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Article

Multiculturalism and the Policies of Community Rebuilding

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Abstract

The purpose of the present paper is to distinguish and compare several ways of articulating and defending the policy ideal of multiculturalism. It distinguishes three approaches: the culturalist approach, the domination/oppression approach, and the community rebuilding approach. After briefly looking at the former two approaches, the present paper examines the community rebuilding approach in more detail. The community rebuilding approach attracts relatively little attention in political theory literature, but it is nonetheless informing important policy debates and practices of multiculturalism today. Finally, the paper compares the merits and demerits of the three approaches, and considers the appropriate way of articulating and applying multiculturalism in particular situations.

Keywords : multiculturalism, social pathology, community rebuilding, indigenous people, immigrants, late modernity

Introduction

The purpose of the present paper is to distinguish and compare several ways of articulating and defending the ideal of multiculturalism. It will pay special attention to a type of defense that attracts relatively little attention in the public debate over multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism is a policy ideal that seeks to integrate minorities into a larger society on fair terms while respecting or promoting their culture and communal practices. In the last two decades, multiculturalism has come under severe criticism in public discourses. In Europe, it has

been alleged to be the main cause of the failed integration of Muslim immigrants. At the same time, however, multicultural policy measures have proved to be highly resistant to such popular criticism in many countries (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006). Public officials, various experts, as well as minorities themselves are aware of reasons for maintaining multiculturalism. My working hypothesis is that, if various reasons for adopting multiculturalism are properly articulated, it will gain substantial public support. Such an effort is important especially in countries like Korea and Japan, whose political culture has not been very hospitable to the idea of multiculturalism because of a relatively high degree of cultural homogeneity and strong ethnic nationalism.

Differentiating Arguments of Multiculturalism

Unlike its simplified image, multiculturalism is a multi-faceted ideal that addresses multiple issues. As a result, a variety of arguments and practices have been developed in the name of multiculturalism. They can be differentiated on each of the following four levels.

1. Shape or structural feature of the minority groups: Researchers classify them into ‘national minorities’, ‘ethnic groups’, ‘indigenous peoples’, ‘racialized groups’, and so on.
2. Types of minorities’ difficulties and needs which multicultural policies are intended to address.
3. Theories which provide the ground for multiculturalism: These theories offer systematic views on ontological issues about humans, communities, culture, and power, as well as on normative issues about justice or equality. Stephen May and Christine Sleeter, educational scholars, contrast theories of “liberal multiculturalism” with those of “critical multiculturalism”; the former is supposed to accept the cultures as they are, whereas the latter analyzes how power relations shape cultures (May & Sleeter, 2010). Sarah Song differentiates four theoretical positions among multicultural arguments: the “communitarian” theory, the “liberal egalitarian”

theory, the theory based on "non-domination", and the theory with a "postcolonial perspective" (Song, 2017).

4. Institutional arrangements and policy measures: Michael Murphy (2013) classifies a variety of policies into the categories of "voice", "symbolic recognition", "redistribution", "protection", "exemption", "assistance", and "autonomy".

Any argument about multiculturalism can be classified at each of these levels, and the variations at these levels create a diversity of arguments and practices.

The present author's concern is to defend multiculturalism by articulating the policy goals that it can serve. For this purpose, this paper will classify its arguments and practices into three categories, according to the types of minorities' difficulties and needs that they are intended to address (level 2 above).[1] These categories will be named *the culturalist approach, the domination/oppression approach,* and *the community rebuilding approach,* respectively. *The culturalist approach* seeks to meet the cultural needs of minorities and make sure that minorities can shape their lives according to their cultural values. *The domination/oppression approach* is concerned with rectifying the unequal relationship between minority and majority groups. *The community rebuilding approach* addresses the issue of anomie or social pathologies in minority communities.

In current democracies, the problems of minorities' distinct cultural needs, socio-economic inequality, and social pathologies are recognized as legitimate topics in public policy debates, and, if one can show that multicultural policy measures can effectively address these issues, one will secure public support for multiculturalism.[2] The three approaches are not mutually incompatible. Rather, there are substantial overlaps among the policy measures that these approaches demand. They are often employed together to gain public support for multicultural policies.[3] On the other hand, these approaches prioritize different kinds of problems and employ different logics for justifying multiculturalism policies. Each has its own merits, and one needs to employ the appropriate one in de-

fending multicultural policies in particular situations.

After briefly looking at *the culturalist approach* and *the domination/oppression approach*, the present paper will examine *the community rebuilding approach* in more detail, an approach which has attracted relatively little attention in the political theory literature of multiculturalism. *The community rebuilding approach* has a distinct practical purpose and a logic of justification that are substantially different from those of the other two approaches. It will also be shown that this approach is informing important policy debates and practices. Through these discussions, the present paper shows a promising way of defending multiculturalism in the age of late modernity.

The Culturalist Approach

Among the three approaches of multiculturalism, *the culturalist approach* is the most influential. This approach seeks to meet the cultural needs of minorities and make sure that minorities can shape their ways of life according to their cultural values. This approach is most often based on hermeneutics or communitarian social philosophy. Will Kymlicka, Charles Taylor, and Bikhu Parekh are major theorists (e.g., Kymlicka, 1989, 1995, 1998, 2001; Parekh, 2006, 2008; Patten, 2014; Taylor, 1994; Taylor & Laforest, 1993). In their view, all humans have their own vision of the good life that they should pursue. Their identities are shaped by such visions. A human does not articulate these ideas in solitude or in a cultural vacuum. Rather, one does so through ongoing dialogue, within the culture in which one is embedded. Thus, humans can articulate and pursue their goals successfully only if their community and culture flourish.

