: Perceptions – i.e., the perceptions and conceptions of the agents – are part of the substance of politics. When he speaks of "ideas", he primarily means the incredibly complex conceptions of war and peace, the idea of the republic, of democracy and of a civil society, all of which become clearer if perceptual modes of analysis are considered that allow reality to be perceived as if through "spectacles". What applies to the perception of politics is also valid for history. History – says Weiß – is not simply an accumulation of objective facts, but it is the malleable, constantly changing totality of historical perception. The conveyance of history through stories in the form of social myths, the founding myths, the hero motif, or rather the motif of sacrifice, is important to Weiß. His contribution also deals with the motif of the scapegoat (which we also encounter in the enemy stereotype described by Basic), according to which certain persons or groups are held responsible for societal crises although causality is not objectively tenable. His contribution deals with the motif of betrayal – betrayal of the hero, the people, and one's own religion or one's own culture. It further shows in what fatal manner the political climate is inflamed and prepared for even worse. Serbs have an impressive example of a political myth and of its political exploitation even centuries later: The Battle at Kosovo Field (or Blackbird's Field) in 1389, of which the only known certainty is the date.

Hans-Georg Wehling concerns himself with the Danube region, its political culture and its conflicts. Using the example of Ivo Andrić's novel "The Bridge on the Drina", he illustrates the significance of a river over an extended, historical period; of a river which unites but also separates, which is a traffic route and transports wares and people with good as well as ill intentions, a river which carries with it a plethora of influences. The Drina originates in the mountains of Montenegro, flows through Bosnia – it forms part of the border with Serbia – and finally joins the Sava, which flows into the Danube a mere 70 km downstream. The stone bridge on the Drina near Višegrad connects Orient and Occident. Wehling clearly shows how beneficial it is to analyze the political culture of such an ambivalent region with the help of a novel.

Europe's cultural diversity can offer "Chances of Integration", the title of the third part of the book. The political scientist Jeremy Rifkin (2007) describes the "European Dream" as

being based on the appreciation and management of cultural diversity and thus as better suited for networking in the age of globalization. He argues that it is more sustainable than the American model and that it could become a model for societies worldwide, culturally as well as economically. In his contribution, **Reinhard Johler** describes the challenge of successfully managing such cultural diversity. In an age of demographic change and migration, Europeans are more heterogeneous than ever, and any attempt to explain the shared foundations of European life at the beginning of the 21st century must take the continent's diversity into account and map the overlapping contours and shifting fault lines in European identity and experience. What we are presently lacking is an approach to diversity management that is both intelligent and sustainable. As an illustrative example of what European diversity management could look like, Johler offers the "sister city programs" that were once the vanguard of, and then important factors in, the process of European unification. Cities still regard their partnerships as crucial for the establishment of an emotional basis for a shared European identity in a Europe made up of local communities – a citizens' Europe – a grassroots Europe.

Klaus Seiberth and **Ansgar Thiel** critically analyse the popular idea that sport activities hold a natural or universal ability to bring people together and make strangers feel welcome. Although sport has been a symbol of international exchange, fair play and companionship, on closer inspection one can find a wide range of incidents and examples that cast doubt on the universal ideology of integration through sport for migrants in their host countries. Beneath the popular image, sport also exhibits characteristics of nationalism, racism and violent conflict. Violent riots, racist incidents and cultural stereotypes are not rare even in amateur sport (Zifonun, 2008). Through examination of research results, one has to acknowledge the fact that the hope of integration through sport, and claims that it can be delivered to all, does not conform with daily practice. In everyday sports the idea of a value exchange between social groups and their acceptance of each other faces contradictory evidence. On the other hand there are examples that the inherent differences between immigrants and the host population can be transformed into sustainable membership and affiliation. Integration is enhanced if migrants and post-migrants occupy leading positions of sports clubs. Firstly, this form of participation in club life and in the processes of decision-making has a massive symbolic impact. Secondly, cultural diversity can provide club cultures with further resources and prospective capital.

