



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MULTICULTURALISM

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“The more nations are united in a state, the richer it becomes, as each of them contributes to the world culture and civilization...”

*Heydar Alirza oglu Aliyev
National Leader of Azerbaijan*



"Multiculturalism is a lifestyle in Azerbaijan."

*Ilham Heydar oğlu Aliyev
President of Azerbaijan Republic*

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers!

It is with great pleasure and enthusiasm that Baku International Multiculturalism Center publishes biannual, international, double-blind peer-reviewed, open-access journal titled “International Journal of Multiculturalism”, covering the study of topics in the Social & Humanities aims to provide a forum for high quality research related to multiculturalism sciences and research.



The purpose of publishing the International Journal of Multiculturalism is to promote the traditions of tolerance that have been formed in Azerbaijan for centuries as well as to make a contribution to the environment of multiculturalism.

In Azerbaijan, multiculturalism is a state policy and a lifestyle. Azerbaijan is an example to the world with its own multicultural and tolerant style of life. The tolerance implemented by the government of Azerbaijan forms the foundation for even further strengthening of the friendship and brotherhood among the ethnic and religious communities living in our country. One of the ways in which the Great Leader, Heydar Aliyev, served our people was by developing multiculturalism in our country. The most significant value that Heydar Aliyev imparted to Azerbaijan was the ideology of Azerbaijanism, which has already become an important part of the ideology of multiculturalism. Azerbaijanism is what binds together all nations into one land and one ideology regardless of their ethnic or religious roots.

Today, President Ilham Aliyev resolutely carries on this policy. The policy of multiculturalism that is carried out under the leadership of President Ilham Aliyev catalyzes integration processes within the country.

In 2014, the Baku International Multiculturalism Center was created to promote Azerbaijan’s model to the world and study other models. 2016 was announced as “The Year of Multiculturalism,” and 2017 was “Year of Islamic Solidarity.”



Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

The Baku International Multiculturalism Center serves to promote conditions of multiculturalism and diversity in Azerbaijan. Our main goal is to preserve cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity in accordance with the ideology of Azerbaijanism as well as to introduce Azerbaijan to the world as a center of multiculturalism and to apply and encourage existing models for multiculturalism.

We particularly encourage submissions resulted from meaningful and ethical collaboration among international scholars and practitioners. The aim of the “International Journal of Multiculturalism” is to promote scholarly, realistic and contemporaneous research in the field of multiculturalism. The journal publishes quantitative and qualitative empirical research and reviews of research literature. Our main goal is to publish the work of a vigorous, well-networked international community of scholars and expand the subject areas of the journal.

Members of the Editorial Board, selected by the criteria of their international scientific recognizability, will strive to contribute to the increase of the quality level and popularization of the International Journal of Multiculturalism as reviewers and consultants as well as authors of invited papers. The journal serves as a platform for communicating wealthy findings in the field of multiculturalism to the researchers and readers.

As Editor-in-Chief, I continue to welcome manuscripts on multiculturalism subject within that broad definition, especially articles that announce discoveries, present new information, and address methodological issues.

I also would like to thank those who served on the journal staff and its editorial board, and particularly the reviewers for providing the support and feedback necessary to find, develop and publish high-quality material.

We hope you will be satisfied with the new issue of International Journal of Multiculturalism, not only by the quantity, but also by the quality of the published materials.

Thank you for your time in reading this letter and we hope to hear from you sometime!

With all the best wishes,

Ravan Hasanov
Editor-in-Chief



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Baku International Multiculturalism Center
Mikail Useynov Str. 63, AZ 1095,
Baku, Azerbaijan Republic
Tel: (+99412) 505 51 08
Web Address: <http://www.bimc-ijm.com/>
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SCOPE OF THE JOURNAL

International Journal of Multiculturalism is an international, double-blind peer-reviewed, open-access journal covering the study of topics in the social & humanities that aims to provide a forum for high-quality research related to multiculturalism sciences and research. International Journal of Multiculturalism provides an interdisciplinary forum for scholars in the fields of multicultural psychology, multicultural communication, education, management cross-disciplinary, social welfare, sociology, organizational /community development, and related disciplines.

International Journal of Multiculturalism is published two times (April, October) a year by the Baku International Multiculturalism Center. The journal is published in English. To be published in the International Journal of Multiculturalism a paper must be substantial and original. The Editorial Board does not accept articles published or submitted for publication elsewhere the journal is published in both print and online versions.

We particularly encourage submissions resulting from meaningful and ethical collaboration among international scholars and practitioners. Submissions that advance from prescreening will be subject to originality-testing and double-blind review. The journal publishes quantitative and qualitative empirical research and reviews of research literature.

The voluntary service of international editors and reviewers has enabled the International Journal of Multiculturalism to provide open-access content to the global community with no subscription fees to readers and no article processing fees to authors. The journal is fully financially supported by Baku International Multiculturalism Center.

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Archiving

All back articles are made available as full text on the journal website. In the event that the International Journal of Multiculturalism discontinues its publication, its archive of published articles will still remain available on the journal website, to be maintained as an archive website by Baku International Multiculturalism Center Press.



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By the decision of the Higher Attestation Commission under the President of Azerbaijan Republic, dated 01.12.2020, (protocol № -10) the journal has been included in the list of scientific periodicals in which the results of thesis works are published.



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ROLE-PLAYING SUPPORTS BOTH MULTI-CULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL TEACHING AND LEARNING

Sarah A.SANDERSON

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0942-1613>

Minnesota State University, Mankato, MN United States of America

David KIMORI

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2908-9016>

Minnesota State University, Mankato, MN United States of America

Ron BROWNE

Minnesota State University, Mankato, MN United States of America

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ABSTRACT

This article describes a practitioners' classroom role-playing activity and draws from scholarships on role-playing, multiculturalism, and environmentalism. We discuss the benefits and implementation of role-playing in a science classroom by adopting a project WILD activity in our classroom with pre-service teachers. Project WILD is based on the premise that young people and educators have a vital interest in learning about our natural world. The preservice teachers were tasked with applying it to a local environmental issue that they could use in their future classrooms. We argue that the incorporation of role-playing in a science classroom provides an opportunity to address real-life issues like environmental from multiple perspectives. We describe a class activity that can successfully implement role-playing and promote multi perspectives while addressing an environmental issue.

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Introduction and Background

The Minnesota Professional Educator and Licensing Board (PELSB) revised the standards and included the standard: bring multiple perspectives to the discussion of the subject matter, including attention to a student's personal, family, and community experiences and cultural norms (2016). Given the new teaching standard for our teacher preparation program, Science Methods candidates are expected to bring multiple perspectives to the discussion of the subject matter, including attention to a student's personal, family, and community experiences and cultural norms. To achieve this standard, teacher candidates will explore scientific, Indigenous, and local knowledge and skills. Teacher candidates will participate in simulated community role-playing on multiple perspectives on issues of natural resources.

After considering the standard, our learning segment activity entailed those students participating in a simulated community role-playing on multiple perspectives on issues of natural resources. For this paper, we define role-playing as a type of active and participatory learning activity that creates interaction between students and a simulated scenario (Kilgour et al., 2005) Role-playing is a stimulating and engaging strategy to motivate learners to dive deeper into an issue or topic. Aubusson et al. (1997) found that role-playing in science classrooms developed deeper student understanding, improved student motivation, and facilitated learning across a range of ability levels. Unfortunately, there persists an erroneous belief that academic content standards cannot be met through play-based activities, which has caused playful methods of learning to virtually disappear from school classrooms (Bergen 2009). In this paper, we discuss the integration of role-playing in a science methods course taught to elementary pre-service teachers (PSTs) and its benefits in addressing multicultural and environmental issues in science.

Role-Playing and multiculturalism literature review

Role-playing is a tool that can be used both for teaching with a multi-cultural lens and environmental. According to Munin and Efron (2017):

“Role-playing, in which students are assigned a role and act out a given scenario, is a useful example of an experiential technique for teaching and learning. Its use has been documented and studied in

the literature for more than half a century. Such pedagogic research exposes the shortcomings as well as the advantages of role-playing as a method for learning theoretical subject matters. Although many of these studies show negligible significance in the acquisition of knowledge through the use of role-playing (compared with lecture and case-study approaches), other benefits of role-playing were clearly recognized. Most studies concluded that role-playing significantly enhanced students' interest in the material being learned; in the retention of this material in more detail and for a longer time; and in instilling a positive attitude and defusing anxiety about the subject matter. Role-playing not only brings theory to life and offers students the chance to put theory into practice; it does so in an enjoyable and accommodating manner." (p. 313).

Furthermore, the use of role-plays also has the potential to facilitate a more comprehensive learning experience for teacher education students compared to the more traditional cognitive focused approach (Kilgour et al., 2005)

According to Sherran (2015), role-playing can cultivate multi-perspectives. Through role-playing, students strive to understand the experiences of others, even if they do not agree with them. Role-playing allows students to imagine the narrative, change a text into real-life, and create alternate scenarios. It gives them the ability to see the potential impact of their choices. Further, Sherrin (2015) states role-playing helps students to make sense of ideas like power, identity, and choice and acknowledge their humanity. Additionally, Neuendorf and O'Connell (2011) describe the value of role-plays in teacher education: "Pedagogically sound scenario-based role-plays are activities with a specific learning outcome designed to create a real learning experience for participants" (p. 2182).

Role-playing and environmentalism literature review

Not only does role-playing provide an opportunity for our students to view the world from a different point of view, but it also allows them to view an issue from a different viewpoint. In our case, we asked the students to research an environmental issue from an assigned viewpoint. Chen and Martin (2014) reported that environmental education focused on the acquisition of knowledge is limited in its effectiveness, due to its small role in promoting sustainable behavior. While focusing on the impact of social consciousness brings the environmental issue into concepts

that are more relevant. Chen and Martin (2004) state that methodologies should (1) focus on change and not just knowledge attainment, (2) reveal behaviors in a real-world context, (3) highlight internal and external influences on environmental behavior, and (4) include a problem-solving approach that demands a solution. Role-play simulations address these criteria and can influence the perspective change necessary to promote sustainable behavior.

The activity shared here is an environmental role-playing lesson developed and refined from Project WILD (Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies, 2022). The activity is directed at PSTs in a medium-sized university in the Midwest. Project WILD is an interdisciplinary conservation and environmental education program emphasizing wildlife. Designed for educators of kindergarten through twelfth grade, Project WILD capitalizes on the natural interest that children and adults have in wildlife by providing hands-on activities.

Project WILD is based on the premise that young people and educators have a vital interest in learning about our natural world. The program emphasizes wildlife because of its intrinsic and ecological values, as well as its importance as a basis for teaching how ecosystems function. In the face of competing needs and pressures affecting the quality and sustainability of life on earth, Project WILD addresses the need for human beings to develop as responsible citizens of our planet.

Project WILD's mission is to provide wildlife-based conservation and environmental education that fosters responsible actions toward wildlife and related natural resources. All curriculum materials are backed by sound educational practices and theory and represent the work of many professionals within the fields of education and natural resource management from across the country. Project WILD provides a template for us to adapt to this standard using a recent event.

Proposed Project Wild integration

Set-up the Activity

PSTs read a pre-class reading about the dilemma they would be exploring during class time. The dilemma we chose for them to explore was on the Pebble Mine project in Alaska, USA. The Pebble Dilemma was a real-world discussion around the opening of a Mine in Alaska. Approval for this mine project never

occurred. However, it was a long-standing, hot-button issue in Alaska and outside. The PSTs were participating in the simulation of the debate that occurred around the Pebble Mine in rural, western Alaska. We gave the PSTs the purpose of the meeting which was to determine if there was enough support to revive the proposal. The PSTs were assigned different roles and given time to research their respective role and write down arguments for/against the Pebble mine from the viewpoint of their assigned role and they were to bring to the council a minute presentation. Then, the PSTs presented their perspective on the mine development in a fictional Environmental Protection Agency meeting where a vote was taken at the conclusion of the meeting to recommend proceeding/not proceeding with the mine project.

Perspectives assigned to PSTs for role play

After setting up the activity the PSTs will be assigned various roles that will play as experts during this activity. Table 1 summarizes each of these roles.

Table 1: Perspective Roles assigned to students

Assigned Perspective	Role
Community Manager (budgets)	The community manager will act as a liaison between the Mine developer and the community. They will act as the voice and moderator of the developer through community support, distributing important content and any digital media or social media presence to build trust in the developer through a presence in the community and online.
Mine operator	Part of the crew at the mining site who operates machinery to drill and excavate.
Corporate offices outside of Alaska	Mine Developer - Northern Dynasty Minerals is a Canada-based mineral exploration company. This company was focused on the exploration and advancement of the Pebble Mine project in terms of how feasible it was, permits and development. Proposed

	profit-sharing plan for the residents from the Bristol Bay region.
Effected Native Corporation officers	Alaska is divided into different corporations. Each corporation is given the right to develop resources in its area.
State legislator	Called on the governor to stop the development of the proposed copper mine.
Sierra Club	Defends natural resources and wild places. The nation's largest and most effective grassroots environmental movement.
Fishing industry (Salmon)	Wild salmon fishing in Bristol Bay, near the proposed Pebble Mine construction site.
Elders from a nearby village	Indigenous Leaders. The mine would impede on the traditional way of life for many of the Indigenous people in the area
Transportation and construction of housing for mine workers (build port)	Building a mine would also increase the building of infrastructure surrounding the mine. This would lead to greater accessibility into the region and the price of goods would decrease for the local villages/ people.
Moose and Salmon population	From the perspective of the animals. They will give their perspective and be part of the debate but not participate in the vote.
Local towns people	Local area feelings about the mine. In 2006 one poll reported 28% of Alaskans in favor of and 53% opposed to Pebble and another reported 45% of Alaskans in favor and 31% in opposition.
Local business owners	Create significant revenue and create well-paying jobs
Manager of local EPA office	Will chair the debate

Simulated Environmental Protection Agency meeting

After PSTs are given time to research their assigned viewpoint, the role-play can begin. In this role-play, they engage in a debate presenting their perspectives. Each participant gets one minute to present their perspective. After all, perspectives have been presented, each participant has one minute to refute any other perspectives or arguments brought against their perspective. Then, after the exercise, all the participants vote for the approval or rejection of the Pebble Mine. In order to further have the students explore other points of view, the participants switch with another participants' viewpoint.