When a person changes his/her life plan or value commitment in a radical way, he/she usually needs a narrative with which to make sense of the shift. A radical break in personal history without reasonable explanation would threaten personal integrity and destabilize identity. Thus, the cultural and communal environment must have a certain level of stability, so that a human can lead a meaningful life. Access to one's own

culture is an important "primary good" that should be enjoyed by minorities as well as the majority population.

The Domination/Oppression Approach

The domination/oppression approach is concerned with rectifying the unequal relationship between minority and majority groups (Galeotti, 2002; Modood, 2005, 2007, 2010; Young, 1990, 2000). This approach is often grounded by radical theoretical perspectives, such as critical theories, postcolonialism, and critical race theories. In relation to the majority group, minorities are often situated in marginal and subordinate positions. Members of minority groups suffer from scarcity of resources and opportunities, and their life outlook is severely curtailed. They have only limited power in the political process and their voice is not properly represented. In order to justify this unequal relationship, an image of inferiority is projected onto the minority, implying that the members of the group do not deserve equal respect.

Iris Marion Young formulates how the marginalized groups try to rectify unjust relationships (Young, 1990). Their members seek the recovery of self-esteem through redefinition of their self-image. As the negative image has been imposed by the power relations in the society, the effort to transform it must include negotiation, contestation, or fighting with other actors. Based on the redefined identity, minority groups advance a series of demands: symbolic recognition in public realms, fair distribution of life opportunities and economic resources, and meaningful representation in political process.

The Community Rebuilding Approach

The community rebuilding approach addresses the issue of anomie or social pathologies in minority communities. These communities are often haunted by such difficulties as unemployment, poverty, crime, drug and substance abuse, poor academic performance, and the breakdown of families. When the communities try to recover from such pathologies,

they often make use of traditional cultures and communal ties as important resources. This approach is employed in the academic discipline of sociology, and in related fields such as psychology, criminology, geography, and social work.

Social pathologies are becoming widespread across industrialized countries in this late-modern era. Alain Touraine (2000) points out that throughout the mid-20th century, when the industrial economy and welfare state were stable, humans were well integrated into the social system and given stable identities. Their lives were shaped by major social institutions such as schools, workplaces, and families. In the late 20th century, this system began to crumble. First, the globalization and post-industrialization of the economy made employment unstable, and workers came to have difficulty in defining the meaning of their life through their profession. Secondly, the rigid cultural norms of the industrial society came under attack when people began to demand more freedom to decide their lifestyles. Thus, the government gradually gave up its commitment to standardized lifestyles.

Because of these developments, humans increasingly reflect on and reshape their identity and cultural commitment at both individual and societal levels. Each person assumes more responsibility to design his/her own way of life. As humans are located in the economic system as well as in the life-world, and now that these two spheres are no longer mediated through government regulation, individuals receive conflicting commands from these two spheres. People often have difficulty in leading a successful economic life while maintaining healthy social and cultural lives. As a result, it is often difficult to attain a stable identity today.

Jock Young shares much of Touraine's analysis of the current social system, but puts more emphasis on the danger of socio-economic disparities and the resulting social exclusion (Young, 1999, 2007). In the neoliberal economy, humans' autonomy has become restrained by the demands of the neoliberal economic system. Neoliberalism requires humans to behave as independent and rational actors in the market. In its vision, the primary activities of individuals are defined as acquisition

of wealth and consumption of commodities. People are sorted and placed in a hierarchical order according to how much they earn and how much they can spend. With the growing influence of this vision, people now aspire for more wealth and, as a result, feel frustrated and tortured by a sense of failure. It has become difficult to attain stable self-esteem.

Economic disparity and the growing influence of the consumerist culture are the main causes of social pathologies. In poverty areas of large cities, for example, people are under the strong influence of consumerist culture because they often lack access to other types of cultural resources that counterbalance it. They aspire for the affluent lifestyle that the consumerist culture praises, but they lack the necessary resources to achieve it. This gap causes frustration, despair, and anger. Young males often seek recognition though physical strength, which is the only resource they have. They sometimes seek to earn money through illegal drug trade and other criminal activities. These factors create a subculture of poverty, violence, and crime. In order to address this problem, J. Young (1999) advocates for the proper regulation of the market system and the alleviation of socio-economic disparities. He also recognizes the importance of the revitalization of communal relations for the purpose of controlling social pathologies.

J. Young (1999) stops short of endorsing multicultural policies because he fears that such policies would aggravate the minorities' exclusion by consolidating the stigmatic image of difference that is already imposed on the marginalized groups. He does not attribute much value to differences among various minority cultures because, in his view, all of them are already included in one single consumerist culture.

Michel Wieviorka (2001) pays more attention to the role of local communities and cultures in addressing the problem of social pathology. In his view, no one can reject the influence of consumerist culture altogether. One other hand, it does not provide sufficient meaning for individuals' life. Therefore, the belonging to local communities and cultures is also important.

When local communities and cultures are well preserved, and they

are not subjected to discrimination, individual members can enrich their lives by exposing themselves to different cultures, while retaining the membership of their home communities. In Wieviorka's (2001) view, this is the most desirable mode of cultural belonging, in which individuals' autonomy and creativity is fully attained. In reality, however, minority groups often face discrimination and the pressure of cultural assimilation. When the cultural practices decline under the pressure of assimilation, the community members will lose cultural resources that are necessary for organizing meaningful lives. Even in such cases, on the other hand, the stigma imposed from outside will continue to lock the group members within the group boundary, hindering them from fully integrating into the mainstream society. Thus, they will be denied opportunities for economic success, while being confined within impoverished cultures. This leads to serious social pathologies.

