


## WHY DOES THE NEW GENERATION NEED ENGAGEMENT IN SPREADING INTERCULTURALITY INSTEAD OF ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF MULTICULTURALISM?

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**Abstract.** *In the world today, under the banner of "multiculturalism is dead", a new specter of ethnocentrism is being cycled. Its protagonists are the old and the new right and the autocratic elites who would like to divide and fight the world anew. Despite these processes, modern humanity needs a new opening, respect for cultural differences, a dialogue between and permeation of cultures, building of new bridges, connecting peoples. The new generation should be imbued with the culture of peace and planetary humanism, and as the citizens of humanity, emerging communities of equal peoples and citizens, they should represent an actor of the inevitability of interculturality in the modern world of globalization, i.e. of the future that has begun – but is now, due to class and other divisions, unfairly distributed. Shouting that multiculturalism is dead is like announcing the death of humanity, its regression to the times of tribalism, new divisions and barbarism.*

**Key words:** *globalization, mobility of social groups, interculturality, planetary humanism, culture of peace*

### 1. GLOBALIZATION, EXPANSION OF THE PROCESS OF INTERCULTURALITY AND RESISTANCE

*Stepping on the cultural identity of the people is  
the biggest crime!*  
Isaiah Berlin

*The one who announces the end of  
multiculturalism and follows the policy of anti-  
interculturalism, announces death to humanity!*  
The author

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Globalization, as a process of networking and reciprocity between different entities, opened the era of emergence of the post-national constellations, the path of the future towards united humanity as a community of equal peoples and citizens.

New technologies of the third and fourth development and civilizational waves laid the ontological foundations of the emerging world of the global networked world society. It is a new ocean in whose waves they bathe and melt, creating new socio-cultural amalgams, processes, institutions... A new social reality of the post-postmodern society is emerging. Different models and strategies for the development of globalization, acculturation, disintegration of old institutions, cultural patterns, ideologies and values and the birth of the new ones are at work. Building and developing awareness of the new world in various areas of work and life from technology, organization of work and economic life, through education, morality: the emergence of a new professional and social structure of the social groups. Of course, we are talking about emerging global mega-processes, contradictions, the process of great transformation about which William Gibson writes and concludes: "Globalization is the future that has begun, but for now it is unequally/unfairly distributed." Namely, a still dominant system of murderous capitalism with its social mechanisms divides and crushes the socio-class and regional expanse of the world thus enabling the rise of the golden billion and the rest of the lumpen planet a social and ecological desolation. This is so because the neoliberal ideology of the market fundamentalism social Darwinizing social relations in the fight/race for profit generates the expansion of the new conflict zones in the world. New "Berlin Wall" movements are springing up all with the aim of establishing colonial democracy, realizing geopolitics, conquering new spaces and distributing resources, and world hegemony and leadership.

In this context, the bridges of global solidarity between peoples, cultures and civilizations are collapsing, and strategic ideologies of exclusivity and conflict are spreading. In the contemporaneity of the "new world order" crisis, only uncertainty is certain. Humanity is at a crossroads again. After the C-19 epidemic, that global "death fugue", we are faced with the threat of a new world war. The war in Ukraine seems to be a prelude to nuclear roulette and the future apocalypse of humanity. Humanity is once again at a crossroads and the Titanic is rushing towards a global catastrophe.

Eight years ago, in 2015, under the influence of the so-called large migrant crisis and the rush of migrants to the EU, *Angela Merkel* announced that "multiculturalism, as a value from the corpus of European rights and standards, is dead!" This sounded an alarm to the sovereignists and national leaders to close the borders. All this strengthened the chauvinists, ethnocentrists and racists in all four corners of the globe, especially in Europe. The European right raised its wings and, in the elections, won the most followers in many countries and in the European Parliament. Against this backdrop, the ideological, historical and political disintegration of multiculturalism also began the blocking of the process of inclusivity, integration and cooperation of the members of various minorities and migrants in the Western countries, their stigmatization and dehumanization. It is a dangerous road, which is known to us from the history of the Second World War: the road of yellow bands, used to mark Jews; the Auschwitz and Jasenovac concentration camp road. The road that leads to a new collective tragedy of humanity. That is why our individual and collective conscience is being tested today!!! *Non passarant!!!* It is not enough to just say this to that new invasion of the barbarians! It is of vital importance to act, to destroy new stereotypes that would lead the world into a new collective madness! *A new holocaust! Never again!* (Adorno)

*It is the task of the science and universities and the call of sociology and sociologists, as a humanist “martial discipline” (P. Bourdieu), to expose, deconstruct and destroy stereotypes and disarm ethnocentrists, to spread the spirit of the inter-ethnic and international tolerance so that peace may defeat the followers of the god Mars (a god of war). And that should be done systematically, persistently, daily until it is too late, because “tomorrow is always too late” (F. Major).*

In modern science, sociological and cultural theories, various paradigms, concepts, models and strategies on intercultural relations have been developed in the range: from intercultural cooperation (acculturation, reciprocity and tolerance and transcultural permeation and integration) to the exclusivity and conflict of identity cultures and civilizations (cultural hegemony, assimilation and conflicts).