The authors further conclude that the probability of integration in sport correlates with the knowledge of club members, coaches, as well as physical education teachers. The mere act of allowing people of different nationalities to play together does not necessarily encourage intercultural learning and integration at all.

Karin Amos and **Luzi Santoso** argue that for most Westerners the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and the ensuing violence was first and foremost a media event – horrible and incomprehensible, but distant. With the many refugees coming from Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and other parts of the former multiethnic state into Western Europe, the war moved closer but remained enigmatic. However, few wars became as closely associated with the discourse of trauma and traumatising as the war in the Balkans. Accord-

ing to the authors of “The Institutional Framing of Failing Educational Careers: the Case of E.”, trauma is not just a medical diagnosis but also a discourse in the Foucaultian sense, almost an instrument that can be used for many different purposes and that is deeply implicated in the power-knowledge nexus. This argument is exemplified using the case study of E.: the failed or almost failed educational career in the German school system of a child of refugees from the disintegrating Balkans.

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is one of the states in which a return process for refugees and internally displaced persons was implemented with considerable use of personnel and resources. In her chapter, **Monika Kleck** asks whether the return has been implemented at the expense of the returnees. According to the United Nations, more than half of the displaced persons and refugees in BiH are officially registered as returnees. However, the living conditions following the return, which was pushed as “righting the wrong”, as a countermeasure to the ethnic cleansing, continue to be precarious. Kleck’s article deals with the effects of the return process on the psychological health of internally displaced women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and is based on an empirical study of 70 displaced women from Eastern Bosnia who found refuge in the city of Tuzla. Their return was supported, and partly enforced, with great effort, a process which for many families led to a worsening of their already precarious living conditions and menacing poverty. Starting from a trauma concept expanded by social and temporal dimensions, it seems that poverty and housing policies, as two socio-economic factors, as well as the return processes, led to an increase in PTSD prevalence rates in the sample. Even after the end of the war the symptoms increased. The implementation of the return processes in BiH, especially considering the generally unstable environment, did not consider the needs of the people.

Andreas Breinbauer outlines the theoretical background of the migration of highly qualified individuals, the so-called brain drain, and delineates the extent of mobility, especially of Austrian and Hungarian tertiary-educated individuals and scientists. In a general sense, such movements may be added to other migration flows. However, in contrast to mass migration, the mobility of highly skilled persons attracted comparatively little research attention for a long time. Breinbauer therefore focuses on empirical data regarding Austrian and Hungarian mathematicians abroad. One particularity of mathematics is that it conveys qualifications mainly independent from cultural contexts and that it uses a specific terminology which can be transferred rather easily worldwide. This permits examination of reasons, processes and other considerations, so as to finally provide recommendations for dealing with the brain drain issue.

The chapters in the last part of the book, which is dedicated to therapeutic care and the impacts of migration on health, focus on the traumatic effects of escape, mistreatment, organized violence and torture that accompany the increasing number of forced migrations worldwide. Because the persecution and displacement of ethnic groups is “rationalized” on the basis of ethnic or religious affiliation, the inflicted psychological and physical injuries greatly interfere with the identities and the social self-image of the people affected. The issue of caring for victims of these events, who, to a large extent, suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, has become an important issue in medicine and psychology.

Although pain can be regarded as a universal phenomenon, actual pain patterns vary according to socially and culturally determined perceptions and behaviours, and in a specific way with respect to migration trauma and its consequences. **Martin Aigner, Sanela Piralic Spitzl** and **Fabian Friedrich** focus on migrant patients from the former Yugoslavia who now live in Austria. The authors examine specific transcultural and migration-related psychosocial factors that should be adequately addressed in the process of assessing, treating and managing pain. Additionally, they demonstrate clear differences between migrant and non-migrant pain patients in Austria. Their research also shows that the development of specific, migrant-oriented preventative and therapeutic measures and interventions, such as, for example, psycho-educational group therapy administered in the migrants' preferred language, may be essential in a transcultural, professionally functioning health care environment.