In order to prevent this outcome, it is necessary to secure opportunities for economic success on one hand and to revitalize communal culture and practices on the other. Cultural resources should be preserved, and the stigmatized images should be turned into positive ones. Thus, Wieviorka (2001) shows the significance of multiculturalism policies in the late-modern period.

While Wieviorka's (2001) comprehensive discussion includes various political issues, including the regulation of the market system, the present paper concentrates on the issue of social pathologies, discussing other issues only in relation to this topic. We will look at the way this approach is employed in policies toward immigrant groups and indigenous peoples in North America.

Policies toward Immigrant Groups

The community rebuilding approach is employed in discussions regarding policies toward immigrant groups. In the United States, there is a growing concern about social pathologies among younger generations of immigrant groups, and a number of researchers regard a well-preserved

communal culture as a major protective factor against this risk (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou, 1997). Once it was assumed that immigrants would gradually cast off their distinct cultures and integrate into mainstream society. With the progress of cultural assimilation, classical assimilationist theories held, immigrants would obtain full access to opportunities and resources in the mainstream society. In their view, cultural assimilation guarantees access to "the opportunity structure of society" (Zhou, 1997, p. 976).

Such a story no longer holds with many second- and third-generation immigrants in the U.S. Although some of them can attain upward movement, others remain at the bottom of the society. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) name this phenomenon "segmented assimilation," emphasizing that the integration pattern varies greatly among immigrant groups (p. 45). In their search for factors that separate the successful from the unsuccessful groups, they pay special attention to the socio-economic situation of the late-modern era. Today, immigrants face various challenges that their predecessors did not.

First, as Portes and Rumbaut (2001) point out, the structure of the postindustrial labor market creates a barrier for the improvement of their situation (p. 56). Once, there was an "industrial ladder of unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and supervisory occupations," which successive generations of immigrant groups gradually climbed (p. 58). In contrast, in the current polarized labor market, well-paying semi-skilled or skilled jobs are not available for many of them. As a result, they can no longer make advancement with modest skills and hard work. In order to improve their economic situation, they now need access to higher education (p. 58). This is very difficult to attain, of course, for poor immigrant students.

On the other hand, these youths are imbued with consumerist culture and are not satisfied with the humble life that their parents led. In addition, they often face prejudice and discrimination because of their ethno-racial background (pp. 55–56). Thus, the aspiration for affluent life, combined with the difficulty of achieving this goal, raises frustration and resentment toward the society.

As a result, they are attracted to the deviant lifestyles and oppositional cultures of poverty areas (pp. 59–60). In the perspective of such oppositional cultures, the difficult plight of minorities is caused by the hostility of the mainstream institutions. Schools and teachers are regarded as "instruments of racial oppression." Thus, the formal education is not considered to improve their situation (p. 60). Under strong peer-pressure in school and neighborhood, the second-generation youths often conform to such cultural norms, giving up their academic efforts (p. 98).

In order to secure successful careers for their children, the parents need to guard them from the influence of the deviant culture and to make them concentrate on schoolwork. The parents can guide their children successfully only as long as their children regard them as figures of authority (pp. 53–54). This is a serious challenge for immigrant families. Immigrant youths often acquire the skill of the new language more quickly than their parents, while failing to master the language of their parents. As a result, they come to have difficulties in communicating with older generations. In addition, they learn the cultural norms of the host society and become more competent in everyday transactions than their parents. In such cases, the parents often lose the superior position toward their children and fail to keep their children from being swallowed up by the deviant culture.

Under this backdrop, it is remarkable that children of some immigrant groups, such as those from Asian countries, often show high academic performance. In spite of handicaps, such as difference of culture, insufficient language competence, and poor economic resources, they often overcome these difficulties and outperform students of the mainstream background. These researchers hold that the main source of their success is a rich communal culture and strong social ties.

In their communities, both parents and children are embedded in close social networks made of extended families and other social relationships. The whole community cares for and supervises the children (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 99). This structure reinforces parents' authority over their children, and if necessary, parents can rely on the commun-

ity's support in guiding their children (p. 99). In addition, these communities often maintain cultural values which emphasize respect to parents and elders, virtues of industry and thrift, and responsibility to one's family members (Zhou, 1997, pp. 994–996). Thus, youths are cared for by the whole community and encouraged to lead a life according to the communally shared cultural values. They are guarded from acculturation into the underclass culture. Thus, the tight social network of immigrant communities can help their youths integrate well in the economic system when they retain rich social capital and healthy value orientations.

On the basis of such insights, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) recommend public policies that can ensure that the second-generation youths retain strong ties with their parents and community. They advocate bilingual education in public schools so that the immigrant youths can acquire fluency in their parents' language (pp. 274–275). It is also desirable for the groups to retain their distinct culture and close communal ties. The government should not take hostile measures toward immigrant communities, as it would hinder the effort of community building. Instead, Portes and Rumbaut insist that the government should support immigrant families' efforts to develop communal networks (p. 280).

