SESSION I

CHANGES IN NATION-STATES IN AN
AGE OF MULTICULTURALISM

SOME ARGUMENTS ON MULTICULTURALISM
— CLARIFYING THE CONCEPT —

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Multiculturalism is an approach or a movement that supports the coexistence of multiple cultures within a community and favorably views the benefits brought about by the coexistence of multiple cultures. The concept of multiculturalism can be clearly understood through a comparison with a similar concept, cultural relativism.

Cultural relativism is a concept rooted in the tradition of cultural anthropology, which emphasizes that each culture has irreplaceable, inherent values. In this approach, it is often assumed that society (including subcommunities) and culture are in a one-to-one relation. Furthermore, cultural relativism argues that no hierarchy exists between cultures of any society (i.e. between cultures of developed countries and those of developing societies). Multiculturalism further extends the argument by adding the new viewpoint of the coexistence of multiple cultures within common social space. Thus, it is by far more challenging to realize multiculturalism than cultural relativism.

Multiculturalism is often called for today since the international migration of people occurs daily and different racial groups live together in almost all large cities around the world. However, various requirements must be satisfied to realize multiculturalism as a social principle. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the objective requirements that will prevent multiculturalism from being just wishful thinking and facilitate its materialization. Specifically, the dilemmas and limitations that multiculturalism are facing will be identified herein.

While the author does not necessarily agree with unconditional multiculturalism, its many positive aspects must be acknowledged. This paper is not aimed at arguing for multiculturalism from a specific point of view but it strives to present several approaches through which multiculturalism can be evaluated and bring out issues related to it. Since multiculturalism tends to be discussed as an abstract ideal, it is important to identify these issues.

I. *Multiculturalism and the State*

1. *Multiculturalism and types of states*

The concept of multiculturalism first emerged in Canada and Australia in the post-70s. Both countries are made up of immigrants and various racial and ethnic groups. In addition, they are federal in nature with loosely-united states or provinces and territories. Canada

developed the concept of bilingualism between multiple cultures or multiculturalism to help confront the problems associated with the Province of Quebec and western provinces. Australia abandoned the "White Australia" policy and adopted a multiculturalism approach to deal with the rapid influx of Asian immigrants. Canada and Australia both introduced multiculturalism to resolve national and international crises and to promote national unity.

Multiculturalism has become the guiding principle behind unity in Canada and Australia which have relatively loose institutional structures. Interestingly enough, Quebec has blocked the ratification of a new national constitution in Canada. While Belgium and Switzerland are multilingual countries and the Netherlands is a country of "consociational democracy" which also embraces multiple languages or religions, the word "multiculturalism" has not been applied to these countries. Thus, multiculturalism and consociational democracy function to unite rather than divide these nations.

In contrast, in typical nation states such as France and Germany, multiculturalism is often viewed as an approach which tears at the fabric of the state and split people. In France, in particular, which was built on a shared political philosophy, multiculturalism tends to be regarded as diametrically opposite to the view that France is an individual, indivisible republic.

The issue of terminology should be touched upon at this point. Multiculturalism and cultural pluralism are terms that refer to the coexistence of multiple cultures. Practically speaking, both terms are used as synonyms, but they embody subtle differences. Multiculturalism emphasizes an equal relationship between cultures and thus implies that a dominant culture does not exist, rather all cultures are equal. On the other hand, cultural pluralism means that various cultures exist in addition to a dominant culture and that the conventional dominant culture is viewed in relation to other cultures. It suggests that diversified cultures are dispersed throughout the culture of the majority.

The reason why the United States and Western European countries prefer cultural pluralism to multiculturalism probably lies in this slight difference in meaning. The dominant culture has reigned supreme in the United States with its firm established government philosophy and the WASP culture that emphasizes freedom and self-reliance, and in West Europe with its tradition of strong nation states. The situations of the United States and West Europe are different from those of Canada and Australia which do not have strong central governments and a clear government philosophy.

It should be also noted that developed countries and developing countries approach multiculturalism differently. In developed countries, multiculturalism is usually viewed as a desirable norm and a goal to be achieved. On the other hand, multiculturalism is a foregone conclusion rather than a norm for developing countries which are operating under the burden of artificial borders and the complicated distribution of tribes and ethnic groups. The overriding interest of these countries is to create a common sentiment and achieve national unity. Under such circumstances, multiculturalism may prevent national unification. Uniculturalism and the nurturing of national sentiment are more desirable to developing countries to maintain a framework as a state, although the coexistence of multiple cultures may be unavoidable.

2. *Multicultural policies and movements*

In Canada and Australia multiculturalism is an established national policy that these federal governments have adopted. As a result, multiculturalism has tended to become an official stance or an ideology of the elite. The multicultural policies promoted by the Australian government are often opposed by whites at the grass-roots level.

