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THREATS TO MULTICULTURALISM¹

Léo Dayan*

Globalization and Multiculturalism & & Sustainability and Interculturality

Walls and Accommodations & Links and Bridges

Summary: By establishing the existence of a global public good, the sustainability opens up and makes plural the human identities, brings down the partition walls of multiculturalism and offers a meaning and a direction to the interculturality around a common civilizational project. But the globalization of developments, that requires the adaptation of human needs to the natural capacities, is challenging the economic globalization rationalities imposed by the State/Market couple. It demands the emergence of civil actor, local and world, to value the cultural biodiversity and to allow the intercultural implementation of sustainability cooperative links by the local and for global sustainability.

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Globalization & Multiculturalism Sustainability & Interculturality

Walls and Accommodations & Links and Bridges

When carrapich and malva appear in the field of culture, the land is already very tired and it needs rest and energy to rebuild its strength. Mother Nature will take care of it. So we must leave it to its account. When appearing multiple branches of guanchuma in the cultivated field, this means that the soil needs to be planted with other crops with deep roots to break the land and allow greater infiltration of water into the soil²

Cultures are continually evolving as by endogenous forces and at contact, desired or required, with other cultures. Not quite homogeneous nor completely cut off from each other, their links have now extended and expanded by will or by need. But in societies that became, after "*Berlin*", globalized and multicultural, in ways and to varying degrees, places of meetings or of reciprocal acculturation do not allow, despite "*Mostar*", mutual enrichments of identities.

From Jerusalem to Ottawa, from El Tarf, Port Louis, Tijuana and Usti Nad Labem or from Baghdad to Brussels, via Johannesburg, New Delhi, Rio, Sukhumi or Washington, walls of inability to communicate are built. Places of exchanges appear as separate, utilities, narcissistic, accommodated or normative areas, from the "other" or the more powerful.

And when a local clan, international geostrategic and worldwide economic rivalries are combined in countries where elites have mastered and mixed cultural codes imported and indigenous as in Burundi, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Darfur, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Niger, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo and its 450 communities, Rwanda and its three communities, Somalia, Zimbabwe, woe to the person who would get the wrong ethnicity card, in the wrong place at the wrong time. This person may lose his life.

Speech of a former community Terena Nioaque Native Land in Mato Grosso do Sul in Brazil. It is aimed at younger when the time comes Terere (cold drink based on mate) on the field of culture. The *carrapich* and *malva* are varieties of crabgrass, the *guanchuma* is a weed. (Le Bourlegat, Dayan, 2008, p.21).

If nearly one part out of seven of humanity belongs to groups experienced with some form or another of ethnic or cultural exclusion³, should it resolve to prepare its salvation on an island and to lose in dialogue, in order to get the ability of living his "cultural freedom" in peace within globalization?

In Mauritius, the ethno cultural communities have established their own family businesses, have their own chamber of commerce⁴ and govern their activities, in the wake of the world economy, based on the cultural proximity with their country of origin. Each of them lives separated of the others and works in closed circuit on its own ethnic group. But if "islandness" allows this mode of operation, it could equally amplify the ethnic dimension of social tensions caused by the crises affecting the global economic circuits, specific to various communities.

Such spaces are incompatible and antithetical to sustainability, a holistic concept whose scientific and ethical purpose calls to bring attention to " *the Link*, *the Linked, the Linking*" (Dayan 2003)

Interculturality is with sustainability, in which it finds a meaning and a direction and why it is the condition and the mean, the major issue and the ethical project that requires economic globalization to become human, responsible and peaceful. Both are challenging modes of development exclusively oriented by market and strategies of state. They require to globalize the developments, to allow the emergence of civil actor on the world stage and to focus and the sense of community and the citizenship on a global, attractive, coherent and effective project, which would rebuild the world and allow the overall sustainability from the local.

Sustainability empowers the economy of labor productivity by advantage of the natural resources. Recognized as the fourth dimension of sustainability,

³ Report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2004.

⁴ Mauritius Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Chinese Business Chamber; Hindu Business Chamber; Tamil Business Chamber; Muslim Business Chamber.

intercultural frees the global Civil Society from closed identity borders; it delivers the cultural exchanges of plural monoculturalism that materialize the partition walls of multiculturalism. By combining themselves, the sustainable and the intercultural enable adaptation of needs to the capacity of Nature, from the tool to the person culturally contextualized and from the identity to the plurality of human links. They prepare future generations to engage in intercultural community projects that would be economically, environmentally and socially sustainable. They mobilize individual creativity, the personal expertise and solidarity of the overall sustainability on local territories of projects, were the "thinking together" is no longer accompanied by "acting alone".

1. After Berlin and despite Mostar: the Walls of Multiculturalism

Despite the fall in 1989, of the "political and ideological" wall in Berlin, annually celebrated in the world with pomp and despite the reconstruction in 2004 of the bridge that connects the two denominational sides of Mostar, registered today in the World Heritage of Unesco, a wall of "military security" was erected in Jerusalem, a wall of "national partition" was built on the island of Cyprus, a security barrier "against terrorism" of a height of 3.50 m was raised by the Indian Union to protect the valley of Kashmir, "the Switzerland of Asia", the only State of the Union to be predominantly Muslim, against terrorist infiltrations and temptations of annexation of its neighbor Pakistan.

While polluting goods and toxic securities freely cross the borders, plunging the world into economic and social crises and announcing environmental disasters, and although nothing can stop hunger and bury the dreams of a better tomorrow: a wall is building in the United States along its Mexican border to stop illegal immigration from Latin America and a double wall of 1125 km, which differs from another one made of crafts and old fashioned, but equally real, localized in the small town of Usti Nad Labern, in Bohemia, where a row of concrete blocks separates the Roma from other residents of a neighborhood.

Less Pharaonic than their American counterparts, differentiated from those electrified and continuously, increasingly higher around, in a individual manner, "white" villas in Johannesburg, more sophisticated than the pile of concrete blocks of Bohemia and less complicated than the deconstruction of the Brussels labyrinth with its multiple capitals which are overflowing its boundaries, other walls are latent: "safe" and "ethnic" in Sharm el Sheikh to protect the resort of terrorist threats attributed to the Bedouin, "national" for a country that would exist, Abkhazia, on a height of three meters, at its administrative boundary with the Georgia; "faith" in Baghdad to separate Sunni and Shiite neighborhoods.