Fighting Social Pathologies in Indigenous Communities

The community-rebuilding approach is actively employed also in the policy toward Indigenous peoples in Canada. Some of their communities suffer from severe social pathologies. Psychologists and psychiatrists began to treat these pathologies as the problem of communities, rather than that of particular individuals. Laurence Kirmayer and his colleagues show this change by tracing the development of the concept of "community resilience" (Kirmayer et al., 2009a). The concept of "resilience" was first formulated in psychology to analyze the process in which some children who experienced abuse or neglect recover from severe mental and physical damage and regain the capability to lead normal lives (p. 67). The concept is now applied to social systems, such as families and local

communities. With the concepts of "family resilience" and "community resilience," a number of researchers discuss the ways in which these social groups face an inimical circumstance, overcome its negative effects, and flourish again (pp. 70–72). In this "ecosystemic view," individuals are embedded in a web of social relationships (p. 72). An individual's mental health condition is closely connected with the function of that person's family and community. Thus, in order to address the issues of social pathologies, not only must the lives of individuals be rehabilitated but also the community as a whole. Rich culture and communal ties are regarded as important resources for such effort. Culture provides a resource with which to make sense of changes (p. 71). Therefore, "cultural knowledge and practices" are "key components of both individual and family resilience" (p. 71). Growing "social capital" literature shows that the rich social networks promote mental and physical health of the residents (p. 74).

Kirmayer and his colleagues note that Indigenous peoples' traditional understanding of persons, society, and the universe closely resembles the background idea of "community resilience" (Kirmayer et al., 2009a, p. 79). Because of this similarity, researchers hold that Indigenous peoples' cultural norms and social practices are powerful sources of their communities' resilience. Theories of community resilience emphasize the importance of family, community and culture in dealing with stress that they encounter (p. 78). In their "ecological, contextual or relational view," "the individual, family unit, community, nature, and the spiritual world are interconnected" (p. 78).

Many Indigenous groups also share such ideas. In their view, all beings in the universe are mutually connected (Kirmayer et al., 2009a, p. 79). Humans are embedded in the environment and interact with social, physical, and spiritual entities around them. Indigenous people believe that spirits of ancestors, non-human persons, and animal powers all influence humans' lives (p. 79). Humans have a moral duty to maintain good relationships with all of them. Our happiness consists in getting along with all beings, and maintaining proper balance in various aspects of

human life; physical, cultural, emotional, and spiritual (p. 78). These ideas are embodied in various cultural practices and help humans recover from serious damage. Researchers note that such traditional cultural practices help them deal with "change, loss and trauma" (p. 79).

Kirmayer and his colleagues (2009a) pay special attention to the following elements of Indigenous cultures. First, *families* are basic units of their social system, and family bonds provide basic support for people' lives (p. 80). Children learn their family histories from their grandparents, and acquire self-respect through it. The importance of families requires special emphasis in policy debates because, in reality, many Indigenous children are raised in institutions or foster families, separated from their home communities. Some researchers recommend that government should help these children maintain connection with their home communities and cultures (p. 80).

The connection to the *land* too has special significance in the Indigenous worldview. As Kirmayer and his colleagues remind us (2009a), recent medical research is paying attention to the connection between a human's mental and physical health on one hand, and one's connection to particular locations and natural landscapes on the other (p. 81). This link is particularly strong among Indigenous peoples. They see a strong link between places and health (p. 81). In their views, the land is not a mere "physical or symbolic space." The relationship to specific places has an "interpersonal" nature (p. 82). Such connection to the land is maintained through religious rituals, subsistence activities of hunting and fishing, and other activities in fields and forests. Many researchers report that the contact with nature and the acquisition of food from it bring about a sense of happiness, confidence, and self-respect (p. 82).

Storytelling is another important source of resilience (Kirmayer et al., 2009a, p. 81). Its function is not limited to the transmission of cultural heritage. The experience of telling and listening to stories together itself nourishes a shared sense of membership and solidarity. Many of their old stories describe their ancestors' challenges and struggles in positive tones, and tellers often employ humor in their narration. The audience

is led to see themselves through the image of the stories and to face the difficulties with some playfulness and creativity (Kirmayer et al., 2009a, p. 81).

Researchers, policy makers, and community leaders increasingly recognize the importance of cultural revitalization and community building in overcoming social pathologies. Traditional cultures provide individuals with orientation for meaningful lives, and help communities build common social norms. Michael J. Chandler and Christopher Lalonde showed how the revitalization of traditional culture and rebuilding of communities could prevent suicide among Indigenous populations (Chandler & Lalonde, 2009). In Canada, the average rate of youth suicides among Indigenous population is much higher than the national average, but the suicide cases are not evenly distributed across the country; in the province of British Columbia, many of them were concentrated in a relatively small number of communities. Through statistical analysis of indigenous communities across the province, Chandler and Lalonde (2009) looked for the factors that caused the difference. The high suicide rate among Indigenous population was often attributed to poverty and geographical isolation of their communities. However, Chandler and Lalonde's (2009) research showed that suicide rates were also strongly related to the degree of "cultural continuity," which is defined as the communities' control of their political and cultural lives (p. 238). A community's "cultural continuity" was measured by the following factors: 1) the community's effort to "secure Aboriginal title to their traditional lands"; 2) recovery of rights of self-government; 3) a community's control over educational services, police and fire services, and health-delivery services; 4) establishment of public cultural facilities which support the community's cultural lives; 5) women's participation in local governance (which is an important element of their political tradition); and 6) communities' control over child and family services (pp. 238–240). Each of them was proved to be a protective factor against suicide, and they have a cumulative effect (p. 240). The community where all these factors were present saw no suicide case in the 8-year period of the survey.