There are two kinds of multiculturalism as a national policy. One is multiculturalism as an objective and the other is multiculturalism as a means. In Canada, multiculturalism was internally fostered to maintain its national framework when the country faced the problem of Quebec's separation and independence. In this regard, the Canada's multiculturalism can be defined as an objective.

In contrast, Australia started accepting Indochina refugees to show its desire to become an Asian nation, renounced the White Australia policy, replacing it with multiculturalism in response to rapid international changes such as a decline in its international standing, the United Kingdom's participation in the European Community and rapid economic growth of Asian countries. Unlike in Canada, external causes pushed Australia to introduce multiculturalism. Australia has used multiculturalism as a means.

Multiculturalism as a means implies the lack of permanence even after it has adopted by a country. Multiculturalism as an objective will continue to exist unless something serious happens. However, the purpose of multiculturalism as a means was ceased to exist after the objective has been achieved.

Bilingualism also has various subcategories. Of them, transitional bilingualism is a kind of bilingualism adopted as a transitional measure by a country which has a large number of foreigners and immigrants who do not understand its official language. The mission of such bilingualism ends when immigrants and minorities have been assimilated into the culture and language of the majority.

Australia adopted multiculturalism when it was confronted with an inflow of many Asian refugees and immigrants who do not understand English and cannot adapt to English-speaking society of the majority. However, when they have mastered English and are assimilated, multiculturalism is considered to have fulfilled its mission. Thus, the nature of multiculturalism adopted as a national policy is not necessarily uniform.

How about countries which have not adopted multiculturalism as a policy? In the United States, the concept of multiculturalism is not referred to by federal government officials as a national policy, while it is sometimes used as an academic term or by various minority groups. In France, the phrase "droit à la différence" which is a French equivalent for multiculturalism is mainly used by cultural minorities. Multiculturalism is a controversial word in many countries, and it is often used as a movement theme, and sometimes as a political weapon.

Under the current conditions where the coexistence of multiple ethnic groups has worsened as a result of economic recession, terms such as multiculturalism or "droit à la différence" are considered and labeled as an argument for minority groups alone. The term, multiculturalism, is often used in the context of criticism of the majority by minority groups in countries which have adopted the modern political philosophy as a principle of national unity and the countries which have cultural uniformity. Therefore, multiculturalism is

sometimes regarded with hostility by the authorities as a dangerous idea that may lead to the division of the state.

Multiculturalism cannot be viewed as an uniform concept, because its implications differ, depending on the countries where the term is used (i.e. Canada and Australia vs. Germany and France) and depending on whether it is used as a national policy or a minority movement theory.

Multiculturalism has two aspects; one as a policy and one as a movement. An important point here is how multiculturalism as a minority movement theory is incorporated into state policy. Multiculturalism as a policy is executed in a manner corresponding to the movements of various racial and ethnic groups and satisfy their demand for rights. It is the existence of multiculturalism as a movement that facilitates implementing ad hoc policies such as financial assistance to minority groups. For example, multiculturalism as a movement allowed American Indians to acquire self-government rights and manage their reservations and schools based on their cultural tradition. If the government's multicultural policy is confined to minority groups as shown in the above examples, opposition will not arise among others who are not directly connected to the policy.

However, introducing multiculturalism as a national policy is completely another matter. Multiculturalism as a national policy is applied to not only minorities groups but the majority, which widens its coverage considerably. Thus, the agreement of the entire people is required to introduce multiculturalism as a national policy. The cultures of minority groups such as American Indians and blacks have to be transmitted and taught to all Americans. This issue is related to the controversy in Australia about whether multiculturalism should be confined to an ad hoc policy targeting particular groups or should be integrated into the government's basic policy and subsequently into mainstream principles.

II. *Multiculturalism and Racism*

1. *Race and culture*

Multiculturalism is purely an issue of culture in its literal sense. In many cases, however, the actual problem facing multiculturalism is not culture but racial discrimination. Multiculturalism is often used to express the race problem with the more moderate and neutral word of culture. The same thing applies to the relation between the terms, race and ethnicity. The concept of race is often included in a more general term of ethnicity, but in that case, it loses its unique meaning.

For example, the United Kingdom which has accepted many people of color from the Caribbean area and the Indian subcontinent has been facing such social problems as relations between races and racism. However, these problems are often referred to as education of multiple cultures and races or multiculturalism in the country. This example clearly shows how to play down the severity of the problem.

Part of the problem related to blacks in the United States can be linked to culture. Today, the African culture of blacks and Black English are sometimes argued in relation to multiculturalism. In addition, the term African Americans, which is often used to refer to

American blacks, is related to culture rather than race. Blacks seem to use such phrases as black culture and African American as a means of maintaining their pride and identity.

The problem of blacks is also an issue of a class, in particular, that of the underclass. People are judged based on their ability and achievements in modern society. However, blacks face difficulties in obtaining higher education and finding employment, due to racial discrimination which they have suffered from for a long time and a lack of a good home environment. Affirmative action has been pursued in the United States to overcome the handicaps which blacks have been facing. The issues of culture and class are closely related to the problem of blacks, and it is difficult to discuss these problems separately. The problem of culture also emerges as the problem of class in the society that places greater importance on achievements.