## 2. TYPOLOGY AND METAMORPHOSIS OF IDENTITY CULTURE

In modern times we witness the processes of metamorphosis of collective identities – against the background of the process of restoration and re-traditionalization, that is, modernization and globalization (Mitrović 2008). Researchers increasingly write about the change of collective identity matrices: from class to national (Kuljić 2006); Đ. Conrad writes of “identity hysteria” and “murderous identities”. *Alain Turenne* writes about the postmodern cultural identity (at the center of which is man and freedom). *Manuel Castells* (in his work *The Power of Identity*) distinguishes between three forms and sources of identity construction: a) legitimizing identity; b) identity of resistance; and c) project identity. (Castells 2002, 169).

Starting from the fact that sociology as a science is interested in what is typical/common in the culture of the global societies, here we make a classification of identity culture types depending on the historical types of global societies.

In contemporary sociology there are numerous classifications of the types of global societies (Gurvić 1963; Ranković 1970, Mitrović 1996). In this contribution, we start from the division of the global societies into: a) traditional; b) modern; and c) postmodern. The basis for this classification is related to the peculiarities in the way of production, but also the culture of these societies. This classification is in fact a kind of variation of *Turen's* division of society into: a) traditional; b) industrial; and c) post-industrial; or *Toffler's* division of the society into the I, II and III waves of the civilizational development of mankind.

**Table 1** Types of society and identity culture

Type of society	Type of global group	Type of identity group
A Traditional	Community	Monotype/Organic Ethnic identity
B Modern	Society/Nation	Plural citizen identity
C Postmodern	Post society/Humankind	Open, transcultural, project identity

*Identity culture is a historical category* which, under certain socio-cultural circumstances, is structured and destructured/restructured. In other words, it transforms.

*Postmodern societies* grow on the achievements of the scientific-technological and information revolution. Researchers write about them as a post-industrial civilization, and sociologists (A. Turen) write about the emerging programmed post-society which is radically different from the previous types of society (traditional and modern ones). *The*

*post-modern society has developed an open, plural/deliberate culture. It rests on the liberation of the individuality and creativity of different social groups and strata. The processes of explosion and expansion of the subcultural identities are at work.*

In modern societies in transition, we are faced with the phenomenon of the *identity crisis* and the search for a new cultural pattern of its structuring. Therefore, those researchers who like Z. Vidojević write about the phenomenon of the contradictory transitory identity are right (Vidojević 1997).

### 3. REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ON THE PROBLEM OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC TOLERANCE IN SOCIOLOGY, CULTURAL STUDIES AND A BROADER SCOPE OF LITERATURE IN MODERN SCIENCE

We are living in the epic of the change of long waves of development-civilizational changes (Braudel), or as Karl Polanyi would say “Great Transformation”, or Wallerstein's global transition. In such periods, there is not only a radical crisis and systemic changes, but also a metamorphosis of the ontology and cosmology: the geoculture of identity of the global and partial social groups. In this regard, George Konrad writes in his study *Antipolitics*: “The problem of crisis and changes in identity culture comes to the fore in the periods of transition”. If we exclude ideological stereotypes about globalization, we will face the fact that new technologies and globalization have led to great interdependence, convergence of systems and a dialogue of civilizations and cultures on a planetary scale.

Hence, modern researchers label these epochal systemic and cultural and civilizational changes the onset of the global age (M. Obrov, D. Held), the age of post-national constellations (J. Habermas), the “global planetary village” (McLuhan), the globally networked society (M. Castells). In this context of global changes – global paradigms and global megatrends are changing: from geopolitics and geoeconomics from the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the importance of the geoculture in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; from the role of the secondary sector (industrialization) to the role of information technology and the so-called service sector.