Adrian Tanner, a Canadian anthropologist, shows how the East Cree combat social pathologies through revitalization of their tradition (Tanner, 2009). Traditionally, the East Cree led lives of hunting, spending most of their time in hunting camps. Extended families were the units of hunting activities. All individual members, both male and female, old and young, were allocated specific roles within the groups. Adult men were respected for their work of hunting, and women were valued for their skill of care taking. Elders were respected for their experience and wisdom, and their words held weight in decision making (p. 255). Children were cared for by many members of the group. Their lives were consistent with their cultural values, such as close interaction with the environment, "self-reliance, autonomy, generosity, and physical health" (p. 254). The religion was an essential part of practical knowledge in their everyday life (p. 257). In their view, the success of the hunting depended on the hunters' harmonious relationships with the animals and the spiritual realm. The animals were regarded as "spiritual persons," and were supposed to give themselves to hunters when the hunters treated them properly (p. 257).

Such social structure and culture were drastically changed by the government's policy of sedentarization and assimilation since the 1950s. In the new settlement they lost autonomy both personally and collectively. Individual members lost their traditional roles but had difficulties finding new ones. Elders' knowledge lost much of its relevance in the new living condition. Many men could not obtain new jobs, and they were no longer respected as breadwinners (Tanner, 2009, p. 255). Women found it difficult to handle household affairs in the new environment. Thus, the settlement led to "anomie" and "the social breakdown," which caused a drastic rise in heavy drinking, violence, suicides, and accidental deaths (Tanner, 2009, pp. 252–263).

The East Cree began to combat such social pathologies through revitalization of traditional culture and communal ties. The movement was initiated by the Pentecostal church, which urged its members to give up alcohol. Then, local community initiatives organized the movement employing the ideology of pan-Indianism, which was widely used in treat-

ment programs outside the community. After that, they began to make use of their own local tradition (Tanner, 2009, p. 261).

Thus, the East Cree began to reconnect with their traditional hunting culture and religion. For this purpose, the community encourages its members to occasionally go hunting as families (Tanner, 2009, p. 266). The community also organizes "cultural camps" in which the whole community holds traditional festivals and performs ceremonies. Younger members listen to older people tell the stories of the community. By such projects, they try to recover cultural tradition and rebuild the communal relations in the new environment. Instead of addressing individuals' troubles, the movement aims to heal the whole community. These projects are "forms of community building" which aimed at strengthening social relations (Tanner, 2009, p. 252).

Indigenous spirituality is widely employed in treatment programs for alcohol- and substance-addicts (McCormick, 2000). It also plays an important role in rehabilitation of criminal offenders (Nielsen, 2003, 2016; Waldram, 1997). Since the 1980s, Canadian prisons have begun to provide religious services based on Indigenous spirituality, in response to strong demands from Indigenous inmates as well as Indigenous communities. They hired Elders and spiritual leaders, who performed religious ceremonies, offered counseling to individual inmates, and provided spiritual and cultural knowledge (Waldram, 1997, p. 140). Although these provisions were originally intended to meet the inmates' basic right to religious freedom, James Waldram (1997) emphasized the importance of their therapeutic function for mentally troubled inmates (p. 15). Indigenous cultures used to have powerful systems of "healing" with which communities and individuals dealt with their difficulties. They have been suppressed in the history of colonization and forced assimilation (pp. 5–6). Waldram argued that these healing systems should be recovered so that inmates can employ them in order to overcome their problems.

Waldram (1997) analyzed the way Indigenous spirituality was employed in several correctional facilities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In his observation, Indigenous inmates often suffered from the problem

of unstable identity. Many of them spent their childhood and early adulthood in a dire environment and experienced many traumatic events, which prevented the formation of stable relations with the society (pp. 47–56). In addition, these inmates experienced racial discrimination, which made them ashamed of their Indigenous ancestry (pp. 56–61). As a result, they had difficulty cultivating a positive self-image. They hated themselves as well as other people (pp. 47–56). Many inmates suffered from pathologies such as suicidal attitudes, alcohol and substance addiction, and violence toward others as well as themselves.

Waldram (1997) described the way indigenous spirituality helped the inmates cope with these troubles. Many of them had little understanding about indigenous spirituality when they entered the prison. They began to learn its knowledge through the programs in the prisons (p. 41). Elders provided such knowledge through lectures, counseling, and religious ceremonies. Many of the inmates have strong motivation for solving their identity conflicts through learning about Indigenous cultures and histories (pp. 79, 129). They took part in religious ceremonies such as sweat lodges, pipe ceremonies, and sacred circles. The successful practice of religious ceremonies requires solidarity and cooperation among participants (p. 80). Because the inmates came from diverse cultural groups, the Elders tried to develop common understanding of the religious symbols and practices through lecture, dialogue, and counseling (p. 79).

Compared with mainstream rehabilitation programs, these programs were highly effective, as they were based on the cultural tradition that the Indigenous inmates regarded as their own. In Waldram's view, the mainstream prison rehabilitative programing was "assimilationist"; the prison staff such as "the case management officers, the psychologists and psychiatrists, and the therapist and chaplains" tried to conform inmates to cultural norms of the "White middle class" (p. 111). In contrast, Indigenous therapists helped Indigenous inmates develop stable identities as Indigenous persons (p. 111).

In these institutions, Elders gained much more trust from the inmates than the other correctional staff (Waldram, 1997, p. 140). Waldram points

out that most Indigenous inmates showed the Elders great respect and reverence (p. 141). They regarded the Elders as more empathetic, because they came from the same cultural tradition and shared similar experiences. In fact, many of these Elders had lived troubled lives and had the experience of rehabilitation through spirituality. Their lives demonstrated the promise of the "spiritual path" (p. 141).

