Multiculturalism under Threat and Strategies in Constructing Inclusive Spaces in Europe and Southeast Asia Regions

Maksimus Regus
Universitas Katolik Indonesia Santu Paulus Ruteng

ABSTRACT
Multiculturalism is among the best solutions to social groups' clashes, tensions, and conflicts. It provides an open, fair, and equal political and social policy to all elements in one society. However, multiculturalism strengthens radicalism and terrorism when the attention and respect for social identity are unequal. This article examines multiculturalism's situation, trends, and challenges in the European and Southeast Asian regions. Additionally, the paper elaborates on the challenges of building inclusive spaces in multicultural societies. Data were analyzed using a systematic-critical qualitative review method. Information was sourced from previous studies, reports from international websites, news, and analyses on the condition of multiculturalism in these two regions.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Europe, Southeast Asia, Threat, Inclusive Space

A. INTRODUCTION
Multiculturalism is a political order where policies and rules give the same status, civic condition, and legal rights, no matter the cultural affiliation or ethnic race (Koleth, 2010; Watson, 2012; Borevi, 2013; Borevi, Jensen, Mouritsen, 2017). However, it is under social, political, and security threats worldwide, affecting its functionality and effectiveness (Kymlicka, 2011; Abbas, 2011; Lentin & Titley, 2011). For this reason, it has never been a complete culture with a substantially different moral structure. Therefore, it cannot be treated the same way under the law or permitted to independently govern social groups (Dampier, 2017).

Reports, news, and debates have mentioned an assumption about the "death of multiculturalism" that cannot be ignored (Allen, 2007; Ossewaarde, 2014; Joppke, 2017). The
premise is based on two aspects. First, currently, multiculturalism is faced with more diverse threats. Second, there has been a fruitless effort to pioneer the relevance of multiculturalism in society.

Many European political leaders have been pessimistic about multiculturalism in the last decade. Ruthven (2017) stated that Angela Merkel, an influential European leader, viewed the multicultural concept failure (BBC News, 2010). Not long after that, David Cameron, the British prime minister, publicly endorsed Merkel's perspective. Nicolas Sarkozy, former President of France, also showed concern about the imbalance between severe and unserious newcomers' identities in the host countries.

The same perspective is rapidly growing in multicultural societies in the Southeast Asian region. As a new concept developed in the 20th century, multiculturalism in this region differs from Europe's. "multiculturalism is constructed and contested in state and society" (Ali, 2011). A discourse on multiculturalism is also primarily related to ethnopolitics' strengthening as a significant threat to diverse societies. This growing ethnopolitical trend complicates vulnerable communities' statuses, including religious and ethnic groups.

This article states that multiculturalism is a determining factor of the current global society's characteristics and a tolerant society. According to the Council of Europe (2008), a multicultural society has positive aspects such as creating, recreating, and supporting cultural differences. It is connected to negotiation, tension, and conflicts in building an inclusive and peaceful society. Furthermore, the above-explained perspective is related to various academic and political attempts to design multiculturalism's procedural and institutional aspects (Wieviorka, 1998).

This article is also concerned with new issues and threats to multiculturalism as a social innovation to manage them constructively. Globalization, immigration, and the rise of identity politics and conflicts are significant threats to multiculturalism in Europe and Southeast Asia (Besley & Peter, 2019): (Taylor, 2016). This article studies multiculturalism's current challenges, risks, and strategies for developing an inclusive society in Asian and European regions.

B. METHODOLOGY

The systematic and critical qualitative review explored and understood multiculturalism problems in Europe and Southeast Asia. This review method unites research on a topic, examines previous qualitative studies for evidence, and develops joint findings.

This review is per the article's needs as its data synthesis is purely qualitative. The data synthesis has two main aspects: compilation and interpretation of reviewed qualitative data from earlier studies, reports, and other sources. Data were interpreted using the critical systematic review method, as it builds new understanding, developing new theories to help predict future multiculturalism situations. In catering fully to this article's needs, a critical interpretive synthesis was considered (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006; Schryen, 2015).

