

Multiculturalism

Government 86.01
Dartmouth College Winter, 2013

Tuesday/Thursday
2:00-3:50 P.M.
X-hour: Wednesday, 4:15-5:05 P.M.

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Office Hours: Thursday,
8:30-9:30 A.M., and
4:00-5:00 P.M.

Course Description

This course explores the topic of multiculturalism in the context of contemporary debates in political theory. Students will examine the arguments of authors advocating special political and legal treatment for cultural groups, integrated with responses from liberal, conservative, feminist, and postmodern critics of multiculturalism. The course is designed to provide students with an understanding of central issues in multicultural debates; but its principal aim is to inspire students to think deeply about the principles, values, and institutions that democratic societies might affirm. Among the questions students consider will be the following: Is a multicultural society desirable or workable? Should government provide minority cultures with special recognition, legal exemptions, or group rights? Is multiculturalism bad for women or harmful otherwise? Could any form of multiculturalism adequately emphasize the values of personal autonomy, equality, and fairness? Prerequisite: one course in political theory or political philosophy.

Required Readings

There will be both books as well as other reading materials for Govt. 86.01. The required four books for the course are as follows:

- (1) Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. and intro. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). [ISBN: 0-691-03779-5]
- (2) Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). [ISBN: 0-19-829091-8]
- (3) Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). [ISBN: 0-674-01001-9]

- (4) Susan Moller Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* ed. Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard, and Martha C. Nussbaum (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). [ISBN: 0-691-00432-3]

Each of these texts has been ordered and should be available for purchase at Wheelock Books. Required and recommended readings for the course are either contained within the books listed above, or they will be made available by other means. A complete listing of the scheduled readings for Govt. 86.01 is given below.

Format

Govt. 86.01 is a seminar, so it is designed to foster involvement and participation in discussion. Normally, each class will begin with a student presentation on the assigned readings, of 25-30 minutes in duration. The presentations will consist of four elements: (a) an introduction of the authors (where appropriate); (b) an outline of the readings' central arguments and points of interest; (c) a critical assessment of the authors' work, in the selected readings; and (d) the presenter will identify questions that the readings raise, for further consideration. The discussion will then be opened to the seminar as a whole. There is a fair deal of concentrated reading in Govt. 86.01, but it is crucial that you come prepared so that you can make use of the seminar discussions. Please also bring the books and other materials with you, when we discuss them, since we will frequently refer to passages in the texts. If there are changes to be made to the syllabus, or adjustments of other kinds, they will be announced in class.

Grading

Students' grades will be comprised of the following three components:

(1) In-class presentation on scheduled readings	20% of total grade
(2) 20-25 page seminar paper	60%
(3) Class participation	<u>20%</u>
	100%

The seminar paper will be due on *Friday, March 8*. Late papers will not be accepted without sufficient reason and advance notice. Students are expected to understand and follow the Academic Honor Principle of Dartmouth College in pursuing studies for this course. Students with any disabilities requiring special arrangements are encouraged to see the instructor by January 18, in order to arrange appropriate accommodation.

Course Schedule

Week 1: Nationality and Civilization (Total Reading: 80 pp.)

January 8: Introduction

January 10: • John Stuart Mill, "Civilization" (32 pp.) and "A Few Words on Non-Intervention" (18 pp.), in John Stuart Mill, *Essays on Politics and Culture*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973).
 • Lord Acton, "Nationality," in Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Boston: Beacon Press, 1948) (30 pp.).

Week 2: Cultural Rights Introduced (Total Reading: 143 pp.)

January 15: • Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community, and Culture*, chaps. 7-9 (71 pp.).
 • Avishai Margalit and Joseph Raz, "National Self-Determination," *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 87, No. 9 (1990), pp. 439-61.
 Recommended: John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, §§1-4, 11, 29, 32-35, 77, 85.
 Recommended: Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously*, chap. 6.

January 17: • Chandran Kukathas, "Are There Any Cultural Rights?" *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1992), pp. 105-39.
 • Will Kymlicka, "The Rights of Minority Cultures: Reply to Kukathas," *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1992), pp. 140-46.
 • Chandran Kukathas, "Cultural Rights Again: A Rejoinder to Kymlicka," *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1992), pp. 674-80.
 • Joseph Raz, "Multiculturalism: A Liberal Perspective," *Dissent*, Vol. 41 (1994), pp. 67-79.
 Recommended: John Tomasi, "Kymlicka, Liberalism, and Respect for Cultural Minorities," *Ethics*, Vol. 105 (1995), pp. 580-603.

