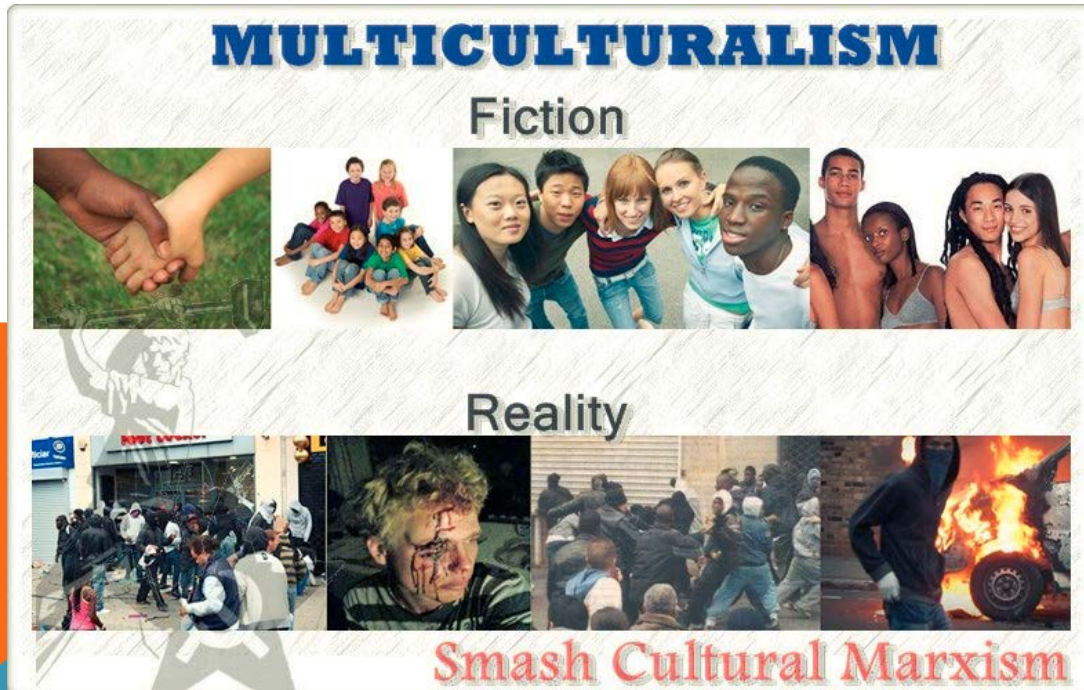


MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Hoffman and **Graham** identify four key distinctions in defining multiculturalism.

1. *Multiculturalism as an Attitude* – Does one have a positive and open attitude to different cultures?



Here, not so much....

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM



Here, maybe more....

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

2. *Multiculturalism as a Tool of Public Policy* – Is it education or health care that we are talking about here?



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM



Cameron: my war on multiculturalism

‘To defeat terrorism, it’s time to turn the page on the failed policies of the past’

‘Segregated communities are behaving in ways that run counter to our values’

By Oliver Wright
and James Taylor

David Cameron has a devastating attack today on 10 years of multiculturalism in Britain, warning it is failing against ideology and

directly contributing to home-grown Islamic terrorism.

Mr Cameron's remarks depart from the strategy of previous governments. Mr Cameron says that Britain must adopt a policy of "assimilation" to ensure the values of

equality, law and freedom of speech across all parts of society.

He warns Muslim groups that if they fail to endorse women's rights or promote integration they will lose all government funding. A U.S. intelligence

article will be expected to teach the country's mosque culture.

The new policy will be outlined today in a speech to an international security conference in Munich and will



The 50 Best bars
IN THE INFORMATION



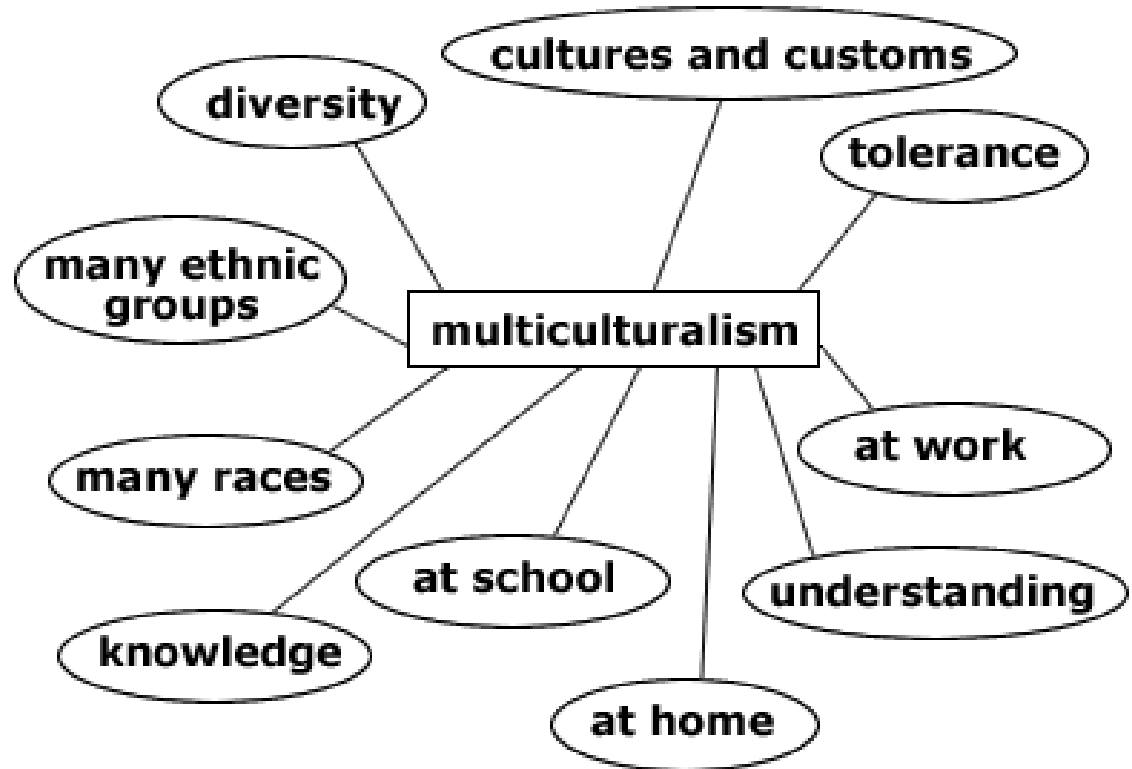
It's Kate vs Kate
Battle for the real wedding of the year
NEWS, PAGE 11