Different qualitative systematic reviews of similar subjects may emerge with various findings. The diverse search periods or inclusion criteria could include primary studies in additional checks. Furthermore, conducting a systematic qualitative review requires keen concept interpretations. This method is still developing, and attention to thoroughness at each stage is essential. Synthesis stages and the researcher's attitude must be reported transparently (Finfgeld-Connett, 2014; Gentles et al., 2016; Weber, 2017).

Data was collected from secondary sources, including existing documents and literature studies, and analyzed through document analysis. Furthermore, the analysis process was used
to interpret data and provide new knowledge on multiculturalism (Bowen, 2009). Document analysis is a crucial research tool that combines schemes in studies of the same phenomenon (Bowen 2009).

This article also used the thematic analysis model in analyzing and presenting the study results. The thematic model categorizes emerging themes for proper practice or further analysis. The thematic model is applied after integrating collected data with a systematic qualitative review. As stated by Bowen 2009, the thematic analysis evaluates documents to generate new knowledge and develop understanding. Therefore, this paper was fulfilled with high objectivity and sensitivity, making the results reliable and valid (Vaismoradi et al., 2013; Nowell et al., 2017).

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretically, multiculturalism has been understood as a "polysemous discourse." This links to various views, perspectives, backgrounds, and contexts (Schröter et al., 2019; Kellner, 2011; Pedersen, 2013; Guilherme & Dietz, 2015). Additionally, multiculturalism has deep dynamics connected to complex matters such as social, political, racial, and religious issues.

Many dark historical scenes, such as the cultural crisis, ethnic strife, and religious riots of the early twentieth century, have been replaced by cultural harmony, embracing ethnic diversity, and accepting religious differences during the 20th century. On this side, many scholars from various scientific disciplines such as sociology, history, politics, immigration studies, cultural studies, and literary criticism have contributed (contributed) to the research and development of multiculturalism (Gerlach, 2010; Gold, 2010; Ferguson, 2012).

Multiculturalism is not a new study in academia and social science studies. Multiculturalism refers to social and cultural thought movements that adopt liberal ideas and refer to compulsive (iterative) policies for cultural incorporation. Multiculturalism is part of the literary, pedagogical, and socio-political activities of the late 20th century (Mishra, 2012; Kellner, 2020).

In short, multiculturalism means the appreciation, acceptance, and promotion of various cultures in various stages and communities of life, such as schools, businesses, or countries. This expresses (shows) growing "respect" for diversity and "advocates" (support) a fair status for different social, cultural, political, and religious backgrounds (Meer & Modood, 2012; Locke & Bailey, 2013; Guimond, de la Sablonnière & Nugier, 2014).

Multiculturalism got a new wind during the colonial period. The imperial (colonial) countries' political policies and the rapid changes in technology, transportation, communication, and international trade development (global) gave birth to a new multicultural society. This development affects every facet of human life as it produces a comfortable atmosphere where two (or more) different cultures can coexist or coexist (co-existence) 'for life' (pro-existence) and show a contribution to the process of acculturation.

Multiculturalism tries to avoid the separation of 'us' and 'them,' which are bounded by a wall of difference. In other words, multiculturalism upholds the cultural rights of everyone, both groups and individuals. In this sense, multiculturalism does not at all describe opposing groups but hopes to develop a "bridge" of diversity (bridging of the differences) and a "co-understanding" between cultures (Crowder, 2013).

Heywood (2016) describes two forms of multiculturalism. First, descriptive multiculturalism and normative multiculturalism. Descriptive multiculturalism refers to 'cultural diversity. And normative multiculturalism implies positive endorsement (recognition
in law and constitution), even celebrations of communal diversity, usually both based on the right of different groups to respect and honor as well as an alleged benefit to the broader community. Descriptive multiculturalism only refers to and registers the presence of various groups. In contrast, normative multiculturalism expects to maintain minority identities and develop fully, determined by a political and legal policy.

According to Faits (2009), multiculturalism increases the variety of cultures that promote the rights and diversity of many social, religious, cultural, and ethnic groups. Therefore, multiculturalism is not a political doctrine or a philosophical problem; it is the primary perspective on real human life (Parekh, 2009). Multiculturalism profoundly connects to identity politics, political differences, and recognition (Rizvi, 2011; Fukuyama, 2018). About the three issues, deserved recognition for cultural varieties is a strategic political step needed to reevaluate vulnerable individuals’ or groups’ identities. This will change the dominant pattern of representation and communication that ruins particular minority groups. Multiculturalism is a political recognition platform (Goh, 2008; Reddy, 2017; Teo, 2019).