From their new point of view, the participants will then be asked to present their new perspective at another Environmental Protection Agency meeting. After this second debate, a vote will also be taken to approve or reject the Pebble Mine Project.

Proposed Assignment for Pre-service Teachers to a Local Issue

Once the PSTs have participated in both debates, they will work in small groups to design a role-play simulation involving local, environmental dilemmas from their communities. This simulation should be designed to be implemented in kindergarten to sixth-grade classrooms.

Without knowing exactly where each of the PSTs will teach after graduation, we will assign them the task to develop a role-play for their students using an environmental issue from Minnesota, USA. Some of the potential environmental issues found in the state of Minnesota:

- *Mining in Boundary Waters Canoe Area*
- *Logging in Boundary Waters Canoe Area*
- *Mining in Iron range in Northern Minnesota*
- *Fishing limits on Mille Lacs Lake - different for Native people vs. Non-native people*
- *“Green” energy – Windmill or solar farms*
- *How are local lakes affected by farming – how does farming affect the watershed?*

The PSTs will work in groups and design a simulation based in Minnesota. They should find, research, and discuss a simulation like the Pebble Mine dilemma. PSTs' research will include the following:

- *Describe the dilemma– what is the dilemma that is being discussed?*
- *Describe the importance of the dilemma and what would be some of the arguments surrounding both sides of the dilemma*
- *The multiple perspectives surrounding the dilemma– brainstorm and research a group of people that would be involved in this particular environmental topic (at least 10)*
- *Find a minimum of 5 websites that you could give your students to begin researching the topic.*

The assignment will involve detailed procedures on how to conduct the debate in a kindergarten to sixth-grade class. The PSTs use the rubric provided (Table 2.) to guide them.

Table 2: Rubric for simulated student assignment

	5-4	3-2	1-0
Notecard – quality of research	Notecard is written neatly and legibly so another person would be able to read and decipher the argument. 3 or more reasons or arguments are given in support of the stance you are making. Reasons are all backed up with evidence found from research.	The notecard is neat and legible, but arguments are hard to decipher. Sentences are not written in a way that another could read and understand the argument 2 – 3 reasons or arguments are given in support of the stance you are making. 1-2 of the reasons backed up with evidence found from research.	Notecard is hard to follow and/or not written neatly enough for another person to read Reasons or arguments are given in support of the stance you are making but they are not well-thought out or backed up with evidence.
Debate – presentation of the argument and	Clearly presented reasons/arguments to support your stance. Used full minute to	Presented reasons/arguments to support your stance. Presentation was short	Presented reasons/arguments to support your stance.

supporting facts	present and participated fully in the rebuttal. Reasons were all backed up with evidence found from research.	and/or did not participated fully in the rebuttal. Most of the reasons were all backed up with evidence found from research. 1 or 2 of the reasons lacked evidence.	Presentation was short and did not participated fully in the rebuttal. Reasons/arguments lacked evidence to support.
Writing a Dilemma for Elementary students from MN	Dilemma presented is a relevant and timely issue in MN. All pertinent details included in rationale for what the dilemma is and why this is a dilemma/debate. Written for 5 th grade students or below.	Dilemma presented somewhat relevant or timely issue in MN. Some pertinent details included in rationale for what the dilemma is and why this is a dilemma/debate are missing. Written for 5 th grade students or below mainly, some parts would be hard for an elementary student to follow.	Dilemma presented not a relevant or timely issue in MN. Pertinent details included in rationale for what the dilemma is and why this is a dilemma/debate are missing and/or unclear. Not written for 5 th grade students or below.
Procedure – give a procedure on how you would conduct the meeting/debate in your elementary classroom	Procedure on how you would present this dilemma is given. Procedure on how you would conduct the debate is given clearly and thoroughly. Steps on how to run the debate are given and written in a way a substitute could follow if needed.	Procedure on how you would present this dilemma is given. Procedure on how you would conduct the debate is given. Steps on how to run the debate are given and written but some of the steps are unclear and would be hard to follow if you were a substitute.	Procedure on how you would present this dilemma is not given or unclear. Procedure on how you would conduct the debate is not given or unclear.
People perspectives for MN issue – listing 10	Ten or more different points of view given.	Eight to nine points of view are given.	Seven or fewer points of view are given.

different points of view to be researched and perspectives given for debate	Short descriptions are given and thorough and accurate for each point of view.	Short descriptions for each point of view. Some of the descriptions are not thorough and/or accurate.	Some descriptions are missing and/or inaccurate.
Resources – coming up with 5 or more resources for elementary students to use for research	Five or more resources are given. Resources are appropriate for 5 th graders or younger.	Three to four resources are given. Resources given are not all age appropriate for 5 th grade or younger.	Two or fewer resources are given. Resources are not age appropriate for 5 th grade or younger.

Discussion

States such as Minnesota are promoting multicultural perspectives into the standards for teacher preparation programs. This will give PSTs and higher education programs opportunities to incorporate real-world scenarios in their curriculums. This project discussed in this paper was prompted by the new standards. Incorporating Project Wild will not only promote the multi-cultural perspective but also give a “real-world” scenario to PSTs. By engaging the PSTs in dilemma and debate, they are able to learn to listen to divergent perspectives and engage with their peers on multiple perspectives surrounding an environmental issue. Sherran (2015) notes that role-playing cultivates empathy as students try to understand the perspectives and experiences of others.

By asking PSTs to design a scenario based on a local dilemma, which equips with the skills of designing a scenario based on the community in which they work. This will benefit both the school, community, and other stakeholders in highlighting the local environmental issues and possible solutions. By engaging in a local dilemma discourse, the students are made aware of environmental issues in their local community and potential different perspectives that may exist. This provides an opportunity for students to see themselves as experts and problem-solvers while learning science content. While in this paper we discussed our proposed project and assignment incorporating multi-cultural and environmental issues in our class, in the

future, we hope to carry out research on how PSTs' personal perspectives were influenced by participation in this project and role-play scenario.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Contact Information

E-mail: sarah.sanderson@mnsu.edu

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RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IN MULTICULTURAL INDIA: THE GULABI GANG

Ata Taha KUVELOĞLU

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1999-9366>

Aydın Adnan Menderes University, Aydın, Turkey

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ABSTRACT

The Gulabi Gang is a vigilante organization in India that tries to prevent violence and abuse against women with its unique methods. Although there is no direct connection between multiculturalism and violence in India, in multicultural societies where violence and abuse occur in different forms, especially within the family, it is more difficult to detect and evaluate compared to other societies. Considering the concept of multiculturalism as a legitimizing or normalizing outlet for the increasing intensity of violence in the eyes of states, instead of internalization of the notion, does not find solutions to violence and abuses. On the contrary, it puts the legislator in an idle position. Even if the policymaker is not malicious in this regard, the incompatibility between theory and practice can push women into an unequal position in a multicultural society. At this point, the concept of feminism takes on a fragile structure in such a society. The study seeks answers to some questions like whether violence and abuse in a multicultural society are due to the nature of multiculturalism or the state authorities are inadequate in the face of culture. In this study, the emergence of the Gulabi Gang and its moral basis will be analyzed, and a determination will be made on how the organization expresses itself. Furthermore, it will be examined whether the Gulabi Gang is an inevitable result of a multicultural society or a wrongful interpretation of feminism.

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Introduction

Gulabi Gang, founded under the leadership of Sampat Pal Devi, is an organization that tries to respond to violence against women with its special methods (Gupta, 2021, p.49). Members react to violence with violence, forcing perpetrators to develop some form of empathy for their victims. The organization, which means Pink Gang, has been trying to secure justice by beating men who abuse women with a stick they call *lathi* since its establishment in 2006. The fact that most of the members of this organization are illiterate people from places such as Uttar Pradesh and Bundelkhand, who live far below the hunger line and struggle with drought and hard work, is a matter of sociological clues rather than a coincidence. They claim that the justice system and its authorities are not fair and functional in an environment that neither has gender equality nor freedom (Desai, 2014).

In this study, it will be discussed which factors led to the establishment of the Gulabi Gang and whether those factors are justified their actions. The moral side of violence and the legitimacy of responding to violence with violence will be explored. Moreover, the study has the importance of playing a complementary role with other studies in understanding the starting point, legitimacy, and reasons of women's movements.

The circumstances of the Gulabi Gang, environmental and traditional factors, and the reaction of women to abuse and violence will be discussed. One may argue the main reasons for the moral aspect of violence and the use of violence against violence. The reason why this is handled specifically for the Gulabi Gang is to determine whether their unique methods harm their main goals.

Although the organization is identified with the element of violence, it has goals and missions stated on their official website, such as to stand by the weak, to stand against corruption, to ensure that people in rural areas have basic rights, to end some traditions such as child marriages, and to ensure women's self-confidence while ensuring their economic self-confidence (Gulabi Gang, 2021).

Women suffer from poverty and prejudice in Banda's caste-based, feudalistic, and masculine culture. Domestic violence and abuse, as well as wedding-related pressure, are all too common. People in the region claim that such a formation is natural to emerge from poverty and discrimination, and the organization's head, Sampat Pal, claims that the gang she founded is not a gang in the classic sense, but

a gang working for justice (Biswas, 2007). Women in India are forced to resort to violence because they do not have a chance to defend their rights in court. Although this does not justify violence, it does highlight the fact that the fundamental issue is social injustice.

Does Gulabi Gang Really Need Sticks?

There is an understanding of despising women and claiming all kinds of rights over them throughout India. An example of those events may be that a wealthy man dates a poor woman, the woman becomes pregnant, and the man disappears. The rich family takes her home and forces her to take abortion pills and drugs, then releases her after miscarriage. This woman cannot seek justice in court, and eventually joins the Gulabi Gang (RT Documentary, 2021).

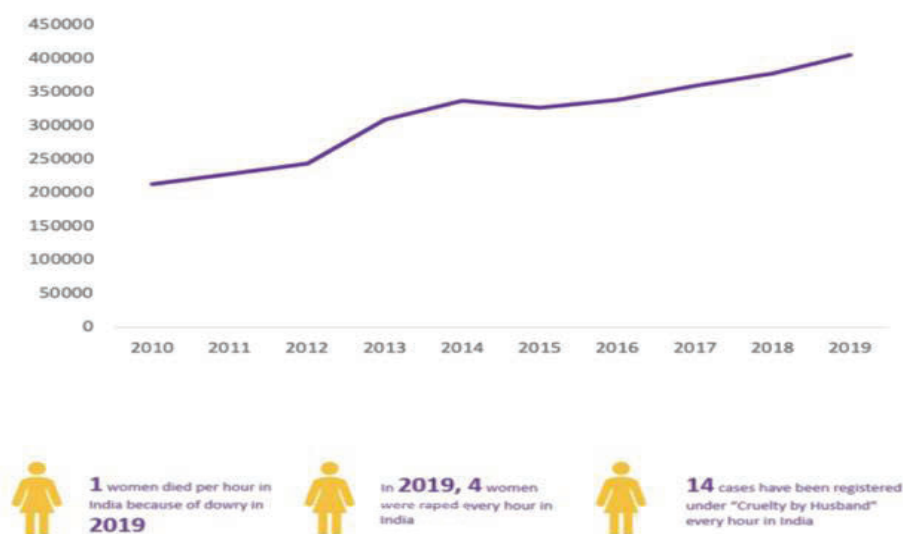
One may claim that women learning to use *lathi* and using it against corrupted state officials and abusive husbands is the recognizable face of the group (Seelhoff et al, 2007, p. 4). But a distinction must be made between vision and action so that every justice seeker does not see violence as a cover because this has the potential to tarnish the original vision of the women's movement.

There are thousands of similar stories. What they all have in common is injustice. The Gulabi Gang helps such women to deal with their problems. The education rate is low in the region, and there are widespread beliefs that women should not be educated. There are traditions that interfere with what women eat. Even the gang leader still has a side that has not broken with some old customs. Having a perspective and tradition that criticize a woman who gets on the bus with her boyfriend in the middle of the night and goes through bad things because she gets on the bus with her boyfriend instead of her family at that hour (in her own words, RT Documentary, 2021) puts her in a contradictory position. Because what we expect here are justice and equality. In a system where those who have been wronged can seek their rights and the wrongdoer is punished, there will be no time to criticize the victim.

The problem is to what extent is this unique method of the Gulabi Gang legitimate, and who will decide the rate of violence? At this point, we need to look at the works of scholars who have studied the nature of violence and the Gulabi Gang and also similar women's initiatives whose members are demonstrating their moral and defending their community's identity by retaliating against criminals. There are significant parallels and contrasts between the communities that deserve

additional investigation. Brutal retributive acts do not alter basic systems of dominance in society over time. On the other hand, despite the risks it carries, some illegal behaviors of organizations such as the Gulabi Gang, in addition to the institutional strategies of feminist groups and their official applications to governments, can sometimes be beneficial in terms of self-determination in a patriarchal order (White and Shagun, 2009, p. 322-325).

Figure 1: Crime Against Women: 2010-2019 & Violence Against Women reported in India in 2019 (NCRB 2020)



Source: Das, K. & Bijeta, M., 2020.

In Figure 1, a graphic of the cases of violence against women in India between 2010 and 2019 is given. As can be seen from the graph, there is a continuous increase in cases of violence against women over the years.

This increased violence ignited the Gulabi Gang movement. The organization's commitment to confrontation, and publicly disgraced abusers is connected to the organization's reputation, overshadowing its peaceful activities.

In India's history, gender has been an important ideological indicator. The interpretation of gender in the context of political and social processes has been used to protect and sustain colonialism, concepts of society, and Indian culture, both

directly and indirectly. Men, higher caste people, institutions, and political actors employ abusive gender violence against women. Since not every member of these communities is violent, gender violence is frequently perpetrated by individuals in positions of power (Richards, 2016, p. 2-3, 5).