James Lawton
English rugby's flying start
SPORT, PAGE 14

3. *Multiculturalism as an Aspect of Institutional Design – What kind of institutions should we have?*

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

4. *Multiculturalism and Moral Justification* –
What constitutes “reasonableness when analyzing political institutions?”



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

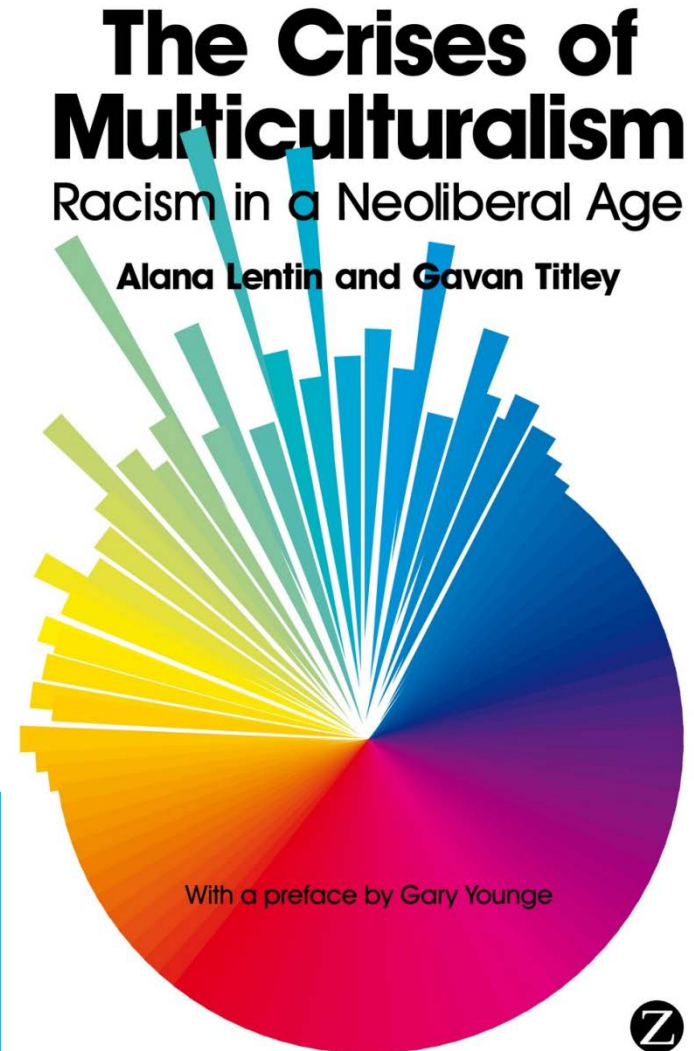
Hoffman and **Graham** note that one major difficulty that characterizes the multiculturalism debate is the failure to explain what is meant by *culture*. They note that definitions fall into two main categories:



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

1. *Universalists*

Culture is to be explained by underlying material forces (includes liberals and Marxists)



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

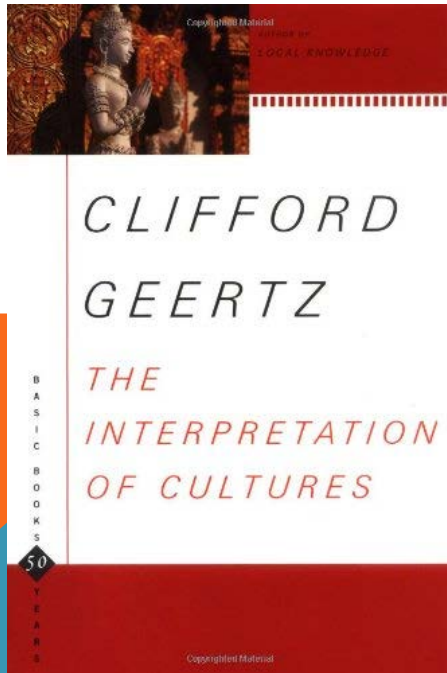


2. *Relativists*

Culture is
fundamental,
and not
derivative of
anything else

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Culture for **Geertz** is a complex of signs, meaning is dependent upon perspective, not in the sense that an “outsider” cannot understand the signs, but rather that such understanding – *interpretation* – must make reference to the context of the participants.



Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is.

