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Safe or self? On human demands of ethnic recognition in modern society.

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SAFE OR SELF? ON HUMAN DEMANDS OF ETHNIC RECOGNITION IN MODERN SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

A harmonious multicultural society, theoretically, would be one in which individuals can recognise all the different languages, religions and cultural activities (Verma, 1990: 54). As a cultural study based on multiculturalism, this research will explore the concept of ethnic recognition[1] in the context of social inequality. The concept of ethnic recognition in my study will be elucidated by referring to the argument of Stuart Hall (1992), Axel Honneth (1995), Jessica Benjamin (1988), and Charles Taylor[2] (1992). Based on their argument, ethnic minorities can empower themselves as well as being empowered by ethnic majorities. As Hall (1992) states,

> There is a recognition that we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular experience, and a particular culture… this is also a recognition that there is not an ethnicity which is doomed to survive, as Englishness was, only by marginalising, dispossessing, displacing and forgetting other ethnicities (Hall, 1992: 258).

Stuart Hall (1992) proposes that such forms of recognition do not regard any ethnic group as inferior but remains for individuals to be, in Axel Honneth's (1995) sense, 'socially esteemed and this is accompanied by a felt confidence that one's achievements or abilities will be recognised as "valuable" by other members of

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[1] There have been several debates on the issue of 'recognition' in the field of psychoanalytic theories and philosophy (Adler, 1999; Benjamin, 1988; Foucault, 1984; Habermas, 1994; Honneth, 1995; Lukes, 1997; Taylor, 1992; Young, 1997). In short, this issue is involved in struggles for recognition in relations of power in which each individual struggles for supremacy over others, or within a dialogical relationship between individuals, people recognise each other in their individuality, as equals and as absolute others both at the same time (Wellmer, 1983; Simon, 1999).

[2] Charles Taylor's influential essay, The Politics of Recognition, has been widely discussed and criticised. Please see Hesse (1997), Tempelman (1999), Blum (1998; 2001), Archard (2000), Gutmann (1994, Ed.), etc..

society' (p.128). To esteem oneself, one has to speak of a state of societal solidarity where the social relations inspire not just passive tolerance but also a felt concern for an individual and particular 'other' (ibid: 129).

Blindness to difference has been used to discriminate against others. At the same time, Taylor (1992) argues identity is closely associated with recognition: recognition leads to identity and vice versa. Individual identity in an ethnic group would be strengthened by the recognition from other ethnic groups because such recognition serves as an external support to the internal identity. Such concepts of ethnic recognition are particularly approached to the study of micro-interactions, but they can also be applied to the study of policy contexts at centred or local level and to the analysis of ethnic practice (Archard, 2000). In order to accept the difference between each group, equality demands a recognition not of what makes in-group the same as out-group but what makes in-group different, particular and special (ibid: 3).

People in society have a desire to belong to a "community" based on difference from others or similarity to all human. Some people feel "safe" while belonging to similar human things, whereas the other feel "self" while belonging to a particular community distinguished from others. Does the former desire to 'belong' underpin the apparent rhetoric of freedom, and might this leave some people and groups isolated? And does the later desire to 'belong' underpin the invisible boundaries of ethnicity, and might this leave the society split? Both are related to the essence of ethnic recognition--self-consciousness exists only by being recognised (Hegel, 19190, Taylor, 1992). In my paper, I will process the discussion of human demands of ethnic recognition through three perspectives along with some empirical data.

Firstly, I will process a philosophical reflection on the limits of ethnic recognition and its near relations such as the concepts of tolerance, respect, sympathy, liking, appreciation and love. The philosophical dialectics may help to understand what sort of space separates a group from other groups and makes it different, derogatorily or appreciatively. Secondly, I will give sociological account by taking some rites of passage as examples of measuring ethnic belonging and critically re-examine its social inclusion or exclusion. The purpose is to know what sort of mechanisms of belonging connects an individual to an ethnic group and what sort of mechanisms of the invisible boundaries we set up between each other. Thirdly, I will account the desire of ethnic recognition to its demand of emotional acceptance and investigate the possibility/impossibility of explaining man outside the limits of his capacity for accepting or denying a given situation.

In order to provide for empirical justification, I am concerned with examining, in the context of Taiwan, ethnic recognition and interpreting the construction of ethnicity, constrained by social structure. Countries such as Taiwan have a particular history in terms of ethnic recognition---a history that can be explored sociologically. The main research question of this study is to explore the dialectic relationship between *ethnic identity* and *ethnic recognition*. The nature of this question can be turned to self-other relations. It will be discussed in my study in terms of the nature of ethnic recognition in social setting where single recognition or mutual recognition determines the process of individual sociolisation.

DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RECOGNITION AND IDENTITY

A person's identity is fundamentally fixed by his/her membership of an ethnic group more than his/her social role (Archard, 2000), as the Swann Report (DES, 1985) states 'membership of a particular ethnic group is one of the most important aspects of an individual's identity' (p.3). Ethnic recognition acts as a reinforced impetus to individual identity. It is significant to explore the *dialogical*[3] relationship between ethnic recognition and ethnic identity in order to deal with the problem of social inequality concerning with identity politics. As Young (1990: 164) describes,

> In everyday interactions, images, and decisions, assumptions about women, Blacks, Hispanics, gay men and lesbians, old people, and other marked groups continued to justify exclusion, avoidance, paternalism, and authoritarian treatment. Continued racist, sexist, homophobic, ageist, and ableist institutions and behaviour create particular circumstances for these groups, usually disadvantaging them in their opportunity to develop their capacities (Young, 1990: 164)

It is a social reality that there are cultural differences among social groups --- differences in language, style of living, body comportment and gestures, values, and perspectives on society. With particular histories and traditions, minorities have been segregated from one another. It is the 'blindness to difference' that damages those disadvantaged groups whose experience, culture, and socialised capacities differ from those of privileged groups (Young, 1990: 164). Such cultural imperialism appears

[3] The term 'dialogical' is borrowed from Charles Taylor (1994), "we define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us…, the conversation with them continues within us as long as we live" (p.33).

neutral and universal that is unequally based on the norms of the privileged groups and hence the privileged hold vested interest. A way to receive 'ethnic differences' is to recognise others as well as to identify our selves.

Identity politics, central to challenging cultural homogeneity, provides 'spaces for marginal groups to assert the legacy and importance of their respective voices and experiences' (Giroux, 1993: 92), but often fails to move 'beyond a notion of difference structured in polarising binarisms and an uncritical appeal to a discourse of authenticity' (ibid.). Thus, identity politics is insufficient and powerless to resist the politically and culturally constructed ethnic relations as it affirms merely the private characteristics within categorised group and ignores the politics of difference outside their groups. By recognising existing hegemonic histories, identity politics much concerns our specific locations in the educational process and in the institutions through which we are constituted (Mohanty, 1994: 148). However, we cannot situate our specific locations without referring to the outsiders who mirror the representation of the insiders. We can trace the origins of black, ethnic, and women's studies programmes to oppositional social movements in which they hail the demand of acknowledgement of their own history (ibid.: 149). In short, the demand of recognition serves a part of identity politics particularly under the circumstance of oppression.

The Politics of Recognition

Identity politics cannot be separated from the politics of recognition because the formation of cultural identities 'presupposes the notion of the other and the definition of the cultural self always involves a distinction from the values, characteristics and ways of life of others' (Larrain, 1994: 142). The demand for recognition comes to the fore in a range of ways in today's politics of feminism and of multiculturalism on behalf of the minority or “subaltern” groups (Taylor, 1994: 25). To illustrate the dialogical relationship between ethnic recognition and ethnic identity, I propose two modes of *self-other circle* and *identity-recognition circle*, theoretically grounded on Charles Taylor’s ‘Politics of Recognition’, that are based on a *macro-micro circle* by which we are situated into social context.

The struggle to be recognised by an other and then to confirm our selves is the course of recognition in the relationship between self and others, the encounters of the self with the nurturing others (Benjamin, 1988: 12). In a social context, the *self-other circle* can be demonstrated in the process of recognition, as Benjamin (1988) illustrates, which always includes a 'paradoxical mixture of otherness and

togetherness: you belong to me, yet you are not any longer part of me. I recognise that you are real' (p.15). Benjamin emphasises that the idea of mutual recognition is crucial to the intersubjective view and that we actually have a need to recognise the other as a separate person who is like us yet distinct. For example, a child as an independent subject has a need to see the mother too, 'not simply as the external world or an adjunct of his ego' (ibid.: 23). Taylor explicates the interdependence of self and other more specifically in his book, *Sources of the Self*, that we would not know who we were any more without our relationships with our parents, friends, cultural communities, members of our ethnic group, nation, and all the others (Taylor, 1989: 27).

Charles Taylor then supposes a link between recognition and identity that our identity is partly shaped by the recognition of others. In a way of toward self-inwardness, Taylor (1994) discusses the reduplicate forms of dignity, a kind of asking for respect from others, on the one hand, and a kind of respecting others, on the other hand. Such a negotiation between identity and recognition which I call *identity-recognition circle* is dialogical as Taylor states that the genesis of the human mind is 'not mono-logical, not something each person accomplishes on his or her own, but dialogical' (p.32). Taylor calls for a dialogical character as the crucial feature of human life by which people are introduced to them through interaction with others who matter, in George Herbert Mead's word--"significant others." The development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition. 'My own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others' (p.34) and 'a withholding of recognition can be a form of oppression' (p.36). As Larrain (1994: 143) argues that recognition with permanence and cohesion are the main ideas associated with identity, the formation of a person's identity is closely connected to positive social recognition---acceptance and respect---from others (Rockefeller, 1994: 97). Therefore, recognition serves as a function of shaping a positive identity as Blum (1998: 61) observes that subordinated groups struggling for recognition not only want their distinctive culture acknowledged but also want to be seen as not-inferior. Taylor's (1994) ideal perspective is an equal recognition which much concerns with the denunciation of other-induced distortions though operating with its own notion of authenticity. To sum up, the identity-recognition circle makes sense to use the concept of mutual recognition for this intersubjective relationship subject to the case that one becomes a socially accepted member of one's community as well as one recognises the others (Honneth, 1992: 78).