And while military coalitions spanning civilizational boundaries on behalf of "Good" or of "Right" and creating havoc wherever they operate in Baghdad, in Afghanistan and elsewhere, the ethnic and social embers ignite in the Olympic city of 2016. In fact, the touristic capital of Brazil, Rio, is attempting to isolate groups of people, putting up a "social" wall around thirteen out of thousand of slum cities inhabited by poorest, mostly blacks, "*Nordestinos*" and Amerindians. The Governor of the State would seek to prevent their expansion in the Atlantic forest, yet provided with space available for construction and high return on investment, and for maintaining urban order. A mapping of this order could show an intertwining of the spatial distribution of black populations and the maps of the lowest rates of income, employment, health housing, presence of public services and the highest rates of illiteracy and police interventions. Each of these maps reinforces the others. Periodic or permanent migrations, which recompose the local geo-cultural areas, are accompanied by new markings of residential premises, looking like the American process of white flight.

While thousands of Algerians apply in the lottery held annually by the immigration services to America, in order to work in the United States and to get access to U.S. citizenship, the largest global migration, permanent and periodic among History, tourism, an activity typically intercultural, is about to be deployed in remote pockets of population concentrations, "the villages of environmental excellence". On the advice of international experts and the joint request of the national state and the foreign investors, these villages will be reserved for a foreign clientele of business and high-end as part of a marketing strategy of manufacturing and launching of the touristic destination Algeria⁵. The border between host sites for tourists and living environments of local communities will, for example, apply to the splendours of the coast of El Tarf, near Sidi Salem, where mothers in distress and unemployed youth are rioting periodically in the part of the inhabited locality and where was discovered in 2008, the existence of a workshop of handmade craft used for clandestine crossings to Europe.

In Canada, where there 50000 Algerian are installed, the principle of "reasonable accommodations"⁶, that the federal government encourages to be in continuity with the recognition in 1971 of ethnicity as a major component of the national identity, suggests that, on this legendary earth of selective host, source of racism and discriminations cannot only be depleted within the framework of unilateral acceptance by the minority cultures of their enrichment through traditional Canadian culture. This culture would not recognize moral rights repository, from which it is gauged conditions of possibility of

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⁵ (Dayan, L. 2010). Défis, atouts et stratégies des TPE et PME du local sur la destination touristique Algérie

⁶ Legal term, after the Canadian law, which allows the relaxation of a rule to prohibit discrimination that could be subjected to a particular individual because of his religion or belief.

the release of the standard, only those crushed, conquered and built Canada, on behalf of "civilization"⁷ and at the expense of "roots" cultures.

If this country, where the *de jure* separation between church and state does not exist, meant the difference of "the other" with membership of a non-Christian world, this other could be today understood as not being as democratic, liberal, open and rational as the Canadian person who stands his mother culture at the center of his community. The ethnocentrism in Canada tolerates the difference and come to terms that devaluing the other, regarded as first single "guest worker" before becoming a permanent resident. For example, Muslim people, born in the country and with a high level of schooling, receive lower personal incomes than their professional counterparts and experience of religious intolerance and discrimination.

2. The plural monoculturalism⁸

The wall of impermeability to the culture of the other, pressing in the Anglo Saxon Canadian vision of multicultural relationships, is found in the model of Mauritius. However the preservation and the economic enhancement of cultural neighborhoods of the communities of this island, with their root countries, allow each of them to live in closed cycle and to keep their independence from each side of the wall. This model of multiculturalism is a plural monoculturalism, which avoid social humiliation and cultural devaluations suffered by minorities in the Canadian model.

This multiculturalism leads to "culturalization" of the culture. It is similar to North American multicultural model, where each culture is its own mirror.

¹ The French and English Canadian are considered founding peoples and have exclusive rights according to the Canadian Chart of Rights and Freedoms, 1982.

⁸ This term comes from Amartya Sen (2006). *Identity & violence . The illusion of Destiny.*

Born in the years 1950-60 in the United States from a civil rights movement, multiculturalism was originally initiated by a black community, outraged by institutional discrimination, including segregation in schools, and supported the re-enactment of identity links within these communities to help ending the individual isolation of their members in the economic and social jungle of the American society. But by juxtaposing cultures, it leads, in this society, that each community can become leader of its own development. Lever of the social success of its members, each community expresses itself not against but within the common context of the assertion of the superiority of American society and of the individual heroism.

If the coexistence of ethnic groups in the United States reflects a society incorporated in a broad cultural community, based on the fundamental consensus of the financial "return on equity", of the economic "more" and of the technological "must", this partitioned representation of the world and this show into narcissistic self, rewarding or devalued, cannot be carriers, worldwide, of a shared vision of the world where each culture freely choose its system of representations in the context of a global collaborative and viable project.

To be maintained through community loyalties, the American multicultural consensus requires not only that the American nation remains an open model of individual ascent and agrees that its communities benefit from the institutional success of theirs members, but that it also keeps its dominant position in the world.

Multiculturalism does not propose any other share than register within the cold relationships dealing with power, competition and interest. In the context of globalization, multiculturalism requires no other choice for the ethnocultural groups that sharing, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the assertion of ethnic nationalism in the former USSR, values and purposes of the dominating economic rationality. In these conditions it offers, here and there, a political legitimacy in authoritarian states and leads people to seek refuge in the informal economy ("spontaneous popular economy") or to freeze on their own ethnic identities.

If the U.S. national consensus allows to its community diversity to be honored and stripped of its cultural weight, and if it reduces the potential national impact of this diversity on social and political relations⁹ it cannot be a model and become universal. It does not allow the world's cultural diversity, this "set of cultural references through which a person or a group is defined, appears and asks to be recognized"¹⁰, to play its role in the choice of modes and rhythms of development. From the cultural viewpoint, it can only marginalize the ethnic groups who do not consent to give the economy a crucial organizing role in their development. This role leads to their cultural residualization.

3. Avert civilizational risks

The recognition of the world diversity of cultures and the invitation to their local cohabitation, which calls for multiculturalism, cannot be sufficient to remove the civilizational tensions between geo-cultural assemblies and within each of them.