Trudy Mooren's chapter provides a literature review on the health related consequences of war and/or migration among the people from Bosnia Herzegovina using data from previously published empirical studies. The article illustrates the relative contribution of traumatic war experiences versus migration and acculturation stress in explaining the degree of mental health. Almost fifteen years after the Dayton agreement was signed, a substantial percentage of the war-stricken population suffer from some kind of ill-health burden that can be attributed to trauma. The compilation of data from several published studies concerning the immediate, short-term and longer-term sequelae of the disruption of this society sheds light on the recovery attempts that societies are engaged in. These societies include both war-stricken countries as well as countries receiving immigrants. The focus is not merely on the sacrifices people make, but also on the fact that most people who are affected function relatively well. The article thus underlines the resilience of people.

The book chapter "Anxiety and Trauma Symptoms in Refugees after displacement from Kosovo" by **Harald C. Traue, Lucia Jerg-Bretzke** and **Jutta Lindert** contains an empirical analysis of the mental health of refugees from Kosovo after displacement to Germany, and reveals that PTSD, depressive symptoms and anxiety are linked less to individual vulnerability patterns than to individual exposure to traumatic events. The results indicate that middle age is associated with more pronounced symptoms, compared to young and old refugees. A longer duration of flight was associated with a higher prevalence of PTSD symptoms, and duration could be used as a proxy for the amount of traumatic events. Trauma narratives in this study indicated that the level of mistrust had increased. This raises questions of whether there is an increase in interpersonal hostility in societies that experience organized violence, and which factors influence the longitudinal course of trauma.

According to **Jörg Oster** and **Andrea Gruner**, the healthcare infrastructure for patients with mental health disorders is very well developed and widely studied in Germany. Yet patients with migration backgrounds – who actually make up approx. 30% of all patients – are dramatically understudied. Therefore the authors proceeded to conduct a comprehensive research project concerning this issue. Not all patient groups sufficiently benefit from rehabilitation. This mainly applies to persons with migration backgrounds. There

are only very few facilities for these patients that have language and culture-specific treatment capabilities. Both clinical experience and a growing body of research emphasize the importance of considering migration-specific characteristics in rehabilitation. Apart from the stress caused by or the result of the migration experience itself, some of the other possible reasons are communication problems and culture-specific aspects, e.g., attitudes towards health/sickness, therapy, and the health care system.

In their psychotherapy-related chapters **Norbert Gurrus, Gertrud Schwarz-Langer, Christine Grunert, Manfred Makowitzki, Matthias Odenwald** and **Harald C. Traue** argue that the process of helping victims and survivors of extreme trauma cannot be successful without a good grasp of the particular historical, religious, cultural and political circumstances. The examination of these subjects therefore is an important requirement for therapeutic work. On the other hand, the closeness of therapeutic relationships also facilitates a special understanding of life and suffering in trauma-stricken countries. These contributions, with their poignant descriptions of patient histories, avoid media turmoil or abstract analyses but focus on the suffering and misery which accompanies the uprooting, displacement, and – during wars – frequent brutality. Since this misery is wilfully inflicted upon people by other people, the ugly side of human nature shows itself with a clarity that contradicts the optimism some naive contemporaries exhibit with regard to a political integration of southeast Europe into the European Union for economic reasons. The authors make an urgent appeal to accept responsibility for victims of politically motivated traumatisations as this process is a prerequisite for successful treatment. Nevertheless, health care systems are instructed to grant only the absolute minimum assistance to traumatised refugees. German initiatives which try to offer adequate therapeutic care to people affected by trauma and forced migration are faced with considerable administrative obstacles that can make it difficult to establish therapeutic relationships with the victims.

Several chapters in this book are based on empirical data that were collected in different ways. Data collections form the basis of the contributions regarding the psychological and physical effects of forced migration and regarding psychosocial and medical care. Evidence on the nature and frequency of mental health problems is required for planning and evaluating healthcare for refugees. Research on refugee mental health is therefore highly relevant. However, epidemiological studies have provided inconsistent evidence on the reported rates of psychopathological symptoms among refugees. The great variation may be partly due to the diverse sampling methods used. **Jelena Jankovic Gavrilovic, Marija Bogic** and **Stefan Priebe** conclude that obtaining a random sample of refugees would be ideal in terms of quantitative research methodology for exploring mental health consequences of war and migration. However difficulties in achieving this in practice seem to be partly inherent to the phenomenon itself (such as concerns about legal status, reluctance to talk about war trauma and concerns that in research one's identity is defined only by war) rather than being a failure of the methodology. In the absence of the ideal approach, alternative methods must be used. Their specificities and potential impact on prevalence rates need however to be considered in the interpretation.