Researchers have suggested making recognition a vital issue in multiculturalism discourse for a long time. Recognition is connected to accommodating original national groups (Bloemraad & Wright, 2014; Bloemraad, 2015; Busbridge, 2017). These ethnic societies include Aboriginals in Australia, Indians in America, the Maori tribe in New Zealand, and the Inuit tribe in Greenland. The central multiculturalism debates focus on the issues around supporting the conquered, exploited, and discriminated minority rights (groups) (United Nations, 2009). One example linked with political recognition in Southeast Asia is evident in Indonesia. The Constitutional Court of Indonesia decided to guarantee the status of indigenous minority religions (Sapiie, 2017).

Differences in multiculturalism are often connected to indigenous communities’ existence, just as in Indonesia (Murray, 2001). These minority communities are targeted in systematic and continuous violence by the majority groups. Moreover, minority communities have limited abilities to participate politically, socially, and economically. Therefore, they live in a marginal position in the economic, political, and social life structures. Minority limitations are based on the majority’s tyrannical representatives and the manifestation of daily negative assumptions when political competitions threaten diversity in domestic and national elections (Budianta, 2019).

Multiculturalism is centered on the conceptual reflections and policies in some countries in (Southeast) Asia and Europe (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013). According to Meer, Modood, & Zapata-Barrero (2016), multiculturalism enriches appreciation, recognition, and promotion of cultural pluralism at various levels, including schools, businesses, and countries. These efforts express scientific awareness of the increasing issues and complexity of multiculturalism theories and practices. Comparably, there are raised concerns about social sympathy for the growth of respect for social diversity (Kymlicka, 2016).

It is essential to develop a national identity, as there are many differences experienced by countries like Canada and Indonesia (Moran, 2011; Smith, 2011). According to Hoon (2006); Ju Lan (2011), national identity should be developed without disturbing the individuals' and groups' racial and religious identities. Multiculturalism is an ideological and political channel to keep harmony among different groups and has equal and inclusive interaction; hence is a need in this era (UNESCO, 2009).
New social challenges (Nye, 2007) in the national and global realm require states and societies to associate multicultural practices as a manifestation of spatial justice. All stakeholders must focus on the same strategy to re-establish a just, equal, and inclusive common living space (Awad, 2011). Some social clashes reflect spatial injustice cases, and the public is becoming an arena for tension and racism, strengthening group differences (Smits, 2011).

Discussions about multiculturalism present are linked to public space development problems (Madanipour, Knierbein & Degros, Eds., 2013). The role of public space has become so prominent in the news and social media compared to older days. Public spaces are being organized, and there are more discussions on multiculturalism and political policies based on shared spaces (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003). This "shared space" eliminates the separation between social groups, which is a condition for multiculturalism.

Designing inclusive or ex-exclusive public spaces faces many challenges in engaging with cultural differences, diversity, and heterogeneity in creativity and productivity (Fincher et al., 2014). Moreover, social space is confined under reinforced divisions according to class, race, age, or ethnicity. The design and management of public space exclude some people or groups, reducing social and cultural diversity. Multiculturalism faces critical challenges in planning, designing, and maintaining "culturally inclusive spaces." Therefore, multiculturalism requires a paradigm shift in implementing inclusive social space.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The investigation of multiculturalism problems as a social and political practice in Europe and Southeast Asia focuses on three critical aspects, 1) Europe and Southeast Asia are contexts for multiculturalism in terms of challenges and prospects. 2) They face the same challenges in building inclusive spaces 3) The two regions also develop and implement specific strategies for creating inclusive spaces.

