Constituting Communities

This page intentionally left blank

Constituting Communities

Political Solutions to Cultural Conflict

Edited by

Per Mouritsen

*Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Aarhus, Denmark*

and

Knud Erik Jørgensen

*Professor of European Integration
University of Aarhus, Denmark*

palgrave
macmillan

Editorial matter, selection and preface © Per Mouritsen and Knud Erik Jørgensen 2008 All other chapters © the respective authors 2008
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2008 978-1-4039-9743-2

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1T 4LP.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2008 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-54628-2 ISBN 978-0-230-58208-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9780230582088

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Constituting communities : political solutions to cultural conflict /
edited by Per Mouritsen and Knud Erik Jørgensen.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Minorities—Europe. 2. Muslims—Europe. 3. Minorities—Canada.
4. Civil society—Europe. 5. Nationalism—Europe. 6.
Citizenship—Europe. 7. Europe—Ethnic relations—Political
aspects. 8. Culture conflict—Political aspects—Europe. I.
Mouritsen, Per. II. Jørgensen, Knud Erik.
JC312.C68 2008
323.14—dc22

2007052971

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Notes on the Contributors</i>	<i>xi</i>
1 Political Responses to Cultural Conflict: Reflections on the Ambiguities of the Civic Turn <i>Per Mouritsen</i>	1
2 Symbolic Power and Cultural Differences: A Power Model of Political Solutions to Cultural Differences <i>Klaus Eder</i>	31
3 Making Citizens: On the Genealogy of Citizenship Ceremonies <i>Tine Damsholt</i>	53
4 The Politics of Discourse towards Islam and Muslim Communities in Europe <i>Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Islam Qasem</i>	73
5 Constitutional or Agonistic Patriotism? The Dilemmas of Liberal Nation-States <i>Ephraim Nimni</i>	94
6 Transnational Europe <i>Jan Ifversen</i>	117
7 Constitutional Patriotism: Canada and the European Union <i>John Erik Fossum</i>	138
8 Beyond Community and Rights: European Citizenship and the Virtues of Participation <i>Richard Bellamy and Dario Castiglione</i>	162
9 Constitutional Patriotism or Neo-republican Citizenship: A Way Forward for the EU? <i>John Maynor</i>	187

10	World Conflict over Religion: Secularism as a Flawed Solution <i>Ole Wæver</i>	208
11	Nomadism and the Ghetto <i>Bülent Diken and Carsten Bagge Laustsen</i>	236
	<i>Index</i>	253

Acknowledgements

The original impetus to this volume came from an interdisciplinary research project, *Communities and the Meeting of Culture*, which was financed by the Danish research councils for the humanities and social sciences in 2000–3, and a series of international conferences, jointly organized with the Danish Network of Political Theory, in 2003–4, also financed by these bodies. The editors would like to express their gratitude for this financial support on behalf of the research group.

Chapter 8, by Bellamy and Castiglione, is a revised and extended version of an article, 'Per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno', originally published in *Quaderni Fiorentini* 31(1): 349–80, 2002. We thank the editor for allowing us to use the material.

Thanks are also due to Ulla Veronica Willner and Annette B. Andersen for their expert secretarial assistance in preparing the manuscript and of course to Gemma d'Arcy Hughes and Alison Howson at Palgrave Macmillan.

Preface

It has long been commonplace in political theory as well as public debate that the challenge of cultural diversity should be solved by political means. 'Political' here denotes a bewildering variety of ways of transcending, dissolving, accommodating, laundering – or controlling – culture. Most of the time, however, it involves some form of understanding that the way we constitute modern communities, where people of different creeds and ethnic origins live together, cannot be old-style assimilation into or dominance by a complacently self-perpetuating *Kultur*nation. It must somehow be thinner, more liberal, more formal and more civic. And the dealings of its inhabitants correspondingly must be those of citizens, rather than ethnic blood brethren, co-believers or sharers of cultural heritage. However, that culture calls for politics is only the beginning of a discussion, which must address the essential contestability, not only of culture and cultural pluralism, but also of the very distinction between culture and politics. In particular, it must ponder the forms of politicizations of culture that come with the distinction itself.