In contrast, mainstream rehabilitation experts often failed to gain trust because, in the view of many Indigenous inmates, they came from a different background. These experts knew their plight only through books (Waldram, 1997, p. 142). They were considered to be less empathetic, and to provide services only insofar as their business obligations demanded. Psychologists and psychiatrists offended the Indigenous inmates, whey they appeared to be showing off their professional authority by exhibiting their expertise or using scientific vocabulary (p. 142).

The Indigenous spirituality urged the inmates to practice virtues which help them lead honest lives. It admonished against drug and alcohol abuse, as well as physical and sexual violence (Waldram, 1997, p. 131). Through practicing indigenous culture, substantial number of inmates changed their lives, attaining stable self-esteem and overcoming pathologies (p. 218).

The Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992) intended to push forward this policy. Under this legislation, Indigenous communities can enter a contract with the Correction Service of Canada, and operate correction institutions for indigenous offenders ("Healing Lodges") (Office of the Correctional Investigator [OCI], 2012; Nielsen, 2003). Although the federal government has been criticized for not actively promoting the utilization of this provision, the value of such a policy has been well established (Nielsen, 2016; OCI, 2012).

Improving Governance of Indigenous Communities

The revitalization of cultural tradition is also crucial for improving the governance of Indigenous communities. Their governments some-

times suffer from inefficiencies caused by the breakdown of communal norms. Rampant corruption, factional strife, and nepotism frustrate the governments' function. The dysfunction of governance is a serious problem because it hinders communities' collective effort to grapple with serious pathologies. Here we will look at the debate concerning the Canadian government's proposal of *the First Nations Governance Act* (2002), and see how *the community rebuilding approach* was employed in this context.

In Canada, the current governing structure of Indigenous (First Nation) communities originates from colonial rule imposed by European settlers (Alfred, 1999, 2005; Borrows, 2003; Freideres, 2011). The essence of this system is that the federal government controls Indigenous peoples using band governments as its tool. Under the *Indian Act*, band governments are subordinate and ultimately accountable to the federal government, not to members of the communities.

On the other hand, the band government is in a strong position vis-à-vis individual members of the community (Graham, 2012). The band council holds the overwhelming share of the administrative power and controls most of the community's resources. It could silence voices of criticism among members. In this system, it is difficult to hold the council accountable to the community. Thus, it has been widely agreed that the current governing structure should be radically reshaped; the band governments must gain more autonomy from the federal government, and they must become accountable directly to the members of the communities. For this purpose, the federal government had been negotiating with Indigenous communities about the establishment of self-government, but it also proposed the *First Nations Governance Act* as an interim solution for the problem.

John Borrows, a prominent Indigenous legal scholar, critically discussed this bill. Borrows (2003) argues that the problems of accountability cannot be effectively addressed without situating the *Act* in a proper cultural context (p. 110). A robust sense of accountability never arises without referring to particular cultural norms. The *Act* intends to "codify tech-

nical rules of behavior" (p. 117), and supposes that the compliance to the rules should be secured through the sanction of punishment (p. 130). The *Act* will fail to attain its goal, as it disregards the traditional norms of the First Nations peoples. Borrows argues that the revitalization of traditional social norms, with the practice of praise and reproach based on them, is more effective in securing good governance (p. 132).

Among many First Nations peoples, Borrows argues, the principle of *stewardship* is the main source of political accountability. In their worldview, the Creator has given humans their respective location within the world, and they are expected to live in harmony with lands, plants, animals and other beings. Human must care for each other and for other beings. Governments' accountability is based on this moral principle. The concept of accountability is meaningless without a reference to particular communities that support the virtuous actions through approbation and reproach (p. 110). Traditionally, First Nations peoples learned the principles of *stewardship* through instructions as well as participation in ceremonies (p. 116). Many stories showed the way such duties should be performed through the exercise of important virtues, such as loyalty, bravery, courage, generosity, and love toward other beings (p. 117). These stories also disclosed the idea of approbation for proper actions (p. 106).

As for the method of government, Borrows holds, the current hierarchical structure of band government, which was imposed in the colonial rule, does not fit well with their communities (p. 122). Borrows also recommends that First Nation communities have law-making bodies and adjudicative bodies, both of which operate according to communally shared norms (pp. 123–124).

Traditional ceremonies and other cultural practices are essential in making this system work. Borrows recommends the revival of communal practices, such as potlatches, feasts, and giveaways in order to revitalize communal norms (p. 121). These activities disclose the traditional worldview and the normative order, showing community members their duties. They are also occasions for praising virtuous conducts and reproaching the violation of social norms (pp. 130–132). Thus, revitalization of tradi-

tional culture, with religious practices as its essential element, is regarded as a key for the improvement of governance.

American researchers Stephen Cornell and Joseph Kalt also criticized the bill employing their research findings. Their research demonstrated the importance of traditional social norms for the recovery of good governance in Indigenous communities (Cornell, Jorgensen, & Kalt, 2002; Cornell & Kalt, 1992, 1995, 2000, 2001). They analyzed a large number of Indigenous communities in the U.S. and, through both qualitative and quantitative methods, isolated causal factors that affected tribal governments' ability to carry out economic development projects successfully. Their analyses show that a high degree of autonomy of the Indigenous bands from the federal and state governments is the most important factor for the responsible policies. Outside agents, including federal and state governments, lack both a deep understanding of the community's situation and zeal for alleviation of social problems. When an outside organization assumes the primary responsibility for economic development, the goal of economic development is often compromised by the interests of these organizations (Cornell et al., 1992, p. 13).

