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12TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON SOCIAL, HUMANITIES, ADMINISTRATIVE, AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES IN A CHANGING WORLD PROCEEDINGS BOOK

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PROF. DR. CARLOS ARENAS
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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MULTICULTURALISM AND FEMINISM

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ABSTRACT

Multiculturalism describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of one community. Being defined as such, it deals with theories which aim to support national identity, individual rights, educational and economic conditions and good relations between different ethic groups in one community. The main aim of this paper is to explore the different discourses about multiculturalism and feminism and develop a more inclusive and nuanced redefinition of the relationship between multiculturalism and feminism. The study provides a comprehensive understanding of the complex relationship between the concepts of multiculturalism and feminism. It argues that gender equality is often misused in different contexts and situations, which also harms the position of minority women.

Keywords: multiculturalism, feminism, identity, women, community.

Introduction

It was long assumed that both multiculturalism and feminism are connected to progressive movements and hence have comparable and compatible goals. However, both in academia and in popular media the critique on multiculturalism has grown and is often accompanied with arguments related to gender equality and/or feminism. Multiculturalism is a term which describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of one community. Being defined as such, it deals with theories which aim to support national identity, individual rights, educational and economic conditions and good relations between different ethnic groups in one community. According to the political scientist Susan Moller Okin, there are fundamental conflicts between our commitment to gender equality and the desire to respect the customs of minority cultures or religions (Okin, 1999). If we agree that women should not be disadvantaged because of their sex, she argues, we should not accept group rights that permit oppressive practices. Okin's claims led to a complex and highly important debate both in academia and in public debates.

The main aim of this paper is to explore the different discourses about multiculturalism and feminism and develop a more inclusive and nuanced redefinition of the relationship between multiculturalism and feminism. The study provides a comprehensive understanding of the complex relationship between the concepts of multiculturalism and feminism. It argues that gender equality is often misused in different contexts, which also harms the position of minority women.

Multiculturalism

The theories of multiculturalism usually focus on the minority groups in one community i.e., those who have different ethnic background, different religion, social orientation and are very often discriminated in different ways in one community (Triandafyllidou, 2011). Thus, the biggest problem is stereotyping and putting everyone in one basket. As it is already known, stereotypes are usually fixed and negative ideas of people and one thing that can help us avoid having prejudices over some ethic groups is to accept them as they are and respect their traditions, background, race, religion etc. (Blum, 2004). According to Kymlicka, one important critique of multiculturalism is that it promotes "essentialism", reifying the identities and practices of minority groups. (Kymlicka, 2014). He argues that the essentialist critique conflates different issues, jumping from critiques of academic the theories of multiculturalism to critiques of government policies to critiques of everyday street-level discourses of ethnic difference. As soon as these targets are to be differentiated, and the liberal multiculturalism is being practiced then the problem of essentialism will be easily solved. Kymlicka divides minorities in two different groups: minorities and immigrants. According to Kymlicka, from one hand, national minorities should have special treatment and should not be excluded from the power of nation building, having their institutions and civil liberties. On the other hand, immigrants should integrate and accept the conditions at the place where they came such as learning the official language. This division is acceptable since minorities and immigrants have different reasons for living in a new community for them. However, they should have rights based on written laws and respect them. None of the groups should be underestimated but giving them some rights and participation in any activities connected to the community will help them integrate no matter if they are immigrants or minorities.

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How bad is Multiculturalism for Women?

Although women and minority rights have traditionally been seen as 'progressive' issues, they now seem to be opposites in the political debate. This might imply that women and minority rights are incompatible in some cases. Susan Moller Okinaddresses this question in her well-known essay "Is Multiculturalism bad for Women?" (Okin, 1999). She argues that if we agree that women should not be disadvantaged because of their sex, then we should not accept group rights that permit oppressive practices.

Both feminism and multiculturalism aim to protect the rights of groups; either women or minority communities. According to Okin, progressive people who are against all forms of oppression, assume too easily that multiculturalism and feminism are compatible (Okin, 1999). Cultures are suffused with practices and ideologies concerning gender, and most cultures facilitate control over women in various ways. Okin believes there are two essential problems that advocates of group rights for minorities have not adequately addressed. First of all, they tend to treat cultural groups as monolithic and pay little attention to the differences within these groups, most importantly the substantial differences in power and advantage between men and women. To many people, "feminism" continues to inspire controversy and to arouse a visceral responce – to evoke fear among a sizable portion of the general public (Offen, 1988). Advocates of multiculturalism also seem to ignore the private sphere.

According to Okin, most (minority) cultures are patriarchal and most cultural customs aim to control women and keep them in the private sphere. She recognizes that women are also discriminated against in Western democracies, but argues that they are legally guaranteed the same opportunities and freedoms as men. Okin argues that women who come from more patriarchal cultures than the United States (or some other Western, basically liberal, state), should not be less protected from male violence than other women are (Okin, 1999).