However, the limits of the politics of recognition may inevitably have exclusive effects of its own. Tempelman (1999) identifies a core of dilemma in the debate on

Charles Taylor's theory of multiculturalism. He claims that Taylor's construction of collective identity is primordial which is a risk of ethnocentrism by classifying people according to their primordial natures (an authentic identity) within which internal homogenisation is assumed and hence separation and hostility among groups occur. The boundaries of 'us' and 'them' are often unclear, but Taylor's politics of recognition neglects such 'differences, transformations and internal disputes' (Tempelman, 1999:23). Taylor's account is confused in the contradiction between the two types of recognition with respect to distinctness and universality (Blum, 1998), though Taylor has argued to encompass 'recognition of difference' which I explore below.

Recognition of Difference

When we term 'recognition,' we shall recognise difference, or distinctness, as the sameness-based democratic recognition has no longer been a type of recognition (Young, 1990; Giroux, 1992; Blum, 1998). Yet, how much the recognition of difference is important to individual socialisation? In sociologists' views, the illustration of a re-conceptualisation of cultural difference through an appreciation of *'subjugated knowledge'* (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997) could contribute to educational values for several reasons. First, subjugated knowledge helps us to rethink the curriculum, the academic disciplines and our purposes as educators and cultural workers. Second, subjugated knowledge contributes to the analysis of the ways knowledge is produced and legitimated. Third, in the larger critical multicultural effort to construct more inclusive and just socio-political and educational spheres, subjugated knowledge must be justified in the academy. Fourth, subjugated knowledge helps to produce new levels of insight by making use of indigenous knowledge. Fifth, if recognition and validation of subjugated and indigenous knowledge induce us to rethink academic disciplines and knowledge production, then educators and other cultural workers must all become adept researchers (p.49-57). Subjugated knowledge at all levels --- race, ethnicity, gender, and class are increasingly essential as its interpretations mostly connect political and pedagogical power with ethnic experiences and reflections. Students and teachers from the majority or minority can then have a holistic comprehension of the social reality.

The recognition of difference is based on the belief that each group is represented as a specific group and none can be a representative of a universal group. It therefore can provide the oppressors and the oppressed, the majority and the minority, opportunities to reflect their group images mirroring from others so as to attain solid group identity. For example, Young (1990) suggests that asserting the value and specificity of the culture and attributes of oppressed groups resulted in a relativizing of the dominant

culture:

> Oppressed groups in a political struggle insist on the positive value of their specific culture and experience so that it becomes increasingly difficult for dominant groups to parade their norms as neutral and universal, and to construct the values and behaviour of the oppressed as deviant, perverted, or inferior (Young, 1990: 166).

The dominant culture is then forced to discover itself for the first time as specific as Anglo, European, Christian, masculine, straight. The politics of difference is beneficial to all humans in a way that everyone is categorised to a group based on his/her specificity so that both the dominant and the oppressed are respectively a kind of "difference" to others. Ethnic categorisation, as Giroux (1992) argues, 'must not be simply acknowledged but defined relationally in terms of antiracist, anti-patriarchal, multicentric, and ecological practices central to the notion of democratic community' (p.75).

Ethnic catergorisation in terms of equal recognition of difference can promote a notion of group solidarity against the individualism of liberal humanism (Young, 1990: 166). People in Taiwan might gradually lose their specificity owing to Americanisation and globalisation which have replaced some ethnic attributes and local culture. The assertion of a positive sense of group difference provides a standpoint from which to criticise prevailing institutions and norms (ibid.: 167). We need to recognise the unique identity of this individual or group, their distinctness from everyone else. Otherwise, the assimilation to a dominant or majority identity will damage the ideal of authenticity of ethnic identity. The politics of difference is 'full of denunciations of discrimination and refusals of second-class citizenship' so that it often 'redefines non-discrimination as requiring that we make these distinctions the basis of differential treatment' (Taylor, 1994: 39). Taylor's recognition of difference assumes a sort of *"unconditional acceptance"* (Rockefeller, 1994: 97) with affirmation of one's ethnic particularity as well as one's universally shared potential, yet, without the possibility of a genuine expression of exclusive feeling. As Lukes (1997) argues, the recognition of collective identities is a complex and insufficiently analysed notion.