On the other hand, a shift in focus of the argument from cultural differences to racial differences cannot be ignored. For example, the point at issue is changing from multiculturalism to racial discrimination even in Canada where the argument for multiculturalism started earliest. Initially, Canada's multiculturalism focused on the maintenance and the revitalization of cultures and languages of white immigrants such as Ukrainians and Jews who came to Canada later. This initial multicultural movement was mainly promoted by white ethnic groups.

However, the focus of Canada's multiculturalism is shifting toward the abolition of racial discrimination in response to an inflow of many Asian immigrants. Most Asian immigrants from Hong Kong and Malaysia are highly educated and speak English. They tend to attach greater importance to achievements and hope to secure equal opportunities and abolish racial discrimination rather than to maintain and expand their own cultures. Accordingly, the argument on multiculturalism is increasingly centering around these visible minorities.

Canadian and Australian multicultural policies include the objective to abolish economic differences between racial and ethnic groups. Although their political intentions are understandable, the word multiculturalism should be confined to the issues of cultures and separated from the issues of class and economy.

A similar shift in the focus of the argument can be also seen in Western Europe. A postnational situation is emerging in West Europe with the ongoing integration of Europe and the weakening of nation states, and cultural diversity is emphasized among member nations of the European Union and various areas. As a result, ethnic minorities who live in the peripheral areas around the nation states and do not have the rights required to express themselves have started movements to restore their own languages, abolish economic differences and acquire self-government rights. Cultural diversity is being encouraged, and multiculturalism is emerging within the EU area.

Asian and African immigrants and Islam are attracting public attention in Western Europe, instead of those ethnic minorities. New tensions are arising between Europeans and non-Europeans and between Christians and Muslims. Asian and African immigrants are mainly interested in the issue of culture, which is the issue of race at the same time.

It is interesting to note that whether greater importance is placed on race or culture may be different according to societies. Based on the categories used by E. Todd, the British will be called "racists" and the French "culturalists" here[1]. These words need some explanation to

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[1] E. Todd, *L'invention de l'Europe*, Seuil, 1990.

avoid misunderstanding. The word "racists" here does not mean those who discriminate against other races. It means those who place greater importance on racial differences. Similarly, culturalists are those who attach greater importance to cultural differences.

In the United Kingdom, people tend to be concerned about the differences between races rather than cultures, and race relations and racism are the main subjects of social science. In contrast, the French are interested in differences between cultures rather than races. It is probably because France has defined its people as those who share a common political philosophy (that is, culture) of freedom, equality and fraternity since the French Revolution. In fact, blacks are not subjected to as much discrimination in France. It is said that those who have a certain level of ability do not face racial discrimination in the country.

On the contrary, differences in cultures and religions have attracted substantial attention in France. It is no accident that the cultural and ethnic tensions between the French and Muslims including those from the Maghreb constitute the most serious problems in France. The National Front, an extreme French right wing party, bases their anti-foreigner movement upon cultural differences, unlike the German counterpart whose movement is based on racial differences and racial origin, as mentioned below. It is quite interesting to see that state differences are also reflected in the views of extreme right-wingers in each country.

2. *The meaning of ethnic revival*

Multiculturalism is linked to the pursuit of ethnic identity by minority groups. However, it is doubtful whether ethnic revival can be accepted as a multicultural approach. Minority group movements which are aimed at pursuing a group's ethnic identity offer strong resistance to external pressure to assimilate into the dominant culture and deep-rooted discrimination they suffer. Minority groups focus ethnicity and culture to maintain their pride that is wounded by racial and ethnic discrimination and protect their identity from the pressures of assimilation.

The emphasis on culture by American blacks and Muslims in Western Europe can be seen as rejecting the status quo by those people who are subject to social discrimination and suffer economically. Therefore, it is a bit rash to include the views of such ethnic minorities within nation states in multiculturalism. As will be discussed later, multiculturalism in a typical sense can be applied to cases in which ethnic groups are recognized as legal entities and their languages and cultures are formally acknowledged. However, ethnic minorities do not always request such formal recognition. Ethnic revival movements will not emerge if minority groups can maintain their ethnic identity in a state and social discrimination and economic disadvantages are eliminated.

Two cases should be clearly distinguished from each other if the issue of ethnicity within a state with high cultural uniformity is discussed correctly. One is the case when real ethnicity exists and ethnopolitics is engaged in by ethnic groups, and the other is the case when ethnicity is emphasized as a symbol. The latter case will be referred to as symbolic ethnicity here.

The former case can be seen in ethnic communities in Canada and the United States. The objective existence of a certain extent of cultural diversity allows discussion on multiculturalism in these communities. In the latter case, however, emphasis on ethnicity is often used as a means to express the intention of a minority group to break off relations with

the dominant group to counter the pressure to assimilate and racial discrimination.

