



CERC Migration Working Group – Scholars of Excellence Edition: Multiculturalism at a Crossroads

Co-convended by **Gurpreet Mahajan**, formerly Jawaharlal Nehru University, and **Anna Triandafyllidou**, CERC Migration, Toronto Metropolitan University

Date: May 30, 2023

Time: 10:00 AM to 4:45 PM EDT

Location: Hybrid (In person at CERC Migration office / online via Zoom)

Diversity remains a social fact and an unavoidable feature of the globalized world. Yet, multiculturalism is under attack almost everywhere. Some allude to the 'crisis' of multiculturalism and many more to its 'failure': failure to deal with the issue of immigration and the questions it poses; failure to protect a national way of life; failure to speak for all citizens. In recent times, populist rhetoric has appropriated the conceptual language of recognition and protection for a cultural way of life, only to subvert the multicultural agenda of inclusion and accommodation.

Under attack from multiple sites, multiculturalism today stands at the crossroads. Its future, and more appropriately, the future of progressive and inclusive democratic politics, depends upon its ability to overcome the divide created between the majority and the minorities by populist regimes. The question is: Does multiculturalism have a language to address the anxieties of the minorities and the majority community? Can it make a legitimate distinction between the vulnerabilities faced by minorities and the concerns of the majority? Can it offer an alternative idea of civic integration and a common way of life? Do we need a conceptual language that can mediate the idea of recognition with dialogue between cultures, between the majority and the minorities, and between the minorities?

PROGRAM

- 10-10:30 AM EDT** Welcome reception
- 10:30 AM EDT** Welcome: **Gurpreet Mahajan** formerly Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University and **Anna Triandafyllidou**, CERC Migration, Toronto Metropolitan University
- 10:40 AM-1:00 PM EDT** **Panel I: Competing Claims and the (im)possibility of Multiculturalism in the era of Globalization**
Chair: Gurpreet Mahajan
- Why minority protections are not privileges: on minority rights, equal citizenship and immigrant 'integration' | **Tamar de Waal**, University of Amsterdam*
- The status of foundational cultures in political thought on diversity | **Geoffrey Brahm Levey**, University of New South Wales*
- Multiculturalism and transnationalism | **Riva Kastoryano**, Research Director, CNRS*
- The questionable empirical and political-normative basis of superdiversity | **Jan Willem Duyvendak**, University of Amsterdam*
- 1:00-2:00 PM EDT** Lunch break
- 2:00-4:30 PM EDT** **Panel II: Political Polarisation and Multicultural Responses**
Chair: Anna Triandafyllidou
- Can multiculturalism contribute to de-polarising the current political polarisation? | **Tariq Modood**, University of Bristol*
- The politics of difference in the United States | **Jeff Spinner-Halev**, University of North Carolina*
- Multiculturalism as an integrative | **Avigail Eisenberg**, University of Victoria*
- 'Multicultural values'? Equality, diversity and inclusion | **Lori Beaman**, University of Ottawa*
- 4:30-4:45 PM EDT** Reflections and concluding remarks

ABSTRACTS

Panel I: Competing Claims and the (im)possibility of Multiculturalism in the era of Globalization

Why minority protections are not privileges: on minority rights, equal citizenship and immigrant 'integration' | Tamar de Waal, University of Amsterdam

There has been an increase of academic publications that argue in favor of 'majority rights,' 'majority precedence,' or 'white identity', claiming that multicultural theory to date has overlooked the (cultural) interests of majorities. This presentation will examine this academic trend to which commentators seem to exclusively focus on the potential risks of granting minority rights to immigrant groups. However, multiculturalists broadly accept the cultural hegemony of the majority culture in the context of diversity triggered by migration. For example, they agree that minority rights for immigrant groups do not involve forms of territorial, linguistic or institutional political power sharing between the majority and migrant groups. Instead, newcomers are required, inter alia, to learn the national language and 'integrate' into the broader society. Within multiculturalism, minority rights for immigrant groups involve forms of broader inclusive accommodation and the protection of equal citizenship, for instance by fighting stigmas, racism, discrimination and other barriers to prevent them from being fully accepted and participating as equal citizens. The presentation will conclude that the trend mistakenly understands minority rights for immigrant groups as privileges (that majorities lack), instead of public measures to secure equal citizenship for all.

