論文

The Diversity of Diversity
Theorizing Pluralism and Inclusion from the Perspective of Coexistence Studies

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide a more nuanced analysis of the social issues of ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, ability, class, and race based on their causes and possible approaches to the problems of effective social diversity traditionally seen in each. For this purpose, a conceptual framework is introduced, which sees assimilation and separation as extreme poles of a continuum with the strategy of inclusion in the centre. Inclusion is defined as a strategy that allows the existence of equal subgroups in the society, which interact with each other. Assimilation eliminates the subgroups in order to guarantee that members interact with each other. Separation eschews interaction between groups in order to preserve cohesion within subgroups. I show that ethnicity, religion, and sexuality are related to attempts of the majority to assimilate the marginalized subgroups. Gender is an issue of incomplete inclusion. Whereas ability, class, and race exemplify a scenario of forced separation from the centre. Since these social issues have different structural causes, different solutions are available for the marginalized groups. These implications are discussed within the context of coexistence studies and its most celebrated strategy of choice, symbiotic coexistence, which has a close affinity to inclusion.

Keywords: Diversity, inclusion, assimilation, separation, coexistence studies, symbiosis.

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1. Introduction

> What are we looking at? There is a nearly empty mug of coffee on the desk. If you were to look and notice it, you would probably think, 'That's a nearly empty mug of coffee on the desk'. If you were to move your head a few millimetres and look again you would probably think the same thing.
> But what if you were painting a picture of that mug? Maybe, you'd think about the light reflecting off its surface … after all, it is shiny. And what if you were allowed to drink only one cup of coffee a day? Maybe you'd look at the mug and have a pang of disappointment that it was nearly empty, ignoring its 'mug' nature altogether. And how about if you couldn't see with your eyes but used your fingers instead? Would you know how much coffee was in it just from its outside?
> However simple something seems, it will always appear different if you approach it from a different angle. (Rix et al. 2010b: 1)

These opening words of Jonathan Rix, Christopher Walsh, John Parry and Rajni Kumrai in the first edition of their book series *Equality, Participation and Inclusion* effectively capture what I am trying to achieve in this paper. My goal is to provide a new conceptual framework for analysing the social issues of different marginalized groups based on ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, ability, class, and race, which allows a more nuanced interpretation of the problems traditionally facing them and their place in society. The common assumption that these issues are all alike, and their one-size-fits-all treatment is, in my opinion, counterproductive since they are in fact structurally quite different and thus require different approaches. Such has too often been the case in the field of diversity studies and more specifically coexistence studies, where inclusion has been the undisputed strategy of choice.(1) However the decisive difference of this study's conceptual framework is its more balanced treatment of inclusion as one among several valid possibilities.

This paper is the result of teaching an introductory course on Diversity and Inclusion at Osaka University and Kwansei Gakuin University. I usually try to summarize complex texts by visualizing the content in graphs. Several years' worth of refining such graphical presentations solidified recurrent patterns, which in turn yielded the conceptual framework that I am proposing in this paper. The new framework is also the outcome of my dissatisfaction with a large number of influential texts in this field. Many of them have a strong normative bias and ignore

possible alternative approaches to inclusion.(2) I am not against inclusion *per se*. Having worked with disabled people in the past, I can understand their desire for it very well. Similarly, as a foreigner living in Japan, I benefit from the application of inclusive strategies personally. However, as an educator, I believe that my responsibility is to teach students a full array of possible strategies towards the above social issues so that they are better equipped for making their own choices apart from any normative overreach in the classroom.(3)

Finally, I have situated this analysis within the context of coexistence studies because I am a member of the Department of Kyosei Studies(4) studies in the School of Human Sciences at Osaka University, and after four years I am still not certain about how I stand towards that field. Thus, this paper was partially motivated by an attempt to better clarify that personal perspective, professionally. This explains also my choice of issues. Since I have mainly taught multiculturalism and education in the Department of Kyosei Studies, I am focussing here on issues, which are commonly discussed under the topic of multiculturalism. Some of these issues were extensively researched in Kyosei Studies as for example ethnicity (e.g., Takezawa 2008; Tsuda 2008; Hester 2008), whereas others like race did not play an important role in this field. Furthermore, I do not cover over issues, which are also central for Kyosei Studies, as for example the human-environment, human-animal, and human-AI relationship (see Kurokawa 1994: 41).