Nevertheless, even though the politics of difference does protect the survival of minorities, we think about questions like, does it encourage the ideal of social justice and the spread of multicultural education? On the one hand, those in favour of attributing multiculturalism to the recognition of difference believe that recognising differences is the best way to approach the ideal equal society, partly because it is the

first step to reaching equal status through equalising power relations among different groups, and partly because diverse cultural presentations reflects the reality of multicultural society. On the other hand, some may disapprove the above argument because the recognition of difference could come to collision with non-discrimination principle. Firstly, in accordance with the essence of the recognition of difference, ethnic majority should deliver and re-distribute certain power and rights to ethnic minority and such manipulative re-distribution can be regarded as an under-evaluation to minority people, a sort of discrimination. As Young (1990: 173) argues, equality refers not primarily to the distribution of social goods but to the full participation and inclusion of everyone in a society's major institutions, and the socially supported substantive opportunity for all to develop and exercise their capacities and realise their choice. Secondly, Taylor is also worried about the possibility of exclusion. 'If the demands for native self-government are finally agreed on, certain minorities will get the right to exclude others in order to preserve their cultural integrity' (Taylor, 1992: 40). Even so, the minorities have gained some victories in the battle for political civil rights and start struggling for better economic positions.

A re-distribution of socio-economic status is basically to challenge power structure in existing society; however, it may exacerbate ethnocentrism or ethnic inequality as ‘differences in power’ can be a mechanism linking group positions to prejudice (Hagendoorn, 1993: 31). For example, each group perceives other groups through the window of its own value system and collective beliefs about superior or inferior group positions are more or less judged by power differences. Even if minority members are upwardly mobile and redefine themselves in terms of their newly acquired social status, low-status majority members may not accept this self-definition, but claim a higher status for themselves as majority-group members and this would accentuate ethnic differences and thus intensify ethnocentrism (Hagendoorn, 1993, 45). That the upper-class segment of majority group does not accept the upwardly mobile minority groups also accentuates class or ethnic differences. Therefore, ethnocentrism would be reinforced by the struggle for identity with upper-class categorisation as a result of a redistribution of socio-economic status. The re-distribution of socio-economic status is highly connected to power difference that makes real recognition difficult. On that account, recognition of difference must turn to less discriminative and more harmonious aspects in which difference can act as an activator for facilitating diversity and for fulfilling enrichment in society instead of being a benchmark of categorisation.

ETHNIC SUPERIORITY AND INFERIORITY

Despite of the above philosophical discussion on human demand of ethnic recognition, the sociological reality is that ethnic superiority and inferiority are still found in modern society. Take Taiwan as an example. The status of four ethnic groups in Taiwan implies that a hierarchy of ethnic difference had been determined by politics, economic, or social status, through internalised discipline or at the point of socialisation and propaganda in education. The socio-political factors create the ethnic emotions of superiority and inferiority that could make ethnic recognition impossible.

Superiority

From a social functional point of view, 'superiority' is a more social construction than primordial one. I use a critical social research approach, from an ethno-cultural perspective, examining ethnic status in the aspects of self-concepts and collective identity. My examination of ethnic status refers to macro-sociological aspects, in which individual sentiments were linked to a broad social context, so as to fill the gap beyond the personal account with a full contextualisation of this sensitive topic. Individual account and collective memory therefore are presented to justify why an ethnic group could be superior to others.

Generally speaking, Mainlanders have been regarded as a superior ethnic group over the past fifty years and the current status is slightly declining but they still stand above other ethnic groups in Taiwan's society. The main supporting force to push up Mainlanders includes governmental welfare, official positions in politics in terms of hereditary, better education, language proficiency in Mandarin, and positive image in media.

> Not each Mainlander is rich but most of them treasure whether they receive better education or not. In addition, Mainlanders would have more personnel relationship as they have occupied most of top official posts. For such a political vantage, Mainlanders have been regarded as a group of people who are in the top status in Taiwan's society (F06R55F, 2001/10/23).

Politics is the way as a social ladder to the top status in Taiwan's society, particularly for Mainlanders who rely on political vantage more than other ethnic groups. They have nothing to depend on apart from politics, which can be seen as sort of surviving assets. For example, the extract from a second-generation Mainlander illustrates a sense of strong attachment to politics:

> I always feel that Mainlanders are absolutely miserable. When Mainlanders lost their political vantage, they could land up in the place of Aborigines because both have no social resources to stand for. Mainlanders could be better in just one point of better education than Aborigines. As you may know, Hoklo hold a great deal of land that makes them lead a life of financial sufficiency. Alike, though Hakka is situated in some margins of society, they have some land assets and nowadays they have gained their due status for the sake of cultural characteristics. However, Mainlanders have nothing, neither land nor culture, except for political power. Without politics, Mainlanders will have not more advantage. For Mainlanders, political vantage was a sort of historical product in the past, while it becomes increasingly untenable these years. The historical role of politics is gone (M02U37M, 2001/11/06).

Hoklo has never been a superior group in Taiwan's society until these years with the shift of political climate. As the biggest ethnic group, Hoklo has 73% of the population in Taiwan so that their vantage comes originally from huge population and their dialect widespread all over this country. Today Hoklo dialect has almost been regarded as the national language apart from official language, Mandarin.