Clifford Geertz

meetville.com

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

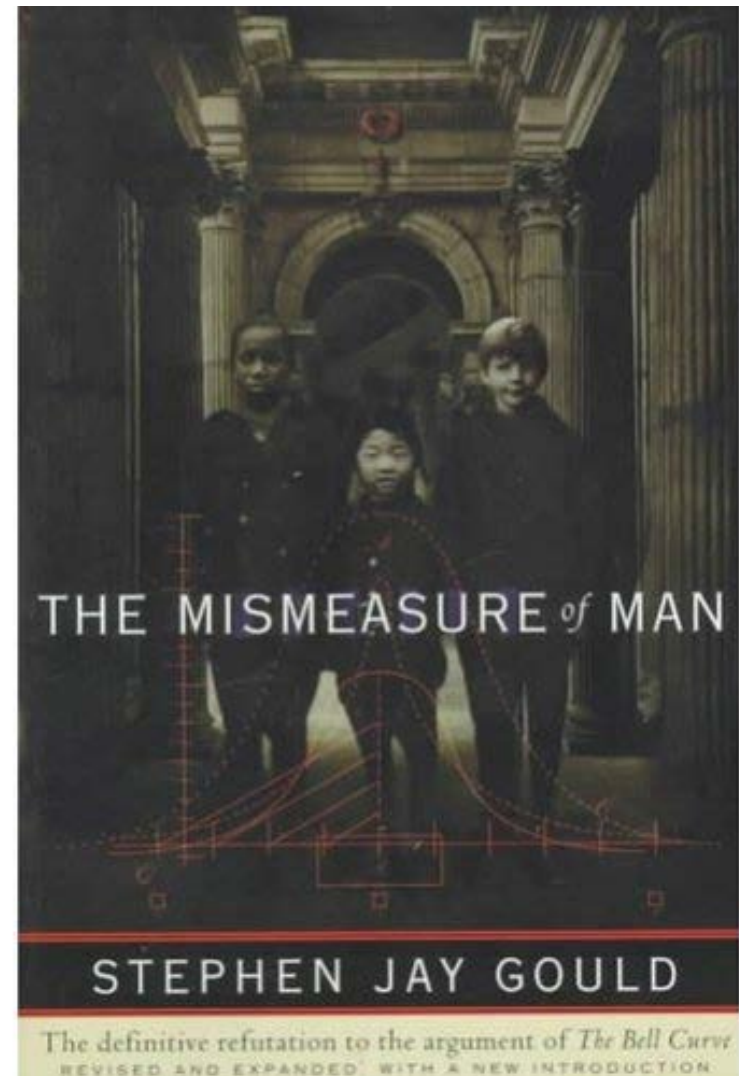
Race

Critics of multiculturalism on the radical (white nationalist) right argue that multiculturalism is a Western ideology intended to allow minority racial groups to continue their distinctive practices, including endogamous (in-group) biological reproduction (aka “white genocide”).



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

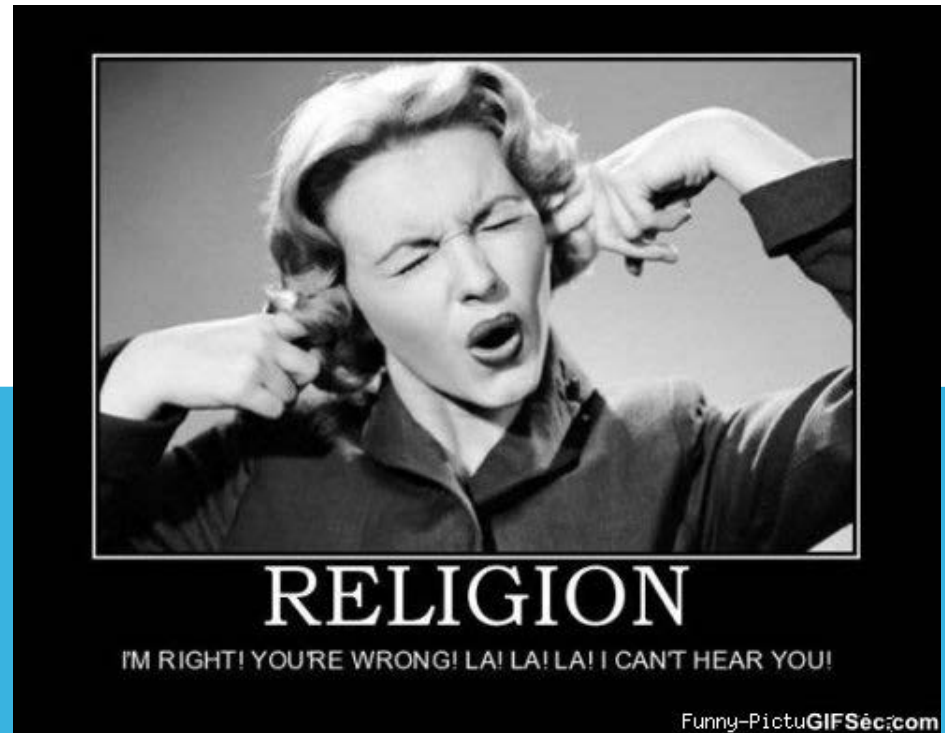
Defenders of multiculturalism maintain that “race” is a social construct and reject this claim. (Richard Lewontin and Stephen Jay Gould argue against a biological interpretation of race).



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Religion

Much debate about cultural diversity is really about the relationship of religion and politics – and of the consequences of the existence of conflicting belief systems, including secular ones, within a political territory.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Hoffman and **Graham** point out that religion is a highly complex phenomenon. They point to the work of **Eric Sharpe**, who identifies FOUR “modes” of religion, that is, ways in which human beings are religious:



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

1. *The Existential Mode*



The focus is on faith

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

2. *The Intellectual Mode*

Priority is on beliefs, in the sense of those statements to which a person gives conscious assent.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

3. *The Institutional Mode*

Authoritative organizations that maintain and transmit doctrines.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