If the American power is based on the economic function deployment and its free spreading, and if its multiculturalism allows this function to be successful, the strength of the French society was formed on the primacy of the political function and on the public debate. If the unitary representation of the nation permeates the French republic, which recognizes an individual in the public as a citizen of a political community, its questioning on the cultural di-

⁹ L. Greenfeld (2001), The Spirit of Capitalim: Nationalism and Economic Growth,

¹⁰ Definition given for cultural diversity in the Declaration of Freiburg (2007).

versity is necessarily worth the risks of dilution of the French identity, its cultural exception, which may cause the political translation of the recognition of its multiculturality.

For the political history that has shaped it, and in which the Republican State is a central figure, the French model has no other choice but to pay attention to defend and to enhance the strong identity of civilization that has given to himself and made his distinction through the world. But, at the national level, the reality of the political function is constraint by economic globalization and by demographic needs, and on the external side, it is required by the nature of its geographical cooperation (Maghreb, Africa) and by its neighborhood agreements (Europe). This function can only generate debate on the political translation of its multicultural aspect: applying an adapted form of the principle of reasonable accommodations without admitting sexist practices being in minority cultures, combined with selective immigration and the introduction of the principle of quotas or/and implementation of mechanisms for participation in the citizenship of permanent foreign residents. But in any case, no decision would tend to reify cultures and the intrusion of cultural approach into citizenship could not get consensus. A decision of this magnitude would decrease the state, inside and out, and would generate ethnic conflicts and affect the "republican pact" that built the France.

Multiculturalism stumbles on the impossibility of reducing cultural question to the local tackle about community and inter-ethnic relationships. It is in the context of cultural incompatibilities that cause the gap between the global economy, a territorialized political power and fragmented identities. In this context, it cannot neutralize tensions without arising defensive identity claims and having to rely on states to manage them, without isolating communities, locked in on themselves and placing them as rivals and, finally, without "culturalising" cultures and to test them against the market. It dissolves the function of politics and "ethnicizes" the conflicts, but, meanwhile, it provides a cultural alibi to strategies of nationalistic States and puts the local civil society in a state of helplessness.

For providing a universal umbrella group, it is claimed that citizenship in its scope cannot admit cultural particularities being over it. If the Canadian government introduced democratic, legally and politically, the cultural difference in citizenship, he has created confusion among the various rights, individual, community and national. This confusion allows to draw indiscriminately and in turn, a right against another one and to deprive the citizens and civil society the capability to decide, this latter being transferred to law experts.

But if a cultural dynamic is also realized from equilibrium among various links of membership, group projects and chains of solidarity, all cultural difference cannot be resolved in national citizenship.

A law, which recognizes fully and equally all citizens as members of a society in which cultural difference is the official identity, no way reflects the entire local society is in cultural harmony with the patterns of arrangements of the economic, environmental, social and political aspects, that each of these cultures attempts to form for maintaining its internal equilibrium or being in phase with the conciliators modes that global sustainability requires.

For that citizenship remains the central forum for decision in public space, it must broaden its scope and enhance its performance in terms of scale of global public goods, and as part of a global project, including cultural biodiversity, developed and shared by all humanity. So immigrant populations should be encouraged to integrate into local civil society and have an area of local and global citizenship, rather than be forced, such as in Great Britain or in France, to exist institutionally only through the expression of their community representatives. Their expression can be bounded by the national framework: it is that of their country of origin, where they were exiled, or that of their host countries in which their citizenship is not recognized.

The issue of respect for cultural diversity is inseparable from its overall treatment of the civilian world stage. It is inseparable from economic power and geostrategic games exerted on this scene and declined locally. It is fundamentally dependent on economic globalization, on cultural patterns which are forging it, and on powers which are organizing the development globally and articulates it locally.

The deterritorialization of economic rationality and the strategies of development of nationalistic State, confrontational or cooperatively together, devalue and force the characteristics of human groups, culturally rebellious against forms of thought, modes of organization and social behavior they impose, towards the conflict, the submission, by the way in informal or exile. Development strategies that states, to avert the risks of civilization, encourage "communitarianism" or differentiate them in favor of pure assimilation or simple integration, overall reinforce, with or without positive discriminations, social cutbacks and cultural destructions that the logic of the rationality of the dominant economy entails.

4. Sustainability as meaning and direction of interculturalism

Attention to the sustainability of development requires the mobilization of all world cultures. It leads to believe the intercultural relations outside the partition walls of the multiculturalism fields which are trained to be scaled, and outside its "reasonable accommodations" which are carried by arrangements and negotiations, including the quality and duration, are readily compromised by being suspended from the variability of interest and change in power relations, local and global, between the actors. In globalized and multicultural societies, the recognition of cultural difference, that is to say the legal and material faculty available to people to live decently, from what they choose to be¹¹, what they are, where they live, is with the implementation of sustainable development, the major challenge of globalization that has drawn to date the widespread standard of the economic competition. It is applied without any major rule that the financial and commercial position related to market share and exchange gains. It does not take into account the capacity of natural resources, the satisfaction of vital human needs, and the right of individuals to live from their work and the patterns of solidarity belonging to their own cultures. Therefore this competition neglects the conditions to accept cultural differences. The cultural denial that it causes does not make possible the dialogue and intercultural cooperation on a global shared project.

The market individualism, and the state redistributive protection that accompanies it, is not consistent with a large number of communities, among which are Muslim ethno religious sets and "roots" cultures in Latin America and in Africa. Impersonal, variable according to the social relations of power, instead of being settled on an order of values, the redistributive economy must be reviewed in the context of the local productive economy and of the globalization dealing with developments.

This overall approach, that globalization allows and that the imperative of sustainability requires, makes inevitable the question of culture in the world economic organization. It brings out the cultural and intercultural as the fourth central pivot (Esoh, 2002) necessary for a true sustainable development. It should enable local development which could redraw in cooperation, in equity and in interculturality the global equilibrium on the purposes and values of sustainability and holistic approaches to local sustainability.

¹¹ A faculty designated by the concept of cultural freedom in the Global Report on Human Development (UNDP, 2004).

Sustainability recommends developing cultural freedom within a global perspective and expanding the civil spaces of autonomy, expression and creativity between in balancing interests which transcend nationalistic boundaries and allow the expression of plurality of affiliations.