This paper consists of three parts. The first section introduces the conceptual framework, wherein I also define the key concepts. In the second part, I analyse several social issues by applying this framework. Finally, I discuss the conclusions of my results for my standpoint towards coexistence studies.

2. The conceptual framework

This section aims to introduce a conceptual framework for theorizing about diversity and inclusion. Diversity can be regarded as a social challenge (cf. Parekh 2006: 6; Rattansi 2011: 12; Crowder 2013: 2) that results from population differences based on such things as gender, sexuality, class, race, ethnicity (including language or dialects), religion, or (dis)ability, and is often problematic because of the unequal

treatment experienced by subpopulations within diverse societies. Some subpopulations are in the social centre with more power (represented here with upper case: A), whereas others could be marginalized (represented with lower case: b). Another problematic aspect of diversity is often a lack of interaction between groups in the centre and those in the margin (expressed as: A and b). Diversity can therefore lead to exclusion for two reasons. Marginalized groups could be excluded, because they lack the necessary power and because they have no access to the services and opportunities in the centre through interactions.

In order to deal with such challenges societies can react to diversity in several different ways. One such way, inclusion (Forest & Pearpoint 1992), tries to integrate the members of all subgroups into the centre, give them access to the same amount of power, and facilitate interactions between all of them (cf. Hall 1996; Florian 2005: 32). An important aspect of inclusion is that the differences between the groups do not disappear (Clark et al. 1995: v), requiring a mutual respect for diversity itself to be learned among them (Uditsky 1993: 88). The term inclusion has a very close affinity to the basic idea of multiculturalism (Kymlicka 2010: 37). Inclusion is the strategy that could develop a multicultural society (A + B), if applied successfully (cf. Young 2000: 12; Giddens 2009: 644). To be successful, it also requires permanent acceptance (as an end in itself) rather than merely being a delayed process towards long-term assimilation (Kymlicka 1995: 31). Table 1 summarises the four variations of inclusive strategies: inclusion, symbiotic coexistence, incomplete inclusion, and reverse incomplete inclusion.

***Table 1*: Variations of inclusive strategies**

Strategy	Description
Inclusion	A and b $\rightarrow$ A + B (cf. Thio 2009: 211)
Symbiotic coexistence	A and b $\rightarrow$ A' + B' + α
Incomplete inclusion	A and b $\rightarrow$ A + b
Reverse incomplete inclusion	A and b $\rightarrow$ a + B

Three subtypes of inclusion could be added. The first is symbiotic coexistence, where subpopulations are not only able to coexist with each other in the centre, but

in so doing add something more to the society beyond just their respective identities by virtue of the combined, symbiotic relationship (expressed as: A' + B' + α; Shimizu 2020: 20). The second subtype – incomplete inclusion – achieves the same aspect of integrating a marginalized population into the centre, but unlike full inclusion it fails to eliminate all power differences (expressed as: A + b). The two groups interact with each other, but they stay in an unequal relationship. Similarly, the third subtype — reverse incomplete inclusion — does not try to equalize power, but rather inverts the power balance in favour of the previously marginalized group, making it the new centre (expressed as: a + B).

However, inclusion is not the only viable strategy for dealing with diversity. Assimilation is another approach. It tries to overcome social divisions by changing the characteristics of the marginalized group to those of the dominant group (Longres 1997: 6-7; Giddens 2009: 643; Macionis & Plummer 2012: 360; Benokraitis 2012: 182; Henslin 2014: 271). As with inclusion, assimilation enables greater interaction among all members of the society, yet unlike inclusion, diversity is lost in the process, taking with it the power imbalances that existed between the previously distinct subpopulations. The three variations of assimilation are described in Table 2: assimilation, melting-pot assimilation, and incomplete assimilation.