Paradoxically speaking, the existence of powerful ethnic communities such as the Jewish community in the United States and Chinese and Vietnamese communities in France helps bring about social stability rather than cultural conflicts. This is why the re-establishment of an Islamic community is called for among Islamic immigrants in Western Europe as a means to solve social problems such as the delinquency of the second generation immigrants. On the other hand, blacks in the United States and North African Arabs in France no longer have stable communities. Since their communities are dissolving, it is difficult to discuss uniform ethnic communities.

On the contrary, ethnic revival is likely to arise when assimilation of minorities into the mainstream culture is prevented by various types of discrimination, although these groups want to assimilate. Ethnicity, in this case, is a desire or a symbol rather than ethnic custom and tradition.

Although American blacks call themselves African Americans, their culture cannot be identified with the culture in African countries. In addition, Arabian traits that second generation Arabic immigrants from the Maghreb in France claim they have should not be mistaken for traditional Arabic culture, because they do not always wear Arabian-style clothes and follow Arabic eating habits. They are ordinary young people who wear jeans and leather jackets, gather in American-style fast food stores and listen to rock and pops with Walkman. Since 1989, the daughters of Islamic immigrants wearing the head covering are often seen at public schools in France. They do not try to return to their traditional culture by wearing the head covering. Rather, they seem to express their refusal to assimilation into the French culture and choose their own identity within modern society.

Thus, there are roughly two types of ethnicity. Ethnicity as an expression of refusing assimilation within a nation state should be distinguished from actual ethnicity. It is the latter ethnicity that can be unconditionally linked to an argument on multiculturalism.

III.   Types of Multiculturalism

1.   The scope of multiculturalism

The word, multiculturalism, is used by many people, but all of them do not use it in the same way. The meaning and the scope of the word differ, depending on who is using it. Thus, what multiculturalism really means comes into question. To answer this question, the different types of multiculturalism will be discussed below.

Multiculturalism refers to the relations among multiple cultures within a society, and multiculturalism does not exist if these cultures are discrete and independent. Thus, a determining factor for multiculturalism is whether each culture has territoriality or not. As K. D. McRae proposes, the arguments on the coexistence of multiple cultures or multiculturalism differ, depending on whether each ethnic group has cultural self-government rights based on the principle of personality or it holds certain geographical space based on the principle of territoriality[2]. Under the principle of territoriality, a federal system is often introduced. A federal system can be also seen as a kind of multiculturalism, according to how the system is

defined. However, multiculturalism is generally thought to be the state where multiple cultures coexist within common social space.

The two concepts proposed by M. M. Gordon, liberal pluralism and corporate pluralism, serve as a starting point for a discussion about types of multiculturalism[3]. Under liberal pluralism, an individual is treated as the basic unit, and equality of opportunity is viewed as the premise. At the same time, however, public space is separated from private space under liberal pluralism. A common set of values and a common language used in the society are required in public space, while ethnic and racial groups are permitted to maintain their own culture and language in private space. In some cases, government authorities or local governments encourage them to maintain their ethnic culture and language.

Under corporate pluralism, ethnic groups are treated as a legal entity, and the existence of multiple cultures and languages is guaranteed as a principle forming the society. The acceptance of multiple cultures and languages is formally guaranteed in both public and private spaces, and the division of public space and private space does not have any significance. Thus, multiple public spaces exist under corporate pluralism. One well-known example of corporate pluralism is affirmative action to help discriminated groups such as blacks in the United States. What is critically important to affirmative action is that ethnic and racial groups do not simply exist but that their existence is officially recognized and taken into account in policy-making and the redistribution of power. It should be noted that a race is not only a cultural unit but a political unit.

The content of multiculturalism differs sharply between liberal pluralism and corporate pluralism. In the author's personal opinion, multiculturalism in the strict sense of the word should be confined to corporate pluralism. If the range of multiculturalism is extended to liberal pluralism, the points in question concerning multiculturalism will become obscure, and tensions brought about by multiculturalism will be lost.

Today, the foundations of nation states are under assault, and assimilation has been increasingly criticized in developed countries. Under such circumstances, developed countries face the challenge of how to integrate foreign workers and ethnic minorities. How nation states should be changed and to what extent assimilation should be limited will be important points of consideration herein. The concept of liberal pluralism is a model to examine to what extent the people belonging to the cultural majority can compromise with ethnic minorities and permit the coexistence of multiple cultures. Under liberal pluralism, multiculturalism is limited within private space, and national principles and standards are maintained to the end. Liberal pluralism cannot be called multiculturalism in its true sense, but it is one of the ways to overcome assimilation.