1. Contextualizing Multiculturalism: Europe and Southeast Asia

The world has focused on Europe's multicultural societies for the last few years. Europe is an excellent practice of liberal democracy, freedom, tolerance, and inclusivity facing future developments. The optimism of multiculturalism was the solution to social problems, but it is now replaced by pessimism and worry. According to Malik (2015), thirty years ago, many Europeans saw multiculturalism as an answer to Europe's social problems, while many consider it the cause of these issues. In promoting social equality and inclusivity, multiculturalism is widely viewed as the root of political and cultural problems (Scott, 2017).

In modern-day European countries, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, multiculturalism has been connected to race, immigration, and national identity (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018). For instance, in the modern United Kingdom, multiculturalism was introduced by non-white migrants after the Second World War. Then decolonization was considered a direct threat to the British understanding of itself and its place. Therefore, multiculturalism is a political response to the coming of non-white immigrants.

Two perspectives were developed for social discussions. Firstly, multiculturalism's critiques argue that it makes over-immigration possible without constructive assimilation. Europe faces clashes among the social groups that decrease social cohesion, ruin national identity, and lower the public's trust. (Teney et al, 2016). Secondly, the supporters state that the
problem is not multiculturalism, but that increasing racism is the root of the continent’s issues (Modood & Triandafyllidou, 2017).

Nevertheless, the consequences are the same everywhere: society is segregated, minorities are exiled, and civilians are angered. In Europe, supporters and critics of multiculturalism accept that "mass immigration" has made culture more diverse. Therefore, multiculturalism is a complex discourse and social, political, and cultural practice. Many young Britons are drawn to jihadism to reveal multiculturalism failures (Malik, 2015).

Multiculturalism is considered a "proxy" for other social and political problems, including immigration, political disappointment, and the working class. In Europe, immigrants are blamed for every situation, such as crimes, unemployment, disease, the decline in public services, the fatigue of public funds, and the threats to liberal and European culture. The Populist politicians in Western countries suggest that the voters plan to clean national institutions from immigrants (Impure invaders). According to Scott (2017), multiculturalism and immigration are devastating Europe causing fear in the economy and politics beyond cultural differences (Scott, 2017). The problems facing Europe's multiculturalism differ from the Southeast Asia situation. In Malaysia, multiculturalism is always framed in ethnic limitations with classes, genders, and religions, complicating things (Aiwah, 2002; Harris & Han, 2019).

Moreover, Malaysia's multiculturalism as a political approach and policy is shaped by pre- and postcolonial experiences. Gabriel (2015) stated that ethnicity and religion combine into one ("a Malay is a Muslim and speaks Malay"). The Malaysian constitution says Islam is the country's religion but allows religious liberty. Political parties are created based on an ethnic line, and the Malays enjoy a constitutional privilege compared to other civilians. Islam remains conservative and still criticizes cults and non-mainstream beliefs (Darul al-Arqam) and Ahmadiyah while remaining conservative.

However, multiculturalism is not always functioning well, and each ethnic-social group wants to define itself through national identity as said Kamarudin, 2015:

“Malays want to be Malays, Chinese want to be Chinese, Indians want to be Indians, Sabahans want to be Sabahans, Sarawakians want to be Sarawakians, and so on. Although they say they do, no one wants to be Malaysian, or maybe they are delusional and suffer from denial syndrome.”

Therefore, perhaps the real threat of multiculturalism is the tension between privileged Malays and the nationality (citizenship) status of other ethnic groups.

Indonesia is faced with a similar situation and the "New Order" political session under President Soeharto. The ideological and cultural competition was developed in a crucial stage (Budianta, 2016). Furthermore, one of Indonesia's challenges is managing society, religion, culture, and ethnic diversities (approx. 300 ethnics) in one integrated nation (Jones, 2017). After Soeharto's regime, ethnoreligious conflicts, radicalism, religious extremism, gender discrimination, and ethnic tension are dominant challenges in Indonesia's political and social relations.

