Research on Multiculturalism Citizenship and Civic Education

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Abstract: Multiculturalist citizenship is a differential citizenship based on the claim of multiculturalism and a critique of the universality of liberal citizenship. It takes ethnic differences as the base, emphasizes the special rights of minority groups and cultural identity of ethnic groups, and cultivates the multicultural identity of citizens. Multiculturalism emphasizes the difference and multicultural identity of citizens, but does not exclude the unity of citizens and national citizenship. Therefore, multiculturalism citizenship education needs to deal with the relationship between equality and difference, and between ethnic identity and national identity. Only in this way can we maintain both the diversity of ethnic groups and the unity of national identity.

Minority Rights in the late 20th century, the liberal concept of citizenship that dominated the West was constantly criticized by multiculturalism. Multiculturalism criticizes the homogeneity of liberal citizenship, ignores the differences between ethnic groups, and emphasizes the right to value cultural pluralism and ethnic differences. "Groups that were previously excluded are now no longer willing to be forced into silence or marginalization, or to be treated as 'abnormal' simply because they differ from so-called 'normal' citizens in terms of race, culture, gender, ability, or sexual orientation '[1]. They demand a more accommodating citizenship that recognizes them for who they are, and which in turn accommodates the differences between them." This gives rise to a multiculturalist citizenship of difference that transcends liberal homogeneous citizenship.

1. The emergence of multiculturalist citizenship

Multiculturalist citizenship, in reality, stems from the demands of multiculturalism and, in theory, from the critique of liberal citizenship.

1.1 The reality requirement of multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as a social trend received widespread attention and was transformed into a public policy in the United States after the 1960s. The core concept of multiculturalism is to respect cultural diversity, especially for minorities, subcultural groups, disadvantaged groups and immigrant groups, to recognize their differences and their equal status [2]. Multiculturalism is not a rejection of universal values and a move toward cultural relativism, but rather a belief that

"universal values can be realized in different forms in different cultures, and that each culture is worthy of respect. Therefore, multiculturalism should deal with the relationship between commonality and individuality, not only to maintain the commonality among cultures, but also to respect the individuality of different cultures; not only to recognize and respect the characteristics of different cultures, actively encourage the preservation of customs and values of different cultures, but also to recognize that common values are the basis of social cohesion.

1.2 Critique of liberal universal (homogeneous) citizenship

Behind the liberal citizenship of equality for all is the abstract assumption of universality or homogeneity. This universality is defined as the generality as opposed to the particularity, i.e. the homogeneity, the commonality that all citizens have; this universality also implies that the laws and rules are the same for all and that everyone is undifferentiated. In fact, "liberalism represents not equality between different individuals, but the domination of equality over difference: social differences are obliterated in the name of an abstract, unattainable citizenship." The universal culture of liberalism is, in fact, the culture of the ruling class or dominant social class. These dominant groups use their dominance to cause their culture to be treated as a universal culture without prejudice, and their dominance in turn makes their group-based competencies, values, and ways of knowing universal norms to which all people should adhere. This principle of undifferentiated universalism, which ostensibly adheres to the same rules, actually represents the culture and norms of the dominant class with a dominant position, inevitably endangering the culture and existence of minority groups, and even more so, the self-identity of minority groups. In the name of equality, liberalism legitimizes the culture of the dominant social class as the universal culture that dominates the public interest, leaving the culture of other groups marginalized or unable to express their opinions [3]. Thus, multiculturalism criticizes liberalism for excluding religious, gender, cultural, and racial identities from the realm of citizenship and banishing them to the private sphere. The so-called equality of liberalism that ignores group differences is only a formal equality, and formal equality is not exchanged for substantive equality in reality [4]. While guaranteeing equal rights for every citizen on the basis of individualism, the government must also recognize and accommodate the identities and rights of minority groups and provide them with the "community rights of difference.

2. Characteristics of Multiculturalist Citizenship

Multiculturalist citizenship criticizes the universality of liberal citizenship and emphasizes the difference of citizenship. This differentiation is based on cultural, historical and experiential ethnic differences. Multiculturalism seeks equality of rights, and this equality is an equality of rights based on ethnic groups [5]. Therefore, multiculturalism advocates "differential citizenship" based on differential ethnic rights and "differential citizenship" with ethnic cultural identity as the core.