The study also emphasizes that the decisions of the Gulabi Gang were taken by a single person, namely the leader, Sampat Pal, which is a point one can agree with. This situation tarnishes the image of the Gulabi Gang as a collective, democratic, and fair organization. The Gulabi Gang brings inequalities to the center of attention when violence is handled in this manner. The organization altered the view of action in a specific setting by disrupting normal power deployment, exposing inequalities as the cause of violent reactions (Richards, 2016, p. 12).

Figure 2: Comparing the physical safety of women in India with other randomly selected countries in the world (The Womanstats Project 2019)

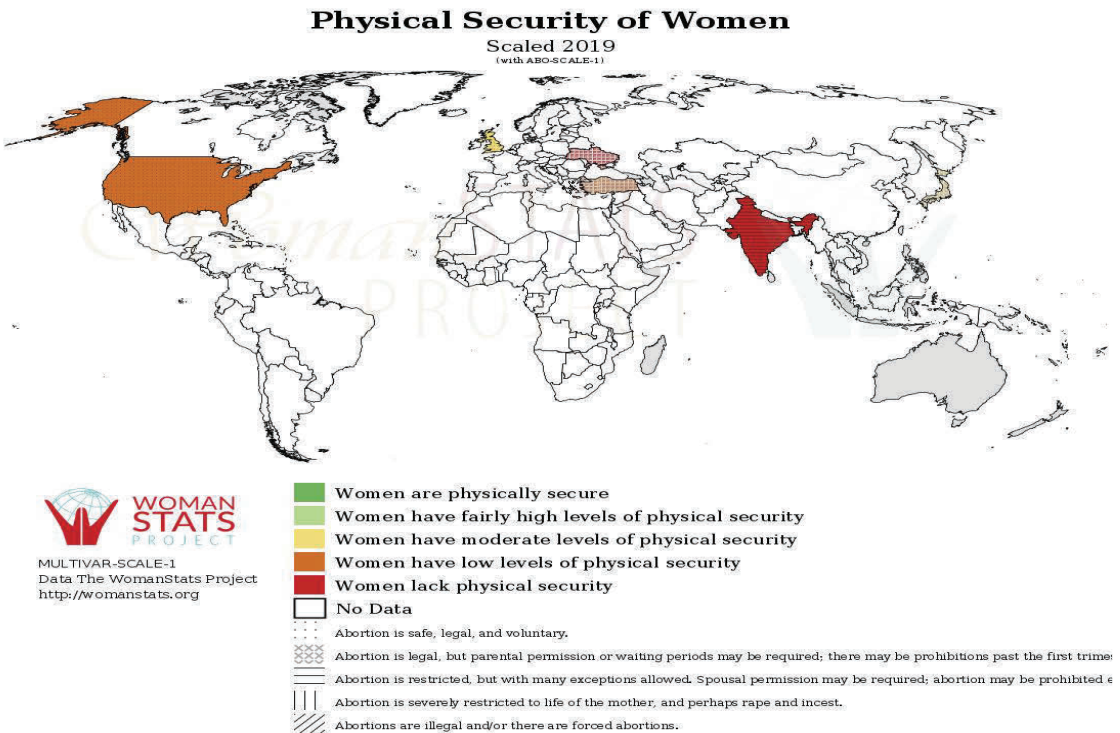


Figure 3: Comparing the practice of child marriage for girls in India with other randomly selected countries in the world (The Womanstats Project 2020)

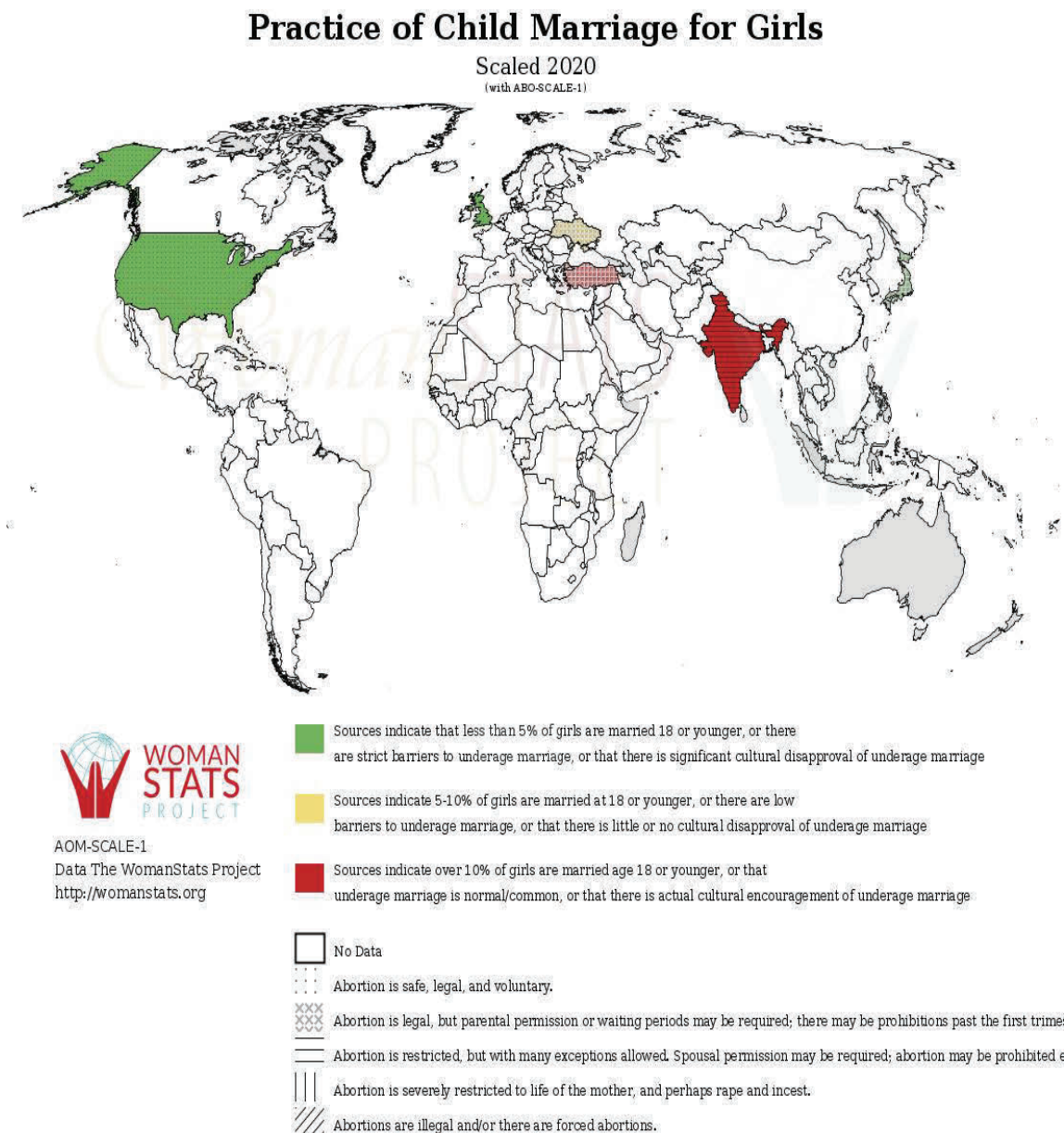
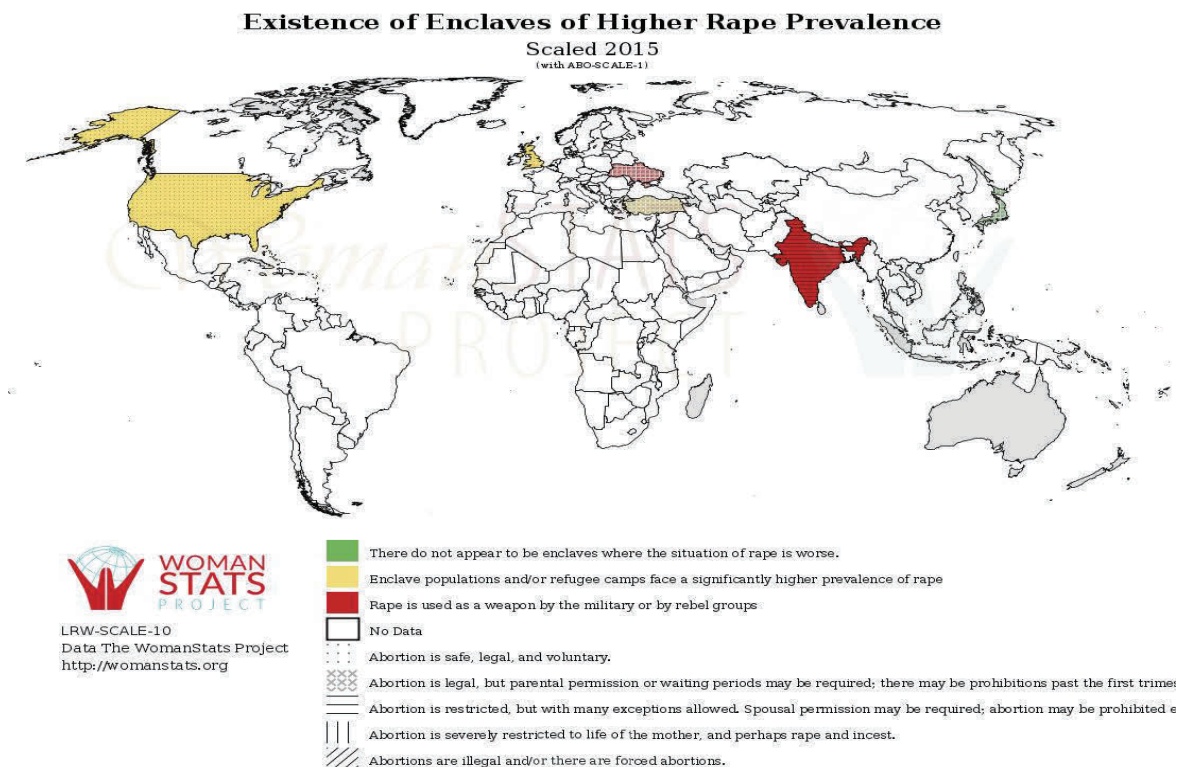


Figure 4: Comparing the existence of enclaves of higher rape prevalence in India with other randomly selected countries in the world (The Womanstats Project 2015)



Based on these three graphics, when we compare the density of regions where child marriages, the low physical safety of women, and rape occur with a few randomly selected countries, we see that India is a place where abuses are experienced at high rates, unlike the others. The determination of this difference is important at this point because anything other than the values and characteristics that it shares in common with other countries can be an explanation of the violence and abuse that women in India are subjected to.

Vivian (2013, p. 212, 215-216) believes that violence is a widely known occurrence that significantly motivates modern liberal-democratic political discourse and judgment. The author also states that the new types of violence have become too different from historical barbarism to be visible. This invisibility leaves thousands of cases of harassment and rape "unnamed." The remark of Vivian explains clearly why many tragedies are hidden behind the silence in many countries, including India.

Furthermore, Whitehead (2009, p. 5) argues that violence is more than just an abstract reality; it is significant in terms of experiencing the quality of interaction from a sociocultural perspective and how to deal with it if it happens. Whitehead also contends that the prevalence of violence among civilizations that most highly valued the Western concept of the "human" and advocates the belief that violence is indeed "inhuman," implying that this contradiction may still necessitate further reconsideration of the sociological mission and ethnographic approach. This is the current conundrum of our involvement in other people's lives (Whitehead, 2009, p. 7).

The differences in the perception of violence create difficulties in justifying the perpetrators and victims of violence. Therefore, though the language is theoretically positioned after the violence, the claimed logical function of signs raises issues about the violence's apparent existence (Stormer, 2013, p. 182-183). The language, which was invented to soften or replace the violence that has existed since primitive times, gains a dimension that evolves into violence again, creating dilemmas about whether the need for violence is a necessity. Stormer (2013, p. 185) adds: "*Just as we need language to think about language, we need violence to think about violence*" and the emergence of new types of violence is inevitable since violence is always in our lives.

Simister (2010, p. 1594) states that even though conditions have worsened for women in India in recent years, this may be temporary and can be considered as a sign of transition to more modern society. Simister (2010, p. 1609) also underlines the need for groups of scientists, economists, sociologists, psychologists, and behavioral scientists to work together as well as researchers.

Rand (2009, p. 461), on the other hand, argues that visible violent acts are unquestionably terrifying, also they tend to divert our gaze away from the core forms of violence that fuel both violent actions and our battle to protect the peace. As far as he is concerned, one can even use violence to end violence. Additionally, it might be seen in this situation in humanitarian aid examples. In India, tradition seems to take precedence over individual rights and justice.

Although domestic violence occurs in all kinds of social classes, education levels, and family structures in India, most of it takes place in regions where factors such as low education level, poverty, and low-income level are intense (Martin et al., 1999, p. 424). In the same way, the authors reveal that the path to violence is directly related to the social structure.

Kumar argues that in the last ten years, "women's awareness" has increased across India, particularly in rural areas. For example, a women's liberation conference in Patna in early 1988 drew over a thousand women, and the links between feminist, environmental, health, radical scientific, anti-communal, and anti-caste organizations appear to be growing and spreading across the country (Kumar, 1989, p. 29). Even though women are becoming more aware, the rates do not appear to be decreasing. The main obstacles are the government's indifference as well as norms founded on the oppression of women.

This study claims that patriarchal domination refers to male supremacy through unequal rights, privileges, control, and power that there cannot be beneficial effects behind increases in women's employment rates. Men socialize within numerous gender stereotypes in this system, which often results in powerlessness for women (Kimuna et al., 2013, pp. 1-2, 5). Male dominance, on the other hand, is one of the most powerful examples of how India's influential traditions are entwined with society, as she puts it: "*India feels that a man might be justified in hitting his wife in certain circumstances.*" Women in India have lost faith in patriarchal society (Kimuna et al, 2013, p. 8, 30).