***Table 2*: Variations of the assimilative strategies**

Strategy	Description
Assimilation	A and b → A (Thio 2009: 210)
Melting-pot assimilation	A and b → C (cf. Thio 2009: 210)
Incomplete assimilation	A and b → A(b)

Again, two subtypes of assimilation can be distinguished. In the first — melting-pot assimilation — characteristics of the marginalized group undergo change, but so do those of the dominant group, producing not a mirror image of the dominant but rather a new standard of blended characteristics from both subpopulations (Longres 1997: 7; Ferrante 2006: 303; Giddens 2009: 643). On the other hand, incomplete assimilation describes a case where the marginalized group wants to adapt the characteristics of the dominant group but ultimately remains identifiable to them as

different. Members of the marginalized group then not only lose much of their original identity but also fail to escape any discrimination still associated with what visibly remains of those former characteristics (expressed as: A(b)).

Separation, which is often called segregation in the literature (e.g., Tischler 2011: 228; Macionis & Plummer 2012: 360; Benokraitis 2012: 182),[(5)] is the third strategy under conditions of diversity. In contrast to assimilation, yet similar to inclusion, no attempt is made to overcome the diversity. The subpopulation's prerogative for maintaining their identity and subculture remains. Indeed, interactions between subgroups is actually avoided under this strategy, unlike inclusion, where the inherent goal is to foster such interactions (cf. Longres 1997: 7). However the result of this strategy does not necessarily need to be a sustainment of the status quo, in terms of the power balance. In principle it could also lead to a reversal of the centre and the periphery. For example, the Canadian government is known for having granted territories to First Nation populations, where they then became the majority and the White Canadians the marginalized group (expressed as: a and B). The strategy of separation is defined in Table 3.

***Table 3*: The strategy of separation**

Strategy	Description
Separation	A and b → A and b and → a and B

The three ideal-typical solutions to the challenge of diversity can, therefore, be distinguished based on the criteria of whether they continue to allow diversity and whether the former subgroups interact with each other or not (see Table 4). The strategies of assimilation and separation are deviations in opposite directions from the strategy of inclusion. I will use this conceptual framework in the following to discuss social issues in relation to ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, disability, class, and race.

***Table 4*: Ideal-typical reactions to diversity: assimilation, inclusion, and separation**

	continuation of diversity	interaction between former subgroups
assimilation	no	yes
inclusion	yes	yes
separation	yes	no

3. An analysis of the social issues

3.1 Social issues of assimilation: ethnicity, religion, and sexuality

I will first focus on three social issues, which are typically approached with the strategy of assimilation: ethnicity, religion, and sexuality. Ethnicity is here defined as a shared culture (including language) of a social group. Ethnicity, religion, and sexuality (for example, homosexuality) share the common aspect of not being directly visible. The language one cherishes as a mother tongue, the God one worships, and the sexual partner one choses (*in one's own home*) are internally rooted (and, ideally, sacrosanct) characteristics that are not fundamentally accessible to others. Ethnicity, religion, and sexuality may only become problematic when interfaced with the public. If traditions are practiced, values expressed, or religious rituals conducted visibly, which contradict the norms of the centre, then conservative societies often try to force the marginalized to adopt the standards of the majority in order to restore harmony. *Assimilation* might be a reasonable solution in the eyes of the majority, but this is hardly an acceptable choice for the marginalized groups, who, in a desire to evade such social pressure may simply chose to *separate voluntarily*. For example, Chinese immigrants could settle in Chinatown, Jews could live in neighbourhoods with *kosher* butchers, and homosexuals could move to cities with more prevalent gay and lesbian communities.