In the reformation era, decentralization caused local regulation, threatening multicultural awareness in Indonesia. In contrast, political decentralization strengthens identity-based on geographical and religious interests. The strengthening of political identity is primarily expressed in severe ethnoreligious conflicts that affect multiculturalism in Indonesia. It also influences ethnopolitical attitudes towards global views such as secularism, democracy, pluralism, and liberalism.
2. Creating Inclusive Space: Challenges to Asia and Europe

Wide-ranging regional and global experiences and movements remind us of society's multicultural challenge, classified into three aspects. 1) In Europe, multiculturalism is affected by the new trend in international politics and global development. For instance, there are multitudes of refugees coming to the continent currently. This new era of global migration implies the status of multiculturalism in Europe. 2) Asia is faced with the emergence of identity politics, a severe challenge to multiculturalism. Moreover, multiculturalism faces an ethnopolitical turn in Southeast Asia, and radical religious groups have dominated social and political spaces. This limits religious minorities from enjoying a suitable area to show their religious views. 3) Both regions are faced with the need to construct a more inclusive and tolerant space. Due to these challenges, people actively negotiate for their interests, values, and identities to establish an equitable, peaceful, and inclusive space. A comprehensive socio-political space is an atmosphere where marginalized groups and minorities can present their aspiration and rights no matter their status or political positions.

In Asia and European regions, the lack of inclusivity due to national identity weakens, causing worries about multiculturalism. The fear of exclusivity strongly needs political platforms based on inclusive religiosity/civilized attitude in Europe. Liebmann (2017) states that an inclusive mindset is formed when individuals shift from the ordinary. It is hard to achieve when some people lack the psychological need to belong to their country.

The multicultural claim in Europe and Southeast Asia connects to minority communities' positions, predominantly minority religions, to build an inclusive national identity (Mohiuddin, 2017). Many European countries have adopted a multicultural policy for the last three decades, although they do it differently.

Cultural acculturation is exciting for political elites, scholars, and researchers, but it does not live together peacefully. Various attacks on minority groups and increased violence and terrorism pose one critical challenge to inclusive space development (Alleyne, 2017).

The process of developing an inclusive space will never be the only state’s responsibility. Therefore, the "top-down" approach is not enough as it only encourages obedience instead of commitment. A transformative process should include a multi-direction framework involving all stakeholders and institutions.

For instance, Europeans assume that immigrants bring their homeland traditions, igniting pride without conserving cultural differences. However, immigrant absence in European multicultural society's building process hinders the development of a completely inclusive space. The interconnection between different social generations and communities is needed in building an inclusive space. According to Del Gobbo, Galeotti, & Esposito (2017), interconnection can be strengthened by blooming the interrelation between curiosity and respect.

Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, are multicultural regarding ethics, languages, religions, cultures, socials, and politics. Moreover, they are diverse in dealing with multiculturalism (Ong, 2020). The three countries' formulas differ depending on their colonial history, postcolonial heritage, and new contests among the nations' groups. Hefner (2001) stated that inclusive space is a challenge that targets multicultural society in this geographical landscape.

3. Defining Strategies
There are strategies created by the states and other stakeholders in Asia and Europe to construct and strengthen inclusive socio-political spaces (Koopmans, 2013). Both regions have various social, political, and legal (regulation) pathways to enhance multicultural understanding. After elaborating on strategies, the article will provide a prospective platform for combining all systems to spread the idea of constructing inclusive space.

The European management of multiculturalism is bound to redefine the practice of liberal democracy. According to Scott (2017), Western Liberal Democracy, since the 1950s, has struggled to develop strategies for managing the diversity in a society that once was homosecular, white, and Christian. Other countries in Europe have different perspectives on multiculturalism and immigration. Currently, Germany is the second most popular immigration destination after the USA. In 2013, more than ten (10) billion people, 12% of the population, were born outside the country. Comparably, in Austria, Sweden, France, and UK citizens, birth totals of 16%, 15%, and 12%. Therefore, European strategies are somewhat assimilated for the cultural accommodation of the migrants.

Multicultural policies bridge the country with minority communities, and individual community leaders act as mediums. In contrast, general assimilation is the opposite of multiculturalism. Instead of making Muslims and minority civilians, politicians prefer minority communities to keep their ethnic and religious faith. Thus, the government "subcontracted" its political responsibility to the minority leaders (Malik, 2015).

In Europe, multiculturalism is a conceptualized response to multiple cultures, ways of being, and co-existence forms. From the above discussion, multiculturalism presents particular perspectives on managing a diverse society. Davids (2015) stated that it is an attempt by several European countries to emancipate and democratize Muslim women by regulating their dress codes.