The figures below give an idea about the social structure in India:

Figure 5: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Selected Characteristics, India, (NFHS-III 2005-2006)

	Number	Percent/Average
Age at first marriage		
1 < 18	34,946	50.3
18 to 20	19,133	27.5
21+	15,405	22.2
Duration of marriage		
0 to 4	11,197	16.1
5 to 9	14,461	20.8
10 to 14	14,221	20.5
15 to 19	12,107	17.4
20 to 24	8,769	12.6
25 to 29	6,003	8.6
30+	2,726	3.9
Education		
No education	27,555	39.7
Primary	10,741	15.5
Secondary	25,148	36.2
Higher	6,035	8.7
Occupation		
Not working	40,076	57.7
Sales, clerical	2,637	3.8
Professional, technical, managerial	2,374	3.4
Domestic, services	2,797	4.0
Agro-self employed	15,047	21.7
Skilled, unskilled manual	6,501	9.4
Wife-beating justified		
Goes out without telling husband	20,444	29.6
Neglects children	25,504	36.9
Argues	20,280	29.5
Refuses sex	9,502	14.0
Burns food	13,105	19.0
Husband's characteristics		
Age (Mean)	65,406	37.4
Education		
No education	15,895	23.1
Primary education	10,773	15.6
Secondary	32,494	47.2
Higher	9,700	14.1

Figure 6: Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Physical and Sexual Abuse, India, (NFHS-III 2005-2006)

	Physical Violence	Chi- Square/F	Sexual Violence	Chi- Square/F
<i>Household variables</i>				
Place of residence				
Urban	27.6	288.736	6.6	215.479
Rural	33.7		9.7	
Household size ^b				
No violence experience	5.21	15.452	5.22	18.418
Experienced violence	5.28		5.36	
Wealth index				
Poorest	45.5	3,867.010	13.6	1,126.331
Poor	41.5		11.7	
Middle	35.6		9.6	
Richer	29.8		7.1	
Richest	15.3		3.7	
Region				
South	30.2	1,225.747	4.1	1,623.721
North	23.6		7.5	
Central	40.4		9.0	
East	37.6		17.0	
Northeast	28.7		9.2	
West	25.0		3.7	
Religion				
Hindu	31.5	324.243	8.5	212.047
Muslim	35.1		10.9	
Christian	21.4		4.4	
Other	29.1		6.4	
Number of living children				
No children	21.7	1,331.175	7.6	146.740
1 to 2	26.8		7.2	
3 to 4	36.4		9.3	
5+	43.5		11.0	

Feminism, Multiculturalism, and Moral Bases of Gulabi Gang's Response to Violence

People are tagged with attributes such as culture, belief, skin color, social level, and education in the inclusion/exclusion debate. Gender is also included in this classification (McKerl, 2007, p. 188). This kind of discrimination is particularly more powerful in a country like India, which is both cosmopolitan and has a history of the caste system. As it is seen in Figure 6, the level of physical or sexual violence experienced by women diminishes as their well-being and economic status rise.

When feminism squares up against multiculturalism, the following outcomes are possible: It hides the mechanisms that shape cultural traditions, the factors that influence women's lives outside of society, and how women assert authority within the patriarchal system (Volpp, 2001, p. 1181). In some ways, a multicultural society that has not been effectively understood and encouraged by government activities, dissimulates the issues rather than eradicating them.

Gronow and Hillpö, on the other hand, suggest that both ethics and politics are preoccupied with the concept of violence. It, like many other theories in the social sciences, carries a great deal of weight. Almost everyone in our social structure thinks that violence should be condemned, yet there is a disagreement on what generates aggressive behavior (Gronow and Hillpö, 1970, p. 311). The ethical ideals and sociocultural notions of a person are intricately intertwined. The concept of violence or unfairness appears to be tied to sociological theory. Rather than pure empirical investigation, the essential idea of society and ethics is centered on our daily life, attitudes, biases, desires, and so on (Gronow and Hillpö, 1970, p. 317-318).

Furthermore, they argue that assessing the resistance of immoral views to moral attitudes can be fascinating and informative and that the effect of moral belief on behaviors, as well as the link between interpersonal behaviors, should be examined (Skitka, Bauman and Sargis, 2005, p. 914).

Personal identification problems influence people's willingness to help or object in other formal trials, as well as their perceptions of fair treatment and moral outrage. Skitka looked into how these concerns influence people's willingness to agree or disagree with generally fair trials, as well as their perceptions of real result fair treatment and righteous outrage (Skitka, 2002, p. 595-596). It's an ongoing work of people who look for a remedy to violence.

On the one hand, Sen (2006, p. 30) notes that even when women are involved in violence, their social circles disregard their involvement. This story reveals a lot about women's invisibility and their significance in society. Miller believes that by researching how different cultures view justice, we might gain insight into how they view it. Understanding the psychology of justice is critical to understanding human psychology and social life (Miller, 2001, p. 545).

According to Hutchings (2007, p. 95), modern feminism, just as war theory, aims to limit the kind of violence used by defining standards of conduct that distinguish between legal and immoral goals and ensure the percentage of violence utilized. Modern feminism must be dedicated to undermining men's monopoly over community violence. Stubbs and Daly (2006, p. 15) investigate if it's possible to strike a balance between the interests of victims and criminals at some point. They investigate whether individuals seek revenge or forgiveness in the aftermath of war crimes such as the Holocaust.

Violence necessitates the use of force, and when that power becomes destructive and hurtful, it becomes an act of violence. Violence is seen as a premeditated, serious act from a minimalist perspective, but it is also seen as a violation of the comprehensive method (Bufacchi, 2005, p. 195, 199). The disparity between the two techniques also causes some quandaries when it comes to justifying and grounding violence.

Scholars seek after the relationship between justice and identity, arguing that social identity, a component of self-concept generated by a social group, affects not only one's self-image but also individuals who support common features, allowing them to describe themselves and be identified as belonging to a certain community by anyone. Justice, according to the authors, is both conceptual and empirical. It's tough to grasp the concept of identity. As a result of identification, disagreements become emotional. Change can be viewed through the prism of identity (Susan and Opotow, 2003, p. 299, 307-308).

Conclusion

In India, prejudice against women is shaped by their social class (caste), ethnic origin, and religious beliefs, as well as the country. The most major reasons for the rise in injustice and violence against women in India are the dysfunction of the court system and the country's heritage of oppressing women. This argument is supported by a substantial number of studies.

Gulabi Gang's one-of-a-kind defense way has little chance of affecting society's overall structure and dramatically altering it in the long run. Rather, it possesses the characteristics of a community capable of providing assistance to as many individuals as it can directly contact in the short and medium-term. It is important to highlight that their activities do not provide a long-term answer for society.

One may argue that ideology and the concept of justice are inextricably linked and that ideology is created by the society in which it exists. In low-income nations, patriarchal communities, some traditions that disdain women, and a corrupt court system, violence against women is far more widespread. The instance of India, the Gulabi Gang, and this study, will add to the literature on the validity of women's movements such as the Gulabi Gang, as well as the discussion of their moral base.

When multiculturalism is not well understood and absorbed, it can be exploited to hide injustices. Although multiculturalism cannot be blamed for the violence in India, it is clear that more particular steps should be done to protect the rights of women who are classified in mixed societies.

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Contact Information

E-mail: ata.kuveloglu@adu.edu.tr

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NOT JUST MOI (MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION): THE AMBIVALENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS ENGLISH IN THE LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY OF THE MULTICULTURAL PAKISTAN

Mirza Muhammad ZUBAIR BAIG

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0757-4114>

Yanbu English Language and Prep Year Institute, Saudi Arabia

Mudassar Mahmood AHMAD

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5735-3558>

Yanbu English Language and Prep Year Institute, Saudi Arabia

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ABSTRACT

In the case of the Indian subcontinent, language has just not been a tool of communication or a Medium of Instruction (MOI) in a classroom. It has played a pivotal role in the politics of the region. Urdu and Hindi languages shaped the Hindu and Muslim identities in the British India in which the English language as a medium of instruction (EMI) was associated with the social prestige, mobility, modernism, and employability. In the (post)colonial times, Muslim nationalists favoured Urdu as a national language and binding force for the regional integrity of the newly-born Pakistani state, unification of its multiethnic citizens and Muslim identity while the nationalist Muslims of India and Hindus voted in the favour of Hindi as the national language of India, territorial integrity and secular identity of India. Since the inception of Pakistan, the Bengali Muslims of Eastern Pakistan could not accept Urdu as the national language because they considered that it marginalized them and obliterated their ethnic identity. This Urdu-Bengali language controversy proved to be one of the key causes of the fall of Dhaka, the Eastern Pakistan. The current study suggests that the national language should not flourish at the cost of fracturing people's linguistic identities, and marginalization of the regional languages in a pluralist multicultural nation, and English as medium of instruction should be promoted to enhance employability opportunities and English language proficiency of the transnational workers in a growing neoliberal economy.

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Introduction

Urdu as a national language, medium of instruction in the Pakistani public schools as well as the language of national curricula has not been very successful in integrating the Pakistani nation after the partition of British India in 1947 (Rahman, 1997; Mahboob, 2002; Jabeen, Chandio, & Qasim, 2020). The Bengali Muslims of East Pakistani took this enforced policy as an assimilationist agenda furthered by the West Pakistan to hegemonize their popular Bengali culture, distinct language and ethnic identity. English previously being the language of colonial masters and now a symbol of elitism, has further deepened the divide among the Pakistani society as it enhanced the chances of employability and social mobility for the graduates of English-medium schools and Higher Education Institutes (HEIs), while fairly marginalized the graduates of Urdu medium institutes and greatly to those passing out from the Madrasas- Islamic religious schools (Ahmed, 2011; Ammar, Naveen, Fawad, & Qasim, 2015; Shamim & Rashid, 2019). The neoliberal economy, internationalization of education and transnational migrations has further marginalized Urdu and other vernacular languages. Historically, the symbolic identity of Urdu with the Muslim identity has been in opposition to the English language that became a trope for modernism, liberalism, westernization and colonialism for the Pakistani masses. The love and hate relationship with the English language promoted an ambivalent attitude of the policymakers to the extent that the Supreme Court of Pakistan had to intervene in the favor of Urdu Language, meant to be used as an official language. Instead of favoring and promoting English language as a skill and medium of instruction (EMI), the policy makers still find it difficult to resolve the inherent ideological and historical conflicts associated with the identities, cultures, values these languages espouse. Since education is “the most formalized channel by which speakers acquire the symbolic and cultural credentials that are given premium in society at large.” (Stroud and Wee, 2011), the recent single curriculum launched by the current Pakistani government is an effort to streamline the public, Islamic and English medium schools. Academic policy makers know that education is “a key site for the construction of social identities and of unequal relations of power.” (Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996). The new education policy of Pakistan should recognize the importance of English language, treat it as a language skill, consider it as a tool for communication while giving it its due place since higher English language proficiency is directly correlated to employability in the booming freelance market and neoliberal economy, transnational neoliberal economy, local whitecollar public jobs, research, and local

and transnational higher education. The upcoming language policies should strike a balance among English as lingua franca, Urdu as national language and other vernacular languages.

Research Methodology

It is a 'transdisciplinary' research (Fairclough, 2003), which recognizes research as "a process of bringing different disciplines and theories to bear together on a research topic, setting up a dialogue between them through which each is liable to change" (Fairclough, 2006:10). Therefore, the present research study has critically analyzed the role of language in multicultural and multiethnic Pakistan while drawing on the prevailing discourses on the official educational policy documents, history, and sociolinguistics. Specifically, the current investigation highlights the importance of linguistic capital by taking insights from the theoretical underpinnings of globalization, multiculturalism, neoliberalism, history and contemporary local education policies to understand and analyze the relationship of language with power, culture, ideology and identity formation. The primary sources of data have been accessed from the official website of the Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training, Pakistan, and include National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2017, National Education Policy Framework (NEPF) 2018, and Single National Curriculum (SNC) 2021, The National Human Development Report (NHDR) 2017 on Pakistan available on the UNDP website has also been consulted. The analysis is informed by Pierre Bourdieu's sociolinguistic concept of linguistic capital. Linguistic capital as a form of cultural capital offers various linguistic resources and abilities and an individual. The acquisition, competence and proficiency level of these languages determine an individual's position and value in a society and formal market such as the fashionable, educational, political and administrative markets (2000: 474-475).

Language, Multiculturalism, and Identity: Historical Overview

In the pluralistic Indian society, Persian and Sanskrits were the most popular languages used during the Muslim Mughal rulers (1526-1858) in India. However, the Muslims associated themselves with the Persian language, the language of the Muslim rulers and elite while Sanskrit was the language of ancient India and represented Hindu culture, identity and ideology. The British Raj(rule) of India (1858-

1947) displaced the old master's language with English, and promoted Urdu language to construct a new identity for the Indian Muslim. Tharoor also notices the fact that "the court language of the Mughals was Persian and the Muslim section of the population used Urdu – a mixture of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit (p.154). In his letter (dated 28 January 1835) to John Tytler, an assistant surgeon and a teacher serving at the Hindu College, Lord Macaulay, a British politician, decried oriental languages-based knowledge in favor of English medium scientific-based knowledge and education:

I know that your Sanscrit and Arabic Books do not sell. I know that the English books of the School book Society do sell. I know that you cannot find a single person at your Colleges who will learn Sanscrit and Arabic without being paid for it. I know that the Students who learn English are willing to pay. I believe therefore that the native population if left to itself would prefer our mode of education to yours. (p.123)

Macaulay alludes to the linguistic capital of the English language that is a saleable commodity in comparison with the contemporary oriental languages. He also terms English education as "the truth" whereas considers the oriental knowledge as "falsehood" (p.123).

Macaulay in 'Minute on Indian Education' of 1835 defines the purpose of the English educational system in India. In his own words, it would create "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" (Reprinted in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, second edition, p. 375).