> I feel that Speaking Fukkien (Hoklo dialect) seems to be a nationwide movement for the people in Taiwan. Each and all, more or less, are able to speak Fukkien a bit. Following by this, Mandarin as an official language is used by the populace everyday. The last and least come the Hakka dialect and Aboriginal tongues (H04R30F, 2001/10/31).

Apart from the vantage of being majority which push up Hoklo status, the change of political climate from pro-KMT to pro-DPP is the major advantage of given recognition by the society. In 2000, Chen Shei-Bian, a Hoklo, got his presidency that intensifies a superior image for Hoklos. In addition, the Hoklo have held a great deal of lands in Taiwan since they emigrated from China hundreds years ago; therefore, most Hoklos are either businessmen or land agents. They have more economic vantage than other ethnic groups, as shown in the following extract from a second-generation Mainlander.

> In the 1940s or 1950s, Mainlanders had the staff in their hands, but those whom were in power were just a handful of Mainlanders. Most of the other was dwelling in "Mainlanders Village[4]" who were known as poverty-stricken. In terms of Hoklo,

[4] "Mainlander Village" is a village specially for military dependants. KMT government accommodated

> they are majority in population on the one hand, and they are rich because of land assets on the other hand. Today in Taiwan people who have land have money. For example, a number of rebuilt regions in Tai-Chung are occupied by "Taiwanese[5]" who turn millionaire overnight. We Mainlanders mainly as soldiers or policemen without personnel and land assets are unable to play our trade, particularly when our Mandarin sounds different from others (M04U29M, 2001/11/06).

To sum up, Mainlanders and Hoklo in general are associated with high status in Taiwan's society due to their politics, economics, education, and language. The concept of ethnic superiority could be socially constructed by the political, economic, educational and linguistic vantage.

Inferiority

As superiority is socially constructed, so is inferiority never a primordial concept. According to my interviewees of four ethnic groups, Hakka and Aborigines have been regarded as inferior ethnic groups in Taiwan's society because of their minor population, ethnic characteristics, political alienation, geographical isolation, and economic disadvantage.

Taiwanese Hakka, 12% of the population in Taiwan, is a minority compared to Hoklo, 73%; such a minor population intertwined with their powerless politics push down Hakka status. Hakka has vantage neither in dialect nor in economics. Hakka dialect is unpopular in Taiwan as its language users are less than 12%. Most Hakka is populated nearby mountain that is geographically remote from plains and cities where most Mainlanders and Hoklo reside. A Hakka woman pointed out that Hakka seldom shows solidarity due to their low status, as a result of politically isolation and conservative ethnicity.

> I feel that we Hakka never show complete unity or support for each other, especially in political affairs. Why have we been isolated from political affairs?

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the soldiers and their dependants in "Mainlander Village" which were located in a particular area where only Mainlanders dwelled. The culture of Mainlander Village has therefore been cultivated and become an unforgettable collective memory for most Mainlanders.

5 People in Taiwan used to refer "Taiwanese" to Hoklo because Hoklo is the majority of Taiwan's population, 73%. Being a contrast to Mainlanders, Hoklo has been a representative group under the name of "Taiwanese" over the past 50 years, while the people in Taiwan today try to rename Taiwanese as all the people in Taiwan regardless to their ethnicity.

> Simply speaking, we used to struggle with people as well as with life but we escape from struggling with tough matters. Unlike the Hoklo who would linkup with aristocrats, we Hakka will give up striving for anything related to politics because we are more conservative by our own nature (F05R39F, 2001/10/31).

Aborigines, less than 2% of the population in Taiwan, are always in the understratum of society and have been less powerful than other ethnic groups in many ways such as political status, economics and education, according to my interview data. Such inferiority is socially constructed and its construction is particularly complicated. Some said it is due to their economic difficulties as a consequence of geographical disadvantages (populating in mountains); the other said it is due to Aboriginal habitus in ethnic nature.

> Aborigines are always suffering from the lowest status in Taiwan's society that, in my view, should be in relation to their ethnicity. That is to say, Aborigines by nature could not stockpile their assets that brought them under the condition of financial insufficiency. Also, their life styles are naturally different from Hans who keep up their wealth all the time. Aborigines probably just think to survive today only instead of considering tomorrow. Our government has tried many measures to protect/support them, while it couldn't help them to stand for an equal status as others all the time (F05R29M, 2001/10/23)?

As previous discussion, with the hierarchical status among different ethnic groups, frequent ethnic encounter does not necessarily lead to understanding, acceptance, respect, appreciation and recognition, according to my research findings. The process of ethnic recognition is rather political. For example, with a political strategy of *avoidance* and *minimisation* in media and education, small numbers of representation of ethnic minorities indirectly suppressed their ethnic consciousness as a result of downplaying of extra-ethnic discourses. The recognition of ethnic minority as 'we group' (a discourse of fake *inclusion*) subject to their achievement and good manners reveals the discourse of *exclusion* segregating self from other. Aborigines' struggle for a recognition of being different is restrained by political propaganda, which apparently claims 'ethnic inclusion' to modify the majority's expressiveness of minority's traumatism and reduce ethnic separatism. Yet my argument is that it is not about inclusion but exclusion as it is a sort of conditional inclusion.

THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC EMOTIONS

Jessica Benjamin (1988) suggests that recognition is a response from the other not only to make the feelings, intentions, and actions of the self meaningful, but also to make the other meaningful whom we, in turn, recognise as a person in his or her own right. As she points out, 'to recognise is to affirm, validate, acknowledge, know, accept, understand, empathise, take in, tolerate, appreciate, see, identify with, find familiar, …love' (p.15). There is a 'necessary tension between self-assertion and mutual recognition that allows self and other to meet as sovereign equals' (ibid: 12); however, a breakdown of the tension would result in domination and submission. Therefore, love is an important source of recognition when we struggle to confront issues of race, gender, class and ethnicity. One of my interviewees interprets ethnic recognition in the same demand of Jessica Benjamin's idea.

> You should be able to experience their culture, to fancy, and then to get yourself involved in. Otherwise, all your studies will stop in a superficial knowledge, far away from engaging in affection. You had better know more about them, understand them deeper, and then you will love the aboriginal culture. Without being understood, Aboriginal people could have a sense of exclusion (A 41-year-old male aborigine in rural school, 2001/11/14).

Like Benjamin, Axel Honneth (1995) argues that love is fundamentally crucial to mutual recognition. He proposes three types of recognition--love, respect, and esteem, for ascribing to individuals or groups some positive status. Mutual recognition is a kind of intersubjective relationship in a socially accepted community in which individuals learn to appreciate the social norms of the generalised other (Honneth, 1995:78). Honneth, therefore, emphasises not the struggle for self-preservation but rather the struggle for the establishment of mutual recognition, as a precondition for self-realisation (Anderson, 1995: x). In this way, Honneth argues that basic self-confidence is inherent in the experience of *love*; self-respect, in the experience of *legal recognition*; and finally self-esteem, in the experience of *solidarity* (Honneth, 1995:173). In this sense, there should be legal recognition of ethnicity alongside love and solidarity.

A sincere respect is crucial to esteem for Aborigines. For example, when asked about the demand of ethnic recognition, a 45-year-old male aborigine demands a true respect rather than a respect in words:

> An ideal multiculturalist should be able to respect other's culture intrinsically. I emphasis "intrinsic respect" because it's not easy to respect different culture with sincere appreciation inside the heart. Many people "respect" others just in words,

> not in hearts. Instead, they still could not stand for aboriginal cultures/habitus. Therefore, it is very rare that we can have an ideal multicultural teacher (a 45-year-old male aborigine in rural school, 2001/11/15).

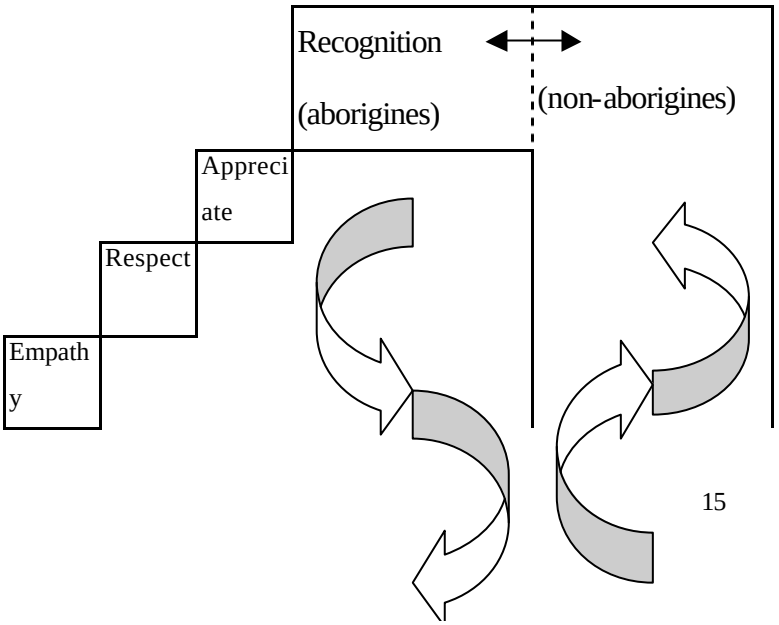
Charles Taylor (1992), perhaps the most closely associated with the concept of ethnic recognition, argues that our identity is partly shaped by the recognition of others. Non-recognition or mis-recognition can be harmful as well as oppressive, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being (p.25-6). An anti-ethnocentralistic discourse refers to a mutual recognition, for example:

> An ideal multicultural teacher should be able to accept other ethnic languages, to appreciate the beauty and cultural meaning of aboriginal languages, and, furthermore, to love to other ethnic languages. Most importantly, they must not be so ethno-centralistic that take their own language as the most beautiful and the most valuable only. An ideal teacher must not exclude other ethnic languages but they have to prepare themselves with bi-lingual ability and a concept of global village (a 23-year-old female aborigine in rural school, 2001/11/15).