Through the integration, process efforts are implemented to support and strengthen multiculturalism in Europe. The European Association for Local Democracy (ALDA) built Europe's inclusive community through some of its activities and movements on October 16, 2015. The document "Multiculturalism and European Integration" explains how ALDA contributes to inclusivity and social integration. Furthermore, they are trying to open up spaces and support more vital European Union institutions in border countries. According to The European Association for Local Democracy (2015), ALDA creates a flexible system for refugee mobility and asylum seekers, preventing their concentration in some European countries.

The developed strategies might have been related to the strong faith in citizens' participation, local democracy, and an excellent and contributive government to solve social integration problems. Many minority groups, through this strategic process, can relate but still have their civil organization participation targeted. ALDA is working toward the dialogue between civilian organizations and local authorities to solve social integration problems.

National policies must be considered under multicultural rubrics in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. Approaches to managing cultural diversity in Southeast Asia can be categorized, ranging from promoting tolerance to understanding cultural differences. A structural and cultural strategy is formed in Southeast Asia and the surrounding regions (Patterson, 2018).

Malaysia and Singapore are great multicultural societies with various acculturation ideologies. In Malaysia, 50.4% of the population is Malay, 23.7% Chinese, 11% indigenous people, 7.1% Indian, and 7.8% other races. Because of its colonial era, ethnicity is a significant policy problem in Malaysia (Noor & Leong, 2013). Malaysia and Singapore consist of ethnic
groups in diametrically opposite proportions. Malaysia's multiculturalism model is based on the policy implemented in Singapore's global town (Goh et al., 2009).

The current commitment of Singapore toward multiculturalism is comprehensive and in-depth. Although the Chinese comprise 75% of the population, multiculturalism is central to a broader political project. Singapore ethnicities include 74.1% Chinese, 13.4% Malay, 9.2% Indian, and 3.3% other groups. Furthermore, the country strives to make English an official in education and government administration (Global Center for Pluralism, 2017). According to Huat (2003), in Singapore two decades ago, young Singaporeans became comfortable expressing themselves as "nationalists" rather than as a race. This was an impressive achievement for the state.

In Indonesia, the five fundamental principles (Pancasila), unity in diversity (Bhineka Tunggal Ika), United Republic, and The Institution of 1945 are bonds of the people's national identity (Goebel, 2016). Those four political elements support the growth of a multicultural society. Comparably, multicultural education is designed adequately to be relevant to different communities and individuals. The objective of education is to admit diversity and develop social cohesion.

In Europe and Southeast Asia, building a multicultural society is determined by identifying national communities' geographical location through people's participation. Some essential aspects of the process include (1) The promotion of activities that contribute to erasing local social inclusivity; (2) The use of exceptional communities' participation in civic organizations; (3). The support of practices gathering both in social integration and the awareness of using tools such as the new non-formal education, language education, and culture sharing course); (4). The making sure of the inclusivity of job vacancy, education, and political institutions for the excepted communities; (5). The use of Local Governments to solve the social exile problem for minorities.

E. CONCLUSION

This paper is inspired by the awareness of future multiculturalism's status in contemporary times. In regions like Europe and Southeast Asia, multiculturalism faces a massive threat at regional and domestic levels. Multiculturalism is a vital topic that explains our social history's ignored aspects.

It is challenging to understand this concept without placing cultural differences in the context of global citizens' dynamics under European critics of international migration. Considering the downsizing aspect of identity politics in South Asia is critical. The economy, culture, politics, and combination of elements in both regions cause effective multiculturalism practices.

Development influences humans' lives when different cultures can coexist from their pre-existence and contribute to the acculturation process. The primary process reference is broadening the perspective about the construction of inclusive spaces and cultures. Multiculturalism can be a source of national power when inclusivity becomes part of political attitudes.

The future study of multiculturalism should critically consider minorities and their history. Broader social communities should promote social respect concerning strengthening inclusive spaces. Therefore, promoting respect for minority dignity and voice is inevitable in multiculturalism. Future research projects should maintain a relationship with an inclusive space for minorities in society.
REFERENCES