The status of foundational cultures in political thought on diversity | Geoffrey Brahm Levey, University of New South Wales

A popular and recurrent irritation with multiculturalism is that it insufficiently respects the established institutions and national cultural inheritance. Recent scholarship on multiculturalism has tended to frame this concern as a clash between minority and majority cultural rights. This presentation will begin from the perspective that the cultural majority and its rights should not be conflated with the established or foundational culture of a society. Four broad positions will be delineated on the status of a foundational culture in contemporary political thought concerned with diversity, two of which pay it no heed and two which do. Among the former, one position is simply indifferent to cultural identity including a national cultural identity ('*no recognition*'). A second is equally responsive to the cultural identities of groups in society and accords no special status to the foundational national culture ('*equal recognition*'), treating it merely as an incidental backdrop. A third position accords a special status to the historical or foundational culture and offers remedial cultural rights or recognition for minorities ('*differentiated recognition*'). And a fourth position acknowledges a special status to the historical or foundational culture while seeking to refashion and broaden the national culture and identity ('*multiculturalised national recognition*'). The presentation examines these four positions and assesses their prospects for bequeathing multicultural societies that are at one with themselves.

Multiculturalism and transnationalism | Riva Kastoryano, Research Director, CNRS

Since the 1980s, debates on multiculturalism have been one of the most controversial debates in social sciences and public policies. For some, multiculturalism refers to equality, recognition and representation. For others, on the contrary, it is related to "tribalism" and perceived as challenging the national unity that is guaranteed by the state. For some, it serves to thwart nationalism and for others, inversely, it serves as the basis of national sentiments and expressions. Multiculturalism as concept and applied policy is facing an important challenge: the power of transnationalism and its effect on citizenship and integration. On a macro and/or micro level, multiculturalism is developed as a theory, a narrative and political paradigm in response to the management of

cultural diversity within the nation-state in order to redefine citizenship, equality and solidarity. Transnationalism has been developed as an experience of migrants and minorities, settled in different national societies interacting with each other beyond borders, making explicit multiple memberships and questioning the very concept of citizenship in a single political community, territorially bounded, as well as a trans-border solidarity and identification. On the one hand, transnational practices help to escape national policies, on the other, they reinforce solidarity on a “communal” identity, creating a sense of “peoplehood” unbound and non-territorial. Such a dynamic affects the relationship between territory and the nation-state; citizenship and identity; states and nations. Is the new rhetoric to be found in the understanding of citizenship and integration? Would a conceptual language be found in transnational dynamics that affects the boundaries between majority and minority and their reciprocal representation, a new narrative on the multiple sites of citizenship and on a sense of solidarity and the understanding of integration “here and there” as characteristic of all societies de facto multicultural.

***The questionable empirical and political-normative basis of superdiversity* | Jan Willem Duyvendak, University of Amsterdam**

This presentation will focus on the question: “Does multiculturalism have a language to address anxieties of the minorities and the majority community?”, or in the European vernacular: “Does superdiversity have a language to address these anxieties?” The presentation will argue that the focus on ‘super’diversity – and the neglect of communalities among citizens and the integration of newcomers into the mainstream – is one-sided, empirically questionable and politically dangerous. Empirically speaking, superdiversity scholars focus too much on short-term experiences and incorrectly extrapolate increased diversity among immigrants to increased diversity in the society at large. Politically, the emphasis on diversity plays into the hands of the radical right and those among the majority who perceive themselves as natives.

Panel II: Political Polarisation and Multicultural responses

***Can multiculturalism contribute to de-polarizing the current political polarization?* | Tariq Modood, University of Bristol**

We seem to have a deepening polarization between those who are pro-diversity (possibly also pro-immigration) and those who feel that this is going too far and/or too fast and seek that their national identities are being demoted at the expense of other identities. Moreover, it’s not only minorities who have identity-anxieties but also majorities. Indeed, it is suggested that multiculturalism has contributed to these anxieties and thereby to the polarization. This presentation shall consider the source of the polarization but, more so, how we can tackle and lessen this polarization which is fostering mutual distrust and threatening the national, democratic citizenships upon which any multiculturalist, egalitarian and unifying project must be built. This does not involve giving up on multiculturalism but, rather, developing a multicultural national identity, to which all citizens can have a sense of belonging without giving up other identities that are important to them. Such national and group identities cannot be conceived as monistic or static, rather interactive and dialogical. The presentation will argue that such a multicultural sense of the national can be adapted to work with a wide range of centre-left and centre-right views; above all it allows one to be sensitive to minority identity vulnerabilities and majority identity anxieties within an integrated theoretical and political framework.

***The politics of difference in the United States* | Jeff Spinner-Halev, University of North Carolina**

The setting for this presentation is the United States, where multiculturalism was never clearly defined. Instead of multiculturalism, the focus will be on what Iris Marion Young called the politics of difference or what is often called diversity, equity and inclusion, arguing that the cold war gave Americans a common enemy and a common bond. While multiculturalism and identity politics arose after the cold war, it took some time for that common bond to be forged and the cold war to dissipate. As that common bond faded, political divisions rose to the fore, and this has become the main division through which many Americans identify. With the common

enemy receding, Americans began to see each other as the enemy. Perhaps ironically, the politics of diversity, equity and inclusion are now part of what divides the country.