Blindness to difference has been used to discriminate against others. At the same time, Taylor argues identity is closely associated with recognition: recognition leads to identity and vice versa. Individual identity in an ethnic group would be strengthened by the recognition from other ethnic groups because such recognition serves as an external support to the internal identity.

A PROPOSITIONAL MODEL OF ETHNIC RECOGNITION

The interviewing data in this study speaks itself with a model of ethnic recognition that reflects the interaction between ethnic identity and ethnic recognition as Figure 1.



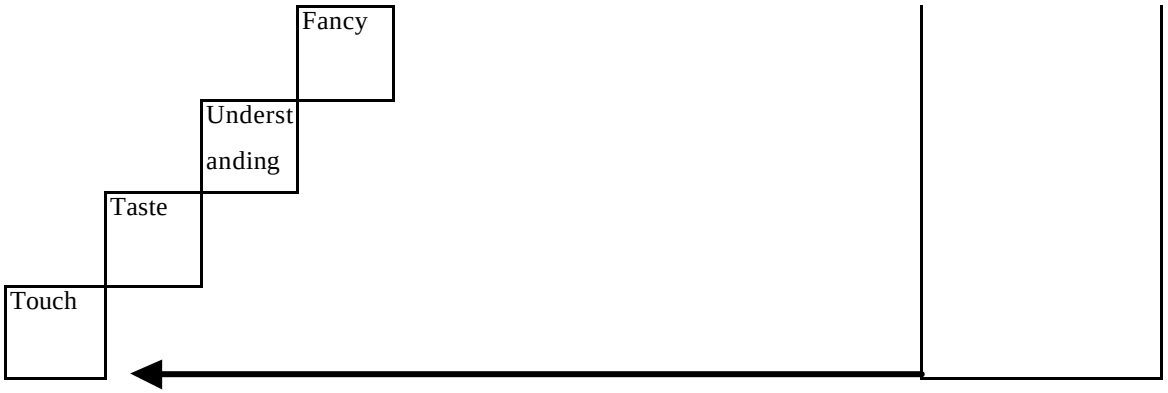


Figure 1: Model of Recognition

While being asked about their practical experience of multicultural recognition, schoolteachers emphasise a sort of *the politics of emotion*[6] which requires acute attention to differences in culture, social class, and ethnicity. In fact, sentiments and thoughts are inseparable, and sentiments inspire the thoughts (Boler, 1999: 41). As shown in Figure 1, the emotion towards cultural difference can be leveled from initial touch, taste, understand, fancy, empathy, respect, appreciation, and recognition. A sort of emotional acceptance, for this aboriginal teacher, is a sentiment which could inspire the thoughts to recognise aboriginal culture. Such a sentiment is generated from a favour after experiencing aboriginal community and understanding them. That is to say, we assume we will fancy, appreciate, even recognise aboriginal culture if we can walk into aboriginal tribes, touching them, knowing them, and trying to understand them. A respect in words only can not be a way to give due recognition to ethnic minority. Emotional acceptance is a significant way to ethnic recognition for aboriginal teachers.

In terms of culture, ethnicity, and language, schoolteachers pay attention to invoke an emotional and attitudinal acceptance rather than spreading its skill, cognition, or knowledge. In other words, Aborigines are expected to have passion in learning their own culture, identifying with their own ethnicity, and preferring to their own languages. Alike, the others are expected to accept aboriginal culture, to recognise aborigines as an equal ethnicity, and to appreciate aboriginal languages. A hope to be accepted entirely by others is inside their hearts so that some day they expect to become a mainstream in others' eyes. I thus advocate, as Martha Nussbaum did in her

[6] The politics of emotion emerge within the women's liberation movement to challenge the three dominant discourses of emotion (the pathological, rational, and religious). It develops a fourth primary discourse of emotions, the political (Boler, 1999:11). The politics of emotion is against the separation of reason and emotion that has defined our thinking about the role emotions playing in our lives.

book, *Poetic Justice*, both schoolteachers and students shall "comprehend the other through sympathy and fancy as well as rationality as the foundation for dignity, freedom and democracy" (Nussbaum, 1995: 120-1). With all the positive ethnic emotions inside, ethnic recognition is hence possible.

Critique and Reflection

The model of ethnic recognition itself is problematic in its theoretical consent. The problem is that a contact and understanding between two ethnic groups does not necessarily guarantee that people will further nurture a feeling of fancy, appreciation, or recognition. This study points out that due recognition is a sort of unconditional recognition that could be still impossible, particularly in confrontation of cultural or value conflicts which has been dominated by Essentialism.

Apart from cultural or value conflicts among ethnic groups, the problem of Taiwan's ethnic recognition is mainly intertwined with political complex as a result of its history of ethnic antagonism. Under the circumstance of political complex, how is it possible to be recognised? In current Taiwan's society, if you have power and money or if you are in the high class, the other will recognise you no matter what ethnic group you are. It seems that recognition has no focus on ethnicity but subject to "class".