Week 3: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition (Total Reading: 199 pp.)

January 22: • *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Part I (105 pp.).
 Amy Gutmann, "Introduction"
 Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition"
 Comments from Susan Wolf, Steven C. Rockefeller, and Michael Walzer

Recommended: William A. Galston, "Two Concepts of Liberalism," *Ethics*, Vol. 105 (1995), pp. 516-34.

- January 24: • *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Part II (94 pp.).
 Jürgen Habermas, "Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State"
 K. Anthony Appiah, "Identity, Authenticity, Survival: Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction"
 Recommended: Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, chap. 7.

Week 4: Multicultural Citizenship (Total Reading: 151 pp.)

- January 29: • Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, Introduction, chaps. 1-4 (74 pp.).
 January 31: • Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, chaps. 5-7 (77 pp.).

Week 5: Cultural Toleration? (Total Reading: 99 pp.)

- February 5: • Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, chaps. 8-10 (44 pp.).
 February 7: • Chandran Kukathas, "Cultural Toleration," in *NOMOS XXXIX: Ethnicity and Group Rights*, ed. Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka (New York: New York University Press, 1997) (31 pp.).
 • Michael Walzer, "Response to Kukathas" (7 pp.)
 • Joseph H. Carens, "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders," in *The Rights of Minority Cultures*, ed. Will Kymlicka (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) (17 pp.).

Week 6: Women and Education under Multiculturalism (Total Reading: 259 pp.)

February 12: Focus on Women

- Susan Moller Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (130 pp.).

February 14: Focus on Education

- Stephen Macedo, *Diversity and Distrust* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), Part III (chapters 10, 11; conclusion) (51 pp.).
 • Amy Gutmann, "Challenges of Multiculturalism in Democratic Education," in *Public Education in a Multicultural Society*, ed. Robert K. Fullinwider (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) (21 pp.).

Recommended: Will Kymlicka, "Education for Citizenship," in *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Week 7: Language and Religion

(Total Reading: 235 pp.)

February 19: Focus on Language Rights

- Denise Reaume, "Official-Language Rights: Intrinsic Value and the Protection of Difference," in *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, ed. Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) (28 pp.).
- Alan Patten, "Political Theory and Language Policy," *Political Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 5 (2001), pp. 691-715.
- Alan Patten, "Can the Immigrant/National Minority Dichotomy Be Defended?" in *Secession and Self-Determination*, ed. Stephen Macedo and Allen Buchanan (New York: New York University Press, 2003) (16 pp.)
- Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, chap. 6 (45 pp.).

February 21: Focus on Religion

- Kent Greenawalt, “Freedom of Association and Religious Association,” in *Freedom of Association*, ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) (29 pp.).
- Lucas Swaine, *The Liberal Conscience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), chap. 3 (60 pp.).
- Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, chap. 5 (33 pp.).
 Recommended: Stephen Macedo, *Diversity and Distrust*, Part II (chaps. 6-9) (79 pp.).

Week 8: Postmodern Critique and the Expansion of Multiculturalism

(Total Reading: 177 pp.)

February 26: Postmodern Critique

- Stanley Fish, "Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking About Hate Speech," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 23 (1997), pp. 378-95.
- Henry A. Giroux, "Insurgent Multiculturalism and the Promise of Pedagogy," in *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*, ed. David Theo Goldberg (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1994) (17 pp.).

- Homi K. Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation," in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994) (32 pp.).
Recommended: Homi K. Bhabha, "The postcolonial and the postmodern: The question of agency," in *The Location of Culture*.

February 28: Is Liberal Multiculturalism Exportable?

- Will Kymlicka, "Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe," in *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?* ed. Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) (72 pp.).
- Response from Michael Walzer (4 pp.).
- Response from Alexander Ossipov (14 pp.).
- Response from Janos Kis (20 pp.).

Week 9: Multiculturalism and Islam (Total Reading: 120 pp.)