Culture and religion are important to many women in the world, but can also be sources of oppression as Okin argues. Despite the fact that this issue is essential to feminism, the debate remains problematic. Not only in academia, but also in the popular media, the relationship between multiculturalism

and feminism receives more and more attention and leads to serious clashes between feminists.

According to Okin, one of the most important forms of oppression for women is (culturally based) sexual discrimination. Okin notes that other considerations, such as racial discrimination, need to be taken into account as well, but thinks that gender inequality in cultures should take priority. Many strong claims can be made to support this position and Okin certainly focuses on some of the more controversial customs, such as clitoridectomy, polygamy, forcing children into marriage, and other forms of coerced wedlock (1999). But she also makes sweeping generalizations about the inherently patriarchal nature of many religions, basing her argument upon a somewhat superficial reading of what she sees as the «founding myths» of Greek and Roman antiquity, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

The issues discussed in "Is Multicultural is bad for Women?" are diverse and immensely complex, and it would be unreasonable to expect definitive answers to questions on which so many distinguished thinkers are at odds with one another. What we do have is a wealth of provocative arguments laid out before us, so that we may briefly sample some or chew for a while on others.

In posing the question, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" Susan Moller Okin (1999) opens the door to many complex and controversial issues. At the core is the crucial discussion about how areas of conflicting interest arise between multiculturalism and feminism, specifically how special group rights, granted to protect minority groups from the dominance of majority cultures, may perpetuate discrimination against women within those groups. Fifteen leading thinkers on multiculturalism and feminism respond to Okin's thought-provoking essay, sometimes answering her directly; other times developing a particular strand of the debate in a thought-provoking and extremely readable collection of essays. Following their responses, Okin replies to each and further defends her position.

Cultural identity and discrimination

Many of the questions surrounding the interface of special group rights for minority cultures and the right to freedom from discrimination by individual female members of these groups will be familiar to the reader. What gives this work its particular vitality is the sense of a lively debate afforded by the format of a forum. This assemblage of different voices allows us to compare points of view and test our own opinions against those spread out before us. Susan Moller Okin's fiery arguments certainly cause the sparks to fly. A number of the provocative assertions that Okin makes in her essay are bound to offend and outrage even some who are basically in agreement with her position that gender discrimination, carried out in the name of preserving the cultural identity of minority groups, should not be permitted to infringe upon the individual rights of female members of those groups.

One statement which Okin makes toward the end of her essay had a seismic impact on many of her respondents:

"Indeed, [some women] might be much better off if the culture into which they were born were either to become extinct (so that its members would become integrated into the less sexist sur-rounding culture) or, preferably, to be encouraged to alter itself so as to reinforce the equality of women." (Okin, 1999)

Honig, Abdullahi An-Na'im, and Joseph Raz all registered shock at such a suggestion. Okin, in her reply, explains that, «whether their culture stays the same, changes, or becomes extinct in a particular context because its members assimilate, more or less slowly, and wholly or partially, into one of the alternative cultures available, ... is the kind of «becom[ing] extinct» I had in mind.» Yes, that was not very clear and sympathetic as one may be to her position, expecting us to read her mind is rather a tall order.

Finally, Okin takes Will Kymlicka to task for his view that only those groups which are internally liberal can be granted special rights, claiming that while he considers the civil and political domains of girls' and women's lives, he disregards the domestic domain in which they are universally subjected to sex discrimination. Thus, concludes

Okin, no existing culture could meet his criterion of internal liberalism. Kymlicka (2014), in response, outlines what he sees as "internal restrictions", those restrictions within a group which limit the rights of individual members, and "external protections", measures which protect minorities from being swallowed up by majority groups. The domestic domain would, he explains, fall within the category of "internal restrictions". This misunderstanding clarified, he asserts his basic agreement with Okin who sums up by acknowledging a degree of shared concern, but contending that "he tends to prioritize cultural group rights and I ... prioritize women's equality".

Multiculturalism Vs. Feminism

Kymlicka's important observation is that multiculturalism and feminism are, in some ways, related struggles: both seek the recognition of difference in the context of norms that are universal in theory, but not in practice. Still, an essential difference remains: the special rights that women claim qua women do not give more powerful women the right to control less powerful women. In contrast, cultural group rights do often (in not-so-obvious ways) reinforce existing hierarchies. As Kymlicka indicates, he shares this concern. "What I don't yet see, however, is a form of multiculturalism that gives this concern its due—that is to say, a multiculturalism that effectively treats women and men as moral equals". (Kymlicka, 2014)

Liberal democracy is trying to be good to minority, so what they are trying to do is that the regime attempts to accept cultural differences and to promote multiculturalism. But sometimes, we have to ask the question "is multiculturalism actually good for the women in these minorities?" Because many times some of the traditions and values that these minority cultures have may actually be "bad" traditions that are essentially working to perpetuate oppressive way of living for their female members within the community, and therefore inherently harmful to women.