In the last two decades we have been faced with new countries and altered maps in Europe with border changes, resettlements, ethnic cleansing, and migration. This migration has profoundly coloured the life of past European generations in the Danube region and beyond, it has affected our own lives, and will be part of the experience of our children. In the face of these dramatic changes this anthology with both review and empirical chapters on migrants, displacement processes, integration and health, offers a vision for all of us in finding social and health promoting solutions for our future, for creating a peaceful and healthy living environment in Europe. The historical, sociological, psychological, ethnographic, political and health topics try to present a comprehensive approach to studying contemporary migration flows within Europe. In conclusion, we hope that this book, with diverse topics covered by authors from a variety of professional and personal backgrounds, will be a contribution towards better understanding of the complexities and challenges as well as the significant potential for integration in the Danube region.

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I. Migration in the Danube Region

Migration and Displacement in the History of Europe and the Danube Region¹

Karl Schlögel

Ulm is not only a beautiful and noteworthy city – Peter Esterhazy (1992) even remarked: “Ulm is the heart of the Danube” – but also an ideal location for the study of migration. From here, you can still see the entire navigable river. Ulm was the starting point and the end point: It was the starting point for the “Ulmer Schachteln” [river boats] that took the Danube Swabians down the Danube to settle Swabian Turkey and other regions, and, after 1945, the end point of the odyssey of many of the descendants of those Danube Swabians who had been fortunate enough to escape. Ulm is a location that makes it easy to study the double meaning of the term locomotion: migration and displacement. There is a reason for doing so. At the end of the century, we witnessed events which we had assumed with good reason to be a thing of the past: Ethnic cleaning initiatives, mass expulsion and waves of refugees Europe had not witnessed since the end of World War II. The scope of my contribution, migration and displacement in the history of Europe and the Danube region, is very comprehensive: not just migration, but also forced migration and displacement; not only the Danube region, but all of Europe. My understanding of this task is an integration of the resettlement and displacement experience that was made in the Danube region into the overall European displacement events. It is quite clear that this is not about a seminar beyond time and place, but that the topic was put on the agenda because the wars in former Yugoslavia caused violent expulsions in recent years, right in front of us. I would therefore like to proceed accordingly:

In the first step, I would like to outline that there was such a thing as a European displacement event. That is still important, because we sometimes get the impression that there is only a German, Polish, or Kosovan displacement problem.

I would also like to make clear that the Europe we know is the result of both migration and displacement processes, that migration is in some respects the constructive-productive side of movement and locomotion, and that European History, a history of blending and amalgamation, is unimaginable without migration movements. Displacement is, in a certain sense, the opposite of migration, the interruption and blocking of migration, the

¹ An earlier version of the paper was published as *Migration und Vertreibung in der Geschichte Europas und der Donauregion*. In Traue, H.C. and Presuhn, S. (Eds.) *MenschenStromDonau: Leben und Leiden an einem europäischen Fluss*, 2001, pp 39-64. Translated by Ute von Wietersheim.

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de-blending in the most brutal sense of the word. Europe today is the result of a de-blending on a scale without a historical precedent.

The third part of this paper deals with the Danube Region. Until recently, the Danube region has been something of a miniature Europe. Everything that can be stated for Europe, happened here under a prism and in great clarity. We may currently be witnessing the radical phase-out of the rest of Europe as it had remained after 1945 or 1948. I am not going to get into the complicated debates about regional borders: Where does the Danube region begin, where does it end? How is it different to the Balkans? And what is South-eastern Europe as a historical European region actually in comparison with other historical regions? This would exceed the scope of this topic and there are certainly specialists on Southeastern Europe who are better equipped to address this issue (Hatschikijan & Troebst, 1999). It is clear that the Danube Region, a term that was made popular by Friedrich Ratzel, also extends into the Balkan and Southeastern European areas, but is not identical with them².