Good governance also needs the support from shared communal norms. The government functions effectively only when the leaders and the community members accept the legitimacy of formal institutions and observe the rules that regulate their function. This sense of legitimacy derives from the match between the formal institutions on one hand, and traditional norms and informal social relationships on the other (Cornell et al., 2002, p. 5). When these two are in tension, public institutions cannot gain sufficient legitimacy, and their rules are not faithfully observed. In such cases, natural community leaders do not bother to pursue public offices, and the real decision-making of the community often takes place outside of the formal institutions (Cornell & Kalt, 1995, p. 418; Cornell et.al., 2002, pp. 13−14).

The social norms about governance vary greatly among Indigenous groups in the U.S. Some communities traditionally have a decentralized governance structure with a bottom-up system of consensus making,

whereas others have a more centralized political system built around strong leaders. Such norms are sometimes at odds with the common sense of modern Western democracy but, when situated in a particular cultural context, they often attain a high degree of efficiency and accountability. For example, the Pueblo of Cochiti has a "traditional theocracy," in which the religious leader has exclusive power to appoint most of public offices. However, there are also "strong cultural 'constitutional' constraints on the use and abuse of political power" (Cornell & Kalt 2000, p. 456). The religious leader is prohibited to make money from the tribe's economic enterprises, and makes a simple living. This system has attained a responsible government and successful economic development. An electoral system with frequent change of public officials, on the other hand, often fails to prevent corruption and abuse of power when it is not supported by shared norms.

Thus, Borrows, Conall, and Kalt regard community rebuilding as the essential part of attaining good governance, which is the necessary condition for successful effort to fight social pathologies.

Justifying Multiculturalism Policies

Now let us consider whether the policies of community rebuilding can be normatively justified and secure sufficient public support. The projects of community rebuilding, at least in their moderate forms, can expect substantial support from liberal theories of justice. Rawlsian liberal justice requires that the society should fairly provide all the citizens with the primary social goods that are indispensable for a decent standard of living. Such necessary goods are considered to include safety, freedom from fear, and adequate education. When serious social pathologies prevent members of marginalized communities from enjoying these basic necessities, justice would then require the government to combat the social pathologies and to restore a healthy social environment. Thus, to the extent that the revitalization of communal culture and personal ties are necessary for the recovery from pathologies, such projects would have

to be pushed forward by the government's initiative.

Where the minority communities' pathologies have been caused by the government's unjust policies, the government has additional responsibility arising from the obligation of reparation. In such cases, the principle of justice requires that the government should make up for the damage that it caused (Valls, 2018, pp. 23–35). The causal relations between past events and current pathologies are often difficult to prove but, in some cases, the link is well established. Several medical experts are formulating the idea of *historical trauma,* trying to show the causal relation between the past government policies and the current psychiatric distress (Gone, 2013). In Canada, there is a growing recognition that the pathologies in Indigenous communities can be largely attributed to unjust assimilation policies pursued by governments and mainstream institutions (Kirmayer et al., 2009b). An iconic example is *Indian Residential Schools*, government-sponsored religious institutions whose mandate was to assimilate Indigenous children into the mainstream Euro-Canadian culture (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

Policies of community rebuilding are employed for poor communities in general but, for ethnic and national minorities, there are additional reasons for adopting such policies. For these minorities, community rebuilding is often more promising than other policies, such as the relocation of the residents to other areas that have healthy environments (Valls, 2018, pp. 140–148). The members of minority groups often suffer from racism and discrimination in the mainstream society. In such cases, the relocated people often have difficulties integrating into the new neighborhood. When the current community is dismantled, it is difficult to build new relationships out of nothing. The poor residents will be in danger of losing what little there are of social ties, which are necessary for day-to-day survival. Thus, relocation is not always an attractive solution for the social pathologies of minority communities.

In addition to such moral justification based on *justice* and *equality*, the community rebuilding projects could gain support on other grounds as well. The plight of these communities often attracts public attention

through tragic accidents, such as youths' suicides and child abuse, drawing out people's sympathy. Thus, people often support the government's programs out of compassion and solidarity toward their fellow citizens. Secondly, the consideration of cost and benefit of the programs could also generate support for spending public resources. Rampant poverty, unemployment, crime, and illness raise the cost of medical and welfare programs, as well as the operational cost of law enforcement. In many cases, therefore, the economic benefit from the rehabilitation of the communities surpasses the cost of the government's projects. *The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* employs this logic when they urge mainstream Canadians to endorse their ambitious projects. If the policies are implemented, it argues, "governments will see their revenues increase, as Aboriginal economic activity expands, and their expenditures on financial assistance and remedial programs decline as Aboriginal people's dependence on government diminishes" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP], 1996, p. 52). Thus, the projects of community rebuilding, at least in their moderate forms, have a good chance of gaining support from the mainstream society.

The community rebuilding approach could take more radical forms as well. The goals of community rebuilding are not always limited to the revitalization of culture and social ties; they could also include the reshaping of existing power structures. Current research examines the way unequal power relations between the minority and the majority groups create pathological cultures. As we have seen above, Chandler and Lalonde showed the autonomy of the community to be an important protective factor against suicide. Kirmayer and colleagues note that the mental health research of Indigenous people increasingly recognizes the importance of "community empowerment, activism, autonomy and control" (Kirmayer et al., 2009a, p. 87). In Kirmayer's words, "resilience is not only about self-definition, but also about 'self-determination'" (p. 87). John Borrows argues that the improvement of accountability requires a fundamental change of the political relations between the Canadian state and Indigenous peoples.