Inclusion could also provide a viable solution for these issues. If the majority would be willing to insist less on maintaining (a self-styled) harmony and become more tolerant of differences expressed in public, then pressure on the marginalized groups to evade assimilation through voluntary separation would be reduced. Ideally,

every group could then retain its identity while still becoming fully integrated into society. Two questions would, nevertheless, remain. First, would inclusion really be a superior strategy to separation *for the marginalized groups*? (We already know that inclusion is very likely inferior to assimilation, from the perspective of the centre.) Thus, would Chinese immigrants move into mixed neighbourhoods or would they prefer to continue settling in Chinatown, despite the welcoming of a surrounding society that promotes inclusion? I have my doubts that inclusion would be the obviously superior choice for such immigrants, who could still see clear benefits to separation even within a tolerant society (e.g., opportunities for familiar, shared culture and language in their immediate surroundings).

The second question is, whether the centre could (or should) really tolerate every behaviour? Is it acceptable that Ethiopian immigrants want their daughters to be circumcised (if the daughters agree to it)? Can we allow Satanists to sacrifice humans in religious ceremonies (if the humans agree to it)? Or can we tolerate paedophiles, who fulfil their desires (if the children agree to it)? Clearly, most people would say that tolerance must have its limit. But where should the limit be? This of course spurs the thought that perhaps *melting-pot assimilation* (A and b $\rightarrow$ C) might then be the superior approach since it provides clearly defined rules for everybody in society, which are acceptable for all subgroups. The strategy of inclusion cannot offer a clear solution for this problem.

> Although British society generally became more open to diversity, there remained doubters. […] Politicians stressed the need to reassert 'core values' against those thought at odds with them: patriarchy and the […] suppression of women, forced/arranged marriages, the power of religious as opposed to secular authorities. There was alarm about ghettoization, communal separatism and exclusion, and demands that immigrants learn English and declare their loyalty to the nation-state in which they reside, rather than the one whence they came, and with which many retained significant ties. (Grillo 2010: 53)

Figure 1 provides a summary of the three different approaches to the issues of ethnicity, religion, and sexuality (which are listed under assimilation in order to emphasize the cause of these issues). The solutions or potential transformations are

visualized by the arrows.

***Figure 1*: Ideal-typical solutions for ethnicity, religion, and sexuality**

assimilation	ethnicity, religion, and sexuality
melting-pot assimilation	
inclusion	
separation	

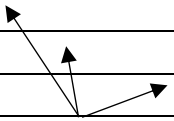
3.2 Social issue of inclusion: gender

The next social issue, gender, is typically related to the strategy of inclusion (or, more precisely, incomplete inclusion). Gender is here defined as a social construct. Many societies insist that (at least) two genders exist, and that these genders should interact with each other according to their specific gender roles. The problem is that this inclusion is incomplete, insofar as the gender roles were constructed unequally, with one (usually the male gender) retaining greater power over the other.

Obviously, in the case of gender, separation cannot be a viable alternative to incomplete inclusion. If women and men separated with no further interaction, extinction would become our shared trajectory. On the other hand, assimilation is a possible counter-strategy. In fact, it is the preferred strategy among some, such as within postmodern feminism. These proponents advocate for blurring the differences between gender roles (e.g., with cross-dressing), hoping to ultimately eradicate them and thus nullify the means of discrimination (Butler 1990; Simons 1992: 159). However, although *assimilation* (women becoming like men) and *melting-pot assimilation* (women and men becoming gender-fluid) are indeed reasonable strategies for the social issue of gender, they are not the only ones. Matriarchal societies, defined as societies that are matrilineal and matrilocal, also have clearly distinguished genders and gender roles. However, those roles have traditionally been only slightly in favour of women or have even achieved almost complete balance between the genders (Goettner-Abendroth 2009a: 1; 2009b: 17; 2012: xv; Yong & Li 2022: 34). The result has more effectively actuated the ideal of *inclusion* than the discriminatory practices of patriarchal societies, which have littered history with

examples of *incomplete inclusion*.[6] Thus, inclusion (done well) is an entirely viable alternative to assimilation for alleviating gender-based discrimination, and its benefits (at least for women[7]) would only require transitioning to matrilineal inheritance rules and matrilocal residence rules. The three above discussed solutions to the gender issue are summarized in Figure 2 (gender is listed under incomplete inclusion as the cause of the issue and the arrows represent the possible transformations).