I would like to make one last remark on this introduction. I am not unfamiliar with the Danube. I grew up in its vicinity and have stored some important Danube information in my subconscious: such as the markers from the floods that entered the city center of the three-river city Passau in the early 1950s. My reflections and my profession, however, have brought me closer to a different kind of border that also runs along a river: the Oder or the countries along the Oder and Neisse. I believe that the rivers would have a lot to say if they could speak, and so would the people who lived along their shores who took themselves to safety across their bridges. It might be helpful to take a look at the Danube area with Oder-sharpened eyes (Schlögel, 2000).

Europe on the Move

In 1948, when the war had barely been over, and the displaced persons and refugees had not yet arrived at their final destinations, Columbia Press in New York published a book with the title "Europe on the Move" (Kulischer, 1948). It was written by Eugene, actually Jewgeni, Kulischer. Kulischer, son of a Jewish-Russian academic family had come to Berlin from Petrograd in 1932. Together with his brother he published a book there on the connection between migration and war in history (Kulischer & Kulischer, 1932). In 1933 he fled a second time, arriving in the USA in 1940, while his brother was captured by Hitler's henchmen in Paris and taken to Drancy, where he died. The book that was published in 1948 is not only a wonderful monument to all who had lived and suffered through the preceding 30 years of non-stop terror and suffering, but is also, in my opinion, the only attempt ever made to research and illustrate the process of violent population transfers, of nations and ethnic groups including their class affiliation and politi-

² See: Zögner, L. (1993).

cal trends, in a comprehensive manner (Schechtman, 1946). Maybe he, who had been a refugee all of his life, fulfilled the necessary requirements to be able to do so. What is important about this is something that has, for the most part, remained unaddressed: The insight that resettlement and displacement events cannot be captured within the context of national history or even less an ethnic group related history. The number of people who are drawn into it and pulled under by it is too big, and the processes are too interwoven. In retrospect, it is clear why the genuine European experience of resettlement and displacement has not yet been told as a European epic. In retrospect, it is clear why knowledge that has become part of every family history is still kept private, be they displaced Germans from Bohemia or Silesia, Poles deported from the former Eastern Polish areas to Kazakhstan or Ukrainians brought to the new Western Polish areas. A European dialog on a significant European experience during the 20th century was not possible as long as Europe was divided, as long as everyone was only thinking of their own victims, and as long as there was no language to describe the events, so that we now have difficulties escaping the rhetoric of settling old scores.

But there is no way around it, if we want to address an experience that has become an existentially shaping and deciding experience for the lives of millions and millions of Europeans: 40, 60 or even 80 million people who lost their home to violence – until this day, we are not able to truly say how many (Rhode, 1952).

If we want to try to understand the magnitude, the dimension and the progression of the European displacements, we will not be able to do it without violent actions and short cuts. It is very important, however, to consider the issue in its entirety. The question is how it can be limited to time and space. It is probably undisputed that the main location was Middle, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe, most certainly not Western Europe, and that the large population movements are associated with the World Wars, i.e. between 1914 and 1945. Based on the result, it could be claimed there was a transition from multi-ethnic empires before the World Wars to ethnically more or less homogenous national states afterwards. The fact that this process has not yet stopped is clearly demonstrated by the militant ethnic nationalistic conflicts of the last big multi-ethnic countries of Europe – the late Soviet Union/Russian Federation and Yugoslavia. The reference to the transition from a multi-ethnic empire to a national state does not yet illustrate, however, the dynamics and the violence with which this process was carried out. I believe that the modernity of it all must be recognized: the technical and organizational tools, the theoretical and ideological justifications, and the hardness and ruthlessness with which the project of a “pure state” was carried out and that centered on the racist utopia of a Nazi-dominated Europe, the ethnographic map of which was to be redrawn in a complete and planned manner. Below, I would first like to outline the steps of this process as briefly as possible.