The autonomy of the Indigenous communities cannot always be attained through formal arrangements of self-government alone. Taiaiake Alfred depicts the way external actors, such as mainstream governments and big corporations, often corrupt and co-opt indigenous leaders by abusing administrative and economic powers (Alfred, 1999, 2005). By such means, they try to maintain control over Indigenous peoples and their resources, and to integrate their communities into a neoliberal economic system. The effort to attain accountable governance would be, therefore, connected with the struggle for an increased level of autonomy and equal power relations. Thus, the project of community rebuilding may go beyond the rehabilitation of community relations to the radical reshaping of the existing social structure and power relations.

Merits and Demerits of the Three Approaches and Conclusion

Finally, we would like to consider the merits and weak points of *the community rebuilding approach* in comparison with the other two approaches. *The culturalist approach* provides a powerful protection of existing cultural practices, by connecting them to the individual and communal identities. Will Kymlicka has presented an influential theory which demands the preservation of minorities' *societal culture. A societal culture* is a self-sufficient social sphere, based on a comprehensive set of social institutions and national culture (Kymlicka, 1995). Each national group, including indigenous people, is supposed to have its own *societal culture*. A *societal culture* is self-sufficient in the sense that the members of the society usually spend their whole life in it. It sustains itself in spite of the changes of particular cultural practices and values. A human's vision of life is shaped in a particular *societal culture*, and the loss of access to one's *societal culture* makes meaningful life impossible to achieve. Therefore, the ideal of justice requires that minority groups' *societal cultures* should be protected against the assimilating pressure of the mainstream culture.

On the other hand, however, *the culturalist approach* has its own

demerit. Kymlicka's argument does not work very well in defending the policy of revitalization of cultures that have been already lost or severely diminished. A diminished culture is not self-sufficient; it does not provide meaningful options in all aspects of the community members' lives. Out of necessity, the members engage in various activities in the mainstream society, acquiring access to some life options provided by the mainstream society's major institutions.

In this situation, the access to one's home culture cannot be regarded as an indispensable and non-negotiable condition of one's meaningful life (Patten, 2014). Rather, it becomes a matter of the individual member's *choice*, and one is required to bear the cost of *choosing* to stay in the declining culture. Thus, *the culturalist approach* cannot effectively defend the public policies of preserving and promoting diminished cultures.

In this regard, *the community rebuilding approach* has an advantage over *the culturalist approach*. *The community rebuilding approach* could defend cultural revitalization projects as long as it can provide resources that are necessary for overcoming social pathologies. For many minority communities which have lost cultural self-sufficiency, and which suffer from social pathologies, *the community rebuilding approach* would be the more promising strategy to address their problems.

Compared with *the domination/oppression approach*, *the community rebuilding approach* will often have a better chance of gaining public support, at least in its moderate version. It focuses on the pressing needs of mental and physical health, safety, and healthy environment, which should be enjoyed by all members of a society. Its logic is not adversarial, so it is less likely to provoke hostility of the majority population. Besides, the majority population have various motivations to support the projects of community rebuilding.

On the other hand, the community building approach can address the issue of inequality only insofar as it is necessary for fighting social pathologies. We have seen the possibility of addressing unequal power relations in the community building approach, but the validity of such argument depends on the situation of the minority groups and circum-

stances in which they are situated. In the domination/oppression approach, contrastingly, one could address the issue of inequality more directly, because the very goal of this approach is attaining equal and fair relations between majority and minority groups.

We have seen that there are several ways of articulating and applying the vision of multiculturalism to particular cases. *The culturalist approach,* which is the most influential in public discourses, is not always the only or the best way to address the issues of minority communities. The present paper distinguished three approaches of multiculturalism and showed that *the community rebuilding approach* has a distinct mode of articulating multiculturalism. It addresses important social issues of the late-modern period and informs policy debate and practice in a number of policy areas. We should select suitable approaches case by case, in view of the groups' situation, their practical goals, and the institutional and political contexts.

Note

1) The present paper does not organize the typology according to Will Kymlicka's influential classification (level 1 above). He differentiates between "national" and "ethnic" groups, each of which is supposed to have a distinct set of social structures, needs, and aspirations. On this supposition, a particular set of policy measures is recommended for each group. In Kymlicka's theory, indigenous peoples and national minorities are supposed to have their own "societal cultures." Kymlicka holds that the central need of "national minorities" is to protect their distinct "societal culture" from disappearing. Other ethnic groups do not have their own societal culture, but they often aspire to retain particular elements of culture, such as religious practices, or gender and family norms. Their concern is to retain these practices without suffering from social disadvantage.
The problem of this typology is that some groups do not fit well with either of the categories. In fact, Kymlicka himself is well aware of this difficulty. Under the title of *Hard Cases*, he discusses the groups that were deprived of their societal culture against their will, either through forced migration or forced assimilation (Kymlicka, 1995, pp. 98–101). This is the case with minority groups in Japan. For example, the Ainu would fall into the category of indigenous people. However, the forced assimilation has destroyed their self-sufficiency politically, culturally, and economically. In these cases, the difficulties and needs of these groups do not agree with those of *typical* minority groups. Therefore, it will be more helpful for our purpose to build a typology that is based on

the minorities' *difficulties* and *needs*, instead of group types.

2) The present paper does not intend to show that multiculturalism policies always or usually attain the intended policy goals. The effectiveness of multicultural policies usually depends on the particular condition of the minority groups as well as the context in which the problems arise. The purpose of the present paper is to show that multicultural policies can be normatively defended in situations where such policies have promise of effectively addressing the problems. For this purpose, it suffices here to show how, in some typical cases, multicultural polices contributes to the solution of the problems.

3) Many theorists of multiculturalism do not take only one of these approaches, but usually employ two or three of these approaches together. However, they put a different degree of importance on each of them and, as a result, develop different types of argument.

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