In these areas, communities do not emerge on the basis of identity boundaries already decided: they are not projects of communities, but they are communities projects based on cooperation and reciprocity of rights and duties. They draw territories of projects whose purpose is to implement integrated local and sustainable development, which is neither self sufficient nor protectionism¹².

The values, rules and purposes, including personal freedom and equal rights, social solidarity and personal responsibility, human brotherhood and adaptation of human needs to capacity of nature, must be above, dynamically and in practice, the identity rules considered individually. The implementation of sustainability, which calls into question the partitions, discontinuities and boundaries, is not a multicultural project which would locally lead to the dependence of policy upon the cultural representation of social forces. It is an intercultural project related to civilization which stay to develop in common and to be implemented contextually and locally.

5. Cooperative links, intercultural bridges and holistic lines of sustainability

Integration into the technical-scientific knowledge of practical experiences accumulated in know-how and expertise of world cultures should allow other technological and civilizational trajectories within the world economy and

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¹² This development is based on the implementation of an economy of local eco links. Also called industrial ecology : it is labor intensive, based on human intelligence and local engineering. It borrows and systematizes technologies of rational management of resources of people suffering of shortages (Dayan,2011)

would contribute to conciliation, that the approaches to sustainability reclaim and is planning between economic, social, cultural and environmental.

The subsistence communities such as indigenous in Brazil can serve as experts in biotechnology, soil protection and biodiversity. Nomadic communities, such as the matrilineal Tuareg people, might be of good advice on technology to save water, to fight against drought, for adaptation of needs to the capabilities of the natural environment or protection of women's rights. Communities of shortage, such as people of the "favelas" or townships constructed from reused materials, could serve as consultants in transforming waste into resources and extending the life duration of the goods. This integration is there a way to enhance cultural experiences and to honor collective subjects, which are culturally marginalized or devalued, due to the organizational patterns of an economy, expensive in natural resources, abundant in rejected waste and socially inequitable

The cooperative links, intercultural bridges and holistic lines of the overall sustainability are distinguished from the claim outrageously individualistic, technological and economic of Western universalism and requirements of the State nations which segment, break, devalue or instrumentalize territorially the cultural differences. These lines, bridges and links incorporate the lessons of the concept of cultural community, but they enlarge it to the scale of civilization of mankind as a whole, one community at global and local, contextualized and mobile.

In releasing the sidedness of the relationship between religion and culture, globalization and deterritorialization of Islam result in a world that is not Muslim everywhere, thus discarding the religious reference as general explanatory principle and delivering the religious policy, the Muslim Ummah, in which the individual is personally responsible without being alone, is enough to be heard, particularly in regard to reconciling personal responsibility and collective solidarity, and also in regarding relativity of scientific truth.

Concept, in which ethic is a condition of scientific relevance, the sustainability recontextualizes the individual subject, cultural identity and the scientific object. It allows that the principle of secularism does not escape the reality of the limits of science, of technology uncertainties and contradictions of progress.

6. Natural biodiversity and cultural biodiversity

Nothing could prevent the conciliation in terms of civilization except that of subjects, individual or collective, do not feel much like global citizens and sometimes even less as local citizens.

Here, whole families sleeping on the pavement outside the gates of a historic building of Sao Paulo: the Law School with its chandeliers, red carpets, marble and large paintings of professors on walls. There, a black girl of about ten years old draws in the streets of Cape Town, a cart higher than her and full of empty cans, as a white man stops his reinforced car outside his house protected by barbed wire.

There again, the extraction of salt in the Chott Merouane, located in south eastern Algeria, supplies *from local to global* oil and food industries, while the evaporation of water due to climate change, coupled with rising yields and pesticide use, leads in the palm crops to substitute of the local usefunnels¹³ by imported technology of drilling that causes land salinilization. Men and young people are thus condemned to misuse their knowledge on their own land or to exile to the northern lands to escape unemployment.

¹³ L. Dayan (2010), Défis, atouts et stratégies des TPE et PME du local sur la destination touristique Algérie in La PME algérienne et le défi de l'Internationalisation,

Elsewhere, people are politically manipulated on cultural basis by "brother states", by "friendly states" or by their own states. Some of them feel like aliens in their own land. This is the case in Palestine but also, for example, in Algeria.

While the Algerian national state permitted himself yesterday to decide for civil society against the economic and cultural imperialism, he can now decide, without civil society, but in concert with international investors, to remove the host locations for tourists from areas of high population concentration and therefore dissociate enhancement of environmental resources and cultural valorization of local living environments. This process, which devalues the population, continues, in the mode of paternalism, a missionary belief already included in its National Charter of 1976¹⁴.

Everywhere decisional perimeters are devoid of any citizenship and everywhere people are suffering from the social costs of social and economic "modernization" committed by their leaders or by helplessness and inadequacies of those who govern them facing the constraints of economic globalization and environmental peril.

If some of these people need an identity affirmative appeal, it is that the free evolution of individuals and their communities is hampered by interference of worlds, internal and external, including the power to devalue or choke. This power is forcing them to submit to a future in which they would have no power over themselves or having to reform with reference to the order of values of the submitted individual¹⁵, of the uprooted or atomized individual, as the only cultural projects.

¹⁴ This charter, which borrowed the concepts of Western history, stated in his introduction that the revolution has not only the task of liquidating all traditional vestiges, tribal, patriarchal, semi-feudal structures, but also to prevent any recurrence. This is to make the Algerian citizens aware of a modern nation (Official Journal of the Algerian Republic, 1976, p.720.)

¹⁵ For example, the Qur'an considers the State as a substitute for the Prophet.

Sustainability, which calls into question the exclusive monopoly granted to the economic efficiencies of the market and the elaboration and management of social interest that the State assumes, inevitably raises the legitimacy issue, the reason of being, and the authority of nationalistic states. Therefore it also challenges the hegemonic willpower and the "civilizing" temptation of the market that the western world imposes.

If globalization is a precondition for the implementation work of sustainability, it challenges globalization whose purpose would ignore the ethical values, the social objectives, the limited capacity of nature and the cultural contextuality. Its implementation calls for the emergence of civil actors and for addressing the issue of human cultural diversity on the global stage, as well as that of natural biodiversity.

