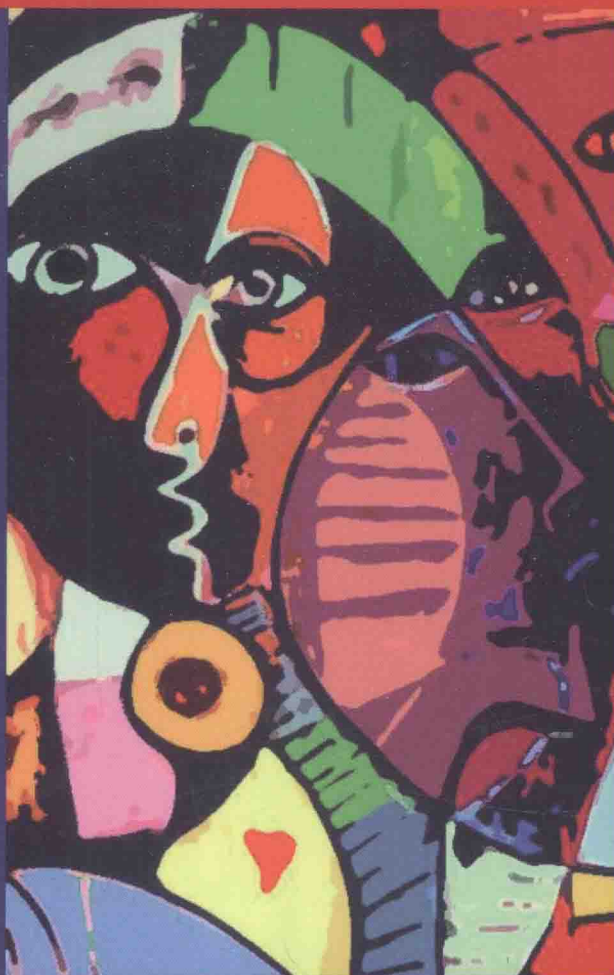


EDITED BY

VARUN UBEROI & TARIQ MODOOD



MULTICULTURALISM RETHOUGHT

INTERPRETATIONS, DILEMMAS
AND NEW DIRECTIONS

MULTICULTURALISM RETHOUGHT

Interpretations, Dilemmas and New Directions

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF BHIKHU PAREKH

Edited by Varun Uberoi and Tariq Modood



EDINBURGH
University Press

© editorial matter and organisation Varun Uberoi and
Tariq Modood, 2015
© the chapters, their several authors, 2015

Edinburgh University Press Ltd
The Tun – Holyrood Road
12 (2f) Jackson's Entry
Edinburgh EH8 8PJ
www.euppublishing.com

Typeset in 11/14 Sabon by
Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire
and printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon CR0 4YY

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library
ISBN 978 1 4744 0188 3 (hardback)
ISBN 978 1 4744 0190 6 (paperback)
ISBN 978 1 4744 0189 0 (webready PDF)
ISBN 978 1 4744 0191 3 (epub)

The right of the contributors to be identified as
authors of this work has been asserted in accordance
with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 and
the Copyright and Related Rights Regulations 2003
(SI No. 2498).

Multiculturalism Rethought

Acknowledgements

This volume would not have been possible without funding and support from the Economic and Social Research Council (PTA-026-27-2736), Brunel University's Magna Carta Institute, Bristol University's Centre for Ethnicity and Citizenship and the University of Westminster's Centre for the Study of Democracy. They allowed the Bhikhu Parekh Symposium, at which the chapters in this volume were discussed, to occur. Likewise, John Dunn, Anthony Giddens, Chandran Kukathas, Andrew Mason, Susan Mendus, David Miller, Albert Weale and Ziauddin Sardar carefully read and responded to the papers being discussed so as to make suggestions on how to improve them. Raymond Plant was initially going to be an editor of the volume but he became a valuable chapter author and gave feedback on certain chapters too. The publisher's reviewers also made important suggestions that helped to improve the volume. But without Bhikhu Parekh's political thought, such a volume would not have been necessary, so we dedicate this book to him in recognition of how he has stimulated our own intellectual work and that of so many others.