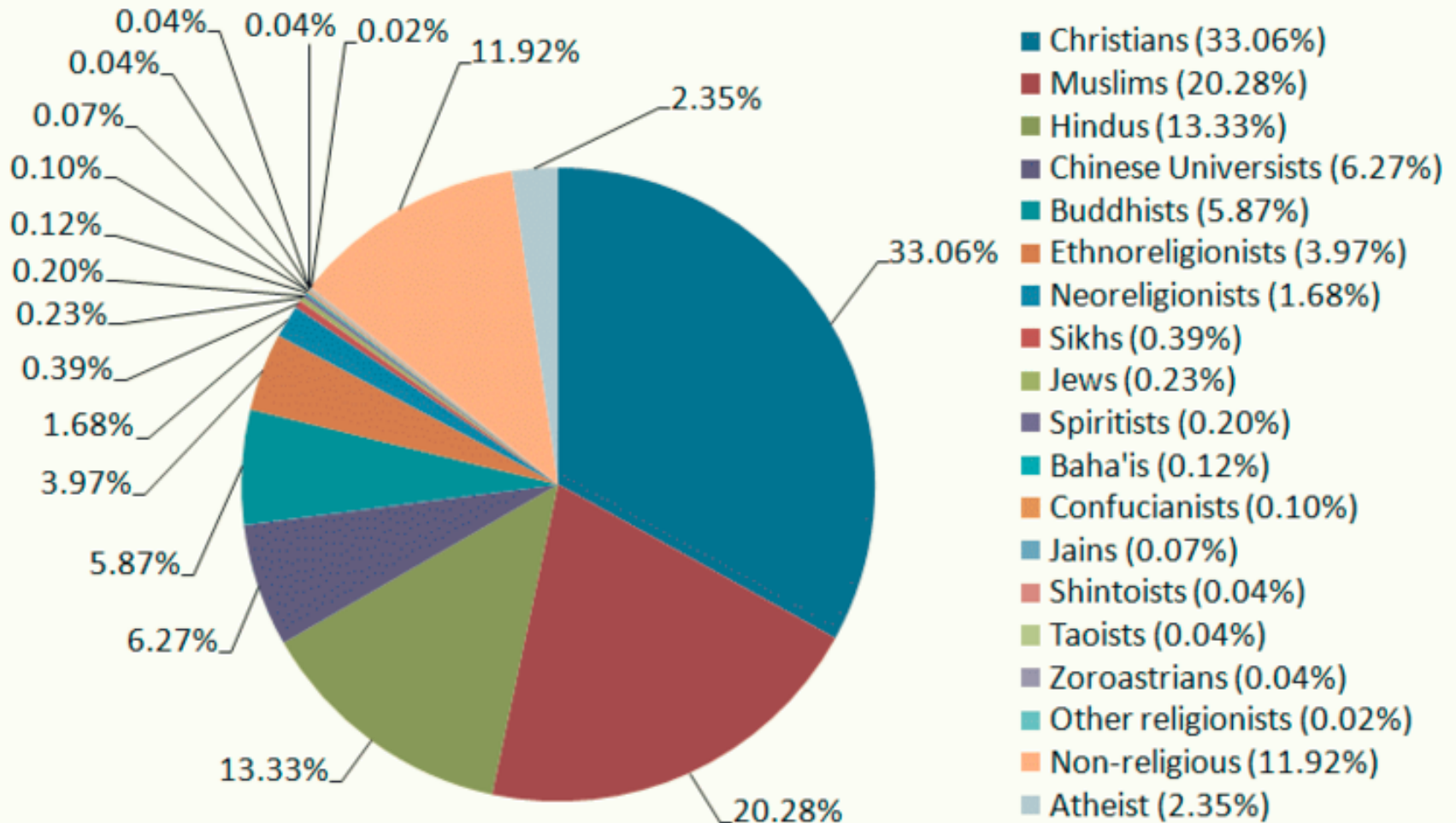


4. *The Ethical Mode*

Stresses the behavioral relationships between members of a religious community and those outside it.

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Worldwide percentage of Adherents by Religion (mid 2005)



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Four Theories of Multiculturalism

Hoffman and **Graham** suggest that as you examine them you ask yourself three questions:

- 1. How does the theory conceptualize human identity? (that is, to what extent is a person's communal, cultural, religious or ethnic attachments "constitutive" of what that person is, or what the person values about herself?).**
- 2. What are the implications of the theory for personal freedom? Does the theory imply a greater or lesser freedom than is the case with traditional liberalism?**
- 3. What are the implications of the theory for equality?**

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Multiculturalism as Hybridity (Jeremy Waldron)

Multiculturalism must be “cosmopolitan” (meaning it challenges both liberalism and communitarianism)



Against Liberalism – implies a less rigid conception of what it means to live an autonomous life.

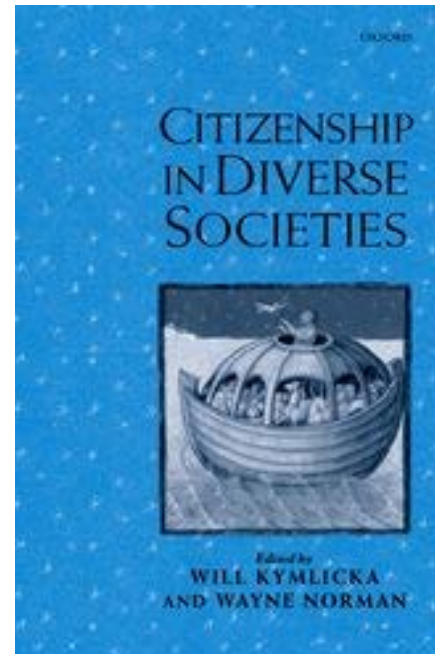
Against Communitarianism – due to the fact that they fail to define “community” (do they mean the neighborhood or the whole world?)