Urdu became "the medium of instruction in the Islamic seminaries (madrasas) and the major language of religious writings. It also became part of the Muslim identity" (Rahman, 2006:101). Later, the Indian Muslims visualized Urdu as a tool to preserve Muslim identity, resist linguistic imperialism of English and Hindi speaking majority Hindus. There was a fear that linguistic majorities mostly are "reluctant to grant 'their' minorities rights, especially linguistic and cultural rights, because they would rather see their minorities assimilated" A threat to an ethnic group's language is thus a threat to the cultural and linguistic survival of the group. Lack of linguistic rights often prevents a group from achieving educational, economic, and political equity with other groups. Injustice caused by failure to respect linguistic human rights is thus one of the important factors which can contribute to inter-ethnic conflict, and often does (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995: 495–496). However, the linguistic capital created a noticeable division between the Muslim haves and have-nots on the basis of medium of instruction and language literacy. The rich Muslim community afforded elitist English medium modern education while the conservative lower middle class took Urdu medium education.

The All India Muslim League linked Urdu language with the two-nation theory (a theory that purported that Hindus and Muslims were to different nations) and later Islamic movements like Jama'at-i-Islami associated it with the Pakistani nationalism. It is because language forms a central part of our identities (Cummins, 2000). Functionally, it is not limited to "thinking and communicating with others" rather it has evolved into a community, wealth, politics, and "power over both people and places" (Thornton, 2018). Pragmatically, the poor class in rural and urban areas are "as deeply rooted in vernaculars such as Baluchi, Pakhtun, Punjabi, Siraiki, and Sindhi. Outside of the Muhajir communities of Sind, Urdu is not used below the lower-middle class" (Nasr, 1994: 85). Unfortunately, East Wing of Pakistan now called Bangladesh seceded in 1971 from Pakistan, a country that was carved out of Indian subcontinent in 1947 on the basis of two-nation theory, as a result of a civil war. The multiethnic groups unified as one nation in the name of Islam under the flag of new Muslim state Pakistan. One of the grievances that led to the Dhaka fall was the Bengali language. They foresaw the language of the center as a "threat to the [ir] cultural and linguistic survival." It is also observed that "Lack of linguistic rights often prevents a group from achieving educational, economic, and political equity with other groups [and it is] thus one of the important factors which can contribute to inter-ethnic conflict, and often does. (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995: 495–496). Ironically, the Bengali-speaking Muslims in East Pakistan were a majority, but the center of national power was in the control of West Pakistan and associated primarily with the Punjabi ethnic group proficient in Urdu and English languages (Ayres, 2009:12).

Language Education Policy of the Multicultural Pakistan

The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan in 2010 devolved powers and declared education a provincial matter. At the Federal level, the Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training has outlined the central education policy named as National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2018 that observes how the students graduating from the English-medium Private schools get more employability opportunities than those passing out from the public sector schools which "mostly use Urdu and the regional mother tongue as a language of instruction." In the English-medium public-sector schools with the "low capacity of teachers to teach English as a second language", the students are "unable to achieve even basic competency levels" (NCF, 2018: 3). Thus, unexpected outcomes may emerge if any model without proper planning is applied. Infrastructural

support and teacher training are pivotal to attain “a privileged form of linguistic capital (Sah & Li, 2018).

To put it another way, the medium of instruction and language proficiency level are the distinct divisive factors which have attached prestige to the English language and high-cost private schools. The English-medium elitist private schools are quite expensive and beyond the reach of an ordinary low-income family. The English-medium public educational institutions have issues with the quality of teaching, “capacity of teachers, especially in rural areas”, and learning resources. It has also been documented that children of parents proficient only in the vernacular language face greater problems in the learning of foreign language (NFC, 2018, p.64). Pakistan National Human Development Report (NDHR) of 2017 notes that English as a medium of instruction is proving to be “a barrier to learning and frustrates students, contributing to the prevalence of cheating (NDHR, 2017:56).

Article 251 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 declared Urdu to be the national language of the country. It is aligned with what Bourdieu (2000) suggests to forge a unified national identity. In a multiethnic diverse nation, the state is responsible for the introduction of a “legitimate” national language that helps in the integration of different classes into a “single linguistic community” (p.469). However, it was written in the same article in the first version of the Pakistani constitution passed in 1973 that English is temporarily allowed till “arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu” (The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 2012). Though Urdu has to be legitimized and promoted as a national language for nation-building purposes, English as a medium of instruction and communication skill would unify the educational practices and labor market by “establishing the new hierarchy of linguistic practices” (Bourdieu, 2000: 470).

In addition to the propagation of national language, the Provincial Assembly may promote the use of a provincial language (NFC, 2018: 64). The provinces have the authority to choose the medium of instruction for their educational institutes (NFC, 2018:65). Urdu is the lingua franca of Pakistan and, quite interestingly, “mother tongue of only 8% people in Pakistan ” (NFC, 2018: 65). Out of every 100, 15 young learners have Urdu, 37 Punjabi, 10 Sindhi, 13 Pushto, 4 Balochi, 13 Seraiki and 8 other languages as their first language (NHDR, 2017: 35). Majority of the population use their provincial languages like Punjabi in Punjab, Sindhi in Sindh, Pashto and Hindko in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochi in Balochistan, and Shina in Gilgit-Baltistan as medium of instruction and language of communication. The

policymakers at the provincial level would have to take into consideration that the regional languages should not experience “linguistic wrongs”, a phenomenon which explains that the languages are initially “marginalized and deprived of resources or recognition,” and it eventually leads to the “extinction of the languages” (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995:483-484).

The Federal Government has encouraged the “multilingual policy, starting from mother tongue (i.e. L 1) as medium of instruction in early grades, and moving to L 2 (Urdu and English) at lower secondary or secondary levels”. It has also recommended the inclusion of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Chinese languages, and introducing uniform policy on languages and medium of instruction in order to bridge the disparity among the learners coming from the affluent families and lower strata of the society, and offer equal learning and employment opportunities (NFC, 2018:68). The onerous of responsibility in determining the language requirements of the learners is enormous on the policymakers, curriculum developers and educational institutions as the educational system has the “monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market” (Bourdieu, 2000:475). Some languages belonging to “a threatened linguistic capital” like Arabic, Persian and Turkish in the Pakistani context have “intrinsic” value outside the market. Notwithstanding, the national, official and vernacular languages have “social” and cultural value while English has the “capacity to function as linguistic capital”(Bourdieu, 2000:475). The neoliberal economy, characterized by deregulation and privatization, in order to make it more competitive and attractive to foreign investment (Fairclough, 2006:9) have added more value to the English language which is “serving as a medium that facilitates the free cross-border flows of goods, finances, ideas, and people that define our global world” (Park & Wee, 2013).

In Pakistan, the Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training has recently introduced its policy regarding the implementation of Single National Curriculum (SNC) from Grade 1-5. It has outlined that English as a language is to be taught “as a language rather than subject.” Whereas it warrants that the focus would be on “development of language skills and competencies” in case of Urdu, it safeguards, at the same time, the “promotion of diversity of culture and languages especially regional languages of Pakistan” (SNC, 2021). The introduction of English as a language at the primary level is a step in the right direction. However, it should be replicated at the secondary and tertiary level.

The unequal investment in the learning and skill development give birth to political, social and economic vulnerabilities for the impoverished classes and ethnic groups. If the language policies are not properly constructed and reinforced by careful planning, EMI would serve to “(re)produce linguistic marginalization and educational inequality and injustice for children from a lower socioeconomic status” (Sah & Li, 2018). When such marginalized students remain silent, their “nonparticipation under these conditions have frequently been interpreted as lack of academic ability or effort, and teachers' interactions with students have reflected a pattern of low expectations which become self-fulfilling” (Cummins, 1996). Thus, all inclusive language policies are required to tap and groom the linguistic potential of the learners, eventually, adding up to the linguistic capital of the individual and community.

Today, the case of the use of English is much more complex as the “older models of language and identity” have transformed. It is no more a colonizing language with an imperial center (Park & Wee, 2013). Still it is argued that “English should be rejected as a language that reproduces imperialistic relations, leading to the destruction and devaluation of local language, culture, and identity”, however, those who counter such notions, argue that it can be a “legitimate language of local expression, a language that can bear the burden of local experience without limiting such experience through the lens of the colonialist” and thus can be “transformed into a weapon to strike back at the oppressive global relationships of power” (Park & Wee, 2013). Apparently, the case seems to tilt in favor of those who consider it a language of inequality, ideological distinction and class division.

If the state language policies exclude the importance of regional languages, “students’ language, culture and experience ... students are immediately starting from a disadvantage. Everything they have learned about life and the world up to this point is being dismissed as irrelevant to school learning...” (Cummins, 1996). He further informs that it is a challenge for teachers to “ minimize the impact that is potentially disempowering and resulting from the “official” rejection of students’ languages and cultures. This is not only a technical issue of how to implement appropriate forms of literacy and content instruction when students have weaker language skills (Cummins, 2000).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The policymakers should prioritize the languages, and invest in the linguist capital in order to increase the employability of its working class in the local and transnational job market. National Vocational and Technical Training Commission (NAVTTTC), the national regulator responsible for the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) policy making at the Federal level, should include English language as a skill in the National “Skills for All” program, and introduce programs to enhance the Pakistani workers’ relevant language proficiency. The Federal and Provincial governments should coordinate to do need analysis for the language requirements of learners aligned with the 21st century communication skills and market demands. The Federal government with the help of its donor agencies should invest in the language capital, offer remedial programs in the rural public schools, and enhance the language(s) level. The governments should build a national competency framework for the ESL teachers, and work for their continuing professional development. In order to economize the cost of teachers' training, the in-service ESL master teacher trainers may be prepared in coordination with the educational agencies to create a snowball effect, and thus subsequently train more educators locally.

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Contact Information

E-mail: mudassar.mahmud@gmail.com

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MULTICULTURALISM: A CHALLENGE TO INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

Elham HOSSAIN

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2154-5590>

Dhaka City College and National University, Dhaka, Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

Multiculturalism denotes accommodation of diversity of class, race, gender, language, sexual orientation, ability and disability in one society. It marks diversity both in domestic and international terrains. It, in post-colonial studies, emerges as a binary opposition to monoculturalistic disposition which goes hand in hand with hegemonic role of a single culture. Monoculturalism does not recognize diversity. On the other hand, multiculturalism recognizes diversity and stands against monocentric assimilation. It respects boundaries and at the same time encourages the acceptance of a single culture. Multiculturalism promulgates equal opportunities for minority groups within a community. But many critics today look at multiculturalism with suspicion. They blame it to be more theoretical than practical. They also accuse it for its negotiation with the power relations and compartmentalizing the society. My paper will seek to investigate how multiculturalism challenges the individual identity.

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Introduction

Identity is never transparent and unproblematic. It is a continuous construction process, shared and negotiated among cultural realities, histories and aesthetics. A consistent process of negotiation and challenge marks identity and thus, it threatens the claim of 'cultural identity'. In this connection, culture stands out as a discourse of flux and displacement. Standing face to face with globalism, multiculturalism, intersectionality and liquidity of entity in an era of cyber technology identity of an individual as well as a race or a nation receives 'unstable, metamorphic and even contradictory' nature defined with "multiple points of similarities as well as differences" (Braziel 2003:233). Again, identity is grounded in the archeological phenomena and the retelling of the past of a race. But migrating nature of the people, information through cybernetics, traffic in capitals, consumer products and goods cause hybridity and cross cultural identity of any race or ethnicity and make us re-think about the rubrics of the nation and nationalism. In the same vein, continuous dislocation of people in the arena of tough competition for survival in the capitalist and corporate economic framework caused by diaspora puts the conception of cultural hegemony and homogeneity in questions. Free and open movement of information through cybernetic media challenges the conception of nationalism and puts forth transnationalism in respect of geopolitical terrains. Multinational corporations and crony capitalism both in domestic and international enterprises contribute immensely to the construction of multiculturalism and hybridization of identity. The process of diaspora that began with the inception of human race has brought people of diverse religious affiliations, different linguistic backgrounds, and diverse political and economic realities together and created cultural amalgamation. Multiculturalism encourages tolerance to all diverse cultures and thus inspires cosmopolitanism. However, at the same time the hegemonic role of economically powerful races or nations plays a role in introducing cultural imperialism which by annihilating the local culture Otherizes the natives.

The background Literary Identity

Even the academia of the Third World countries plays a crucial role in creating an atmosphere of multiculturalism. A trend of teaching comparative literature in the

universities of the Third world countries like Bangladesh has been initiated with a view to developing dialogic relationship between the First World countries and the Third World countries and promoting cosmopolitanism on the basis of multiculturalism. Due to the influence of the inclusion of comparative literature into the curriculum of the universities many are applying Western theories to interpret local literature with insignificant care for the local cultural and historical realities. Besides, the methodology followed by different universities and their departments in approaching local literary texts is most importantly tinged with Western pedagogy and hermeneutics. It accelerates multicultural vibes in the exploration of diverse people and their anthropological phenomena. In the universities of America and Europe Third World literature is studied under the title of postcolonial literature. A deliberate intention works behind this branding. It encapsulates Third World literature within a particular timeframe out of which it does not have any significant existence and this timeframe begins only from the period of the advent of the colonizers and it goes on as long as the local people live in contact with their colonizers. It implicates derogatorily that Third World literature emerges only out of the impact of the colonial hegemony other than its own cultural, historical and political aspects. In this way, Third World literature is formulated with a stereotypical label and thus, it is confined within a theoretical endeavor of branding it as alterity.