V. U.
T. M.

Preface

Tariq Modood

The essays that constitute the chapters in this volume are explorations of various aspects of the political theory of multiculturalism. Each is freestanding and of value in itself but all except one were presented at a symposium to honour the contribution of Bhikhu Parekh to this subject, the political theory of multiculturalism. Some of the chapters are concerned primarily with facets of Parekh's theory; more are concerned primarily with a substantive topic *within the political theory of multiculturalism*, and in this way engage with his contribution. What unites them is the appreciation that Parekh's work on multiculturalism, in particular his book *Rethinking Multiculturalism* (2000; second edition, 2006) is a significant presence that has helped to make this subdiscipline of political philosophy. In the next chapter, Varun Uberoi introduces Parekh's philosophy of multiculturalism and the contents of the book. I would like to start the book – just as the symposium started – with a few words to honour Bhikhu Parekh.

Parekh is a remarkable political philosopher who has published major books on many philosophers and concepts. Political theorists he has written about include Bentham, Marx, Arendt and Oakeshott; among concepts he has written about are justice, equality, ideology and civil association. Moreover, Parekh has thought seriously and continuously about his discipline, about the nature of political philosophy, about how it should be pursued and what it is capable of. Indeed, his work on multiculturalism is only a fraction of his political philosophy output. Yet there is

PREFACE

no doubt that it is his most widely read work on multiculturalism that has stimulated the most response and had the most profound influence. It has played a major role in the intellectual formation of later generations and in creating a sense of where the important issues are and how they should be engaged with. Many of the contributors of this volume said they were keen to participate in this project because of what Bhikhu Parekh meant to them.

To several of us this does not refer to political philosophy alone but has at least two other important aspects. First, there is his example of public service and intellectual public engagement, which has been impressive, and an inspiration and a guide to others. Parekh was a member of some of the earliest British government commissions on racial disadvantage and multiculturalism, initially in relation to schooling, such as the ones known by the reports named after their chairmen, Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985), later becoming Deputy Chair and Acting Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality. Through both such public service and public interventions Parekh has influenced considerably the way in which citizens, intellectuals and policy makers have come to think about and understand racial equality and multiculturalism in Britain and further afield. Parekh was most significant for instance in articulating, stimulating and leading a multiculturalist position at the time of the *Satanic Verses* affair. He was later the Chair of the Commission of Multi-ethnic Britain, which produced what is known as the Parekh Report, one of the most important public documents in its field, and just before its publication in 2000 Parekh was made a Labour member of the House of Lords, a position he continues to serve with distinction. (Parekh has also played a role in Indian public life but I write here of what I have personally observed.)

Second, Parekh's career in political philosophy and as a public intellectual (in challenging orthodoxies, leading new debates and pointing to new conceptions of who we were as a public and as a country) has been as an ethnic minority individual, as a British Asian. This has given him a direct insight into the things that are theorised in this book, meaning that he can speak with some authenticity and authority on the nature and desirability of

PREFACE

multiculturalism, but it has also meant an uphill climb to be heard and to be taken seriously, especially in public affairs.

As a political philosopher, a public intellectual and a British Asian he has been a guide and an inspiration to many. While this book is primarily an engagement in political philosophy, each of these elements has played a part in motivating the contributors to this book to be part of this collection.

List of Contributors

Benjamin R. Barber is Senior Research Scholar at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, and founder and President of the Interdependence Movement. He is Walt Whitman Professor of Political Science Emeritus at Rutgers University. His latest book, *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities* (2013), already in ten foreign editions, has engendered a project to establish a Global Parliament of Mayors, whose first sitting will occur in London in late 2015. Among Barber's eighteen books are the classic *Strong Democracy* (1984), the international bestseller *Jihad vs. McWorld* (1996), and the critique of consumerist materialism and push marketing *Consumed* (2004).