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

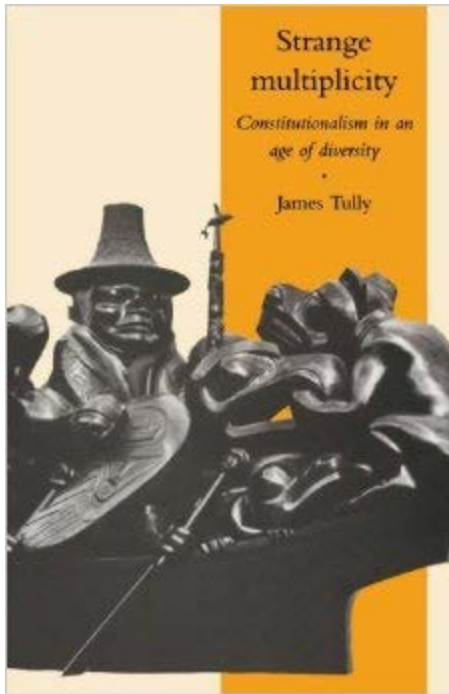
2. *The Right to Cultural Membership*

(**Will Kymlicka**)

Individuals have moral rights to cultural membership



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM



3. *Constitutional Diversity*

(*James Tully*)

Constitutionalism stresses sovereignty, regularity and uniformity, and this contrasts with the implied rejection of sovereignty and the irregularity and pluralism of “ancient constitutionalism”



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

4. *An Overlapping Consensus*

(John Rawls)

It is for citizens as part of their liberty of conscience individually to work out how liberal values relate to their own “comprehensive conceptions” of multiculturalism.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM


Multiculturalism and Feminism

Is multiculturalism bad for women?



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

How might a multiculturalist defend the following practices in Western society?

- a. As a “permission,” meaning that the practice is not against the law.**
 - b. As prohibited but where in law a person might raise a cultural defense in mitigation.**
 - c. Where the practice should be illegal, and the cultural defense does not apply, but where the person would not be prosecuted for procuring something abroad.**
- 

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Polygamy

The right of a husband to have more than one wife (the opposite is polyandry)



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Forced Marriage

Contradicts a fundamental right to order your private life by choosing your own partner.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Female

Circumcision

**Practiced in 25
countries and
affects eight
million women
worldwide.**



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Male Violence

The “cultural” defense in cases where the wife or daughter has brought “dishonor” to the family.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Access to Resources

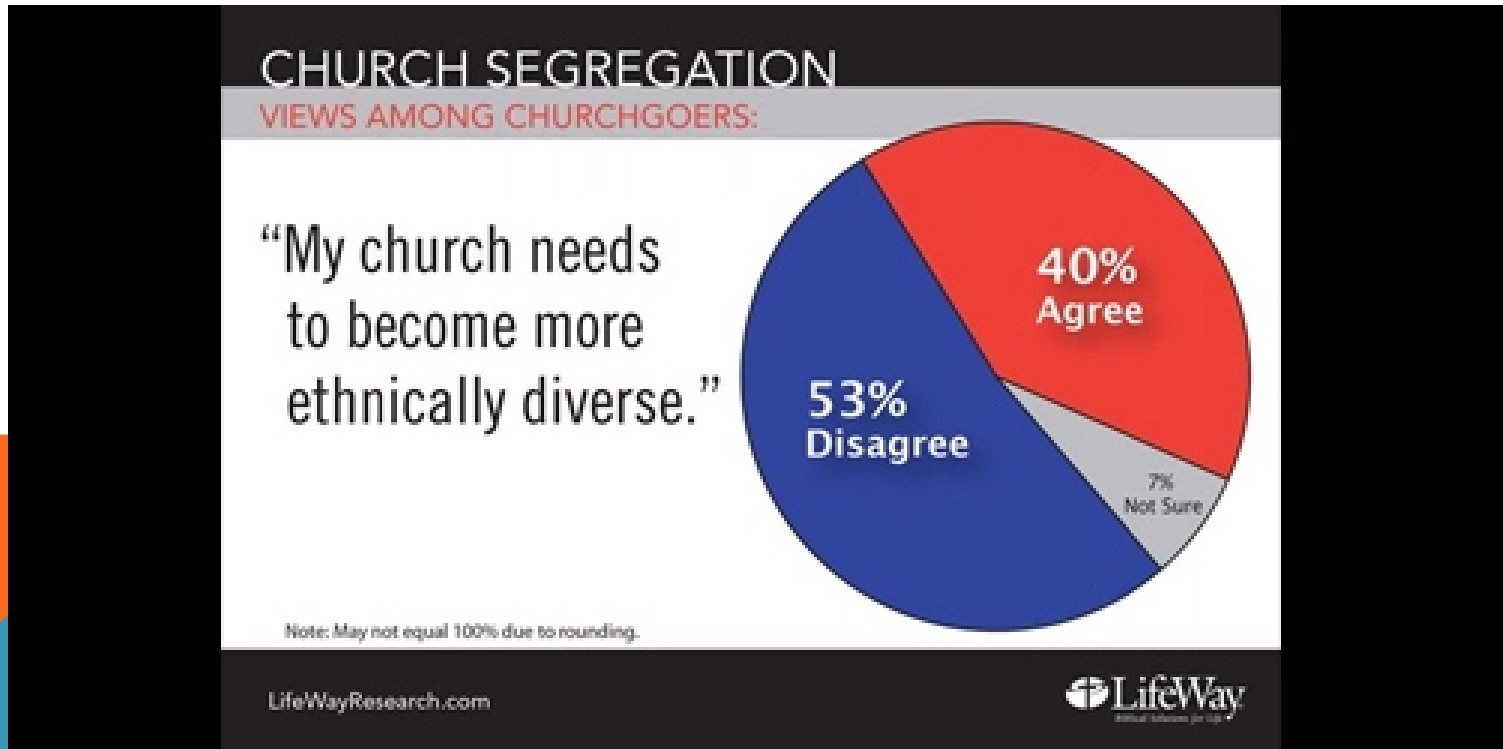
Immigrant women being discouraged from gaining access to the resources enjoyed by the majority culture.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Segregation Justified on Religious Grounds

Religious groups – including Christian churches – are exempt from certain kinds of anti-discrimination legislation.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Dress

Should Muslim women be allowed to wear the burqa in public? (or a burkini?)