2.1 Differentiated citizenship based on ethnicity

For multiculturalist Ellis Marion Young, the individual is not an abstract and rational creature, but a product of culture and social structure, and the history, culture, values, and behaviors of the community shape the individual's behaviour [6]. Multiculturalism has special provisions for communities: First, communities are not determined by the mutual interests of their members, but by the particular way of life they share. What is determined by the mutual interests of the community is a liberal collaborative, an association based on individual interests. Multiculturalism defines an ethnic group as a cultural definition, a group formed on the basis of a shared history,

culture, and way of life. This is the same as communitarianism. Second, multiculturalism's ethnicity does not point to any community, as communitarianism does, but is a particular kind of ethnicity that is excluded by the dominant community. Only "oppressed or disadvantaged groups" can enjoy "special representation".

2.2 The Rights of Different Communities

While recognizing the liberal premise of freedom and equality, multiculturalism defends the granting of special rights to minority groups, arguing that the government should recognize and accommodate the identity and rights of minority groups and grant them special "community rights". The right to self-governance is a radical form of community rights that sees the dominant culture as a competitor and may pose a substantial threat and challenge to citizenship, creating a confrontation between minority communities and the state. The right to pluralism and special representation, on the other hand, are moderate community rights that take into account the demands and cultural differences of minority communities in the state polity, and the desire to participate in political life as equal citizens and to be part of a pluralistic society. According to Gingrich, the rights of ethnic groups should be applied to different ethnic groups within the state, and the special characteristics of minority groups should be considered within the state, so that the differences of ethnic groups can be taken into account and the interests of the state can be maintained.

2.3 Ethnic Cultural Identity

Both the special rights of multiculturalists and their special citizenship are based on the ethnic identity of the cultural community. Without identification with the community identity, it is impossible to have a sense of community and to fight for the interests of the community. Identification is an important component of citizenship, and identification with the culture of the ethnic group is a requirement for the uniqueness of multiculturalist citizenship. The cultural identity of an ethnic group involves two types of groups: one is the citizens of that ethnic group. They share a common cultural identity and have a natural tendency to identify with and belong to the ethnic group; the other group is the citizens of the non-ethnic group, especially the citizens of the strong ethnic group, who have a sense of superiority over their own culture, which may result in discrimination and rejection of the weaker culture[7]. An important aspect of ethnic identity is the recognition of and respect for the culture of the weaker group by the stronger group. This identity is different from identification with the culture of the community. Identification with the culture of one's own ethnic group is a positive identification, maintaining the consciousness and self-respect of the culture of one's own ethnic group; identification with the culture of a foreign ethnic group is more of a negative identification, respecting the culture of other ethnic groups and not interfering with or infringing upon the culture of other ethnic groups. A democratic state should strive to balance the relationship between national identity and ethnic identity and establish an integrated identity system in which national identity and ethnic identity interact with each other. According to Gingrich, this integration should be understood in a "weak" sense, limited mainly to the integration of institutions and languages, but not to the integration of any customs, religious beliefs and ways of life. Even a common system should reserve a certain space for ethnic differences and be able to accommodate the demands of minority identity uniqueness.

2.4 Differential Citizenship

Multiculturalism opposes the universality of citizenship and emphasizes the differences of ethnic groups, which determines that multiculturalism's citizenship is a kind of differential citizenship.

Differential citizenship attempts to "empower communities at the level of the political or judicial system to resolve conflicts caused by their oppression," so that the rights of disadvantaged communities can be effectively guaranteed. The core of citizenship is rights and obligations, not cultural identity. Cultural identity is only a complement to citizenship. Modern citizens, regardless of the ethnic group they belong to, are first and foremost citizens of the state. National citizenship is the state's equal claim on different ethnic groups and is a universal citizenship. On the basis of the equality of all citizens, the government pays special attention to some ethnic groups with special needs and grants them "ethnic rights"[8]. Therefore, multiculturalism's differential citizenship emphasizes the specificity of ethnic group differences on the basis of recognizing the equal rights of citizens, and emphasizes ethnic group identity and special identification with ethnic groups on the basis of universal citizenship identity.