So in allowing these pockets of culture to exist and respecting their cultural rights, the state might just be actively promoting the oppression of women in the long run. Susan Moller Okin's argument rightly pointed out that multiculturalism is merely the regime that allows such tolerance to rightfully exist in the society, that for the reason of a cultural respect, the society is – on the other side – working to further curtail the progressive change for women in oppressive societies.

One of the most obvious examples that Okin used was the culture in which women who are raped and then forced to be married to her rapist because her culture says that sexual intercourse is exclusive for only her husband, and strictly interpreting from that line of logic, her rapist, whom she has had intercourse with, even when against her view, is dictated by her culture to be her most rightful husband for life. While that is a deeply rooted traditional value that still persist to today, it is obviously against the value of the West or any liberal society.

To liberals, such treatment towards women is completely anti-women. In a society where multiculturalism is an upheld regime, sometimes, some sentences in crimes can be lessen because they take into account cultural values which endorse such actions of crimes to be rightful. So Okin questions, "if lessen the punishment for those crime, what are you really doing?" Is the society promoting the culture or is it helping to perpetuate the values and actions that hurt the women, blurring the line of women's worth in that society?

Okin argues that it is hurting the women in the process of trying to appear liberal through the looking glass of multiculturalism. Okin's article cites that the only legitimate kind of culture that should be respected should be the culture, which internally incorporates liberal values. In other words, if the culture is internally good and respectful to women, then yes, one should be able to respect that culture. But if it does not respect women and that its intrinsic values work to harm women, then it should not be respected and therefore be adjusted because it harms women in the long run.

Conclusion

As an example that is relevant to this response is a traditional value widely respected in Thailand. In this country, the dowry system - described as an act of money offering by the groom to the bride and her family on the day of their marriage - is a tradition commonly practiced and accepted as a norm. To the Western culture, this dowry system may be viewed as an act of objectifying women because it is viewed as if the family is selling its daughter for economic gain, but at the same time, the act itself it not necessarily harmful to women.

This is, perhaps, a good illustration of different worldviews that construes difficulty in understanding and trying to accept a multicultural viewpoint by the West and the East. In a society that makes a law that bans dowry system because of the reason that such an act propagates the objectification of women and therefore curtails women's rights, it will also be a law that goes against the cultural values of the communities that uphold the belief systems such as Thailand. In this case, judged by the intent and the consequence that it brings, dowry system does not have intrinsic value that goes against the progression of women's right. Therefore, in Okin's view, this area of culture could be tolerated under the realm of multiculturalism.

Okin's last recommendation in her essay says that very often when the authority decides on what is right for women and attempts to negotiate on such matter, only tends to negotiate through the cultural groups' authority who are often elderly men with the belief system of a patriarchal culture. Therefore, it promotes values of a patriarchal society even further. Okin suggests that the system of advancing the realm of multiculturalism should include more young female members' involvement into the discussion of what both culturally sound and acceptable to those individuals at the same time.

The main premises advocated by Okin are generally sound in the line of logic and in terms of the examples she provides. If something horrible is done to women, it should be punished and deterred. The majority culture must not allow these faulty values and to say that they should be allowed (to abuse women) because it is required of their culture. Essentially, culture is nothing beneficial to the advancement of the society if it works to discriminate some members and treat them brutally to an end. The problem is if one thinks it is inherently wrong to force the minority to assimilate, proponents of multiculturalism will argue that one is adopting a view of cultural imperialism, harming the freedom to adopt diverse cultural ideas.

The intent of having human right legislation is not to harm minority cultures, but to protect all individuals in a particular society regardless of which sub-culture they subscribe themselves to. If a culture justifies abuse or harming other human being, then it is reasonable to argue that that culture has to somehow curd to the majority's value in order to harmoniously co-exist in a long run.

Thus, there are instances when simply promoting multiculturalism without a proper reflection or direct consultation to those directly affected by the applications of the particular cultures is harmful to women. Of course, this is not to say that multiculturalism is always bad, but the solid examples by Okin (1999), and other critics of multiculturalism do suggest that there is a considerable number of cases where multiculturalism taken blindly is tremendously harmful to the very people it intends to rescue.

To sum sup, we can say that we agree with Okin's suggestion that the good kind of multiculturalism is not the kind that turns blind eye on the outright oppressive values, but the kind that requires careful reflection, studies and consultations with accurate representation of the members of the cultural communities, in order to gain the most useful insight when it comes to an attempt to understand certain foreign values. Last but not least, we also agree that cultural traditions should not be the sole reason to justify abuses, otherwise we would fall into the realm of moral relativism, which perpetuates an oppressive regime for women.

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