



# ***Cultural Diversity in Political Theory***

Second Term Seminar 2011/2012

Rainer Bauböck

Tuesdays 8:45 – 10:45  
Seminar Room 2, Badia Fiesolana

Please register with [Monika.Rzemieniecka@eui.eu](mailto:Monika.Rzemieniecka@eui.eu)

Since the early 1990s the toleration, accommodation or recognition of cultural diversity have become major and controversial topics in political theory. The debate has generally moved from a defence of special rights for cultural minorities and a questioning of the cultural, religious and gender neutrality of public spheres and institutions towards greater emphasis on the need for social cohesion and negative effects of multicultural policies on liberal equality or social solidarity. In this seminar we trace the main lines of debates in political theory and consider how the arguments apply to specific types of diversity and difference.

## **Seminar participation requirements**

- reading the basic seminar texts (mandatory readings are highlighted with \*)
- one presentation based on additional reading, with an outline disseminated until Friday of the week before. Participants will be assigned presentations during the first meeting on 10 January.
- engaging actively in discussions, which includes preparing oral comments on the reading of each week

If you want to take the seminar for credit, you need to write a seminar paper of about 5000 words. Outlines of about 500 words must be sent before 6 March. *The full paper has to be submitted to the seminar's professor and the relevant secretary by 31 May 2012.*

If you want to audit the seminar without full participation, you need to register and prepare the readings for the units that you want to attend.



## Seminar schedule and reading list

### **(1) 10 January: Introduction**

In this meeting, the seminar instructor will introduce the seminar topic. Presentation topics for the rest of the seminar will be assigned during this first meeting.

Bauböck, Rainer (2008). Beyond culturalism and statism. Liberal responses to diversity, Eurosphere Working Paper, updated 2010.

### **(2) 17 January: Political Theory Arguments for Multiculturalism**

In this session we will discuss texts by theorists who have brought about the multicultural turn in political theory in the 1990s and who have recently revisited the debate.

\*Kymlicka, W. (2007). The new debate on minority rights (and postscript). *Multiculturalism and Political Theory*. A. S. Laden and D. Owen (eds.) Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 23-59.

\*Young, I. M. (2007). Structural injustice and the politics of difference. *Multiculturalism and Political Theory*. A. S. Laden and D. Owen (eds.). Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 60-88.

Parekh, B. (2000). Rethinking Multiculturalism. *Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. London, Macmillan, chapter 4: Conceptualizing Human Beings: 114-141.

#### Further readings:

Taylor, C. (1992). *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., chapter 5: 75-106.

Young, I. M. (1989). "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship." *Ethics* 99: 250-274.

Tully, J. (1995). *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

### **(3) 24 January: Critics of Multiculturalism**

Early on during the multiculturalism debate, normative arguments in favour of differentiated group rights were rejected by political theorists who saw such rights as a constraint on individual equality and liberty or as promoting an essentializing notion of collective identities.

\* Barry, Brian 2001. *Culture and Equality. An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press: chapter 4: Theories of Group Rights: 112-154.

\*Kukathas, Chandran 1992. "Are there any Cultural Rights?" *Political Theory* 20 (2):105-39

Waldron, Jeremy. 1995. " 'The Cosmopolitan Alternative'." In *The Rights of Minority Cultures*, ed. W. Kymlicka. Oxford: Oxford University Press

#### **(4) 31 January: Religious Diversity and secularism (guest speaker Kristina Stoeckl)**

John Rawls and other theorists have regarded the accommodation of religious diversity since the Peace of Westphalia as the origin of western liberalism. The question to which extent liberal states must be, or can be, neutral with regard to religious beliefs and practices, nevertheless still haunts contemporary debates about multiple secularisms, reasonable accommodation and the limits of toleration.

\*Rawls, John (1997) The Idea of Public Reason Revisited. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 64, 765-807.

\*Habermas, Jürgen (2006) Religion in the Public Sphere. *European Journal of Philosophy*, 14, 1-25.

Bader, Veit (2009) The Governance of Religious Diversity: Theory, Research, and Practice. In: Bramadat, Paul and König, Matthias (Eds.) *International migration and the governance of religious diversity*. London, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 43-74.

Casanova, José (2006) Religion, European Secular Identities, and European Integration. In: Katzenstein, Peter J. and Byrnes, Timothy A. (Eds.) *Religion in an Expanding Europe*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

#### **(5) 7 February: Linguistic diversity and language rights**

Whereas the state can at least pretend to be neutral as regards the various religions practiced on its territory, mere tolerance of diversity and non-intervention by the state is not an option with regard to language, because communication between the citizens and public authorities must necessarily proceed in one or a limited number of languages. We will discuss justifications for majority language establishment and minority language rights and the question whether the rise of English as common lingua franca raises issues of justice.