Multiculturalism as an integrative process | Avigail Eisenberg, University of Victoria

Is multiculturalism citizenship a process, an aim, or an entitlement? In its initial iteration, normative theorists explained multiculturalism as an integrative approach to citizenship and compared it to TH Marshall's understanding of social citizenship across different social classes. Thereafter, most normative approaches to multiculturalism have focused on multiculturalism as a set of entitlements or outcomes rather than as an integrative process. This paper argues that to understand multiculturalism as an integrative process changes what can be expected of the theory. I consider three features of multiculturalism as process. First, integrative processes can be unpredictable and for this reason, can produce something new and unanticipated. This is especially true of community-building processes where outcomes depend on the interactions between diverse members whose collective synergies are unknown at the outset. Second, an integrative process requires all participants to integrate rather than only one group or part. In this way, integration is distinct from incorporation. Third, integrative processes are usually face to face and participatory, and for good reason. In social and political contexts, integrative processes take time and, if they are to be successful, provide people with the opportunity to learn how to share in community. As an experiential learning process, multiculturalism is a process through which we learn what it means to share citizenship and manage conflicts with a diversity of peoples in a variety of settings.

'Multicultural values'? Equality, diversity and inclusion | Lori Beaman, University of Ottawa

After the enactment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (which explicitly mentions multiculturalism in s.27) the courts began to talk about 'Charter values' even in cases that did not specifically deal with the Charter. It was in this way that a new ethical framework began to infiltrate the Canadian legal (and possibly social) imaginary. This presentation will consider an analogous possibility: that despite a shift away from the explicit language of multiculturalism, in the Canadian context at least, there is an expansion of multiculturalism as 'multicultural values' which shapes social relations and informs the ways that some Canadians see themselves, the conduct of good citizens, and the national imaginary. These values are articulated as equality (or equity), diversity and inclusion and they have at least partially rescued multiculturalism from some of its alleged failings. The presentation will draw on data from the project "A Transcultural Approach to Belonging and Engagement among Migrant Youth" to offer an empirical lens through which to explore these possibilities. The project's stated aim was to 'unpack the complex manifestations of social belonging and cultural identity formations amongst migrant youth in super-diverse cities by going beyond the much-invoked notion of competing, even clashing, cultural identities.'

BIOGRAPHIES

Lori Beaman is the Canada Research Chair in Religious Diversity and Social Change, Professor in the Department of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa, and Director of the 'Nonreligion in a Complex Future' project (nonreligionproject.ca). She previously directed the 'Religion and Diversity Project' (religionanddiversity.ca). She is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. Her publications include *The Transition of Religion to Culture in Law and Public Discourse* (Routledge, 2020), *Deep Equality in an Era of Religious Diversity* (Oxford University Press, 2017, Italian translation *Eguaglianza profonda in un'era di diversità religiosa*, *Ariele*, 2018), and "Living Well Together in a (non)Religious Future: Contributions from the Sociology of Religion," in *Sociology of Religion* (2017). Beaman received the 2017 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Impact Award (Insight Category), and holds an honorary doctorate from Uppsala University. Her current and engaged areas of research include nonreligion, human/non-human relationships, equality, law, and religious diversity.

Tamar de Waal is assistant professor, legal theory at the Amsterdam Law School of the University of Amsterdam. She is the author of *Integration Requirements for Immigrants in Europe – A Legal-Philosophical Inquiry* that was published in 2021 by Hart Publishing (Bloomsbury). De Waal has published in a variety of national and international journals on matters of citizenship, minority rights and immigrant integration. She is also director of the Amsterdam Honours College of Law.

Jan Willem Duyvendak is Distinguished Research Professor of Sociology at the University of Amsterdam. Since 2018, he has been director of the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS-KNAW). In 2021, he was elected member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) and in 2022 of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His main fields of research currently are the transformation of the welfare state, belonging and 'feeling at home' and nativism. His latest book is entitled *The Return of the Native. Can Liberalism Safeguard Us Against Nativism?* (Oxford University Press 2022, with Josip Kešić).

Avigail Eisenberg is a political theorist and professor of Political Science at the University of Victoria. Her work examines pluralism and diversity in Anglo-American societies from the early 20th century to the present day. Her publications include two monographs, eight edited or co-edited books and numerous research papers.