Rajeev Bhargava is Senior Fellow and Director, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi. He has held visiting fellowships at Harvard, Columbia, Jerusalem, Bristol and Paris. He is on the advisory board of several institutions and programmes and was a consultant to the UNDP report on cultural liberty. His publications include *Individualism in Social Science* (1992), *Secularism and its Critics* (edited volume 1998), *What is Political Theory and Why do We Need It?* (2010) and *The Promise of India's Secular Democracy* (2010).

Joseph H. Carens is Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto. He published over seventy articles, edited two books, and written *The Ethics of Immigration* (2014), *Immigrants and*

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

the Right to Stay (2010), *Culture, Citizenship and Community: A Contextual Exploration of Justice as Evenhandedness* (2000) and *Equality, Moral Incentives, and the Market: An Essay in Utopian Politico-Economic Theory* (1981).

Andrew Gamble is Professor of Politics and a Fellow of Queen's College, University of Cambridge. He is joint editor of *The Political Quarterly* and a Fellow of the British Academy. He has published widely on British politics, public policy, and political economy. In 2005 he was awarded the PSA Isaiah Berlin prize for Lifetime Contribution to Political Studies. His books include *Between Europe and America: The Future of British Politics* (2003) and *The Spectre at the Feast: Capitalist Crisis and the Politics of Recession* (2009).

Peter Jones is Professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Newcastle. He is the author of *Rights* (1994) and editor of *National Rights, International Obligations* (1996), *Human Rights and Global Diversity* (2001) and *Group Rights* (2009). Most of his published work has appeared in academic journals and edited collections and ranges over a variety of subjects, including cultural diversity, toleration, recognition, freedom of belief and expression, value pluralism, political equality, distributive justice, global justice, democracy and liberalism.

Paul Kelly is Pro-director and Professor of Political Theory at the London School of Economics. He is author, editor and co-editor of fourteen books, including *Utilitarianism and Distributive Justice* (1990), *Liberalism* (2004), *Locke's Second Treatise* (2007) and *British Political Theory in the Twentieth Century* (2010). He was joint editor of *Political Studies* (1999–2005) and editor of *Utilitas* (2006–11).

Will Kymlicka is the Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada, where he has taught since 1998. His research focuses on issues of democracy and diversity, and in particular on models of citizenship and social justice within multicultural societies. He is the author

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

of seven books published by Oxford University Press, including *Liberalism, Community, and Culture* (1989), *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995), *Multicultural Odysseys* (2007), and *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights* (2011, co-authored with Sue Donaldson).

Tariq Modood is Professor of Sociology, Politics and Public Policy at the University of Bristol and is also the founding Director of the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship. His latest books include *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea* (second edition 2013), *Still Not Easy Being British* (2010); and he co-edited *European Multiculturalisms* (2012), *Tolerance, Intolerance and Respect* (2013) and *Religion in a Liberal State* (2013). He is a regular contributor to the media and policy debates in Britain. His website is www.tariqmodood.com.

Monica Mookherjee is a Senior Lecturer in Political Philosophy at Keele University, UK. Her main research interests lie in feminism, multiculturalism, human rights and the politics of recognition. Her monograph, *Women's Rights as a Multicultural Claims: Reconfiguring Gender and Diversity in Political Philosophy* (2009), explores the tensions between feminism and multiculturalism in contemporary political theory. She edited the volume *Democracy, Religious Pluralism and the Liberal Dilemma of Accommodation* (2010). She has also written journal articles for *Res Publica*, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* and *Feminist Theory*.

Thomas Pantham, born in Kerala, is a former Professor of Political Science at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara. He has been recipient of a Mahatma Gandhi National Fellowship of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the Visitor's Nominee for social sciences at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and visiting scholar at St John's College, Cambridge, and Princeton University. His publications include *Political Theories and Social Reconstruction: A Critical Survey of the Literature on India* (1995), and *Political Ideas in Modern India: Thematic Explorations* (co-editor with V. R. Mehta, 2006).

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Raymond Plant is Professor of Jurisprudence and Philosophy at the Dickson Poon School of Law at King's College London, and Professor in the same field in the University of Tallinn. He is also a Professor of Humanities at Winchester University and Gresham Professor of Divinity at Gresham College in the City of London. He is the author of eight books in these fields, the most recent being *The Neoliberal State* (2010). In 2008 he was Vincent Wright Professor at Sciences Po and he has frequently taught there since. He has been a member of the House of Lords since 1992.