Large-scale labor migrations and planetary population mobility are at work – which leads to the contact and interaction of cultures and social groups. From these acculturation processes the metamorphosis of identity culture emerges. From the organic to plural civic culture and transnational identities. In this regard, E. Moren writes about the emergence of the European identity in the movement, Z. Bauman writes about a postulated identity and a new kind of differentiation between globally mobile and locally mobile social groups in the planetary social space. Amin Malouf writes about migrants as a group that exerts cultural influence on two coasts: in the country of the emigration and the country of the origin. Antonio Negri writes about the cognitariat as an actor of new productive forces that planetarily network the world and the role of the liberated energy of the multitude/plural forces of the world society. More and more people are talking about the emergence of the age of the intellectual diaspora and the Internet generation (Lj. Mitrović).

Also, in the works of our anthropologists and sociologists there are relevant studies in this field such as the studies of Zagorka Golubović, Branimir Stojković, Todor Kuljić, Slobodan AntoniĆ, Vladimir Vuletić, Goran Bašić, Jelena Dinić...

We live in the parenthetical age of the global world system (John Nesbitt). Its transformations from a social Darwinist/imperialist and unipolar to a multipolar and social democratic order of the global solidarity of humanity. In the spirit of the revolution of the globalization of understanding and solidarity (Edgar Moren), which is still an unrealized

project. Rightly, we can recall here the thoughts of Ivo Andrić, from his work *Signs by the Roadside* about man and humanity, as a building block. It is man's natural essence and destiny to build bridges that connect nations and civilizations. Unfortunately, the world we live in is even more characterized by divisions and conflicts, new movable “Berlin walls” than dialogue between peoples and civilizations, the construction of bridges and breakwaters that connect not only the banks of the river, but peoples and humanity.

The thirty-year experience of the post-socialist transition without social responsibility in the Balkans, the former area of the SFRY and Serbia, illustrates most eloquently how the disintegration of the multinational community of the state opened the “evil spirit” of the ghostly past, the rebalkanization of this area and released the wasp of “murderous identities”: to divide ourselves more by the measures and boundaries of the past rather than building bridges of the cooperation looking to the future.

Regardless of the pathetic and inflammatory rhetoric of the ruling elites in the Balkans and the slow processes of the cross-border cooperation, it is certain that new generations will look for new ways and formulas to get out of the current situation. The future of this space is not in divisions but in connecting and integration. Hence, against the spread of new stigmas and hatred, we point out that multiculturalism and interculturality are inevitable in the era of the globalization of humanity, which while preserving the individual cultural autonomy of different identities at the same time builds bridges of the planetary culture and intercultural dialogue, communication and permeation of different cultures. Hence, in the modern dictionary of sociology, cultural studies and social psychology, the integral concept of the sustainable development, as a key dimension of the concept of progress and emancipation assumes the expansion of the process of individualization and universalization of the personality, culture and society. Because, as *Thomas Eliot* said, civilizations and cultures of peoples and humanity only through dialogue and communication permeate each other, giving to each other what is most valuable and noble from their cultural heritage. This is how one grows not only in terms of material and technical progress, standards and quality of life, but also in humanity, the culture of peace, the beauty of understanding cultural differences, mutual giving and respect.

It is time for the Balkan people to grow up and not see their future in the key to the past and the rebalkanization of the region, but in the processes of the regional cooperation and integration, European integration and the planetary “networked society” (M. Castells) and social democratic globalization.

Our research on the processes of metamorphosis of the cultural identities in Serbia and the Balkans in the context of the transition process of modern society and the relationship between tradition and modernization (conducted in Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria among the student population) confirms the hypothesis about the impact of the globalization process on the mobility of social groups and the formation of an open plural transnational identity of the new generation. It is also confirmed that these processes lead to the strengthening of interculturalism, despite the strong conservative resistance and tendencies of the ruling political elites (sovereignists, ethnocentrists, and populist leaders).

The contemporary empirical research conducted by younger researchers (the sociologist Jelena Dinić (2017), a cultural expert Dragana Mitrović (2021), also shows that in the conditions of globalization “more and more people simultaneously belong to two or more cultures and societies, and these affiliations are not mutually exclusive”; which illustrates the process of the convergence, permeation, and metamorphosis of identity cultures and the formation of the transnational identities. The new generations do not see the future of

the Balkans in further divisions and enchantment by the “evil spirits” of the past, but in cross-border, planetary cooperation, development, integration, respect for different cultures, but also in the formation of a planetary ethics and the culture of peace. Exactly in the spirit of the *Gandhi's* message: “Peace is development, development is peace” and *Johann Galtung's* message: there is no victory for the forces of the actors of peace in the world without changing the Western cosmology, which is guided by the fact that the goal of the development is profit, and wars are means for the achievement of that goal. Also, *Silvio de Lula*, the Brazilian president, reminds us that without global justice there is no global peace in the world.