***Figure 2*: Ideal-typical solutions for gender**

assimilation	
melting-pot assimilation	
inclusion	
incomplete inclusion	gender
separation	

3.3 Social issues of separation: ability, class, and race

The last group of social issues typically involves attempts to separate social groups: ability, class, and race. Race is here defined as shared biological features of a social group. Race is still a social construct, because it is a social "agreement" that determines which biological features are relevant and which ones are not. But in contrast to the social issues of ethnicity, religion, and sexuality, where separation was a voluntarily chosen counter-strategy to assimilation, here separation is seen to cause discrimination with regard to ability, class, and race. Concerning ability, less abled people state by applying a social model of disability that social, environmental and attitudinal barriers lead to exclusion from society (Crow 2010: 125f.; Light 2010: 120-121). For them, assimilation is not an acceptable solution, although it was originally regarded as the standard approach towards disability. The medical model interpreted impairment as a personal problem, and tried to treat or cure the person's functional limitations (Crow 2010: 125). Where the removal of the impairment was impossible, the strategy shifted to managing the disability by disguising or concealing the impairment, although the prescribed cosmetic surgery or prosthesis

often had no practical function and even inhibited the individual's use of their body (ibid.: 131). All of this was done in order to allow the disabled person to blend in or to assimilate to the society of abled people. But this assimilation was an *incomplete assimilation*, because neither the impairments themselves nor the social barriers to interaction with the centre were removed. It did not fundamentally change the discrimination of disabled people despite any successes of blending in.

As a result, the movement of disabled people insisted on their right to inclusion by way of removing obstacles that prevent wider social interaction. An important part of this struggle was their fight to attend mainstream schools rather than being forced to go to special-needs schools (Watanabe et al. 2017). By thus emphasizing *inclusion* as the means of addressing their social exigencies, they also became the inspiration for many other social movements in their demands.

As with disability, the issue of class is also exacerbated by separation. However, there is a decisive difference. The existence of disabled people is not a necessary condition for the survival of any kind of society. Unlike a disability, where removal of the condition (by way of cure or concealment, according to the medical model) could be considered an option, class presents a different challenge, being a more intrinsic aspect of society to begin with. No supporter of capitalism has ever advocated the abolishment of classes. *Class differences are necessary for the functioning of capitalist societies*. In them dirty, dangerous work is usually done only by the segments of society that are motivated for it, which is to say those who have no other choice due to poverty and insufficient social welfare. Yet if such class segmentation, being a prerequisite for capitalism, cannot be abolished, *per se*, what strategy can effectively alleviate its undesirable effects? *Inclusion* would attempt to promote greater interaction while still preserving the differences between subgroups. Yet with the preservation of wealth differences, so too would remain differences of power, resulting in merely *incomplete inclusion*.[(8)] Billionaires like Elon Musk, Bill Gates, or Mark Zuckerberg might then deign to some obligatory shoulder rubbing with the *hoi polloi*, but nothing much would be accomplished for society at large. Inclusion is simply not a viable solution for the class problem. In contrast, assimilation or better *melting-pot assimilation*, where the class differences are eliminated through the distribution of wealth from the rich to the poor, would be a

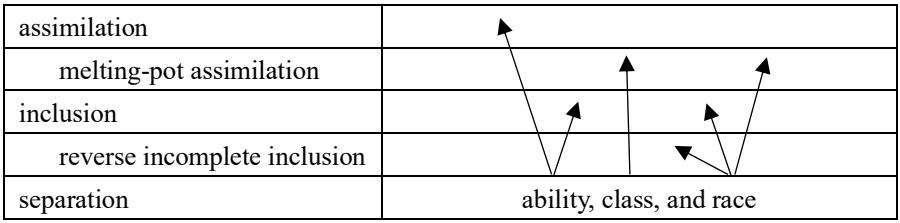
better solution. But again, with the rebalancing of wealth, so too goes the balance of power, and with it a diffusion of the class disparities so necessary to the capitalist context.