Charles Taylor is professor emeritus of philosophy at McGill University. His writings include *Hegel* (1975); *Hegel and Modern Society* (1979); *Social Theory as Practice* (1983); *Human Agency and Language* (1985); *Philosophy and the Human Sciences* (1985); *Source of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (1989); *The Malaise of Modernity* (1991, based on the Massey Lectures for the CBC held in 1991); *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (1993); *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, (1994); *Philosophical Arguments* (1995); *A Secular Age* (2007).

Varun Uberoi is Lecturer in Political Theory and Public Policy at Brunel University. His research has been published in *Political Studies*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *Political Quarterly* and the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. He co-edited *Options for a New Britain* (2009) and *Options for Britain II* (2010). His next book, *Nation-Building Through Multiculturalism*, will be published in 2016.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Preface by Tariq Modood</i>	viii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xi

Introduction – Parekhian Multiculturalism <i>Varun Uberoi</i>	1
--	---

Part I Interpreting Parekh

1. Situating Parekh's Multiculturalism: Bhikhu Parekh and Twentieth-Century British Political Theory <i>Paul Kelly</i>	29
2. Gandhi, Intercultural Dialogue and Global Ethics: An Interpretive Commentary on Bhikhu Parekh's Work <i>Thomas Pantham</i>	55
3. National Identities and Moving Beyond Conservative and Liberal Nationalism <i>Varun Uberoi</i>	75

Part II Elucidating and Addressing Multicultural Dilemmas

4. At the Borders of Otherness: Tracing Feminism through Bhikhu Parekh's Multiculturalism <i>Monica Mookherjee</i>	97
--	----

CONTENTS

5. Liberty, Equality and Accommodation <i>Peter Jones</i>	126
6. Parekh's Multiculturalism and Secularism: Religions in Political Life <i>Rajeev Bhargava</i>	157
7. Identity, Values and the Law <i>Raymond Plant</i>	183
 Part III New Directions	
8. The Essentialist Critique of Multiculturalism: Theories, Policies, Ethos <i>Will Kymlicka</i>	209
9. Beyond Rules and Rights: Multiculturalism and the Inclusion of Immigrants <i>Joseph H. Carens</i>	250
10. Multiculturalism and the Public Sphere <i>Andrew Gamble</i>	273
11. Can Democracy be Multicultural? Can Multiculturalism be Democratic? <i>Benjamin R. Barber</i>	300
12. Interculturalism, Multiculturalism <i>Charles Taylor</i>	329
13. Rethinking Multiculturalism, Interculturalisms and the Majority <i>Tariq Modood</i>	348
<i>Index</i>	369

Introduction – Parekhian Multiculturalism

Varun Uberoi

What are sometimes called ‘political theories of multiculturalism’ have a complex philosophical and political history.¹ They emerged only after forms of identity politics spread in different countries, along with the intuition that different types of cultural minorities deserve better treatment than they often receive.² Political theorists made sense of this intuition in different ways, hence some showed why much of what cultural minorities strive for is compatible with liberal theories of justice.³ Others claimed such liberal theories of justice focus on distribution when they should focus on the domination and oppression that cultural minorities face.⁴ Yet others ventured beyond theories of justice to note how people need parents, partners and close friends to accept, affirm and respect how they see themselves, which must come from within to be ‘authentic’;⁵ but minorities often internalise inauthentic understandings of themselves as inferiors.⁶ Similarly, Bhikhu Parekh in *Rethinking Multiculturalism (RM)*⁷ ventured beyond theories of justice and did so in a way that was immediately noted by authors of alternative approaches to be highly significant. *RM* was said to justify intercultural dialogue in a unique way and could explain, unlike other theories, why cultural diversity is valuable.⁸ It was said to avoid ‘privileging’ liberalism and justice over other ideals;⁹ it tackled many hard cases; was ‘profound, original and wide-ranging’.¹⁰ As a result of *RM*, some claim Parekh is ‘among the greatest figures’ in contemporary British political theory¹¹ while others claim he has influenced how we think about politics.¹²