2. Public space and private space

The important point here is the division between public space and private space. The division sometimes helps solve certain cultural and ethnic issues. However, some cultures are

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    [2] K. D. McRae, "The Principle of Territoriality and the Principle of Personality in Multilingual States," *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, Vol. 4, 1975, pp. 33-54.
    [3] M. M. Gordon, *The Scope of Sociology*, Oxford University Press, 1988.

adverse to the idea of separating public space from private space. The languages of white ethnic groups in Canada and regional diversity in the European Union can be maintained by dividing public and private spaces.

However, if a culture, like Islam, is not just a symbol but the guiding principle for social relations and does not remain within private space, the problem related to the culture cannot be solved through a division between public space and private space. Islam cannot be viewed as the same type of religion as Christianity. It cannot be confined to private space, because politics, religion and society overlap one another in many places. This aspect of Islam helps explain why Islamic immigrants want their daughters to wear a head covering at public schools and ask public schools to introduce Islamic education. A discrepancy sometimes also arises between the logic of West Europe and the logic of Islamic immigrants over the management of public and private spaces.

As mentioned earlier, from the viewpoint of cultural relativism, the problem of this discrepancy can be solved by applying Islamic law to Islamic society and modern civil law to Western Europe. However, it is not so easy to solve the problem when people with different cultural background exist within common social space, such as when Muslims reside in Western European countries. Should Western laws be applied to Islamic immigrants living in Western Europe? Or should they be allowed to have cultural autonomy with some limitations and pass judgment on certain matters based on the Islamic standards? Should certain exceptional rules be applied to Islamic immigrants, and should these rules be incorporated into Western civil law as exceptions?

Even though a division between public space and private space can be accepted, the dimensions of public space and private space are open to further discussion. What liberal pluralism implies varies considerably, according to the dimensions of public and private space. In the United States, for example, public space is relatively limited, while a considerably wider dimension is assigned to private space, because the country has had a tradition of limiting public intervention as much as possible and respecting self-reliance since its establishment. Ethnic and racial groups and intermediate groups such as voluntary associations operate in private space in the United States. As for education, for instance, the country has not only public schools but various private schools.

In France, on the other hand, the republic released its people from various intermediate groups including religious groups. The concept of "individuals" was given birth to through the formation of the nation state. As a result, society is generally considered to be both the state and individuals. Under the philosophy of the French republic, private space is limited to the individual and his/her family. To put it in an extreme way, any place outside of the house is viewed as public space. In France, the power of intermediate groups is limited, and ethnopolitics and pressure groups are not given political legitimacy. France differs dramatically in this respect from the United States and the United Kingdom. The real state of liberal pluralism varies, according to the relative size of public space and private space.

3. *Beyond the limit of multiculturalism*

What requirement should cultures consisting of multiple cultures meet to realize multiculturalism? A conflict between cultures cannot be avoided if each culture continues to insist on its absolute values exclusively. Different cultures must adopt, to a certain degree,

cultural relativism to avoid such cultural conflict. They should not insist on the absoluteness of their cultures and accept cultural relativity and the existence of other cultures. Otherwise, they will not be accepted, either. Under multiculturalism, the restrictions of cultural relativism are imposed on the pursuit of ethnic identity. Each culture must recognize the fact that its culture is just one of many cultures.

If each culture adheres to its absoluteness and regard itself as the one and only culture, multiculturalism will never be realizing. It is far more difficult to achieve multiculturalism if cultures view their value systems as civilization, because cultures can be viewed relatively, but it is hard to view civilization in a relative sense. Islam does not fit into Western European society as a culture, because it views itself as civilization. In this case, cultural conflict rather than multiculturalism is likely to emerge. Both cultures and civilization cannot be equally treated within the range of multiculturalism, although they can be treated equally, according to their definitions. The complicated cultural situation in developed countries is also caused by the international migration of people which promotes diversity of civilization rather than cultural diversity in the daily life in these countries.

Thus, multiculturalism has a certain latitude and subcategories, but multiculturalism will not be realized if an ethnic group insists on special privileges. All ethnic groups are required to take part in multiculturalism with equal qualifications in order to realize it.

In Canada, the Province of Quebec which mainly consists of French-speaking residents has insisted that it and English-speaking residents are the country's two largest nations, and a discrepancy has arisen between them and other ethnic groups such as Ukrainian and Jewish groups which have been advocating multiculturalism. Quebec claims that it is not just an ethnic group but a nation which has territoriality. Based on this reason, the Province of Quebec officially rejects multiculturalism.

4. *Multiculturalism and indigenous peoples*

Indigenous peoples are another group that does not fit into multiculturalism. Like American Indians and Aborigines in Australia, indigenous peoples have historically been oppressed and relegated to remote areas with a rapid increase in the number of immigrants who came into their land later.

With the recent rise of minority rights movements, indigenous peoples started demanding first occupant rights or special rights to the land where they have been living long before immigrants arrived. Indigenous peoples can hardly exist together with immigrant groups and ethnic groups who do not have homeland. The situation varies according to the definition of first occupant rights, but the strict application of rights may lead to the exclusion of immigrant groups and ethnic groups from the land, and coordination between cultures becomes very difficult. This is the main reason why people belonging to the dominant group find it difficult to compromise with indigenous peoples. Some measures which other ethnic groups can accept should be looked for by clearly defining the range of self-determination rights held by indigenous peoples.