Some academic literature and much public commentary represent cultures as neatly compartmentalized groups and immutable portable identities. Often such conceptions, trading on a variety of ancient dichotomies, mirror equally neat notions of a sphere of politics, which is seen as peculiarly autonomous, detached, neutral and indeed cleansed of culture. In the realm of culture lives are led, needs are met and belongings are experienced, while politics lies elsewhere. But this does not sit well with the real world's controversies over the very representation of what is cultural and political, which abound in discussions about secularism and religion, in distinctions between 'culture' as such and 'political culture', in contrasts between 'our culture and their culture', in fierce debates over which forms of particularity are too conspicuous, immature or unreasonable to be represented, let alone accommodated, in a public realm, and in notions of more or less thin and universalistic conceptions of citizenship practice and (constitutional) patriotism as opposed to nationally particular traditions. In and through these representations we construct anew the parameters of inside and outside in political communities.

Depending on these problem framings, the meeting and mediation of cultures becomes conceptualized differently – and real or imagined cultural conflicts do so too. The idea of this book is to focus on different ideas, to

be found in theoretical discourse as well as political-administrative practice, of insisting or implying that these different problems of cultural pluralism and conceptualizations of cultural conflict can only be adequately addressed through a variety of political means. The latter, here, may refer to political institutions, spheres, modes of interaction, roles, languages of justification or emotive/identitary frames of belonging. Political solutions imply transcending culture, taking out of culture, negotiating culture, domesticating culture – or creating security against culture. It implies formality, universalism, incomprehensiveness, thinness, mediation, differentiation, but also administrative processes, legalization and control.

While the flavours of political solutions to cultural conflicts vary inside diverse vocabularies of modern political cosmology, cultural pluralism poses two main challenges to democratic states. *Legitimacy* concerns the lack of fair accommodation of what liberal philosophers call reasonable pluralism – the fact that the practices, values and forms of life directly or indirectly supported by almost any state are those of ethnic majorities. Or, to some authors, it concerns the possible right of states to be partial to the needs and wishes of these majorities as bearers of authentic, original national identities. However, this book is mainly concerned with such issues as they pertain to the second problem, of *political integration*, i.e. of facilitating unity, solidarity and the willingness to share the burdens of taxpayers and citizens with specific groups of compatriots, inside certain territorial boundaries, and affirming some form of allegiance to, or identification with, a state and community. Are certain forms of culture positively detrimental to such integration and solidarity? To what extent must political communities be perceived as culture-neutral to command the allegiance of citizens? Does political integration in fact require the maintenance or creation of a specific national identity? Is the solution instead some form of *political* culture beyond the formal and legal community of equal rights? And to what extent is such a political culture – and the values, practices and perhaps common memories it contains – itself necessarily ‘particular’? Through which means may one or the other common culture be legitimately created? Finally, could it be that political integration first of all presupposes the accommodation of cultural diversity through forms of multicultural recognition, differentiated citizenship or associational pluralism, and what could this mean in a supranational context? Or could such measures spell the death of a common political community?

This dual problematic is aggravated in familiar ways by developments which challenge Ernest Gellner’s well-known idea of national

homogenization as a functional necessity of modern, differentiated states. First, globalization challenges otherwise comfortable, monocultural national hegemonies; and growing migrant populations across the world are increasingly unsusceptible to the heavy-handed assimilation processes of the past as a price for equal citizenship. Secondly, whereas states used to be the sole containers and mediators of pluralism, European integration has introduced a new level where states become players trying to advance their (national) cultures inside an emerging new polity, inside which, moreover, the very nature of political solutions to cultural diversity are part of the conflicts between constituent and constituting states which make up the 'ever closer union'. That Europe is not *only* a higher federal level, but also a complex reality of conflicting, multilevel and overlapping spheres of jurisdiction only adds further controversy to what political solutions to cultural difference could possibly imply, in terms of identities, political culture, citizenship roles, constitutional content and forms of democratic governance.

This book, written by political theorists, sociologists, political scientists and scholars of migration studies and international relations, examines these and other challenges related to political responses to cultural diversity.

Notes on the Contributors

Ricard Zapata Barrero is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. His main lines of research deal with contemporary problems of liberal democracy in contexts of cultural diversity, especially the relationship between democracy, citizenship and immigration. His selected works include: *Multiculturalidad e inmigración* (ed. Síntesis, 2004), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach* (Routledge, 2006) (co-edited with T. Modood and A. Triandafyllidou), (ed.) *Conceptos Políticos en el contexto español* (ed. Síntesis, 2007), (ed.) *Inmigració i autogovern* (ed. Proa, 2007), (eds.) *Discursos sobre la inmigración en España* (Ediciones Cidob, 2007, co-edited with T. Van Dijk), *Fundamentos de los discursos políticos sobre la inmigración* (forthcoming, 2008). He is currently working on different lines of research: the link between two types of cultural pluralisms: immigration and national minorities, the political theory of borders, the regional Euro-mediterranean politics of immigration, the political discourses on immigration.