But in the universities of the Third World countries the departments of comparative literature are including American, European, African and Asian texts though they are yet to come out of the hegemonic role of the First World literature. It is undeniable that this inability is an outcome of a series of phenomena including globalization and its macro-economic system that holds an integrated world system though it works with a hypocritical view to compartmentalizing the world and dividing it on the basis of economic distinction as the First World and the Third World. Thus, as Edward Said asserts in his seminal book *Orientalism*, the world is divided into two unequal halves, Occident and Orient and “[T]he Orient was almost a European invention...” (Said 1978:9). Said wrote it in 1976, in 20th century. But now in 21st century transnational practices throughout the world under the subterfuge of globalization and globalism through the outsourcing of service industries are bringing heterogeneity of cultural and anthropological realities together and deliberately ensuring the hegemonic status of the First World countries, called so on the basis of economic and mercantile potential. It occurs mostly because of the competitive and innovative accomplishments in the production of commodities by the bourgeois capitalists. In this connection, the

prediction of Marx and Engels is relevant when they proclaim that "... bourgeois class is periodically obliged to revolutionize the instruments and relations of production, and thereby social relations in their entirety" (Mishra 2006: 148). The bourgeois capitalists revolutionize the instruments of productions from time to time to create an everlasting market and ensure a constant flow of money into their purse. In the past this market was confined within a community. But now in the age of corporate capitalism the whole world has been transformed into a global market. Revolution in the invention and innovation of machines essentially contribute to the paradigm shift of this market policy, totally based on the mode of capitalist production. And inevitably this "[C] apitalist production generates a new "vicious circle"" (Engels 1976:355). Exchange of these products among the nations requires participation of the mass from these reservoir of labor. It is more political than economic because in such a situation the circle which is formed ensures the upper hand position of the First World countries. It conspicuously appears that the mode of production is intensively related to the whole social system. So, it is not possible to conserve the old etiquettes and social values as they are closely related to the mode of production. Political and cultural realities of a nation go through changes even if the people do not migrate physically from one country to another country because the 'vicious circle' constructed by the mode of production encapsulates everybody of the global market in a polyphonic power structure. Hence, the conception of multiculturalism now is not merely defined merely by diaspora or migrated body of population only. Cyber technology and outsourcing practices contribute immensely to the dislocation and relocation of cultures and thus to the production of transnational, hybridized and multicultural identity.

True, transnationalism has replaced imperialism by creating confusion regarding the locations of centre and periphery. Now, for imperializing a geographical area or a nation commodity, culture, knowledge and language play a more important role than an army. In the name of democratization of commodity and market the corporate capitalism transforms everybody, from margin to centre, into a consumer and thus extends its market in every nook and corner of the geographical terrains. For example, in Bangladesh almost everybody, if wishes, now can use shampoo of some prominent brands because it can be purchased ranging from a 3 Taka (Bangladeshi currency, 1 US Dollar is equivalent to about 87 Taka) mini pack to more than 3 hundred Taka large container. But it never means that this mode of production and appropriation aims at creating economic and social equilibrium. These brands create connectivity among the mass population. But connectivity does never mean equality. This connectivity is constructed on the basis

of the democratization of commodity, not socialization of economy and it ensures an undisturbed flow of revenues into the purse of the capitalist producers. Thus, the slogan of multiculturalism is a deliberate initiative frequently echoed by the bourgeois capitalists for the expansion of their market. This market encircles all the compartments of the society with a distinct purpose of maintaining individual location of the classes in the society regarding their respective economic ability.

Economic ability of the transmigrated people began to decrease from 1980s when internationalization of capital became a fashion of economic enterprises. With the onset of this process many stable jobs had to encounter insecurity and “[M]any stable industrial-sector jobs had been lost through the export of manufacturing industries and related jobs abroad, frequently to Third World countries” (Schiller et al. 1992:8-9). While, in such a situation, describing the condition of the USA, Nina Glick Shiller et al. assert:

In many large urban areas in the United States well-paying, unionized, industrial employment was replaced by service sector and clerical employment. Sweat shops and homework proliferated. The newly created employment was characterized by low pay and little or no benefits or security. (Schiller et al. 1992: 9)

The proliferation of transnationalism as a product of corporate capitalism brings forth a revolutionary change in the construction of the new conception of multiculturalism. It is now in the twenty-first century about not only diversity but also compartmentalization in the same community or same nation because economic discrimination acts as a block on the way to synthesis among the diverse and discursive pedagogies of multiculturalism and from the perspectives of the essentialist notion, national or ethnic identity is prominently marked by hybridity and heterogeneity of conceptualizations of location. Now geographic diversity is not as much powerful as psychological diversities regarding the response of the people to varied waves of ethnographical and ethnological phenomena. Thus compartmentalization is, at present, more psychological than geographical.

Globalization from a multicultural perspective

Hence, living in a compartmentalized society dominated by the hegemonic constructions those who are deprived of the privileges and opportunities provided by bourgeois capitalism create a new “cultural space which calls for a new awareness of who they are, a new consciousness, new identities” (Schiller et al 14).

Individual class possesses individual state of awareness. One is different from another in content and disposition. But the sense of nationalism which is the basis of transnationalism gives these classes a sense of shared interest and it brings all of them on a single platform which is termed as nation state. At present in the multicultural framework and in a borderless world nations of the world are living with their individual identity only because of their awareness of the distinct space and location in respect of globalism and globalization.

In an age of cybernetic information an individual's location and identity are defined not by his/her physical presence but by his/her psychological disposition. Owing to the development of hi-speed communication system, hyper technology, electronic social media, such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, IMO, YouTube and other popular forms of communication based on internet network now, people have formulated a divided self within which they are encapsulated. They are scattered in different places with different cultural and ideological realities but with a consciousness of their mother culture, history, heritage and economic realities. Consequently, they are multi-culturally constructed entity, a homogeneous self-constructed by heterogeneous elements of culture and ideology. It is also true that multicultural atmosphere is not always capable of bringing about synthesis among different cultural groups of people. In Bangladesh most of the people usually assume that the course of their history and heritage is linear and they stick to a particular religious belief system and their over consciousness about their supposed linear religious and historical location possesses the risk for them to be detached from the diverse myths, cultural phenomena, belief system and history which deserve an extensive consideration in respect of the whole subcontinent. This monolithic disposition raises a wall between them and other people with different belief systems, ethnic identities and rituals. A good number of ethnic people living in the hill tracts of Bangladesh are neither Muslims nor Bengalese. The inclusion of their literature, rituals, history and heritage into the main stream of the culture of the majority of the people is not conspicuous. Besides, a huge number of Biharis who have not gone back to Pakistan after the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971 do not have any remarkable presence with their episteme and aesthetics in the main stream of Bangladeshi culture. This Bihari diaspora is now living in, in Homi Bhabha's phrase, 'the third space', in 'in-betweenness' and in the midst of becoming and unbecoming, that is, becoming remaining 'Bihari' or becoming 'Bangladeshi'. They are still marginalized even if the High Court recognized their citizenship in 2008. The present phenomenon of Rohingya drew a lot of sympathy from Bangladeshis initially mostly because of their religious affinity. But recently it is

known from different sources that many of them are involved in terrorist activities and drug trafficking. Consequently, they are gradually losing empathy and sympathy from the people of the country. In this connection, if multiculturalism intends that diverse people should live together on a single platform then it must ensure an atmosphere of mutual understanding and knowledge about one another is a must. If this knowledge resists everybody to do anything that creates anarchy, then the synthesis will be possibly ensured in a multicultural atmosphere. But to implement this issue the annihilation of compartmentalization is a must. Will the hegemonic culture, mostly fortified by religious ideology, let this happen? The solution to the problem of intolerance lies in the satisfactory answer to this question.

At present multiculturalism deserves more research and critical exploration for many reasons. Many universities around the world, even in Bangladesh, have launched Comparative Literature Departments and included the texts of different countries in their curricula. It is undeniable that like other aspects of life, multiculturalism gears up the study of comparative literature in the academia around the world. But the ambivalence found in the formulation of multiculturalism divides people into two major groups. One thinks that multiculturalism promulgates the essence of a liberal and cosmopolitan society. Another presumes that it provokes angst and anxiety by fragmenting a nation and placing different fragments face to face in a conflicting temperament. Even the comparative literature department in many universities, by including only the widely read foreign writers and prize-winning foreign authors into their curricula, conspicuously peripheralize or marginalize the less read authors or ethnic texts of a community or race. Some major authors from Africa, Latin America or South Asia find their asylum in these curricula into which a huge number of minor authors of these continents find no significant space. This case can be looked over from a political perspective. Even in the aura of multiculturalism European and American authors dominated the curricula which may be interpreted as a hegemonic exercise of dominance in the academic curricula of Third World countries. It can also be marked that almost all these texts of the First World authors are read and taught in English, a language of hegemony of Europe and America. They might be read and taught in translation into the mother tongues of the local learners. Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong'o defines this practice of studying literature in European languages as 'narrowness in the study of literature' (Thiong'o 1993:24). Ngugi finds with concern that even in the comparative literature departments of the universities and institutions of his country only the European languages are exercising their hegemony even if these institutions are aware of other cultures. In his words:

In such institutions there were competing or comparative centres in the study of humanities: the very fact one was studying in a university where there were other literature departments meant that one was aware of other cultures. But most of these departments were largely confined to the languages of Europe and within Europe to the literature produced by the natives of that language. American literature departments were for instance completely oblivious of the poetry and fiction of the African-American peoples. In the discussion of the American novel for instance, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, Ralph Ellison were hardly mentioned as part of the central tradition of the American literary imagination. (Thiong'o 1993:25)

The impulse and speed in which the art and literature of the First World countries are assumed by the Third World readers are not found with the readers of the First World countries regarding their interest in Third World literature. This practice of marginalization is also widely available within the domestic terrain of the Third World countries. Ethnic literature in ethnic languages of the ethnic people is not usually found to have a significant space in the curricula of the universities and educational institutions in comparison with the mainstream literature in the language of the majority of the people. Then can multiculturalism be defined only from international perspective? If the intertextuality and intersection among the local heterogeneous and diverse languages, rituals, traditions and anthropological realities are not possible, how can the term multiculturalism be sufficiently defined? Rather amalgamation of local diversities can successfully fight back the hegemony of the First World countries in the name of multiculturalism. Again, in the aura of multicultural realities, the conception of multilingualism is challenged by a single hegemonic language and there is a chance that this language can segregate the readers from the essentialist and normative knowledge of the culture and political and economic realities out of which these texts assume their shape. In this way, European languages like English, French and Portuguese run with the tenet of deculturation of the local readers and take up the "role in the Disneyfication of world cultures" (Macedo et al. 2003: 17). True, in the name of multiculturalism hegemonic English, like some other European languages, is used as a means of reading and teaching the Third world literary texts and thus, "Western homogenization discourses are very evident in foreign and second language education practices" (Macedo et al. 2003: 97). In the hegemonic atmosphere created by English language while reading Third World literature "[S]peakers are unable to establish the compartmentalization necessary for survival of the language variety" (Romaine 2000: 49). In such an atmosphere heteroglossia is not encouraged. Besides, non-linear course of history leaves a lot of traumas on the Third World countries

and the narrowness stemming out of their traumas limit to a great extent the ability to accommodate multicultural minority rights. India, for example, still faces the challenge of accommodating the multicultural minority rights and this limitation stems out of its political narrowness emerging from the “country’s partition along religious lines in 1947” (Ashcroft 2019:128). Even Bangladesh which “was founded in 1971 on the basis of secularist principles” faces the challenges of accommodating its multicultural minority because of its wide use of religion in politics in the post-liberation phase (Riaz 2010:45). When a particular belief system dominantly turns into political ideology it falls into the bog of limitations to accommodate multicultural minority.

Multiculturalism challenges the notion of diglossia. Actually, diglossia can be extended to encompass more than two languages or varieties of languages in functional relationship among various linguistic groups in a society. True, the world today with multiplicity of unsolvable problems, languages, economic links and cultures is becoming one. But only a few transnationals are deciding the economic, political and linguistic destinations of the whole world. Only a few international institutions are generating policies for the whole world. Hence, multiculturalism does never mean the empowerment of all individual cultures of all nations on the basis of equality. Ngugi aptly clarifies this issue in his compelling book *Moving the Centre* in the following words:

Those global economic and political processes invariably give rise to cultural links. The evolution of the present global order over the last five hundred years has seen the world being dominated by a handful of languages; European languages of course and the cultures these have carried will have shaped the dominated in similar ways. (Thiong’o 1993:31)

In the name of globalization “distant parts of the world have become connected in a historically unprecedented manner” (Hodges 2004: 209). It gives rise to transnational organizations and corporations. By promoting the concept of global culture it is posing a vehement threat to the local culture and thus, in the era of post-colonialism a form of re-colonizing mission of the capitalist countries is rampant, especially in the Third World countries. Capitalist countries have brought about a revolution in bourgeois mode of production and transformed the whole world into their market. They are promulgating the terms, such as, world literature, world culture and multiculturalism and transculturalism with a view to ensuring their hegemonic location among the economically backward nations. Globalization and multiculturalism go hand in hand in the twenty-first century and “[M]uch of twenty-first Century nationalism, it can be argued, is shaped by the current crisis of

globalism” (Tharoor 2020:11). But the concepts of globalization and cosmopolitanism are running with the intention of ‘exploiting the privations of the poor’. In this connection, Shashi Tharoor in his seminal book *The Battle of Belonging* argues that “in the wake of globalization economic and political backlash is straightforward” (Tharoor 2020:11). Even in the developed countries resentment and rage among the poor and unemployed people are increasing because they have started thinking that the scopes of employment created by globalization and cosmopolitanism have gone to the people of developing countries like China, India, Bangladesh and some African countries. And, in this connection, Tharoor argues:

The cultural backlash derived from the same resentment but expressed itself in a different arena: the political denunciation of global trade led to hostility towards foreigners, as more and more people sought the comforts of traditional identity and ways of life. Rage was expressed against the ‘alchemical brew served up in the name of progress- liberal politics, theologies of social emancipation, technocrats, trade agreements, multiculturalism’. (Tharoor 2020:11-12)

Thus, the slogan of multiculturalism cannot ensure the panacea of the maladies of compartmentalization, economic, political, cultural and linguistic discrimination and its consequential resentment and rage. And in such a complicated situation the masses who look upon themselves to be the victims of the new emerging conditions, usually look at the terms with suspicion like “cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and secularism in the name of cultural rootedness, religious or ethnic identity and nationalists authenticity” (Tharoor 2020: 12). Multiculturalism, in this way, appears to be a threat to not only individual but also national identity of the people living in the ‘contact zones’ where varied cultures impact on one another. Cuban ethnologist Fernando de Ortiz is unwilling to call this process of mutual influence ‘deculturation’. He rather coins this term as ‘transculturation’ (Hawley 2004:436). Ortiz believes that culture is synthetic and influence is not only on the part of the metropolis. This influence is two sided. But it is true that metropolis is never ready to leave any stone unturned to subjugate the Third World countries. They practice it not by arms as they did during the colonial period. Now in post-colonial period they are doing it imposing their linguistic, cultural, economic and epistemic hegemony in the name of globalization, multiculturalism and transnationalism. In this way the world is still divided into centre and margin.