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Hoffman and **Graham** describe *fundamentalism* as a relatively recent idea, but an old phenomenon. It relates to the interpretation of a creed that is intolerant of argument and debate, so that those who oppose a Particular variety of fundamentalism are deemed “enemies” and “traitors.” Although some scholars see it as a “label,” the authors see it as a legitimate concept.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism and Religion

Although the term was first applied in a religious context at the turn of the 19th century, it can refer to any ideology, not just a religious one.

(ex: “market fundamentalism”)



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentals and Fundamentalism

A useful definition:

“Fundamentalism is a tendency that manifests itself, as a strategy or set of strategies, by which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinct identity as a people or group...This identity is felt to be at risk in the contemporary era, and these believers fortify it by a selective retrieval of doctrines, beliefs and practices from a sacred past.”

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Modernity and Tradition

A paradox: Most fundamentalisms are a product of modernity, and yet are hostile to modernity. (i.e. Kepel: Christian and Muslim fundamentalists do not seek to modernize Christianity or Islam, but to Christianize or Islamize modernity).



You don't really need modernity in order to exist totally and fully. You need a mixture of modernity and tradition.

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

But for **Hoffman** and **Graham** it is clear that it is the deficiencies of modernity that produce fundamentalism, including the failure of attempts at “nation building.” Fundamentalists are conscious of the inequalities that exist within nations and in the world, but are also convinced that liberal strategies of development will not succeed in alleviating them.

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism, Democracy, and Violence

By rejecting democracy, the authors believe fundamentalism leads to violence. It espouses the use of violence to settle conflicts of interest.



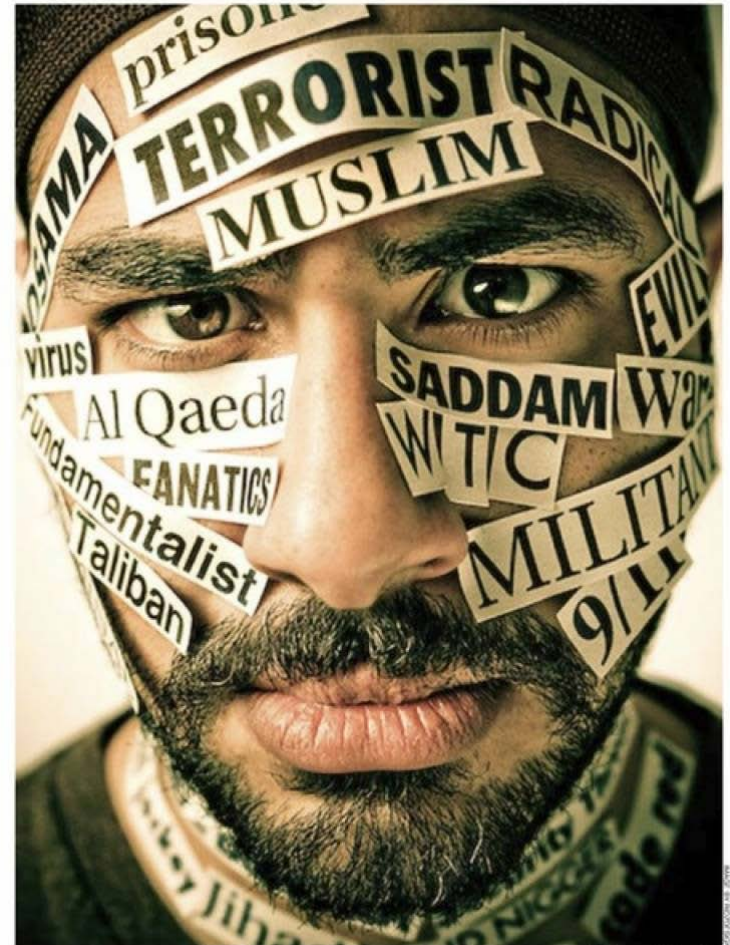
MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Islamic Fundamentalism (the “green threat”)

The Islamic religion is seen as the new enemy to democracy, the USA and the west.

Problems:

1. Islam has never been “monolithic”
2. Chaotic liberalization of trade and cuts in employment and food
3. Failing modernity



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

American Fundamentalism and the Religious Right

1. Rooted historically in the America south and the Great Depression (God's punishment on an apostate America).
2. Moral Majority's support for Reagan in the 1980s.
3. Denial by Christian fundamentalists of the separation of church and state.
4. Also a reaction against modernism, which will erode traditional values.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