Observing the prevailing current split between education and upbringing, more precisely the dehumanization of the school system at all levels, and emphasizing the importance of the rehabilitation of the educational socialization function of the education system, we would point out: the responsibility and role of the social studies and humanities in the development of the national cultural identity of new generations, open to all positive values from the universal cultural heritage of humanity. Only in that humanist-emancipatory horizon – patriotism and philanthropy/humanity will not be mutually exclusive, but in synergy and unity will enrich the view of the world and the “active goodness” of every individual of all peoples, members of new generations whose time is approaching...

Finally, we can recall the warnings of the Hellenic sages: “All knowledge is worthless if it does not make a person more human/better” (Socrates); or “Rights belong to those who are awake, others will steal their dreams”.

*Education and democracy* should help the development of critical self-awareness without which there is no free personality and actor of social militancy. Because “democracy is an act of courage”, not opportunism, political correctness and cowardice. Bourdieu rightly said, in the spirit of axiological sociology: “Sociology is a fighting discipline, which should serve humanistic and emancipatory goals in the development of society!”.

Johan Galtung, in the study *Peaceful means towards peace*, among other things, says: “The struggle for a different development, as well as the struggle for different peace must be led by challenging and even transforming the Western cosmology, all those deep-rooted beliefs that define peace with weapons, and development with money... Peace is a revolutionary idea, emphasized Mahatma Gandhi, that a non-violent revolution is achieved through peaceful means. That revolution is happening all the time. The only question is whether we can live up to it”.<sup>1</sup>

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*Interculturalism* as a model of permeation of cultures in which each of the ethnic groups and cultural communities contributes to the enrichment of the society and the emerging community of humanity. In interculturality, the civic and national overlap and interpenetrate. Unfortunately, although “interculturality is a desirable model of social relations that could contribute to stability, effective democratization and gradual change of political culture in the region”, the Balkan peoples and their contemporary elites are burdened by the burden of their own ethno-cultural narcissisms. It will take a lot of energy, wisdom and skills to first “revive the Balkan multicultural project and pave the way for interculturality” (Bašić 2018, 130-131).

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<sup>1</sup> J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, “Official Gazette, Belgrade 2009, 319, 377.

Despite the modern turbulent times and war conflicts spreading across the planet, with the threat of nuclear roulette and the apocalypse of humanity, we believe that reason and peace will prevail. The oldest anthropologist and sociologist, *Edgar Moren*, warns us of this in his messages: that “we must connect the ethics of understanding between individuals with the ethics of the planetary era that seeks the globalization of understanding”. The only true globalization that would be in the service of the species is that of understanding, i.e. intellectual and moral solidarity of humanity... In the spirit of anthropo-ethics, this author presents his plea for planetary culture and humanity as a planetary destiny, warning “while the human species continues its adventure under the threat of self-destruction, the urgent imperative has become: *save humanity by realizing it!*” (Bašić 2018, 126-127).

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### **ZAŠTO JE NOVOJ GENERACIJI UMEMO OBJAVE SMRTI MULTIKULTURALIZMA POTREBAN ANGAŽMAN NA ŠIRENJU INTERKULTURALNOSTI?**

*Svetom danas, pod zastavom „multikulturalizam je mrtav“, kruži novi bauk etnocentrizma. Njegovi protagonisti su stara i nova desnica i autokratske elite koje bi da iznova dele i svađaju svet. Uprkos ovim procesima savremenom čovečanstvu potrebno je novo otvaranje, respekt kulturnih različitosti, dijalog i prožimanje kultura, građenje novih mostova, povezivanje među narodima. Nova generacija treba da bude zadojena kulturom mira i planetarnim humanizmom; te da kao građani čovečanstva, nastajuće zajednice ravnopravnih naroda i građana, bude akter neizbežnosti interkulturalnosti u savremenom svetu globalizacije, tj. budućnosti koja je počela – ali je sada, zbog klasnih i drugih podela, nepravedno raspoređena. Onaj koji više da je multikulturalizam mrtav kao da objavljuje smrt čovečanstvu, njegovu regresiju na vremena tribalizma, novih podela i varvarizma.*

Ključne reči: *globalizacija, mobilnost društvenih grupa, interkulturalnost, planetarni humanizam, kultura mira.*