Thus, a chronic ambivalence characterizes the location and identity in a multicultural society. Multiculturalism has challenged the primordial conception of

identity that it is defined by the individual cultures and societies. In the past it was a very common belief that if a person can't speak Bangla he will not be called a Bangladeshi and if a person doesn't speak English he will not be called a British. But now people consider 'the idea of identity as a construct' characterized by hybridization and intertextuality among diverse phenomena (Iyall Smith 2008:16).

Conclusion

Hence, transnationality is challenging the idea of nationality. A man in this era lives in a particular geographical area but his mind always travels in every corner of the world and he lives in constant process of taking and giving. Development in one corner of the world impacts the other parts of the world directly and indirectly. The collapse of American Share Market or the New York Stock Exchange impacts the world economy and all the nation have to face the scorching impact of recession. Dialectical connectivity exists among the people of different social groups. But this dialectical communication has made them strong and at the same time weak. Social groups now constantly reform and constitute themselves in open boundaries. Here lies its strength. On the other hand, in the multicultural environment the fabric of social life has seriously been disrupted as it propagates a collage self with heterogeneity and gives rise to instability, unrest, uncertainty and insecurity. Thus, this continuous process of becoming and unbecoming invariably gives birth to a chronic malady of angst and anxiety from which the globalized world cannot become totally free.

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Contact Information

E-mail: elham_hossain@yahoo.com


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AN ESSAY ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF THE GLOBAL MULTICULTURE THAT HAS BEEN BEGINNING TO CHANGE CAUSED BY THE CIRCULATION OF ILLEGAL REFUGEES

Haktan BIRSEL

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5130-3522>

Onbeş Kasım Kıbrıs University, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

After World War I the age of a nation state had begun. And the concept of the nation, nationalism and multiculturalism was very important. The peoples of the states evolved in these concepts and the ethnicity that is existing in the origin of these concepts, this was the identity of the people. This is very important. Because the identity of the ethnic people is their nationalism. But at the same time in the states there are different groups. They are minorities. Even if they are citizens of the country, they have a saying in their ethnic culture. On account of this opposition, every nation state improved special multicultural politics. Alas these politics change every time between integration and assimilation. As a result of this the conflicts between nationalism and multiculturalism never finished.

But today there is a very important impute that it affects the multicultural politics of the states. These are the refugees. The people that have left the homeland and cannot return because of fear of death, famine, and terrorism. According to data from the UNHCR, there are around 85 million refugees and the numbers are increasing continuously. The direction of the refugees cannot be controlled as they are entering from every border to the country. This is an important roadblock for the future of the multicultural life of the states. Because country would have, new minorities and this could cause issues for multicultural aspect of the nation.

In this article, we will examine the movement of the refugees and the negative impact it may have on the influence of multicultural politics of the nation. Also in this article, we will also try to find solutions and certain precautions that may have to be taken by the nations.

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Introduction

During humankind's history, humans have been displaced by many factors, which includes wars and altercations with the government. With this being said every human has changed their culture and in time, this movement has transformed into a heterogeneous structure. Therefore, because of this reason, multicultural life has been around since the beginning of the World.

But this multicultural life has been progressing in different ways for every people and nation. As a result; today it can easily be seen in many different politics and multiculturalism and it has been accepted as a very important problem for every nation. From the past until today, the concept of multiculturalism is on the main discussion in the World.¹

It can be said that multiculturalism is a social form of living by gathering different ethnic groups together. However, this definition is not enough to explain this concept. Since this concept does not have a common definition, the states could not find a way to differentiate between nationalism and multiculturalism. Especially after the beginning of the period of nation-states, the government became strong with nationalism. But the different ethnic groups that live in the same states were the problem for the states. ²

Countries wanted homogeneous people and tried to change their smaller ethnic groups' culture. It was easier to politicize the rule "either love or leave". ³ In the long history of humankind, many bloody wars have started because of this.

Henceforth the multiculturalism concept has passed different stages until the present day. Now it is being defined in these five fundamental principles. ⁴

First: Protecting the minority's culture and the right to continue the culture

¹ Simpson YINGER, "Racial and Cultural Minorities", Harper &Brothers Edition, New York, 1953 (pp. 324-400).

² <https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/home>.

³ Paul Weis, <https://www.unhcr.org/protection/travaux/4ca34be29/refugee-convention-1951-travaux-preparatoires-analysed-commentary-dr-paul.html>.

⁴ Hugh MIAL, "Minority Rights in Europe", Council on Foreign Relations Affairs Press, New York, 1994, (pp. 56-98).

Second: Being able to integrate into a different culture without losing its identity

Third: Accepting the identity of the country

Fourth: The minority culture and heritage are accepted by the nation

Fifth: not accepting this is an international problem, if the states could not find a solution.

However, the basics of multiculturalism have been affected negatively in this century. Especially after the collapse of the USSR in 1990, this changed every political system and the world entered a state of chaos. The causes of this chaos are; US interventions, International terrorism, the Arab Spring, and civil wars. As a result, the hyperactive illegal movement of humans began.

The number of refugees increases every day. The refugees are illegal occupiers and they try to find where they can live without taking harm. Nevertheless, because the numbers are so high, they are a very real problem for the host country. And the administration of the host nation cannot find an efficient solution for them. The state politics in multicultural is not enough for this new problem.

This is a very big problem that is unique to this century. Because today millions of refugees are moving around the World without a home. And once they find a place where they can live without the danger of death, they settle in. In addition to settling the refugees, a new problem arises in the host country. And the governments try to find new policies for the unexpected visitors. In this article, we will examine the effect refugees have in the social lives of the host country and try to find solutions for this problem after the analysis.

A look at the global movement of refugees

The movement of humans has been observed in every period of history. This movement and settling in new areas eliminated the intercourse of the slang and therefore the ideologies of the race disappeared. Moreover, in place of racism, ethnicity that was characterized by cultural relations was set. ⁵

⁵ Norman YETMEN - Hoy C. STEELE, "Majority&Minority", Publishes of the University of Kansas, 1972 (pp. 120-245).

Account of today every person is an ethnic person. Alas, this change did not bring good life to the people. The people were face to face with conflicts instead of peace. Now we are continuing our lives on a national but at the same time on a multicultural level.

The history of humanity is very long. In addition, it has passed from important points by evolving. It has taken a long time to understand the important effect refugees had on multiculturalism.

The first important point for the world is the First World War which demolished the period of imperials and kingdoms. After the war, every administration type changed, and the period of state nation and nationalism began. Because the victories from the war expanded, they did not know what to do with the different cultures that rested there before. The nation-states had been a heterogeneous population. After this period, a new war began "The Conflict of Nationalism and Minorities". This has been continuing since the Second World War and it is continuing to this day. For every country for every continent, multicultural policies are interchangeable.

After the Cold War, the world entered a new social and cultural period. In Asia Central and Caucasus, ex-Soviet republics were independent, but they had two big problems: economy and multiculturalism. Moreover, from their independence until today their economic problems are continuing. In addition, the government of these new states is continuing to search for useful multicultural policies just like the others. ⁶

After the collapse of the USSR, there were two important reasons that halted the progress of the multiculturalism concept. This is the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan by the US and the increase of international terrorism. Because of these two problems, millions of refugees preferred leaving their country rather than dying in their country. Finally, the movement of refugees and meeting enormous crowds in the host country has been a very important and unsolvable problem for the states. Because after refugees came to the host country, they did not want to return and wanted to stay legally or illegally. As a result, they are transformed into new minorities.⁷

⁶ <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

⁷ <https://www.unhcr.org/history-of-unhcr.html>

Refugees: the humans that could not find a way to live in their country and because of this left their homeland. In addition, they have to use different and difficult solutions since they are not thinking of returning to their homeland.⁸

They have collective priorities. They are from different cultural groups. They have left their homelands never to go back. These refugee groups have many women and children. When they leave their country, they destroy all forms of their identification and government-issued papers, this is illegal. The condition for these voyages are very tough and sometimes half of the travelers are dead. The living conditions are very poor in the country. Usually, they carry diseases that are contagious. The refugees usually accept death before taking on the voyage.

The number of refugees is very important for multiculturalism. Because it is very easy to integrate them if their numbers are low. However, if the volume of refugees is high then the problems for the host states begin. Because of so many refugees, the multicultural life of the host country begins to change in a negative way.

Generally, this problem began after the Second World War. This problem grew very fast and to find a solution for it the UN established "The office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees".⁹

According to the UNHCR, there are 82.2 million refugees in the world today. So out every one out of every 95 persons is a refugee. This number increases every day without any stops. Every day around 32,000 is made refugees.

Therefore, this is a very important problem for every nation in the world.

The first problem area is the difficulty of counting the refugees. According to UNHCR, all refugees in the World are not accounted for. Only one out of five the total are living in the refugee camps. What about the others? They are illegal visitors to the host country, or they are trying to stay alive by any means necessary.

The other problem is the chaos that ensues after the wars. Because generally, humans become refugees during or after wars. For example, approximately 3 million Ukrainians have become refugees in only 10 days.¹⁰

⁸ <https://www.unhcr.org/asylum-seekers.html>

⁹ <https://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html>

¹⁰ Benoit BREVILLE, "Ukraine, L'Engrenage", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Avril 2022, pp. 14.

The third problem is the borders are not protected well even if they with surrounded by high technological systems. In addition, because of this reason, every border good or bad is a permeable border for refugees. Because of this reason, it is impossible to turn our backs on the refugees and embarrass them.

Especially for a long-time millions of people from the Middle East, Asia and Africa have been regularly escaping to the West to secure better lives. Because of this, the host countries in the West have had their social lives changed in a negative direction.

Even though the refugees come to the host country without any identification, they very much desire to match their cultures from their original country. In addition, this desire causes problems and damages the multicultural lives of the host country in the medium term.

When we look at Yemen. After 20 years around 5-6 million people were displaced there. Since 2001, 10 million Afghan people have been living in other countries or refugee camps. Because of the civil wars and international terrorism, millions of Africans have been escaping to countries outside of Africa. When we look at the data from the UNHCR, it is revealed that many countries that have been through war are empty now. The people that are living in different countries are not refugees anymore they are a new kind of minority.

When we look at human history, it can easily be seen that refugees have existed in every period. Again, it can be seen that refugees were affected by the demography of the autochthonous people. For example 300 BC (Before Christ), Alexander the Great had invaded all of Asia. Eventually, so many people were displaced and because of the new civilization appeared "The Civilization of Helene". After the 12th century, this time a new emperor the "Great Mongol" Genghis Khan had invaded all of Asia excluding the Caucasus. With this invasion, many Asians like the Tatars came to the Caucasus.

The analysis and conclusion

These three properties of the refugees are the main ones that disorder the multiculture of the host country. The first one is, that they leave their homeland never to return, the second is the overcrowding the refugees cause, and the third is

wanting to save their heritage and culture without trying to integrate into the new country.

When we look at history, it is easy to find many examples where this problem is unsolvable. For example, the war in 1948 (Arab-Israel war) has important evidence that shows the problem. After this war, 500,000 Palestinians had left their homeland as they passed through Lebanon and Jordan.¹¹ A part of these refugees stayed at the camps made by the UN and the others started living illegally in the aforementioned countries.¹² After 20 years, the number of Palestinian refugees increased tenfold, and nowadays you can see Palestinian cities in these two countries. Another issue with this, Lebanon and Jordan eventually started losing their identity. Because of the war the tension never finished, this civil war demolished both these states.¹³

The same problem was seen in 2010 in Syria. When the civil war had begun, 10 million Syrians have had to escape to Turkey and nowadays they have been living either legally or illegally. However, it is certain that the Syrians living in Turkey now will be a big problem in the future for the multicultural structure of Turkey.¹⁴

When we look at the same subject in Europe, we can see the same problem. Many migrants and refugees go to live in the ghettos of these countries, and they do not leave their language or culture.¹⁵

Eventually, history is showing us what will happen in the near future. It shows us that we need new strategies for multiculturalism. Of course, the governments have to help them but they need to find new strategies effective, and actual multicultural policies have to be saved. Therefore, the measures that we take have to be taken in this direction.

We should not forget that the refugees are human beings that had to leave their country or die. The main causes are death and hunger caused by the war. Because of this, every nation in the world has to help them. However, at the same time, the nations have to save their multicultural social lives. Helping refugees is

¹¹ Philippe REKAEWICZ, "Millions of Palestinian, Refugees in the Middle East", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 2000, pp.2.

¹² Alain GRESH, "Defining Palestine", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 2011, pp. 7.

¹³ Augusta CONCHIGLIA, "Les Trois Combats du HCR", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Juin 2012, pp. 3.

¹⁴ Ariane BONZON, "Ces Indésirables Réfugiés Syriens", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Mai 2020, pp. 13.

¹⁵ Jean MATRINGE, "Is Europe Really a Sanctuary?", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 2017, pp.23.

necessary and is the mission of humanity. However, the nations also have to find ways to volunteer integration measuring for the refugees.

Today the practices of the European countries are not useful for refugee integrations. Their political purpose seems to disassociate. The migrants and refugees have to live in the ghettos. In this position, it is impossible to integrate. An important question comes up. What and how can we do this? First is dissociating, they can be placed in small groups in cities or villages. We have to assist and have to teach the host people. In addition, governments have to take precautions against discrimination.

