

Çokkültürcülük

Bir Yurttaşlık Tasarımı

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Çeviren

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phoenix 

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1

Çokkültürcülük Yirmi Birinci Yüzyıla Uygun mu?

1960'lı yıllar tek bir insan ırkının var olduğunun yüksek bir sesle dile getirilmeye başlandığı bir zaman dilimiydi. Ariler, Yahudiler, Slavlar ve başka ırklar arasındaki farklılıkların indirgenemez olduğunu savunan Nazi ideolojisi bertaraf edilmişti ve ırkçılık karşıtlığı yükselişteydi. Martin Luther King Jr. ve takipçileri, insanların özünde bir ve aynı olduklarını, beyazlar ile siyahları derilerinin rengi haricinde birbirinden ayıran hiçbir şeyin bulunmadığını ileri sürüyorlardı ve ayrı kalmamayı *apartheid*'in kuşatma altındaki kalesinin dışında savunmaya istekli pek fazla insan kalmamıştı. “Kanun tanımaz aşığı ırkları” yönetmenin “beyaz adamın külfeti” olduğu yolundaki yayılmacılık kalıntısı düşünce, yüz kızartıcı bir çağdışılık sayılmaya başlanmıştı, hatta genç beyazlar arasında bir utanç kaynağı olarak görülür hale gelmişti. O yıllar ayrıca farklılıkların da kutlandığı bir zaman dilimiydi. İnsanlar hayatlarını “diledikleri gibi” yaşamaları yönünde teşvik ediliyorlardı. Afrika kökenli Amerikalılar, yeni bir tarihsel siyahlık gururundan söz etmeye ve siyahların taleplerini ortaya koyabilmek için siyasi bir seferberliğe ihtiyaçları olduğunu dillendirmeye başlamışlardı. Bazı kadınlar, erkekler ile kadınlar arasındaki cinsiyet farklılıklarına odaklanmışlardı ve kadınların doğaları gereği daha şefkatli, uzlaşmacı ve anlayışlı olduk-

larını ileri sürüyorlardı. Geylelerin, eşcinselliğin doğasını utanç duymadan ve karşı cinselliği taklit etmeden keşfedebilmeleri, onun kendine has yeri olan başlı başına bir yönelim olduğunu kabul ettirebilmeleri için, hemcinsleriyle kenetlenip birlik olmaları şart olmuştı.

İnsancılık, insan hakları ve eşit yurttaşlık gibi birbiriyle bağlantılı düşüncelerin tam yeniden hayat bulduğu sırada, gruplar arasındaki farklılıklardan kaynaklanan talepleri bünyesinde toplayan Afrika merkezilik, etniklik, kadınlık ve eşcinsel hakları gibi fikirler yeni bir ilerici siyaset anlayışının eksenine haline geldi. Bu bir kimlik siyasetiydi: olduğu gibi olmak veya mirasına sadık kalmak ve aynı kabilden başka insanlarla sahip olunan bir ortaklığın kamu nezdinde tanınması için mücadele vermektir. Bu siyaseti tarif etmek için özellikle ABD'de "çokkültürcülük" terimi kullanılmaya başlanmıştı.

Çokkültürcülük terimi, özellikle Britanya'da ve Avrupa'nın diğer kısımlarında, daha dar bir anlamda kullanılmaktadır. Dünyanın bu bölgesinde bir siyasal hareket neticesinde değil, halk hareketliliği neticesinde, başka bir deyişle, göç olgusu yüzünden –özellikle de Avrupa'nın dışında kalan ülkelerden Avrupa ülkelerine doğru gerçekleşen, yani beyaz olmayan insanların öteden beri beyazların yaşadıkları ülkelere gerçekleştirdikleri göçlerin ardından– çokkültürlü hale geldiğimiz söylenir. Bu nedenle, burada, bir siyaset fikri olarak çokkültürcülük –yani grup farklılıklarının yasalardan, siyasalardan, demokratik söylemlerden müteşekkil kamu alanı dâhilinde tanınması ile ortak bir yurttaşlığın ve ulusal bir kimliğin tesis edilme koşulları– yukarıda anılan siyasal hareketlerle bazı ortak yanlara sahip olmakla birlikte, daha dar çerçevelidir. Çokkültürcülüğün geniş ve dar anlamlarını –göçlerin doğurduğu sonuçlara eğilen ve bir dizi marjinal grubun mücadeleye-

rine veya münhasıran gruplar arasındaki farklılıklara odaklanan çokkültürcülüğü– birbirinden tamamen ayırmak belki mümkün değildir. Bu bakımdan, terimin dar anlamı, makul bir şekilde, daha genel akımın bir parçası, bir kolu olarak anlaşılabilir. Fakat göç sonrası çokkültürcülüğünün, genel çokkültürcülük çerçevesinde ele alınması halinde tahrif olabilecek veya anlaşılmaz hale gelebilecek kendine özgü birtakım kaygıları ve duyarlılıkları da vardır. Örneğin yerleşim hakkının bir sorun teşkil etmediği durumlarda ırkçılıkla tamamen farklı bağlantıları olabilir. Cinsiyetçilikle ancak kültürel olarak farklılaşmış cinsel normlara ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine karşı bir duyarlılığın söz konusu olduğu durumlarda kurulabilecek bağlantıları da olabilir. Üstelik daha dar kapsamlı olan göç sonrası olgusu dâhilinde bile sorunlar ülkelere göre değişkenlik gösterebilmektedir. Bazı ülkelerde, ırkçılık ve sömürgeciliğin mirası sorunların merkezinde yer alabilmekte, diğer ülkelerde ise misafir işçilik halinin, demokratik iradenin uygulanmasına izin vermediği durumlarda, nasıl yurttaşlığa çevrilebileceği meselesi başlıca kaygı olabilmektedir. Kapsamı geniş tutulan bir çokkültürcülük tasarımından hareket etmek, felsefeci Will Kymlicka'nın görüşlerini ele aldığım bir sonraki bölümde göstereceğim üzere, özellikle Batı Avrupa'da göç sonrası siyasetleriyle bağlantılı ve çağımıza özgü olan kimi sorunların çarpıtılması hatta marjinalleştirilmesi tehlikesini de beraberinde getirmektedir.

Çokkültürlü hale geldiklerinden söz eden ilk ülkeler, belki pek de şaşırtıcı olmayan bir şekilde, uzun ve tarihsel bir göç deneyimi bulunan, hatta aslında bizzat bu göçler yoluyla kurulmuş olan, Kanada, Avustralya ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri gibi ülkelerdir. Bu ülkelerin göç ve yerleşim tarihlerinde, 1960'lara ve 1970'lere dek göçmenlerden ve kesinlik-

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