Many thus study Parekh's work.¹³ And even those outside the academy who criticise Parekh note how *RM* influenced them and how it should influence others too.¹⁴

RM was thus significant and this volume continues the project that *RM* began by first helping to fill a gap. Sustained examinations of parts of *RM*¹⁵ do not explore *why* and *how* Parekh offers the theory that he does¹⁶ so I will do so in this introduction. I provide a new way to think about *RM*, its prominent critics and its themes. Subsequent chapters then explore the intellectual history of some of *RM*'s themes, use such themes to explore contemporary dilemmas in multicultural societies and develop these themes in wholly new directions.

I explore why Parekh offers the theory that he does by briefly examining where his philosophical approach and aims in *RM* come from and how Parekh offers the theory he does by examining the nature and structure of *RM*. I then show how subsequent chapters make use of many of the themes of *RM* that I discuss.

The intellectual origins of RM

Others show how Michael Oakeshott's *Rationalism in Politics* influenced his former student, Bhikhu Parekh.¹⁷ But *RM* was also shaped by Oakeshott's early understanding of philosophy in *Experience and its Modes* which is complex. Yet briefly, Oakeshott argued that scholarly enquiries like history or science are 'worlds of ideas'¹⁸ that remain 'abstract' until we examine and relate the presuppositions on which they rest. Thus we might explore how history presupposes conceptions of time and change, or how science presupposes conceptions of regularity and prediction; and philosophy does just this. Philosophy removes abstraction by examining and relating all such presuppositions to present 'a unity of valid . . . and *irreducible*' ideas.¹⁹ When presuppositions are examined and related they are no longer presupposed thus philosophy is ideally 'presuppositionless' enquiry.²⁰ Parekh endorsed such a view of philosophy even when discussing alternatives from Marx and Arendt.²¹ Hence in the year *RM* was published, Parekh argued 'whatever else it may be, philosophy is a relentless . . . search for full self-consciousness, a determined

attempt to uncover and critically examine all its own basic assumptions . . .'.²²

Note, however, that RM is no example of early Oakeshottian political philosophy which, at the time, Oakeshott called 'pseudo-philosophy'.²³ 'Pseudo-philosophy' retains abstraction and Oakeshott used Ethics as an example as it seldom examined how values presuppose understandings of 'morality', 'good', 'right', of 'ought' and 'is'. Similarly, political philosophy seldom avoids abstraction by 'thinking out *to the end*'²⁴ political life and how, for example, it presupposes human life, life and existence, thus moving *away* from politics which is a 'starting place'²⁵ 'soon out of sight and out of mind'.²⁶ Parekh disagreed as he saw how a political philosopher might instead minimise his presuppositions and work in the opposite direction to Oakeshott by moving gradually *towards* political life. For example, a political philosopher might examine the nature of human life and why it is usually shared with many others, why doing so requires a system of authority in which loyalty, obligation, liberty and so on are conceived and related in ways that legitimise some institutions, but not others. This gradually shapes the 'framework' of our 'thought',²⁷ 'choices'²⁸ and 'recommendations'²⁹ for political life and this is the approach to political philosophy that Parekh used in RM.

This approach is *not* presuppositionless but it entails a more limited range of presuppositions about, for example, how human life presupposes life or existence and a means to conceptualise both. Exploring all presuppositions on the way to exploring political life may mean never getting to the latter. But a philosopher can be aware that his arguments remain, as Oakeshott later said, 'conditional' and still approximate³⁰ to the ideal of being 'presuppositionless' by *minimising* his presuppositions and Parekh tried to do just this in RM.

Parekh would thus avoid the unquestioned assumptions of other political theories of multiculturalism. For example, Will Kymlicka claims that 'individuals . . . are the ultimate units of moral worth'.³¹ But this assumes unspecified understandings of human life, moral worth and a way to justify a hierarchy of moral worth. It also assumes reasons for when, why and how to think