Currently, a number of minorities are struggling for due recognition, I rethink that it is not a way to struggle for it. Struggling for due recognition is not just a slogan, which does not work as a method to demand others' recognition. Struggling for due recognition is an action, which needs to explore more about the questions such as “why people are unable to recognise the other?” "What is the limit of recognition?" Education is not to teach a slogan. “Can we teach students to practice 'respect' without emotional acceptance?” “Can we teach 'recognition' if students are unable to recognise different culture/different ethnic groups?”

As a result of negative ethnic emotions, mis-recognition could cause people tend to forget their own ethnic identity. However, does it mean people don’t need ethnic identity anymore? How much does ethnic recognition determine ethnic identity? In theory (i.e. Taylor, 1994) and in practices (i.e. Fournier et., 1997) we agree that ‘the sense of belonging to a larger collectivity, some “we,” is an important sociological

component of identity' and that 'being "ourselves" becomes difficult when our difference is not acknowledged' (Fournier et., 1997: 82-3). Nevertheless, in many cases, we cannot ignore that the failure of recognition has given rise to minority's struggling for their own identity. For example, in my research, Aborigines are the least recognised group but the most ethnically aware one. The similar finding is seen in the Quebec study by Fournier et. (1997) that the more Canadians fail to recognise the positive aspects of Quebec identity the stronger it becomes. According to my interviewing data, older generation generally have stronger ethnic identity even if they ever denied it in childhood, while younger generation generally have weaker ethnic identity.

I'd prefer a theory of ethnic recognition as a dualism for identity politics. Recognition as a positive effect on constructing ethnic identity could be also a negative effect on stripping ethnic identity by decreasing to a status of non-identity. Non-recognition as a negative effect on stimulating the desire to belong to an ethnic group could be also a positive effect on constructing ethnic identity by enhancing to a status of identity.

CONCLUSION

This study, theoretically based on an ideal social justice of ethnic recognition, explores the complexities of social injustice among different ethnic groups within Taiwan's context, empirically based on teachers' oral historical interview data which range ethnic population and distribution, language, media, social-economic status, politics, and class structure. The history of Taiwan is a history of immigration and colonisation and, thus, Taiwan has been a multi-ethnic society where diverse ethnic groups are mixed, namely Hoklo, Hakka, Mainlanders and Aborigines each with specific ethnicity, language and culture. Unfortunately, people in Taiwan for a long period were ruled by a single ethnicity, Mainlanders, except some other foreigners, Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish and Japanese. The KMT government concealed ethnic diversity through its dominant education, language, media, employment and economic control that not only corresponded its political needs and vested interest, but also reproduced the deep-rooted class structure and stigmatised ethnic identity upon other ethnic groups.

I have tried to claim, from sociological perspectives, that ethnic community with the grim past unconsciously constructed an oppressed communal structure where unequal ethnic relations were formed. As assimilation theorists address on acculturation (cf.

Thompson, 1989: 79-80), the people in Taiwan have been learning the language, values, and other modes of cultural discourse that predominate in the host society. Namely, the adoption of the Chinese language and some conformity to the dominant, Chinese-originated values on which Taiwan's social institutions are structured (the Constitution, the legal system, the economy, etc.) a one-way process that requires non-Mandarin speakers to change in the direction of the dominant culture. It is process that most often results in the disappearance of the native language and culture of the acculturating person, a process of Sino-conformity in which immigrants were expected to shed their native traditions and adopt the cultural and linguistic patterns of the dominant Chinese traditions. In particular, Aborigines as one of ethnic minorities have been feeling inferior to other ethnic groups in many ways such as political status, economics and education. Taiwanese Aborigines suffered from the lower social status and worse health welfare; hence, since 1970s many Aborigines for the sake of living have been moving away from their hometowns to cities that brought Aboriginal traditions substantial decline in term of ethnic culture, social structure and value norms. Compared with Han people, Aborigines were left behind them in educational levels and economic situation since the beginning that caused difficulties in employment which in return brought them back to low socio-economic status.

Above all, the oppressors produced an unequal social structure of ethnic stratification and an unbalanced cultural valuation and this continues to reproduce its circle over time if people never try to change it. The problem of ethnic stratification is rooted in the political-economic structure of society, as I have analysed previously, so that a remedy for economic injustice is political-economic restructuring which might involve 'redistributing income, reorganising the division of labour, subjecting investment to democratic decision making and transforming other basic economic structures' (Fraser, 1997: 15). The difficulty to a resolution is, yet, that it is a dilemma for the advantaged dominant to concede by surrendering the vested interests over several generations. The problem of unjust cultural valuation is rooted in an institutionalised bias on ethnic groups. A remedy to cultural injustice is some sort of cultural or symbolic change (ibid.). However, if the dominant could not recognise the others, cultural justice will be impossible since the change depends on the ethnic mutual recognition.

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