7. Brazil: miscegenation, multicultural model without ethnicity

In Brazil, country which appears as a model of multicultural society, the indigenous issue is one of illustrative examples illuminating the relationships of globalization with multiculturalism, and its limits in the context of globalized economy which is essentially governed by the couple State-Market. The shortcomings of one nourish the feedback of the other and reduce cultural and societal alternatives of development at the sole rationality of its links.

In 500 years of existence, Brazil, which covers almost half of South America (47.3%), representing half the economy of South America, with a population of 189 million inhabitants, mostly young, predominantly Catholic (73%), mainly concentrated in cities (81%) and less than 0.13% of the total territory, has become a significant country for its ethnic diversity and displaying of racial democracy in the heart of its national identity.

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However it is the world civilian actor that forced the Brazilian federal government to bring out the native category of a provisional situation and considering it as a component of Brazilian society. By combining globalization and environmental protection, he highlighted the contributions of "roots" cultures and their environments to the sustainability of the world, and has limited the effects of a development mode, carried by the state, which imposes the native to be kept out, under supervision and guardianship, either to crossbreed in Brazilian or to become culturally extinct.

Unlike the European model, strategies for development in Brazil are less conditioned by the pressure of social movements than by changes in the balance of power among the elites who create them. While in Europe, the Soviet neighborhood had meant to compel States to ensure social protection and labor rights, the influences of North American neighbor have constrained Brazil's Labour movements to compromise. The Labour organizations justified their attitude from the idea that the high pace of development would eventually gain independence from the external constraints, to achieve external debt, and to establish public and social policy.

All current institutional forces claimed the same dream of greatness transmitted by the first conquerors of the country. This strong dream has meant strong since the 1930s, by the desire to adopt a steady pace of economic growth in order to let recognize the almost continent as a strong Latin-American and international economic power. It creates in the same time social inequality and environmental destruction. It is this continuing headlong rush for economic development, managed by nationalistic elites and the federal state that inspire it, that fuels the hope and gives coherence to the multicultural project in Brazil.

By combining mixing of populations, national approach and democracy, this project promotes multicultural miscegenation but in turn leads to discrimination against *a cor preta que não está palida* (the black color that is not pale) and, by distinguishing *brancos* (the white men) and *negros* (the blacks), and neglects the *Indigenos* (the natives).

Nation, created by the elites of a state tending to federalism (and not federal) and nationalistic, regardless of a people unknown, outside the positivist slogan *Ordem e Progresso* (Order and Progress) written on its flag, it does not conceal, through the *jeitinho brasileiro*¹⁶, the cultural nature of the dimension in conflict, entered in its acts development and its ways to contain it. Hammered by the inclusion of "racial" democracy in its national identity, Brazil gives itself a look of a model of society naturally multicultural and distinct from the multiculturalism of interest and coexistence that exists in North America.

This unifying multicultural project, which has been historically established by the federal elites, was the only way to govern the country and to pursue giant ambitions. The project does only by the organizing and authoritarian or regulator and paternalistic role of the federal State and the continuous pace of its mode of development. This pace can only feed the ethnic discrimination, taking into account the original cultural differences that it meets. The inequality is expressed by the economic, social and spatial data. They are strongly correlated with the colors of people and their effects impact first on the natives and much more heavily on blacks than on whites¹⁷.

Such is the internal contradiction that condemns the country and its elites to succeed. Whatever the mode of governance of the country, populist dictatorships, military dictatorships or paternalistic governments, it remains a key factor in its growth and development.

¹⁶ Extemporaneously or emotionally and disordered manner of accomplishing a goal, a commitment, a promise or a respond to a request: it mixes desire of optimism and fatalism.

¹ According to the National Survey conducted in 2007 on a sample of households (PNAD-*Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra of domicilios*), whites on average live with more than double the average income of blacks.

8. Multiculturalism and Brazilian model of development : social debt, ethnic debt and environmental debt in Brazil

Submitted to the national project of accelerated industrialization with a long oligarchic, patriarchal and slavery history, Brazil, a young country, is really a paradox.

If it ranks eighth in the world economic rankings, it is still second in the social inequality and it is undergoing the most violent and rapid process of ecological degradation of the planet. And it holds the largest and most diverse system of science, technology and innovation in Latin America, especially in oil exploration in deep water, construction of aircraft and the production of ethanol, and if it accumulates record in exports and agricultural trade, the country still suffers from illiteracy, lack of infrastructure utilities, corruption and archaic paternalistic of its mode of governability. The strong concentration of economic activities of the population on a small parcel of space has only worsened the process of concentration of income and social exclusion.

This model of national development, which is facing serious problems of unemployment, the spread of *favelas* and violence, demanded great sacrifices at the expense of the environment, health, black populations and indigenous cultures. The phenomenon of inequality is further accentuated by gender differences, and women who are suffering from more pronounced social exclusion.

This reality has led recently to the ethnicization of social mobilizations and public policies. The government set up in 2008, features "racial quotas" in access to universities and its intention is to generalize them by federal law applicable in the governmental administrations and the media. However, in ethnicizing the social policy for reduction of the "black" debt, the state is creating tensions between blacks and half-bloods ("mestizos", "mulatos"). The horizon of this multicultural project cannot go outside the framework of globalization and internal debt that raises the Brazilian model of development. Economic growth, supported by foreign investment and exports allowed to repay foreign debt¹⁸ but the burden on the resources of the federal State resulting from compensatory social policies¹⁹ and the reduction of public deficit²⁰ affect its investment in education, health and infrastructure; they also limit or restrict the financial support on transfers of skills, including environmental know-how, towards local states. The existence of a large informal sector, officially estimated at 30 million of inhabitants, a figure which corresponds to the same number of reported assets, boost the economy while allowing the government to release part of its social responsibilities. The economic achievements and social progress²¹, without covering the social debt, were unable to settle by the environmental debt, including the deforestation of the Amazon mainly related to cattle ranching and production of biofuels, and also by ethnic debt.

But the map of the country's natural resources and that of a number of its know-how in matter of biotechnology and biodiversity cover the map of territories of indigenous peoples whose rights were constitutionally recognized in 1988. The indigenous issue in Brazil offers a sad demonstration of ethnocidal temptations that carries with it a mode of development supported, by forced marches, through dreams of greatness of a nationalistic and multicultural state.