3. Multiculturalism Citizenship Education

Multiculturalism citizenship is the differential citizenship of minority ethnic groups. The reason for emphasizing the differential citizenship of minority ethnic groups is to address the unity and diversity of ethnic groups within a democratic state. If multiculturalism citizenship is made independent, that is, if only differences are emphasized and unity is neglected, it will inevitably form an ethnic segregation that is outside the mainstream culture of the society and threaten and shake the stability and harmony of the country. Multiculturalism emphasizes the differences in citizenship, but it is not a "difference-only" theory; differences are only a complement to unity. Multiculturalism is not a move toward the isolation of closed communities, but rather the pursuit of a state of "harmony and difference. "Harmony but difference" maintains the diversity of ethnic groups and has a strong unity of national identity.

3.1 Cultivating Differential Multicultural Citizenship

The multiculturalist view of citizenship, by nature, belongs to differential citizenship; by content, it belongs to multicultural citizenship. Multicultural citizenship has two basic points: first, it is a cultural identity, with the cultural identity of the ethnic group as the core. Secondly, it is confronted with multiculturalism. Therefore, citizens must not only identify with their own culture, but also respect and recognize the cultures of other ethnic groups. Based on the requirements of the cultural and pluralistic nature of multicultural citizenship, the cultivation of multicultural citizenship must resort to multicultural education and intercultural education [9]. Multicultural education, as a strategy for multicultural nations to cope with ethnic diversity and modern nations to cope with cultural globalization, is not intended for the cultivation of multicultural citizenship. However, the main purposes of multiculturalism education theory and citizenship theory are linked, and they are both committed to education for ethnic equality, which facilitates the formation of citizens in a pluralistic society that respects and accommodates cultural differences. Multicultural education has two main roles in the development of multicultural citizens. First, it fosters citizens' recognition of and respect for other cultures. Multicultural citizenship is not only expressed in the recognition of one's own ethnic culture, but also in the recognition of and respect for the cultures of other ethnic groups. "Our identity is constituted in part by the recognition of others; likewise, the lack of recognition by others, or the distorted recognition by others, can have a significant impact on our identity." Respect for the culture of others is a fundamental requirement of multiculturalism for citizenship. If there is only recognition and respect for the culture of one's own ethnic group without recognition and respect for the culture of other ethnic groups, cultural antagonism and segregation will easily develop. By conveying the democratic concept of tolerance of cultural differences, multicultural education helps students eliminate misunderstanding and discrimination against other

cultures, learn to appreciate other cultures, tolerate and respect cultural differences and value pluralism, and form a kind of intercultural cooperation and communion through tolerance of multiculturalism. Second, eliminating citizens' fear of cultural conflicts and cultivating their ability to actively face and resolve cultural conflicts. The core of pluralism lies in heterogeneity, and heterogeneous cultures have the potential for conflict due to different value orientations. The purpose of a pluralistic society is to maintain diversity while avoiding conflict [10]. Therefore, multicultural education emphasizes "the development of sound personality traits in future citizens, including an open self, an attitude toward others, the ability to share values with others, and a pluralistic rather than monolithic value orientation. Only in this way can we actively face and resolve cultural conflicts and eventually form a peaceful and mutually supportive pluralistic society. In order to cultivate citizens who can respect, tolerate, and embrace cultural differences, who are adept at dealing with cultural conflicts and contradictions, and who have the ability to adapt across cultures, it is crucial that school education should give a corresponding status to minority cultures and create an educational system of multiculturalism and intercultural learning.