IV.   Multiculturalism and Universalism

1.   Differences and equality

Minority groups do not always face the uniform conditions. According to P.=A. Taguieff, there are two types of racism, and a clear division between the two is needed when they are analyzed[4]. In accordance with custom, the word, race, to be used in the discussion on racism below, includes not only a group of people unified by common physical character- istics but an ethnic group based on common cultural background.

One of the two types of racism is literal racism that emphasizes differences among racial and ethnic groups. It is an apartheid type of discrimination based on such differences. What is common to this type of racism is the view that people should be treated differently, accord- ing to their racial or ethnic groups.

The other racism does not recognize the existence of a minority culture and ethnicity and forces minority groups to assimilate into the dominant culture. While it encompasses the view that all people are the same, cultural distinctiveness of a minority group is denied and their ethnic identity is destroyed. Taguieff thinks that it is also one type of racism in the sense that it denies the culture and identity of racial and ethnic groups. Many Western European coun- tries are typical nation states. "Nation" represented by France or a community bound to- gether by consensus and "Volk" represented by Germany or a community bound together by common fate have a tendency to assimilate or exclude people with different cultures. If they fail to assimilate these people, the logic of exclusion, as is seen in anti-Semitism, will emerge.

Assimilation and apartheid-type racism are both found in real life. Therefore, two types of anti-racism are required as the logic for anti-racism movements. As Taguieff mentioned, the pursuit of equality and fundamental human rights is needed to protest against social, eco- nomic and political discrimination based on racial differences, and emphasis on ethnic iden- tity is necessary to oppose assimilation. However, greater importance should be placed on equality and fundamental human rights, because racism focusing on differentiation is newly emerging, as will be mentioned later.

2.   Multiculturalism and modern civil rights

How should we view the relation between multiculturalism and modern civil rights? The culture of some religious and ethnic groups include pre-modern values such as patriarchy and what seems to be sexual discrimination. Should these cultures be respected under the name of multiculturalism? One such example is the contradiction between American and European civil and criminal laws and "Sharia" or Islamic law. Sharia is not strictly applied in all coun- tries with many Muslims. Religion and politics are separated in some of these countries such as Turkey. However, social customs which are inconsistent with modern civil rights are

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[4] P.=A. Taguieff, *La force du préjugé*, La découverte, 1987.

sometimes permitted in some of Arabian countries.

For example, it is difficult to judge whether polygamy and female circumcision should be permitted or not under multiculturalism. In addition, the sentence of death which the Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini pronounced on Salman Rushdie who wrote "The Satanic Verses" cannot be permitted from the viewpoint of modern civil rights. Freedom of expression and freedom of publication should be respected, regardless of the content of a book.

From the opposite point of view, this problem has brought up the question of whether modern civil rights as advocated by the United States and Europe are universal or not. Today, developing countries are facing the demands by the United States and Europe for democratization and protection of human rights. Many leaders in these developing countries express a sense of incongruity toward such intervention by developed countries, insisting that Asian countries have their own values. ·

The difference in the view of modern civil rights tends to emerge between developed countries and developing countries. In addition, in modern society where the international migration of people is increasing, such differences can emerge within a community. Are all wives of an Arabian immigrant who has settled down in Western Europe allowed to immigrate as a family? How should a West European court handle a suit contending an infringement of human rights filed by a woman who was circumcised?

Accepting cultures of multiple racial and ethnic groups may lead to the fear that the society may split into several subgroups. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. entitled his book "The Disuniting of America," and in this book he criticized the overemphasis on racial and ethnic cultures in the United States[5]. Countries such as the United States and France which were founded on a common political philosophy have a strong fear of the split.

To get rid of the fear, something that connects multiple ethnic cultures to each other or something that they can share as a premise becomes necessary. It will be a kind of civil culture which has, to certain degree, universal characteristics. Such a civil culture is also included in multiculturalism as one of the cultures that form it.

Recently, a desire to review and rebuild multiculturalism anew on a firmer foundation is growing even in Canada, the mother of multiculturalism, for fear that the nation may split. One proposal for rebuilding multiculturalism is that an ethnic culture should be viewed as part of ethnic identity rather than an all-encompassing solution and should be extended to global culture by sharing a common civil culture. Under this proposal, an ethnic culture is not regarded as self-contained. It should be elaborated into a more cosmopolitan culture through interchange with other cultures, with which it shares a common civil culture. A tendency to place greater importance on those things that people share rather than what separates them is growing in Canada to help prevent the division of the nation.