March 5: Multiculturalism and the Inclusion of Islam

- Bhikhu Parekh, "Europe, Liberalism and the 'Muslim Question'," in *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship*, ed. Tariq Modood, Anna Triandafyllidou, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 179-203.
- Frédéric Volpi, *Political Islam Observed: Disciplinary Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp. 123-48.
- M. Steven Fish, *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), chaps. 3, 8 (49 pp.).
- Lucas Swaine, "Demanding Deliberation: Political Liberalism and the Inclusion of Islam," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2009), pp. 88-106.

March 7: Final Class

March 8: *Papers due*

Readings on Reserve

Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Boston: Beacon Press, 1948).

Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ed. Samuel Lipman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Cambridge, Ma Harvard University Press, 1977).

Avigail Eisenberg and Jeff Spinner-Halev (eds.), *Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights and Diversity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Stanley Fish, "Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking About Hate Speech," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 23 (1997), pp. 378-95.

Robert K. Fullinwider (ed.), *Public Education in a Multicultural Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

William A. Galston, "Two Concepts of Liberalism," *Ethics*, Vol. 105 (1995), pp. 516-34.

William A. Galston, *Liberal Pluralism: The Implications of Value Pluralism for Political Theory and Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

William A. Galston, *The Practice of Liberal Pluralism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

David Theo Goldberg (ed.), *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1994).

Amy Gutmann, *Identity in Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Amy Gutmann (ed.), *Freedom of Association* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Christian Joppke and Steven Lukes (eds.), *Multicultural Questions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Chandran Kukathas, "Are There Any Cultural Rights?" *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1992), pp. 105-39.

Chandran Kukathas, "Cultural Rights Again: A Rejoinder to Kymlicka," *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1992), pp. 674-80.

Chandran Kukathas, *The Liberal Archipelago: A Theory of Freedom and Diversity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Will Kymlicka, "The Rights of Minority Cultures: Reply to Kukathas," *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1992), pp. 140-46.

Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Will Kymlicka (ed.), *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman (eds.), *Citizenship in Diverse Societies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski (eds.), *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir (eds.), *The Politics of Recognition in Multicultural Societies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Jacob T. Levy, *The Multiculturalism of Fear* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Robert Emmet Long (ed.), *Multiculturalism* (New York: H. W. Wilson, Co., 1997).

Stephen Macedo, *Diversity and Distrust: Civic Education in a Multicultural Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Stephen Macedo and Allen Buchanan (eds.), *Secession and Self-Determination* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).

Avishai Margalit and Joseph Raz, "National Self-Determination," *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 87, No. 9 (1990), pp. 439-61.

John Stuart Mill, *Essays on Politics and Culture*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973).

Susan Moller Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* ed. Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard, and Martha C. Nussbaum (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Clifford Orwin, "All Quiet on the (post) Western Front?" in *Multiculturalism*, ed. Robert Emmet Long (New York: H. W. Wilson, Co., 1997), pp. 43-56.

Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Alan Patten, "Political Theory and Language Policy," *Political Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 5 (2001), pp. 691-715.

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

John Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, expanded edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Joseph Raz, "Multiculturalism: A Liberal Perspective," *Dissent*, Vol. 41 (1994), pp. 67-79.

Rob Reich, *Bridging Liberalism and Multiculturalism in American Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Membership and Morals: The Personal Uses of Pluralism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Nancy L. Rosenblum (ed.), *Obligations of Citizenship and Demands of Faith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Ayelet Shachar, *Multicultural Jurisdictions: Cultural Differences and Women's Rights* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka (eds.), *NOMOS XXXIX: Ethnicity and Group Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

Jeff Spinner-Halev, *The Boundaries of Citizenship: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in the Liberal State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

Jeff Spinner-Halev, *Surviving Diversity: Religion and Democratic Citizenship* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

Lucas Swaine, *The Liberal Conscience: Politics and Principle in a World of Religious Pluralism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. and intro. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

John Tomasi, "Kymlicka, Liberalism, and Respect for Cultural Minorities," *Ethics*, Vol. 105 (1995), pp. 580-603.

John Tomasi, *Liberalism Beyond Justice: Citizens, Society, and the Boundaries of Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

Michael Walzer, *On Toleration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).