¹⁸ In February 2008, Brazil reimbursed its external debt, public and private sectors combined. But the internal, domestic public debt is still 44% of GDP.

¹⁹ A minimum allocation conditional on schooling and child immunization (*Bolsa Família*) is given since 2006 to about 44 million people, lowering the rate of people living in poverty from 28% to 22%. Originally planned for families up to the fifteenth year of the elder, the program has been extended until his seventeenth year.

²⁰ The fiscal deficit felt from 3.4% of GDP to 1.5% between 2000 and 2008.

²¹ Besides the *Bolsa Familia*, the systematic increase in the minimum wage since 2002 and reduced inflation contributed to reducing poverty.

9. Globalization, multiculturalism and indigenous cultural "denizenship"

The indigenous question is indeed of a symbolic significance locally, the natives are more than 0, 25% of the population of Brazil. But it nevertheless suggests the nature of the relationship imposed by economic logic and political logic to the minority cultures by the opposite position that it is in other countries of Latin America with the Andean relief, characterized by more limited size and more modest natural resources: the indigenous constitute the majority of the population in Bolivia (71%), Guatemala (66%) and are a strong minority in Peru (47%) and Ecuador (43%). The indigenous question especially wants to provide here a metaphor illuminating the effects of economic globalization and involving multiculturalism and non-cooperative development strategies. These effects tend to create a local cultural *denizenship* that the central state and centralized actors fail to avert but, contrariwise, could attempt to use it and thus to feed it.

Whatever their ethnicity, the natives are all organized into groups and have centenary stories of contacts with a society that weaves its web everywhere and for which, for the survival of their communities, they are implementing various strategies of resistance. These are from forms of well defined confrontation to voluntary isolation and suicides, from working in the factory to marriage with non-indigenous, from alcohol to prostitution of women. The culture of four hundred and thirty thousands of natives still living in Brazil, on the estimated six million before the Europeans arrived, standing on the edge of a razor blade against the wrapping alternatives offered by the ruling dominant elites.

If, by formally recognizing the rights of its indigenous peoples, the constitution of 1988 changed the design of a Brazilian nation without ethnic groups, it did little to change the actual situation of the native. Thus, education in the native mother language is possible only in the primary and in the context of intercultural bilingual education school²² that suffers from a shortage of bilingual teachers. The recovery of indigenous language and the non-integration into national programs of information on indigenous culture do not interest people.

In the daily ritual, the natives suffer from the scorn from the other populations and appear as a simple folk attraction for tourists. If a native wants to assert his rights, he should at least know the Portuguese language²³. Therefore, according to the Brazilian legislation, the protection of indigenous people is dependent on to their degree of integration. It passes compliance with the law after the knowledge of the language.

Pushed to the acculturation and subject to the requirement of bilingualism, the native populations are living as foreigners in permanent stay, under the threat of arbitrary local authorities, and under the needs of local employers and diseases of *civilizados* (civilized world). Regarded as an Indian and treated as a minor, the natives discredit and devalue themselves from within.

10. "Terena flight"²⁴

If one is interested, for example, in the Terena community, consisting of 18 000 people from the Colombian and Venezuelan plains, descended from the ancient *Guaná-Txané* and speaking a dialect belonging to *Aruaque* linguistic family, it does not lack of openness and cooperation which is its permanence

²² Leclerc J., «Brésil» in L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde, Québec, TLFQ, Université Laval, <u>http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/amsudant/bresil-3pol-autochtones.htm</u> (consulted on June 13, 2010). If the rules of national education are laid down in Act No. 9394 of December 20, 1996, the Native is al-

so subject to Article 48 of Law No. 6001 of 1973 on the status of the Native. Resulting in application of Article 210 of the 1988 Constitution, that *"basic education will be regular taught in Portuguese and therefore that indigenous literacy is then accomplished in their language and in Portuguese"*. ²³ Art # 9 of Law n° 6001 on the status of the Indian, from 1973.

²⁴ Formula based on the American expression "White Flight".

behavior. It is unique in having sought simultaneously to maintain its internal organization, its culture and open relationships and trading exchanges with non-indigenous arrivals in Mato Grosso from the late eighteenth century.

The trend towards openness to the outside of this agricultural people is such that has the power to develop by borrowing from different cultures. If elders do not speak Portuguese, the young people learn it, use mobile phones and drive a car. They go out easily from their reservations, exchange with non-natives but they are not tributary to their economic and symbolic system. Several youths were inserted into the local economy, study in universities²⁵, performing public functions or they are liberal professionals while maintaining the rituals and values of their community. It is essential for all, repeated constantly the Terena people, to know the various ways of doing, of being and to have, and compare all their respective impacts.

In terms of impact for the 18,000 members of Terena society who are resident for most of them in Mato Grosso do Sul, the population density in the reservations reaches 65 inhabitants/km² when the mean of this state is only 7 inhabitants per km². The tendency of youth is to migrate towards the down town cities or to other reservations, looking for additional income. Currently, half of the existing families are seeking this additional income outside the reserve. These people must cross various strategic locations at the same time: the reserve, the city, the *favelas* estates and sugar mills, to reach the average survival. Thus, indigenous lands are no longer the fundamental and exclusive place of their social reproduction.

In the cities Aquidauana and Miranda, located in Earth Native Nioaque, 1300 of them are living on small surfaces, but not registered ownership, in which it is prohibited to "non-indigenous" to enter to prevent the violence that

²⁵ The Terena people tell they enter in the fourth stage of life: "The Return Travel" which is the stage of their liberation. This travel requires a detour through the "white schools" as shape of survival and as cultural empowerment of their people.

these natives could suffer. They are known as excellent producers of organic fruits. Requested by the state government of Mato Grosso do Sul, to support a regional and international agro-ecological program of development, their reserve took part in the production of certified organic mangoes²⁶. Although the skills and cultural resources of this indigenous population are very extensive in the field of biotechnology and biodiversity, it is not invited to the national or international bodies²⁷.