3.2 Combining national citizenship and ethnic identity education

Multicultural citizenship education takes ethnic cultural identity as the core, and at the same time needs to deal with the relationship between equality and difference, ethnic identity and national identity. Only in this way can the unity of universality and specificity of multicultural citizenship be ensured. The relationship between equality and difference is the most central issue of multicultural citizenship. On the other hand, the differences of individual ethnic groups should also be emphasized to realize respecting differences in unity and pursuing unity in differences. The civic education of multiculturalism should also realize the combination of education for the unity of national citizenship and education for the specificity of ethnic group identity. Modern citizens belong to a specific country and are citizens of a specific country. As a multi-ethnic state, its citizens must certainly maintain their ethnic uniqueness, but first of all, they are citizens of the state. The citizen of the state is the unified identity of the multicultural citizen and the unified requirement of the state for its citizens. The unity of the state to its citizens is reflected in the fact that the state faces everyone equally, regardless of race, age, gender, religion and wealth, status, etc. As members of the state, all are equal and the government treats all citizens in the same way. This is the universal citizenship of liberalism without distinction. Multiculturalism's critique of this universal citizenship of liberals is not a denial of it. Multiculturalist citizenship is to emphasize the communality of different communities on the basis of recognizing the equal rights of citizens, to create a kind of public culture and public values of the country, to maintain the unity and cohesion of the political community, and to maintain the stability and unity of the country. Precisely because multicultural citizenship emphasizes both difference and unity, "in multi-ethnic states, citizenship education generally has a dual function - it fosters within each constituent ethnic group a national identity characterized by a common language and history; and it also seeks to characterized by a common language and history within each constituent national group; and it also seeks to foster a supra-national identity that can unite the various national groups in the state." The former focuses on fostering the differences of ethnic citizens, while the latter focuses on fostering the unity of national citizens. Therefore, civic education in multiculturalism involves education in both national identity and universal ethics, as well as in the unique cultural identity of the ethnic group. For an ethnic group, ethnic identity is based on shared blood, territory, race, religious beliefs, and cultural traditions. For a nation, however, citizens feel that they belong to a nation in relation to their common language, shared history, nationality policies, and symbols that symbolize the nation. Education in a common language and history is an important factor in the formation of a unified national identity. Multiethnic countries should establish a unified official language and establish the dominance of the official language in school education. At the same time, citizens should be taught

about the historical development of their country and made proud of their glorious culture and history through the teaching of their national history, thus forming a sense of nationhood and a sense of nationhood and shaping their common national identity. The differences of citizens are also manifested in two main aspects: first, the rights of different citizens. While the government guarantees equal rights for every citizen based on individualism, it also grants special "community rights" to ethnic groups, and provides institutional or legal benefits and compensation to minority groups. The second is the civic identity of difference, which means recognizing that each individual or each ethnic group has its own unique culture, customs, and way of life, and forming the unique cultural identity of the ethnic group. The purpose of differential identity is to maintain the unique ethnic identity of citizens. In conclusion, the unity and difference of multicultural citizenship requires civic education to combine national citizenship with ethnic identity, national identity with ethnic group, and to build a complete civic education identity system.

3.3 Education for both national and ethnic identity

In multiculturalism, citizens belong not only to the nation but also to a specific ethnic group. Citizens' ethnic consciousness is built up on the basis of their respective cultural identities. This creates two kinds of identities for multicultural citizens: national identity and ethnic identity. If the relationship between the two is not handled properly, emphasizing only the national identity of the citizens and ignoring the minority ethnic identity, it may lead to the dissatisfaction of the minority ethnic groups with the state. If the ethnic identity of citizens is overemphasized and the national identity is neglected, it may lead to ethnic autonomy and split the unity of the nation. In fact, national identity and ethnic identity are two different kinds of identities. The former focuses on political identity, emphasizing political affiliation, while the latter focuses on the cultural identity of the ethnic group, emphasizing ethnic consciousness and ethnic cultural affiliation. Although pluralistic societies emphasize ethnic differences, ethnic groups are communities within nations, and ethnic differences are limited by national identity. "National identity is the spiritual foundation and prerequisite for ethnic differences, and ethnic differences should be differences based on national integrity and homogeneity." If the ethnic identity is contrary to the national identity, it will cause the division of the country and endanger the stability and unity of the country. Therefore, civic education of multiculturalism, with the premise of strengthening citizens' national identity, strives to form a mutually respectful and more inclusive public culture, rather than an authoritarian monoculture.

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