Interestingly, the issue of race is structurally very similar to that of class. *A slave-based economy requires racial differences*,[9] as much as capitalism needs class distinctions. The category of race was invented in the Americas within the context of slavery, where biological differences such as skin colour were used to justify ownership of human beings and their offspring. For this reason, the children of White slave owners and Black slaves were still classified as "Black" rather than mixed or an independent racial category, because definitional consistency was key to maintaining the justification. Unfortunately, after the slave-based economy was abolished in the Americas, the use of the race concept continued, despite losing its economic function. Today, it is purely an attitudinal problem, but as such it could be approached with the strategy of *inclusion*, in contrast to class, which is still inextricably tethered to our ever-dominant capitalist foundation. Inclusion aims to change the attitudes of the centre, making them more tolerant of differences. However, if we become more tolerant of biological differences, why should we continue to use the race concept at all? Are we not all members of the same human species with very small degrees of biological difference? Such presumptions would of course suggest the possibility of *melting-pot assimilation*, where the very concept of race could be eliminated under the weight of our shared humanity, making colour-blindness a valid alternative to simple inclusion. However this forward-looking strategy would still leave untouched the question of past injustices and how their consequences affect our capacity to 'melt' in the first place (Varus 2015: 60). Critical race theorists would argue that black populations in the United States and other countries still suffer today from the effects of past crimes against their ancestors (showing that poverty is inherited), while Whites not only do not suffer the same effects but also enjoy (and maintain) a level of daily privilege derived from the very reasons for this unequal legacy (Vaught & Castagno 2008: 96, 99-100; Gillborn & Youdell 2009: 178-179). Consequently, the argument goes, African-Americans should have a right to some form of reparations (Matsuda 1995), which could be achieved for example through Affirmative Action (Kennedy 1995; Delgado &

Stefancic 2017: 130-135). However, Affirmative Action schemes can only work if beneficiaries can be identified, which, ironically, reinstantiates the need for (at least some amount of) racial recognition for definitional purposes. This of course leads us to the third solution of *reverse incomplete inclusion*. Reverse incomplete inclusion would both preserve the race concept and allow for wealth transfer from the former centre to the formerly marginalized African-American community.

One further point bears mentioning here. Despite the fact that race (defined as shared biological features) and ethnicity (defined as shared culture) are usually treated as synonymous problems in the U.S. context, this analysis has shown that they are in fact very different, if not even opposite issues. With ethnicity the problem hinges on the centre attempting to force marginalized groups to assimilate, to which separation then becomes a reasonable counter-strategy. But with race, it is rather separation that is enforced by the centre, to which melting-pot assimilation then appears a promising strategy. But since inclusion is too often regarded as the only viable strategy for all social issues in the U.S.A. (Rattansi 2011: 148), the very different nature of these issues is too often lost in ideological presumption. Figure 3 summarizes the different possible solutions for the issues of ability, class, and race. The arrows represent again different possible strategies to overcome the social issues of ability, class, and race, which were caused by separation. The issue of disability, for example, could be resolved either by assimilation or inclusion, which is the preferred solution of the social movement of disabled people.

***Figure 3*: Ideal-typical solutions for disability, class, and race**



4. Coexistence studies as a science and a political program

Symbiotic coexistence can be interpreted as a related yet more demanding strategy

than inclusion for the problem of diversity. Not only is it meant to maintain the identities of different subgroups and their continued interaction, but this interaction is also supposed to become a symbiotic relationship, which creates a new property in the society. The idea was introduced by Yasumasa Hirasawa (2014), and Kokichi Shimizu (2014) was the first who suggested the mathematical formula. It is interesting that this idea was developed in Japan and not in Western countries. The strategy of inclusion is an individualistic approach, where individuals treat each other fairly, but they come never close to each other. This is very different in the case of symbiotic coexistence. People have to come close to each other in order to enter a symbiotic relationship, which also changes them. This idea is very Japanese (Kurokawa 1994: 7) and based on the value of harmony, which plays such an important role in Japanese culture (Kurokawa 1994: 9).