The linking of the views of ethnic minorities with a civil culture and cosmopolitanism can be seen in the movements of indigenous peoples. The United Nations designated 1993 as the International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples, and many proposals have been made to expand the rights of indigenous peoples. Thus, indigenous peoples movements are supported mainly by the United Nations, the International Labor Organization and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Since indigenous peoples have little power within the

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[5] A. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America*, Whittle, 1991.

frame of the nation state, the support from those international organizations and transnational activities is indispensable. However, their cultures do not always match the civil culture of developed countries. In this regard, these indigenous peoples movements are based on a complementary but tense relation between their inherent cultures and transnational cosmopolitanism.

Today, the world is moving toward a post-industrial, information-oriented and globalized society. These socioeconomic changes also bring about a change in culture. How should we view the relation of sociological culture covering life style, industrial culture and fashion with anthropological culture covering languages, religions and ethnicity? Under multiculturalism, culture tend to be confined to anthropological culture, as S. P. Huntington who is well-known for his "Clash of Civilizations" theory did so[6]. However, the fact should not be overlooked that people with different anthropological culture have come to share large part of sociological culture through the progress of globalization and regional integration.

In addition, the spread and expansion of sociological culture which helps connect different racial and ethnic groups to each other are sometimes criticized as "cultural imperialism" (J. Tomlinson). Today, American and European TV programs can be received in various areas via broadcasting satellites, and American culture represented by Coca Cola and McDonald's are expanding beyond borders. How should we view the spread of this transborder culture?

Thus, it is necessary to pay attention to not only the cultures of religious and ethnic groups within a society but cultures which come into the society from outside through globalization and regional integration when we discuss multiculturalism. The issue of multiculturalism should be examined in light of the melding of sociological culture and anthropological culture and the relation between cultures which expand beyond borders and cultures which stay within a society.

3. Changes in racism under multiculturalism

We have discussed differences and equality above. Now, let's return to the problem of racism mentioned earlier. Multiculturalism is being established to a certain extent in developed countries, although it has been the focus of much debate. Expressions such as symbiosis and the coexistence with heterogeneous people are viewed favorably in most cases. This present situation is fundamentally different from a conventional society where racism had influence and assimilation was regarded as self-evident. Today, conventional racism cannot exist. If it continues to exist, it will be forced to change in the new situation.

Racism focusing on the principles of differentiation can be viewed as a new form of racism under the current situation where greater importance is placed on ethnic identity. In West European countries such as France, cultural minorities are advocating multiculturalism and pursuing their ethnic identity, while ultra-rightists are increasingly trying to shut out immigrants and foreigners based on the idea of multiculturalism or the rights of differences. The rightists are insisting that the French have a right to protect French culture if immigrants have the rights to pursue their own cultural identities.

As mentioned above, ethnic identity is being advocated in developed countries to protest

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[6] S. P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, June 1993.

against assimilation. However, the call among minority groups for their own ethnic identity is being weakened by anti-foreigner movements which are opposed to minority groups by using the idea of multiculturalism such as the rights of differences and cultural identity. With the advent of such racism focusing on the principles of differentiation, it is much more important for minority groups to emphasize not only their ethnic identity but equality and fundamental human rights that transcend the differences between racial and ethnic groups.

Recently, racism arises in part not from racial or biological differences but from cultural differences. In France, as mentioned above, the point at issue is shifting from racial differences to cultural differences. The fact should not be ignored that the issue of race is discussed by using the word, culture, because the argument on the difference in race has no scientific justification and has lost its political validity through the Nazi experience.

Regional segregation according to racial and ethnic groups is progressing in the United States, and a growing tendency can be seen that racial and ethnic groups have their own communities and are isolated from each other. Such self-segregation can be seen in part among racial and ethnic groups in Western Europe. One such example is that some people who live in a school district where immigrants are concentrated move out to another district for fear of a deteriorating educational level. Racism based on the principles of differentiation aims at forcing foreigners and immigrants to return their homeland. It should be noted that this self-segregational phenomenon is also based on the similar logic of differentiation.

V. Multiculturalism and Social Class

1. Multiculturalism and economic conditions

How can we place multiculturalism in an economic context? What should be pointed out first is that multiculturalism is a social principle that places greater importance on the relation among racial and ethnic groups. It does not give priority to economic efficiency. In developing countries which try to promote the formation of a nation and rapid modernization and industrialization, multiculturalism as a norm is rarely pursued, yet in reality multiple cultures coexist. The biggest reason is the enormous costs required to maintain multiculturalism. The adoption of multiple cultural norms and official languages conflict with economies of scale and push up costs.

In addition, if multiculturalism is officially permitted with limited public funds, the unity of each ethnic group becomes stronger, and the competition among ethnic groups over resources tends to intensify with the ethnic community as the basic unit. Ethnic groups become not only the unit to confirm ethnic identity but a kind of interest group, or even pressure group in some cases. Under such circumstances, ethnopolitics comes to the forefront, while the vision of a welfare state that attaches greater importance to racial and ethnic groups is often proposed in response to ethnopolitics.