\*Alan Patten, 'Survey Article: The Justification of Minority Language Rights', *The Journal of Political Philosophy* (2009).

\*van Parijs, Philippe (2011) *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, chapter 1:6-37, chapter 6, Conclusions: 175-209.

Ruth Rubio Marín, 'Language Rights: Exploring the Competing Rationales', in W. Kymlicka and A. Patten (eds), *Language Rights and Political Theory* (2003) 52-79.

van Parijs, Philippe (2011) *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, chapters 4, 5: 117-174.

#### **(6) 14 February: Self-determination for indigenous peoples**

In 2007 the UN General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Do indigenous peoples have stronger rights to self-determination than other national and ethnic

minorities and what are the moral bases of their claims? Does indigenous self-government include exclusive title to land, to determining their own members and to applying customary law in matters where human rights are at stake?

\*Waldron, Jeremy (2003) "Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy" (2003) 1(55) *New Zealand Journal of Public and International Law* 55  
(<http://www2.law.columbia.edu/faculty/franke/Thursday%20Lunch/Waldron.facultylunch.indigeneity.pdf>).

\*Kingsbury, Benedict (1998) "Indigenous Peoples in International Law: A Constructivist Approach to the Asian Controversy" 92 *American Journal of International Law* 414  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2997916.pdf?acceptTC=true>).

Waldron, Jeremy (1992) *Superseding Historic Injustice, Ethics*, Vol. 103, No. 1: 4-28  
<http://www.polthought.cam.ac.uk/seminars/intros2008-2009/Waldron-Superseding-Historic-Injustice.pdf>

UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples  
<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/drip.html>

### **(7) 21 February: National Minorities and Territorial self-government**

Nation-building projects have generally attempted to match cultural and territorial boundaries by establishing a dominant national language and culture. This process has frequently not resulted in homogenous nation-states creating instead plurinational states with stateless nations, national kin-minorities and special autonomies. Should national minorities be accommodated through territorial devolution and what kind of powers can they claim?

\*Miller, David (2000) 'Nationality in Divided Societies', in: David Miller *Citizenship and National Identity*, Polity Press, London: 125-141.

\*Levy, Jacob (2007) *Federalism, Liberalism, and the Separation of Loyalties*, APSR vol. 101, no. 3, August 2007: 459-477.

Kymlicka, Will (2001) 'Minority Nationalism and Multination Federalism', in Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular. Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 91-119.

### **(8) 28 February: New minorities? Integration or cultural recognition for migrant groups**

Should immigrant groups have similar cultural rights as traditional national minorities? Or have voluntary immigrants waived their rights to membership in their culture of origin? Which degree of cultural integration or assimilation can be expected or required in societies that are open for immigration? Which rights and prerogatives can legitimately be rendered conditional on integration/assimilation? For this unit we will not only read political theory texts, but also constructivist critiques by sociologists.

\*Parekh, Bhikhu. 2008. *The New Politics of Identity*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, chapter 5: 80-98.

\*Wimmer, Andreas. 2009. 'Herder's Heritage and the Boundary-Making Approach: Studying Ethnicity in Immigrant Societies'. *Sociological Theory*, vol. 27, no. 3: 244-270.

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 2: 10-33.

Brubaker, Rogers W. 2004. *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, chapter 5: The Return of Assimilation?: 116-131.

### **(9) Friday 2 March 9:30 – 12 :30, Seminar Room 2, Workshop with Philippe van Parijs “Linguistic Justice”**

In his recent book, Philippe van Parijs argues that the emergence of English as a European and global lingua franca strengthens preconditions for global egalitarian justice, but creates injustices of three kinds: non-native speakers of English have to invest more resources into learning the lingua franca, English native speakers get access to better opportunities, and different language groups are not treated with equal respect.

\*van Parijs, Philippe (2011) *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*. Oxford University Press, chapter 3: 87-116.

### **(10) 6 March: Multicultural accommodation and gender equality**

Over the last decades, both gender equality and accommodation of cultural diversity have been embraced as elements of a shared project, namely that of challenging general and undifferentiated notions of citizenship to unveil patriarchy and cultural domination disguised as universalism. However, is there a tension between the two? Must the accommodation of cultural diversity in Western societies necessarily come at the expense of entrenching sexual subordination? In other words, is multiculturalism bad for women?

\* Okin, Susan , *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Cohen, Howard and Nussbaum, ed.), Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 9-24.

\*Shachar, A. (2007). *Feminism and multiculturalism: mapping the terrain*. *Multiculturalism and Political Theory*. A. S. Laden and D. Owen (eds.) Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 115-148.

Leti Volpp, “Feminism versus Multiculturalism”, *Columbia Law Review*, June 2001, 1181-1218.