Riva Kastoryano is Director of Research at the CNRS Senior Research Fellow at the Center for International Studies, Sciences Po. She has a PhD in sociology from the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), has lectured at Harvard University (Department of Social Studies) from 1984 to 1987, and has been teaching at Sciences Po since 1988. Riva is a former research fellow at the Princeton University Institute for Advanced Studies (1997), the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin (1998), and the Radcliffe Institute at Harvard University (2003-2004). She has been a visiting professor at the New School for Social Research in New York since 2005. Her research in political sociology focuses on Europe, nationalism, identities and communities.

Geoffrey Brahm Levey is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of New South Wales, Sydney. He is the author of more than 150 publications in political and multicultural theory and Jewish studies. Among these are, as contributing editor, *Secularism Religion and Multicultural Citizenship* (with Tariq Modood, CUP, 2008), *Political Theory and Australian Multiculturalism* (Berghahn, 2008, 2012), and *Authenticity, Autonomy and Multiculturalism* (Routledge, 2015). He is presently editing the *Research Handbook on Multiculturalism* for Edward Elgar UK.

Gurpreet Mahajan was Professor at the Centre for Political Science, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Within the field of political philosophy, her work focuses on democratic theory and issues of difference and discrimination in a comparative framework. Using the lens of Indian experience, she has written extensively on secularism and multiculturalism, minority rights and integration, equality and civil society. Her publications include *Explanation and Understanding in the Human Sciences* (Oxford University Press, 1992, 1997, 2011); *Identities and Rights: Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India* (Oxford University Press, 1998); *The Multicultural Path: Issues of Diversity and Discrimination in Democracy* (Sage, 2002); *India: Political Ideas and the Making of a Democratic Discourse* (Zed Books, 2013); and *Religion, Community and Development: Changing Contours of Politics and Policy in India* (jointly edited with S.S. Jodhka) (Routledge, 2010).

Tariq Modood is Professor of Sociology, Politics and Public Policy and the founding Director of the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship at the University of Bristol and the co-founder of the international journal, *Ethnicities*. He has held over 40 grants and consultancies, has over 35 (co-)authored and (co-)edited books and reports and over 300 articles and chapters. He was awarded an MBE for services to social sciences and ethnic relations in 2001, was made a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences (UK) in 2004 and elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 2017. He served on the *Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, the *National Equality Panel*, and the *Commission on Religion and Belief in British Public Life*. His latest books include *Essays on Secularism and Multiculturalism* (2019), *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea* (2nd ed; 2013); and as Special Issues co-editor, with T. Sealy, *Beyond Euro-Americancentric Forms of Racism and Anti-racism* (*Political Quarterly*,

2022) and Global comparative analysis of the governance of religious diversity (*Religion, State and Society*, 2022).

Jeff Spinner-Halev is the Kenan Eminent Professor of Political Ethics in the department of Political Science, and is Interim Chair in the department of Art and Art History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Spinner-Halev's research focuses on the tensions that arise within contemporary liberal and democratic theory, and between theory and practice. Book he has authored includes: *The Boundaries of Citizenship: Race, Ethnicity and Nationality in the Liberal State* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); *Surviving Diversity: Religion and Democratic Citizenship* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); *Enduring Injustice* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); and he has co-edited *Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Right and Diversity* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Anna Triandafyllidou holds the Canada Excellence Research Chair in Migration and Integration at Toronto Metropolitan University. Prior to joining TorontoMet, she was based at the European University Institute where she held a Robert Schuman Chair on Global Pluralism. She is Editor of the *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, Chair of the IMISCOE Editorial Committee, and member of the IMISCOE Board of Directors. In 2021, the University of Liège awarded Triandafyllidou a doctorate honoris causa in recognition of her contribution to migration scholarship. Her recent authored books include *What is Europe* (with R. Gropas, 2nd edition, Routledge, 2022) and *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe* (with E. Gemi, Routledge, 2021). Her recent articles have appeared in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2022), *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Society* (2022), *Ethnicities* (2022), *Comparative Migration Studies* (2021, 2022), *International Migration* (2021) and *Nations and Nationalism* (2020).

Elke Winter Elke Winter is Professor of Sociology and Director of Research, Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on Citizenship and Minorities (CIRCEM), University of Ottawa. Her research examines the relationship between social inequality, boundary construction, and pluralist inclusion in ethnically diverse societies. She wrote *Max Weber et les relations ethniques. Du refus du biologisme racial à l'État multinational* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2004), won the Canadian Sociology Association's John Porter Tradition of Excellence Award for *Us, Them, and Others: Pluralism and National Identity in Diverse Societies* (University of Toronto Press, 2011), and recently co-edited *When States Take Rights Back: Citizenship Revocation and Its Discontents* (Routledge 2020), as well as *La Citoyenneté au temps de 'l'intégration civique': regards croisés France/Canada* (*Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 2020).