As an ideal this sounds very appealing, but can it be realized? If inclusion truly was the most effective (or at least the most dominant) strategy for addressing the social issues of ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, ability, class, and race, then symbiotic coexistence could indeed be regarded as a feasible strategy, since it is an extension of inclusion. Unfortunately though, as my analysis has shown, inclusion is only one among several possible strategies, the validity of which differs depending on the issue and its context. Far from being a panacea, I have provided several arguments why inclusion might not be the most attractive strategy *for the marginalized groups*.

What does this mean for coexistence studies, which seems to be evolving not only as a discipline but also as an avenue for political agendas (see Kurokawa 1994: 6-7)? If it is to impact policy (meaningfully), then, first of all, the superiority of its most touted strategy, inclusion, must be settled with *scientific evidence* if it is to truly have universal application. Proponents of coexistence studies would need to show that marginalized populations benefit more from inclusion than from alternative strategies across all of the pertinent issues: ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, ability, class, and race. Only *after this is achieved, can coexistence studies promote symbiotic coexistence* as viable political solution to social problems. Without such a base of scientific evidence, ideological peddling of unrealizable strategies to policy makers not only risks stigmatizing this otherwise valid field of study, but may

collaterally worsen some segments of society in the process.

Furthermore, my analysis has highlighted one of the most serious flaws of coexistence studies in its current ideologically entrenched state: inclusion, and thus also *symbiotic coexistence, cannot solve the class issue*. Inclusion is at least one option for ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, ability, and race, but it has nothing to offer in the arena of class. This is a serious problem for coexistence studies, both in terms of its scientific integrity and of its value in policy application, because such narrow-mindedness of approach leaves onlookers questioning the priorities of its proponents. Are they just *bourgeoise university professors* or armchair reformers, who are too inflexible to grapple with the shortcomings of a one-size-fits-all approach to one of the most important issues of our capitalist societies (and worse, is that because class simply is not *their* issue)? In order to avoid this perception, it is crucial that class be meaningfully addressed in the current theoretical frameworks of coexistence studies. Or, if (as I suspect) those frameworks are not yet adequate for that, then serious consideration of how they can be extended to do so should occur. This could further lead to opportunities for discussing other social issues more openly, which could in the end lead to more tailored strategies for different social issues as well.

5. Conclusion

This paper has introduced a conceptual framework for analysing strategies for diversity within society. Among them, assimilation and separation can be regarded as extreme poles of a continuum, with the strategy of inclusion in the centre. I applied this framework to the social issues of ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, ability, class, and race. As shown above, these issues can be divided into three groups according to the problems typically associated with them. In the case of ethnicity, religion, and sexuality, friction arises from the majority's desire to preserve harmony by forcing marginalized groups to assimilate. With gender, attempts at inclusion typically end in some form of incomplete inclusion, which leads to power differences between the genders and discrimination of the weaker one. Finally, ability, class, and race exemplify the problems of forced separation or exclusion of their populations

from the centre of the society. Just as problems among these social issues originate differently, so do their possible solutions vary. Recognizing this has consequences for coexistence studies, which in the past has advocated to some degree symbiotic coexistence – an extension of the strategy of inclusion – as the ideal solution for practically all social issues (Kurokawa 1994: 25). Despite the appeal of this proposal, as we have seen, it is not clear whether inclusion (and therefore symbiotic coexistence) is truly better than alternative strategies *for the marginalized groups*. Seen positively, this gap in our knowledge could motivate empirical coexistence studies that investigate the benefits of several strategies from the marginalized point of view. This chance to move beyond the popular but myopic commitment to inclusion as a panacea is exciting, both for the potential growth of the field and for the more nuanced applications that could impact our diversity more effectively.

Endnotes

(1) Examples are the texts in the readers of Rix et al. (2010a) and Topping and Maloney (2005). The opposite of inclusion is "exclusion" in these chapters, and who would ever advocate this? And if alternative strategies are discussed, they are presented as undesirable and discriminatory.