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Contact Information

E-mail: haktanbirsnel@gmail.com

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INTERVIEW WITH MONICA DEL PILAR URIBE MARIN, MULTICULTURAL NEWSPAPER DIRECTOR

The next guest in our interview series is Monica del Pilar Uribe Marin, Director, and Editor-In-Chief of The Prisma - The Multicultural Newspaper, a bilingual (English/Spanish) media based in London, made for immigrants and has just been awarded "International Reporting of the Year" at the Independent Media Awards 2022 in the United Kingdom.

Interviewed by: Muhammad NADEEM and Khayala MAMMADOVA
International Multicultural Network, Baku, Azerbaijan

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The Prisma – The Multicultural Newspaper, founded in December 2009 is an independent journalistic project, with a professional and bilingual base, seeking to promote multiculturalism, with a focus on Latin-American immigrants and Spanish-speaking residents in the UK. The Prisma is an independent and multicultural newspaper run by a group of professional journalists, media experts as well as young and enthusiastic graduate people.

The Prisma – The Multicultural Newspaper was born in the context of the complex reality of immigrant life, in particular, that of Spanish-speaking immigrants in the UK, and because of the need to practice ethical, and independent journalism, dedicated to immigrants, who have the right to inform and be informed, according to the high journalistic standards that The Prisma has maintained since was launched. The Prisma believes in the importance of having an alternative way of producing journalism, in the midst of the invisibility that the immigrant community experiences, and to continue with an approach that includes contributors of different origins and nationalities, with a strong commitment to Human Rights. The Prisma focuses on subjects of interest for immigrants and minorities, so that they may gain access to relevant, complete information that is both critical and trustworthy. In addition, all information is made available in both English and Spanish, which is a unique feature of The Prisma; and in this way, assists those communities, which are still in the process of improving their English in particular. At the same time, it allows the English-speaking public to understand, from a wider perspective, the situation of immigrants and their problems, needs, aspirations, and achievements.

The Prisma - The Multicultural Newspaper has been awarded the "International Reporting of the Year" at the Independent Media Awards 2022 by the Independent Media Association (UK).

The Prisma wants to continue to practice ethical and independent journalism, dedicated to serving immigrants, confirming the right to inform and be informed, and with the journalistic quality that The Prisma has maintained until now.

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Monica del Pilar Uribe Marin : “The presence of different cultures in a country contributes to its development... ..”

Q: Let’s begin by introducing yourself to our esteemed readers.

A: I am a professional journalist and the founder and director of The Prisma – The Multicultural Newspaper, a weekly newspaper based in Britain. I was born in Colombia, a country in South America, and I’ve lived in England for a number of years. I’ve worked in journalism constantly, all my adult life. I’ve been a reporter, a researcher, a columnist, editor, and director, mainly in written media – printed and online – and recently also in TV. I am also a translator. My specialisms are the environment, politics, human rights, immigrant issues, and vulnerable sectors of society. And I have given talks on these issues in different countries. I’ve also written a book and co-authored three others. I believe in independent and ethical journalism, and that objectivity in journalism is unattainable. The journalist’s commitment is to tell the truth, without interpreting or hiding it.

The journalist must be involved with what is happening in the world, not simply informing and reproducing facts. They must expose injustice, corruption, murder... analyse, feel and understand suffering, be familiar with the context, the causes and the consequences. And have a sense of humanity.

I am also an activist. In Colombia, it was in environmental issues, and in Britain on issues affecting immigrants. I believe in respecting differences and at the same time preferences. I support ethnic and religious freedoms, as well as in areas concerning age, gender sexuality, and so on.

Q: How did you get into this line of work, what is your background?

A: There are writers and journalists in my family. So, for me, being attracted by journalism was something 'natural'. I studied Social Communication at the Xaverian Pontifical University of Colombia, specializing in Journalism.

I started as a reporter for a local paper, and later worked for the most important national newspaper, *El Tiempo*, and then I worked as a freelance journalist for nearly all the magazines. I did some radio work, and while I was still very young I was responsible for creating and managing the *Revista Prisma* (*Prisma* magazine), which, although it belonged to an institution of the Colombian government, allowed me to bring new national and international writers to the public, and to develop a deeper awareness of environmental issues. For 6 years, I was the Director and Editor of this amazing project. Six years of creative and intense work. In fact, the *Prisma* magazine positioned itself as a serious and responsible medium and was even nominated for the Simón Bolívar National Journalism Prize as the best contribution to Colombian journalism.

Journalism got me involved in environmental activism, and in some way, I understood that objective journalism is unattainable, but that doesn't mean it has to be any less ethical or professional. Gradually, I became less impressed by the mainstream media, and by the time I was 25 it was already clear to me that independent journalism had more possibilities, if not of making money, then certainly in terms of freedom of expression, a freedom which in a country like Colombia is difficult, because to be a journalist or to think differently is risky.

For different reasons, I left the country, and in Britain I wrote about Colombia and Latin America, for a number of different publications. And then, since the paper I worked for in Colombia had closed down, I decided to create *The Prisma - The Multicultural Newspaper*, not only in Spanish, but in English as well, thinking of Latin America and of the immigrants from those countries in the UK. And, although Latin America continues to be our main focus, over time, the multicultural situation in a country like the UK became more important. The needs and problems of immigrants were so unavoidable, that it became essential to discuss and defend multiculturalism.

Q: How has being Director and Editor-in-Chief of “The Prisma - The Multicultural newspaper” had an impact on your career?

A: A big impact. Running a newspaper for immigrants is a unique and rewarding experience. And even more so, being an immigrant myself. For this reason, I chose ethical and independent journalism, produced for immigrants, which provides in-depth information about their different experiences and cultures. The Prisma is, if not the only, then certainly one of the few newspapers dedicated to this issue. And working with a magnificent team - which changes all the time because we are all volunteers - has allowed me to get to know other cultures in more depth, and confirmed the importance of understanding and respecting their differences. In addition, working with journalists, translators, and proofreaders of different nationalities is a constant learning process about different cultures and customs.

Apart from our task of informing, we at The Prisma have joined or encouraged campaigns against raids on immigrants, in favour of recognition of Latin Americans as an ethnic minority in the UK, and for diversity and multiculturalism. We have organised events and developed activities for immigrants. An important event was the debate fully organised by The Prisma at a meeting in the House of Commons, called Multiculturalism in the UK - Has it got a future?. 133 people attended the debate.

The Prisma is recognised for its role in help for immigrants, as has been pointed out by British media like The Guardian. And with good reason, because The Prisma is a unique paper, thanks to its multicultural team: Spanish, English, Latin-American, Chinese, French, Italian, Africa, French... In other words people of different nationalities who believe in this project and who make it possible.

Q: And, do you write some of the content for The Prisma yourself?

A: Yes, absolutely. Not as much as I would like, because managing and editing absorb much of my time. But yes, I write articles, generally opinion pieces, or interviews and reports, exposés, or multicultural notices.

Q: What have you learned from working with diverse populations?

A: I have learned about differences, not only in cultures but also in the people

who make up those cultures. Differences from collective or individual customs, to emotional and thinking characteristics. Differences in how to handle one's own and other peoples' history. I have learned about the urgent need to accept that we del multiculturali different. And I am not only talking about cultural diversity, but also about sexual, religious, political diversity. It is about acceptance, not tolerance. And I have learned that it is not enough to coexist, but also to communicate in order to really understand others. And from them, not only from the experience of living with this population, I have learned a lot about their political, geographical, economic and religious reality, not to mention their knowledge, in many ways.

Q: When developing the frameworks for Multicultural Development, were you also thinking about its theoretical or pedagogical implications for Multicultural Studies?

A: The creation of a multicultural newspaper (the first and so far the only one in the UK), since it is a communication media, implies the creation and practice of intercultural communication, the promotion of intercultural communication, both inside and outside the newspaper. Undoubtedly, the experiences and knowledge gained and transmitted provide a platform for the emerging theories and approaches that contribute to the study of multiculturalism and multiculturalism, and to the pedagogy of multiculturalism. But our journalistic exercise has sought to promote multiculturalism and diversity, to defend the rights of different communities, minorities and individuals, beyond thinking about whether these principles can be useful for multicultural studies.

Q: Will cross-cultural communication assume a new dimension in the context of multiculturalism?

A: It will and has to do so. Intercultural communication is important and necessary because it is not enough that different cultures exist and coexist in the same place, but that they communicate with each other, that they interact, that there is a genuine interest in learning from other cultures. And it is intercultural communication that allows this to happen, otherwise the multicultural world would remain a passive entity where many cultures coexist but without 'touching' each other, where people do not understand each other's reasons and backgrounds. The best way to accept difference is to communicate with and respect the different. Intercultural communication should contribute to end discrimination and racism, and also hate crimes and other types of violence.

Q: What policies do you think to bring the greatest hope for managing competing interests in multicultural societies?

A: Policies of free markets and free movement, open frontiers and fair commerce. Policies that allow those in host countries to understand the reasons for granting asylum, for immigration; a continuing dialogue and investigation, both of the phenomenon of migration and of multiculturalism in itself. To make known the reasons for migration, which is not only motivated by violence in the countries of origin, but also for economic reasons, from countries impoverished by corruption, or simply because the rich countries have extracted their wealth, obliging the population to migrate.

Q: What opportunities have you had of working and collaborating in diverse, multicultural, and inclusive settings?

A: Cultural diversity implies a rewarding diversity of ideas and customs. The presence of different cultures in a country contributes to its development. Working in a multicultural environment offers a bigger picture of things, and hence a better understanding of differences. It also makes you aware that, although sometimes they are not noticeable, racism and other kinds of discrimination are a reality in countries with a history of invading, colonizing, and domination, countries which nevertheless don't accept other communities arriving in their territories.

Q: Describe a situation in which you used your multicultural skills to solve a problem.

A: There are many, being able to help other immigrants, and not just to understand what it's like to feel and live in an environment that is not your own. Because I speak English, although my native tongue is Spanish, I've been able to help immigrants who had problems with documents or who were detained, as a translator or interpreter. And through the newspaper, not just me, but other journalists and translators, have been able to explain to British readers a situation which many of them were unaware of, or didn't understand. And also, by guiding and advising immigrants who don't know the customs of the country in which they are living.

Q: Tell us about a time when you changed your style to work more effectively with a person from a different background.

A: I always have to keep in mind that talking to someone from a different culture requires me to be more open to different ideas and ways of doing things, and the usage of a language which is not our own, but which universally connects us: English. This means asking and trying to know how the members of The Prisma who are in Britain feel and live, whether they are British or not. This allows me to know and understand them, and be able to make a journalism which is close to immigrants. Multicultural journalism.

Q: Is there anything that you wanted to mention specifically about your multicultural newspaper, or for our audience?

A: The Prisma is an independent newspaper. The hundreds of professionals who work together here to produce a high-quality weekly newspaper, dedicated to immigrants, work as volunteers. We have been working now for seven years as journalists for immigrants (thousands of them; their lives, their problems, their campaigns, their opinions, have been published on our pages), but the time has come when we need help in order to continue.

People need to understand that the point we have reached in the UK as a multicultural newspaper, requires a lot of effort. But although supporting multiculturalism is not profitable, even so it is rewarding.

Q: You have probably communicated with leaders and intellectuals from other cultures. What is their attitude to all this?

A: It depends on the politics and the interests that they support. But in general, if they represent the US, the UK, or the strong countries in Europe, it is a tacit rejection. Public discourse (because it is politically correct) is all about openness and embracing multiculturalism, but in practice, they are implementing policies that block access to immigrants, make their lives difficult, or stigmatize them. The same thing happens among intellectuals. But those who have a well-thought-out standpoint, and have a thorough understanding of multiculturalism know that it is inevitable and they defend it. The history of every nation is based on multicultural relations. And of course, there are leaders who understand the importance of multiculturalism and support it.

Q: How do you evaluate the importance and perspectives of the Azerbaijani model of multiculturalism, as the means of serving peace and stability in the world?

A: A country where there is religious freedom, where more than one language is spoken, and which is open to multiculturalism, has all the possibilities for cultural, political, and economic development. By encouraging the acceptance of differences, the government becomes social democratic, whose people can be sure that peace and equality are possible.

Q: As a multicultural country, what kind of role can Azerbaijan play in multicultural dialogue?

A: A multi-ethnic country is necessarily multicultural. Hence, it has to create democratic opportunities for its inhabitants who belong to different ethnic groups, cultures, beliefs, and customs. It has to take on, in some way, the international calls in defense of multiculturalism, even more so at the present time, when countries like the UK, and others in Europe, have shown government policies that are racist and discriminatory, and generate hatred and intolerance. It is necessary to encourage platforms and media which promote multiculturalism.

Q: Thank you for your time, any final words for our readers?

A: It is important not to trust media controlled by capitalists, and where there is no defence or respect for human rights. People need to understand multiculturalism and know that it is both necessary and inevitable, and although the Right has again taken over many platforms, it is necessary to make the maximum effort to promote tolerance and respect.

Anti-multiculturalist attitudes have increased in response to immigration and asylum seekers, and this is the enemy of social democracy. To disparage multiculturalism is as common as stigmatizing immigrants. And this is what we have to combat. We must campaign for a world without borders; even if it looks like a not possible dream that never will be fulfilled.

Q: If you could give one message to the Multicultural World, what would it be?

A: It is a fact that ethnic minorities and immigrants are rapidly growing and expanding populations. Unfortunately, it does not happen because people migrate to learn about new cultures or to study, it generally happens because of wars, violence generated by repressive and authoritarian governments, poverty, or because others have entered their countries and taken away their natural resources and land. As the growing multiculturalism is a reality that will not change, it is important to be open, welcome cultural diversity, the diaspora, and to be open to understand and integrate into the new territory it occupies, bearing in mind that integration does not mean losing one's identity. There is too much to learn from each culture. There is too much war, racism, and discrimination, and the way to overcome it is to show the multicultural world the importance and necessity of its existence.

Q: Thank you.

This piece has been edited and condensed with approval from the interviewee.

Contact Information

E-mail: theprisma@theprisma.co.uk



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