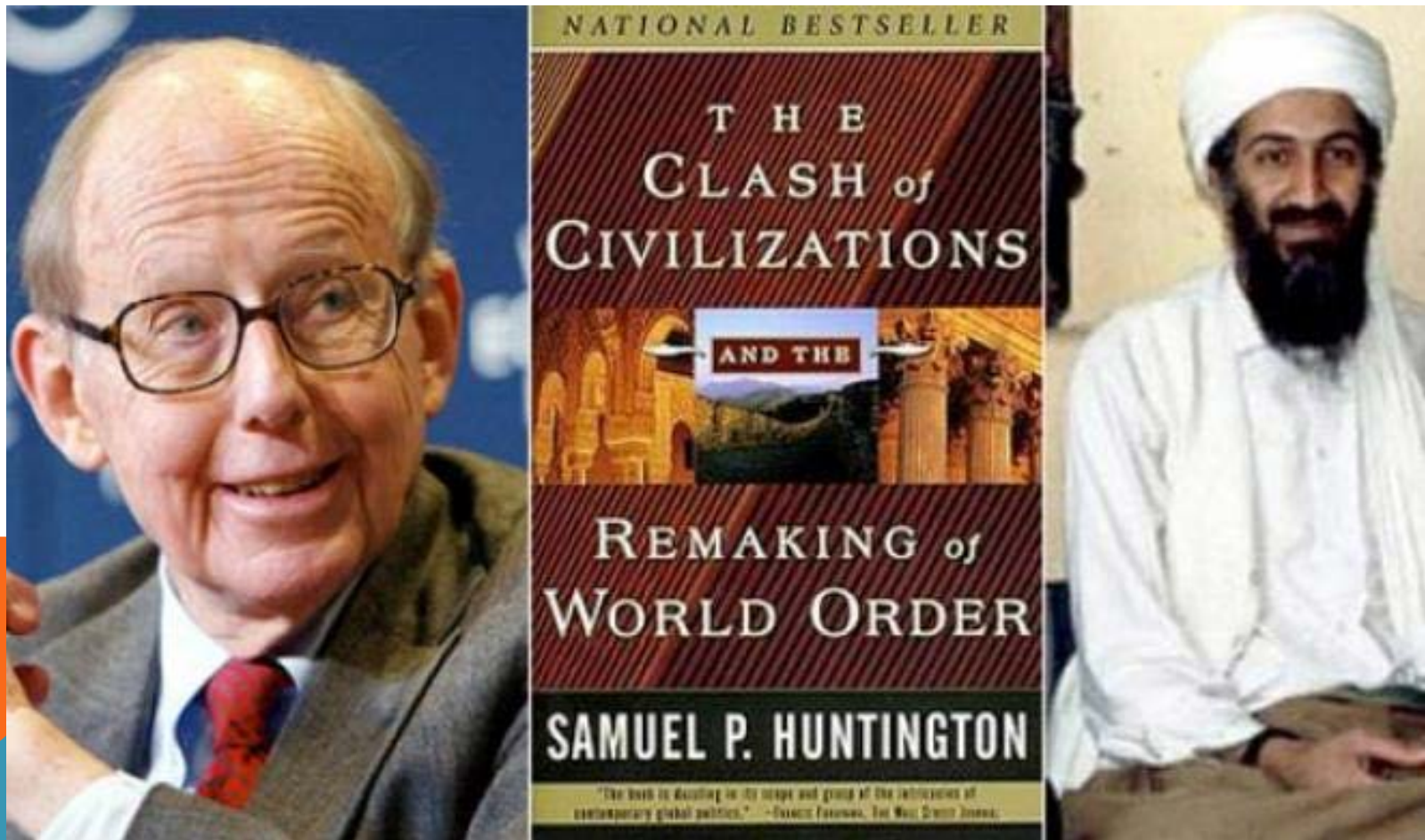
Jewish Fundamentalism and the Israeli State

A small minority of orthodox Jews in the 1920s, that developed a belief in *Zionism*, a belief that Israel represents a natural homeland for the Jews.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

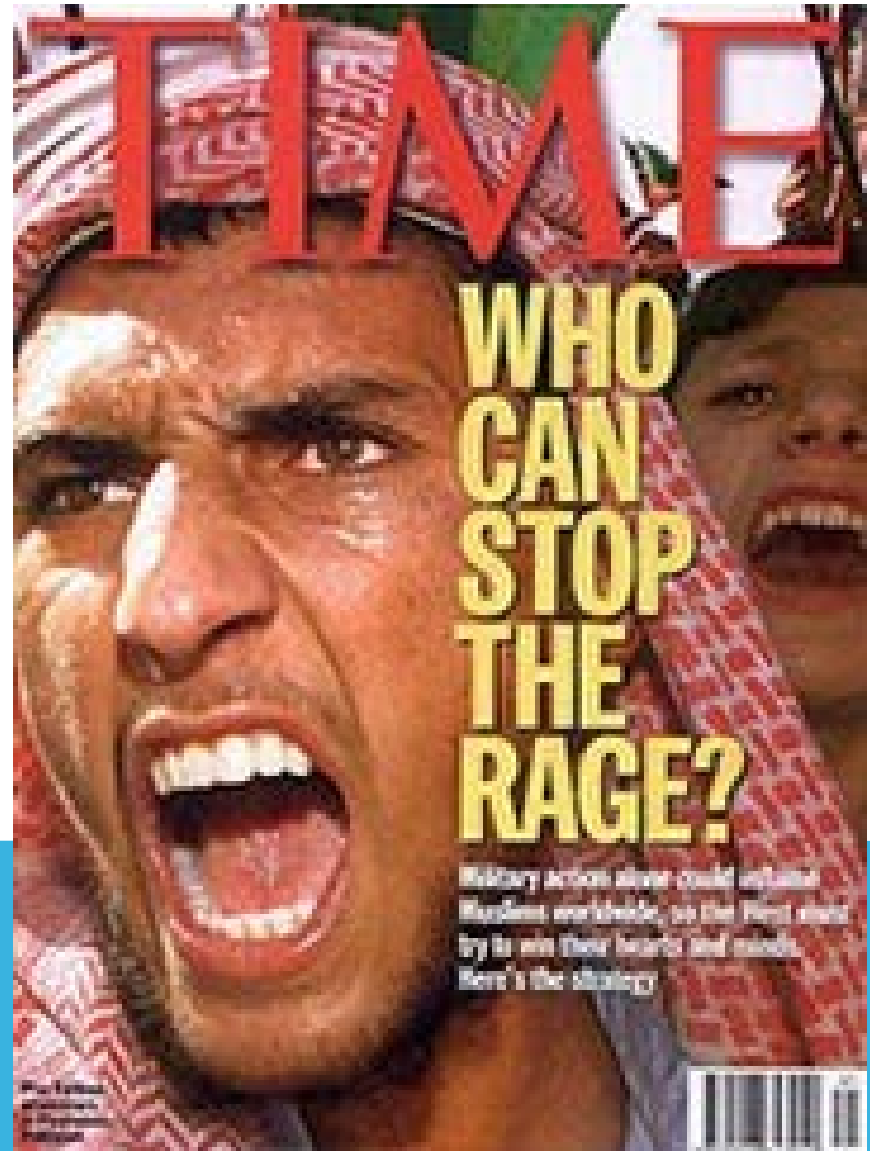
Samuel Huntington and the “Clash of Civilizations” Thesis