11. Is multiculturalism a history of eucalyptus pulp, transgenic soybean and mine?

Recognition (even partial) of indigenous rights was inextricably linked to the need to counter an external threat in order to continue reducing its green border and pursue the giant dreams of its elite Federalists. Fear aroused by the initiatives of global actors, including civil actors in mind, which propagated, from the 80s, the idea of internationalizing the Amazon. These worldwide civilian actors, long and sometimes still called *mafia verde* by the media and many political forces in Brazil, argued the irresponsible management of the Amazon basin by the Brazilian state and its propensity to want to deliver these ecological riches and life of its people on international auctions.

The Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988 has introduced a requirement for government, of mapping, cadastre and protect the land and then withdrew in 2001, the concept of "relative failure" of the native's former Code of 1916 which meant he could be a subject without civil law (no right of voting, or passport, etc. ..) out of a specific law. But if the government ratified in 2002 and brought into force the Convention of the International Or-

²⁶ Exported by Wessanen do Brazil company on markets in Japan, France and the United States under the brand name "Maraú".

²⁷ Convention of Biological Diversity, World Trade Organization, Committee of the World Intellectual Property.

ganization of Labor that recognizes the right of ownership to indigenous peoples²⁸ which protects them from the principle of assimilation and acculturation, the Brazilian constitution understands them in a more restrictive way²⁹.

The full transcription of these rights inside of the laws and the complete declension of these in the administrative rules cope with diverse and numerous obstacles. The conflicts of choice of jurisdictions between institutions or between federal State and local States³⁰ serve to evade the true issues. Indeed, and for example, without the publication of titles of properties belonging to indigenous peoples, the Brazilian state is in fact the legal owner of all native land which he keeps on hand. Without such titles of property on land they are known, the natives still depend on the variability of political and strategic needs of the state and depend on it for their livelihoods and protection.

The natural resources of Brazil mingling with the native territories, the law³¹ provides that a decree of President of the Republic may call into question the right of the natives on their territories to undertake public works in the context of national development or to exploit the riches of the basement if the safety and national development are at stake.

But this law reaches their cultural organization as their social mode of agricultural production is important for the internal stability of indigenous farming communities. So, for example, in Terena people, the land is divided into

²⁸ Article #14 Convention #169 of I.L.O.

²⁹ Leclerc J., «Brésil» in L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde, Québec, TLFQ, Université Laval, <u>http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/amsudant/bresil-3pol-autochtones.htm</u> (consulted on June 13, 2010). But according to the Brazilian constitution (1988: Chapter VIII, article #231): land rights affect land historically occupied by Indians (those mentioned in paragraph #1 of Article #231 of Federal Constitution) permanently inhabited by them, used for their activities of production and which are essential for the conservation of their "environmental aspects". These lands occupied by Indians are intended for their permanent possession. They have the exclusive usufruct of the riches of the soil, rivers and lakes within them. These lands are considered as "inalienable" and "exclusively reserved" for indigenous people. It is forbidden to move groups of their native land but the exploitation of these lands is yet possible with the Congressional authorization.

³⁰ The legalization by the government of the reserve *Raposta Serra do Sol*, 2nd indigenous territory of the country by area (17400 km²), located on the borders of Venezuela and Guyana in the State of Roraima, and the decision of the Supreme Court, taken in April 2005, requiring its removal by rice farmers within a year, has resulted, for example, a seven-day mourning declared by Governor of the State.

³¹ Article#20 of Law # 6001 of December 19, 1973..

agnatic kinship³² centered on the father or his elder brother. Reducing the size of their reserves could oppose coercion of decentralization of family groups on common ground and could create internal conflicts of power. This decentralization allows for maintaining the economic cooperation and sharing of food based on the law of reciprocity.

The possibility of legal contestation challenge about the boundaries of reserves in favor of non-Native peoples, which was extended by presidential decree in January 1995³³, was argued on the topic "*Muita terra para pouco indio*"³⁴. For example, the Norwegian company, Aracruz Inc., the world's largest producer of eucalyptus pulp, has tried to claim his title based on this law to challenge the rights of Tupinikiim and Guarani about their demarcated, approved and registered territories in 1983 in the State of Espirito Santoand to reduce their territory by agreement in 1998 of the Ministry of Justice ³⁵.

A law called "the regulation of economic activities in indigenous territories", was approved in 1999, legalizing the status of major projects in energy, agro-industry and forestry and mining industry in Native territories. It gives priority development on indigenous land rights and it allows, in turn, the Brazilian army to split some native reserves along its borders, in the name of national economic and military security.

Although, if in March 2009, the Brazilian Supreme Court reaffirmed the legality of a reserve of twenty thousand natives in Raposa Serra do Sol, in Roraima State, occupied by rice farmers, the decision confirms the right of

³² Relatives bound by the same strain male

³³ Decree 1775/96.

³⁴ Much land for little Indians.

³⁵ Conselho Indigenista Missiónario. Violência contra os povos indígenas no Brasil. Relatório 2006 2007. CNBB, 2008

The conflict continued and became very violent before being resolved in2007 by a new decree of the Federal Ministry of Justice

Brazilian states, in the name of development, to engage in future demarcation of indigenous lands and thus make them harder to protect.

If one could appreciate the recognition of indigenous rights as a compensation for several centuries of genocide, it appears socially rather as a concession, granting a favor and not as a right and due.

As the example comes from the local political power and the federal state boundaries, approval or registration of indigenous territories do not prevent that indigenous lands are coveted and continuously reduced by the companies operating commercially. And as the example also comes from foreign firms with the authorization of the federal government, these lands are also subject to encroachment by smallholders and small farmers with the complicity of local states. A Japorã, Mato Grosso do Sul, the Guarani-Kaiowá frequently discover that their land, yet legally defined, use the extension without the right areas planting soybeans on farms regularly put under the protection of police and military.

Thus, here, the country's cultural mix, eucalyptus pulp, mining, beef exports, producing bio-fuels or transgenic organisms are worth more than the right, the indigenous law and a state of right. The power of big mining companies, forestry and energy and the influence of large landowners are more important than the conditions of development of indigenous culture.