The civil rights movement in which blacks played a central role, feminist movement, Indian movement and other minority group movements became active in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s when the country were experiencing high economic growth. It was relatively easy for the federal government and local governments to meet the demand of minority

groups because they had abundant public funds during this period of high economic growth. The pursuit of multiculturalism is not very difficult in such a favorable economic environment. However, when the economy is in recession and the unemployment rate hit about 10%, public funds become scarce, and it is far more difficult for governments to bear the enormous costs of multiculturalism, as was seen in the United States and Europe during the 1980s and the early 1990s.

Australia abandoned the White Australia policy and adopted multiculturalism as a national policy after the 1970s. Since then, the country has maintained and expanded various multicultural policies such as multicultural education, multicultural broadcasting and multicultural documents. However, in the deepening recession of the late 1980s, the federal government was forced to cut its budget and has carried out policies that seemed to go against multiculturalism by reducing or abolishing multicultural-related departments and cutting multicultural-related budget. The Australian example underscores how a sluggish economy prevents a country from maintaining multiculturalism.

The coexistence of multiple races and the acceptance of foreign workers do not present serious problems when business is active and the unemployment rate is low. A downward economy triggered by energy crises and a rise in the unemployment rate gave rise to antagonism among the races with a foreign worker problem suddenly emerging in Western Europe. People who have lived together compete over jobs and clash over the use of public funds. In this regard, the economic recession is the biggest enemy of multiculturalism. On the contrary, strain racial relations will usually not result in severe antagonism when business is brisk.

2. The elite and the general public under multiculturalism

Multiculturalism does not have a uniform effect on all social classes and social categories. Let's simplify the point by looking at the elite who speak several languages and have cosmopolitan sense of values and the general public who speak only one language and tend to confine themselves to their own culture.

Multiculturalism and multilingualism recognize the existence of multiple languages and cultural groups to which individuals belong to and define the relation among these groups. These concepts are based on the precondition that an individual is in a one-to-one relation with a religion and a culture. However, many people can speak multiple languages, have cosmopolitan sense of values and are effective on the international stage. These people or the elite actually carry out multiculturalism at the individual level. Bilingualism is an easy-to-understand example. As a matter of course, the elite is tolerant of the coexistence of multiple cultures, and many of them agree with multiculturalism. The society which accepts a diversity of languages and cultures provides the elites with many opportunities in which they can play an active role. Probably, English which is actually used as an international language and civil culture will play an important role in such a society.

In contrast, most of the general public will rarely receive direct benefit even if multiculturalism is achieved. In some cases, they may have to face a severer environment, because some of the resources they had access to until now may be diverted to ethnic minorities and socioeconomic changes may be caused by multiculturalism.

The differences in the elite and the general public are typically seen in the European

Union. The unity of Europe helps lower the fences between sovereign nations, remove various boundaries such as physical, tax and technological borders and as a result leads to the coexistence of multiple cultures and languages. Under such circumstances, the elite in various fields are expanding their socioeconomic activities conducted within their own nations to the European Union by making full use of their ability to speak several languages.

The integration of Europe, on the other hand, means that workers, farmers and fishermen in developed countries such as France who have been under national protection will be thrown into free competition and part of the wealth produced by developed countries will be diverted to neighboring developing countries. As a result, the opinion of the elite was directly opposed to that of the general public on whether the Treaty of Maastricht should be ratified. The educated elite and university students supported the ratification, while many farmers, fishermen and workers were opposed to it.

The general public leans toward to populism in opposition to the elite and to nationalism in opposition to the more cosmopolitan multiculturalism and internationalism. In response to the two cultural problems they faced, that is, the issue of the European unity and the foreign worker problem, the general public in Western Europe often voted for the ultra-rightist parties which were opposed to the European unity and called for foreigners to be excluded. These ultra-rightist parties are founded on nationalism and populism. Today, the European unity led by the elite is faced with national populism supported by the general public who embrace a national sense of values and show no inclination toward internationalization. The effect of the coexistence of multiple cultures and languages is different according to social classes and social categories. Therefore, each social class responds to multiculturalism differently.

Conclusion

We have discussed various issues related to multiculturalism above. The existence of these issues clearly shows that the concept of multiculturalism is vague in many aspects and that multiculturalism is often discussed as an abstract ideal. It is necessary to clarify the concept and solve many problems in order to realize multiculturalism. The purpose of this paper is not to oppose multiculturalism, although it depends upon how multiculturalism is defined. The author views this paper as part of the process of achieving multiculturalism.

However, it should be noted that some societies can accept multiculturalism as a policy but that others cannot. In addition, multiculturalism requires substantial funds. An optimistic view of multiculturalism and an irresponsible attempt to realize it may lead to disappointment with multiculturalism and even to its abolition. Thus, the focus of the discussion on multiculturalism must be shifted from just a desire or rhetoric to the examination of objective requirements to realize it.

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