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Huntington

believed that globalization was leading to a clash of civilizations (sometimes called “the West vs. the rest”)



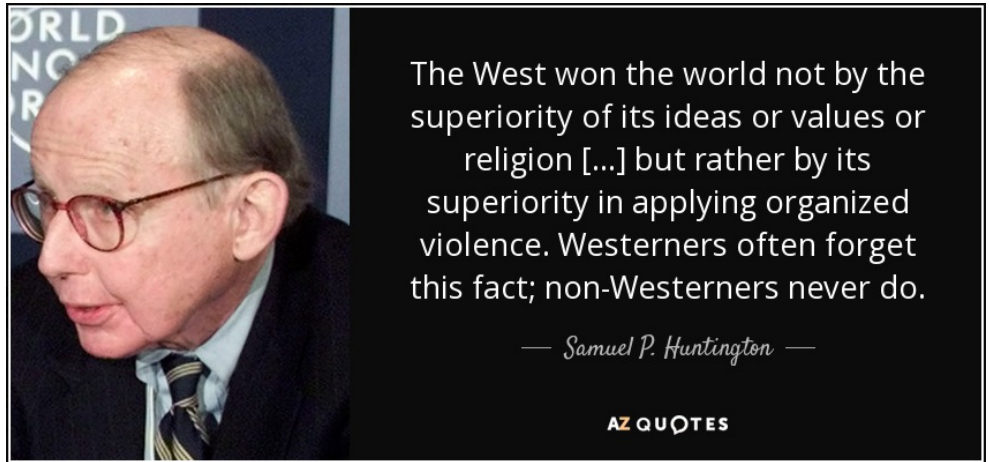
MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM



While most Western cultures have adopted the dominant values of liberal democracy, non-Western cultures (especially Islamic and Asian) are skeptical or opposed these values.

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Huntington takes the view that it is futile and counterproductive for countries to integrate their peoples (multiculturalism), since cultural identities inevitably collide in an antagonistic manner.



“We know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are against” – Samuel Huntington

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Critique:



Is the “realism” of **Huntington** a kind of academic fundamentalism that assumes a monolithic Islam that necessarily leads to violence and antagonism?

MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Summary of Fundamentalism



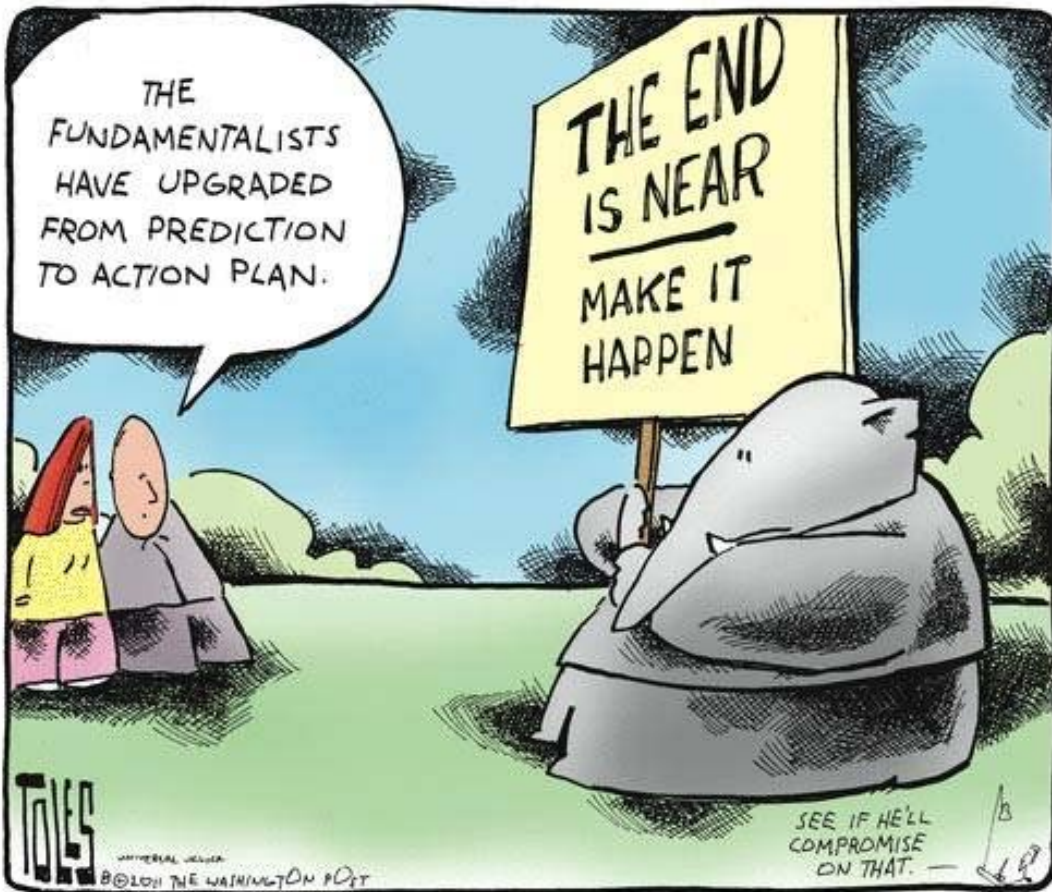
MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism is sometimes described as a “label” but the **Hoffman** and **Graham** see it as a concept, albeit a new concept.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Although *fundamentalism* is often identified with religion, any ideology, no matter how secular, can take a fundamentalist form.



MULTICULTURALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Islam is not necessarily fundamentalist in character. **Hoffman** and **Graham** believe that Islamists turn to fundamentalism due to the particular circumstances in which they find themselves.