(2) An example for this is Takeyuki Tsuda's discussion of *Nikkeijin* in Japan. "Will Japan shed its insistence on ethnic homogeneity and eventually accept these immigrants into Japanese society, embracing multiculturalism and ethnic diversity? Or will it erect ethnic barriers by reacting negatively to the intrusion, excluding immigrants, and intensifying restrictive ethnonationalist ideologies through an increase in anti-immigrant, nativist sentiment?" (Tsuda 2008: 118) Here inclusion is the strategy, which we should "embrace," whereas alternative strategies are not seriously considered and ridiculed as fascists ideologies. "Also, the broad presence of the culturally Brazilianized *Nikkeijin* challenges restrictive definitions of Japaneseness by causing the Japanese to realize that cultural diversity exists among Japanese descendants. In contrast, culturally and racially different non-*Nikkeijin* foreigners, having no personal ethnic relevance to the Japanese, are therefore less capable of forcing the Japanese to loosen rigid ethnic boundaries and ethnonational identities." (Tsuda 2008: 119) This passage is interesting, because Tsuda states here that he wants to force Japanese to accept diversity. These statements would not be so problematic, if they would have been made at the end of his research in the discussion, but they were actually made in the introduction (before any research results were presented), which clearly shows his normative bias.

(3) The phrase "normative overreach in the classroom" refers here to pedagogical techniques that are typically associated with traditional education. The teacher provides one accepted interpretation or solution, which the students memorize. In contrast, in liberal arts education the teacher presents the students different interpretations and solutions (without a normative bias) and encourages them to make up their mind about what they prefer.

(4) In this paper I translate the Japanese concept of 共生 (*kyōsei*) as coexistence. Alternatively, it could be also translated as symbiosis, union, or living together.

(5) I prefer the neutral term separation in contrast to the negative term segregation, because this strategy does not need to be a form of subjugation, but could be chosen by the minority to protect their identity.

(6) The asymmetry of power in the gendered relationships between patriarchal and matriarchal societies can be explained without problems as a result of the limited knowledge of men about their paternity. Without access to genetic tests no men can be certain that he is the father of his son. In order to increase the probability that he is in fact the father, he needs to control the body of his wife. This can be achieved by marrying her before she can get pregnant (child marriage) and by limiting her work to the home (housewife) so that his mother can observe her (patrilocal residence rule). In contrast, a woman does not need to control the body of her husband in matrilineal societies, because she always knows that she is the mother of her daughter. For this reason, patrilineal societies are necessarily built on incomplete inclusion, whereas matrilineal societies do not require power differences between women and men. It could be added that historically in some matrilineal societies women had clearly more power than men (Hidatsa), whereas in some other matrilineal societies men could secure more power than women (Pawnee). However, most matrilineal and matrilocal societies have a balanced power relationship between the genders (e.g., Kuna [Olowaili 2009: 82]).

(7) Jose Yong and Norman Li showed convincingly that in the case of the Mosuo in Yunnan, China, men also benefit from this matriarchal arrangement, because they "need not incur the costs associated with accumulating and displaying wealth and status to court mates" (2022: 28) and "experience low levels of sexual frustration as their needs for sexual gratification appear fairly unhindered" (2022: 29).

(8) Gilens and Page (2014) provided very strong empirical evidence for the United States that democratic procedures do not solve this issue, since the average voter has no influence on the policy-making process. This result was reproduced by Elsässer et al. (2017: 163) for Germany. Therefore, the strategy of inclusion would always be incomplete inclusion, because it would not eliminate the power differences. Furthermore, education is not a solution either, because sociologists of education with very different political backgrounds agree that educational success depends strongly on the class background (e.g., Collins 2007; Bourdieu 2007; Bernstein 2007). In other words, the education system in democracies is not meritocratic. It reproduces the same class differences every generation.

(9) I do not include the phenomenon of debt slavery within this discussion of a slave-based economy because it is in fact identical to the class problem.

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