The registration in the law of the moving lines of root territories of native populations shows that the Brazilian multiculturalism is not the affirmative observance of cultural rights for all the minorities. This multiculturalism is very confortable for big investors. To mine for gold in the State of Amapa, Anglo American PLC, for example, can control about 18 out of 30 millions of hectares of lands which belong to Uaiapi, Uaça, Jaminam, Galibi and Tumucumaque, can pollute their environment, can poison their health and can destroy autonomy and sustainability of their community development. This shape of multiculturalism, inherited from the specific history of the construction of this very big nation, is married to the political strategies defined by a State which would like to stay *"nationalitaire"* (nationalitarian), federative and developer inside of the frame of economic globalization.

If the definition and revision of indigenous reserves appear dependent on development strategies of the federal government, the World Bank, international investors and global economic competition, the federal government's objective "*Zero Hunger*" could only, *in this frame*, be achieved by the continuation of infringement of ancestral and constitutional Natives'rights and of their cultural assimilation.

Between social alibi, here and elsewhere, the cultural alibi, globalization led by the state-market and the multiculturalism, which is its counterpart, do not offer potential ways towards sustainable development.

12. The intercultural and the sustainability: All together and without *island* or *-ism*

Global recognition of cultural diversity do may reduce it, here and there, to the defense and preservation of heritage and folklore or should it value human identity? Should it be understood as putting it into a museum, in stored memory, in reserve or in ghetto of communities, or should it allow them freely to unfold? How, without registering it as part of a purpose and a common ethic, is it able to avoid the separate identities, the cultural relativism or the political instrumentalization of cultures?

Meetings of diverse cultures are first injury in which the historical backlog demands an apology. They cannot avoid the practical aspects of the religious question which, as for example, is in Algeria where Friday is like a Sunday, admits in France, where the Sunday may no longer be a day different of any

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other, questions the Christian privilege in Germany, claiming a national day holiday for all Muslim and officially celebrated in the Indian Union five days for the Hindu holidays, four days for Muslim holidays, two days for Christians, one Buddhist day, one Sikh day and one Jain day.

They stumble over the language issue where, beyond the cultural meaning implied that the choice of language of communication carries with it the untranslatable - including the future unknown in some of some 6700 languages of the world still living - silent or cause misunderstanding and postpone conclusions.

They must be concerned with the question of the relationship with *the Other* that punctuates the life of every day: relationships between private and public, between generations, between genders, between emotions and to speech, interference, trust, uncertainty or fear.

They face the daunting question of social meaning that confronts holistic representations and individualistic approaches: relationship with nature, time, work, kinship, honor, success, price, equality, knowledge, wealth, destiny or authority. In some cultures, the authority, for example, may be motivated by reciprocity and service, while in others it is driven by power.

They cross on their paths strategies of power, attempted to make a political weapon from cultural policy, and economic rationality, which focus in community characteristics only those offering business opportunities, as evidenced by the boom, in the United States, the marketers.

If the strategies of global firms have consistently relocate their activities and operations, or segmenting the productive process and combining skills coming from different cultures into professional projects that give rise to dialogue on ways of doing things, they dissociate them from their relationships with modes of thought and modes of being. Substituting the corporate culture to local culture, they recompose the joints between the various dimensions of local cultural expression of developmental, to the benefits for the economy and the global, but at the expense of community loyalties and individual balance. If these companies focus on the "think globally", the global is the enterprise and "act locally" is reduced to the local cyclical variation of strategies produced worldwide.

If the communication technologies give rise to communities of information exchanges that allow, without limits of time and space, direct conversations and interactions between cultural patterns of thinking, provided that the virtual strengthens narcissism and that the self operates at closer to his ideal.

If the goods are moved around the world, they also carry with them the cultural signs of branded products by a strongly typed way of life at the expense of local labor and local cultures. Thus the States rules requires, in Niger, building in "hard" public buildings and therefore prohibits the use of local material, clay, considered less "hard". It results in the importation of cement, by the increased cost of construction, by the devaluation of local knowledge, by the confusion in the representations of what is sustainable and unsustainable and, ultimately, by the relativism of local cultures and women who are carriers of these.

The call for multicultural coexistence of cultures, does not provide information on their interrelationships, offers no process of mutual discovery and shall not include in its object the intercultural imperative. It does not view the composition of common responses to common challenges that cross boundaries of cultural management of territories.

Yet, in everyday private space on the digital or physical civilian territories, these exchanges fall outside the academic institutions or for business operational reasons as to meet in public space, detailed needs of the controversial policy or security and warmongering xenophobia. As Michel Sauquet and Martin Vielajus (2007) remind it so well, increase of an *ism* the multiculturalism confers certainly, force the ideal of equal rights and mutual respect between ethnic and cultural groups, within the ethnic or cultural heterogeneity that characterizes the world, but multiculturalism does not include, in the dialogue of cultures, their mutual interrogations nor does debate. The global application of economic rationality, the market like the State, producing social discrimination, cannot be held in the parentheses of the dialogue of cultures.

Multiculturalism is deadlocked on the modes of cultural interactions, on the conditions of their mutual influences and on the object of their common questions.

Cultural differences, in the framework of a race to development, of global economic competition and strategies of State, underlie, among and within geo-cultural assemblies, exile, exodus, cultural marginalization of communities economically and socially subordinate or development of "informal" as a refuge for survival, for creativity and cultural resistance.

The deactivation of the game and the cultural resistances arising from the export, then from globalization of an economic rationality, in drawing its values on individualism and the motors of its regulations in the state-market couple. Each of the terms of this couple appears in the variety of figures in the hierarchy and rivalry. This couple devalues local culture and constantly tends to bracket the global civil society.

But in the context of globalization of developments, *which is required by the implementation of the global imperative of sustainability*, economic globalization, *which is a condition of sustainability*, cannot evade the issues relating to development goals, instead, in the order of values and purposes, the rationalities of economy and state.

By caring capacity of Nature, requesting the difference and the limit, in articulating the local space in the global and in rebuilding the global at the local level, in empowering the individual, in calling for the emergence of world civil actor and offering an holistic approach to rationality of politics and economics, sustainability offers a way out of a multicultural world which lacks an intercultural approach and a shared civilizational project.

Attentive to the doubts, to the uncertainties and to the risks, more attractive than the *more* of the economy, the *must* of the technology and the *papers* of the national identity, this ethical project develops a positive imaginary part and makes the local individual a free actor, both nomadic and contextualized, of the overall and global sustainability. It opens a future.

For all people.

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