Richard Bellamy is a Professor of Political Science at University College, London. He was Academic Director of the European Consortium for Political Research from 2002 to 2006. His research covers European social and political theory since 1750, particularly in relation to citizenship, constitutionalism, democracy and liberalism. He has published extensively and directed many research projects in the field of normative European Union studies. His books include *Making European Citizens* (with D. Castiglione and J. Shaw) (Palgrave, 2006), *Liberalism and Pluralism* (Routledge, 1999), and *Lineages of European Citizenship: Rights, Belonging and Participation in Eleven Nation States* (with D. Castiglione and E. Santoro) (Palgrave 2004).

Dario Castiglione is a Reader in Political Theory at University of Exeter. His main research interests are the history of political thought, theories of democracy and civil society, and European constitutionalism. His recent publications comprise co-edited volumes: *Making European Citizens* (with R. Bellamy and J. Shaw) (Palgrave, 2006), *The Language Question in Europe and Diverse Societies* (with C. Longman) (Hart, 2007); and *Constitutional Politics in the EU* (with J. Shonlau, E. Lombardo, M. Aziz, C. Longman, Perez-Zolorzano) (Palgrave, 2007).

Tine Damsholt is an Associate Professor of Ethnology at the University of Copenhagen. Her primary research areas are political cultures, nationalism and patriotism in modern Europe. She is currently working on citizenship ceremonies in Western countries. She is author of *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd* [Patriotism and Civic Virtue] (Tusculanum Press, 2000), and a forthcoming monograph entitled *Doing Citizenship – Citizenship Ceremonies between the Sacred and the Secular*.

Bülent Diken is a senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Lancaster University. He has published extensively in social theory. His books include *Strangers, Ambivalence and Social Theory* (Ashgate, 1998), *The Culture of Exception – Sociology Facing the Camp* (with C. B. Laustsen) (Routledge, 2005) and *Sociology Through the Projector* (Routledge, 2007).

Klaus Eder is Professor of Comparative Macro-sociology at Humboldt University, Berlin. He has written numerous articles on sociological theory, the public sphere, symbolic power, citizenship and social movements. He recently co-edited *Collective Memory and European Identity. The Effects of Integration and Enlargement* (with W. Spohn) (Ashgate, 2005) and *European Citizenship between National Legacies and Postnational Projects* (with B. Giesen) (Oxford University Press, 2001). He is co-author of *Collective Identities in Action. A Sociological Approach to Ethnicity* (with B. Giesen, O. Schmidtke and D. Tambini) (Ashgate, 2001).

John Erik Fossum is a Professor of Political Science at the ARENA Centre for European Studies and Adjunct Professor at the University of Bergen. He is co-architect and substitute coordinator of the EU 6th framework programme RECON, co-edits the Routledge Series on Democratising Europe and has published widely on the EU and Canada within the areas of deliberative democracy, constitutionalism, identity and citizenship.

Jan Ifversen is an Associate Professor of History at the Department of European Studies, University of Aarhus. His research comprises political theory, culture theory and conceptual history. His publications include 'Europe and European Culture: A Conceptual Analysis' (in *European Societies*, 2004) and 'The Crisis of European Civilization: an Inter-war Diagnosis' (in *Globalization and Civilizations*, ed. M. Mozzafari, Routledge, 2002).

Knud Erik Jørgensen is Jean Monnet Professor and Professor of European Integration at the University of Aarhus. His research field is international – especially European – relations, on which he has published many articles and book chapters. He chairs the ECPR Standing Group of the European Union. Recently he edited the *Handbook of European Union*

Politics (with M. Pollack and B. Rosamond) (Sage Publications, 2007) and *International Relations in Europe* (with T. B. Knudsen) (Routledge, 2006).

Carsten Bagge Laustsen is an Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Aarhus. His research is in religion and security, terrorism, social theory and political theory. Recent publications include *The Culture of Exception. Sociology Facing the Camp* (Routledge, 2005) and *Sociology through the Projector* (Routledge, 2007) (both with Bülent Diken).

John W. Maynor is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Middle Tennessee State University. His field of research is contemporary political philosophy and the history of political thought, especially civic republican theory. He is the author of *Republicanism in the Modern World* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2003) and editor of a forthcoming book on Phillip Pettit's work, *Republicanism and Political Theory* (with C. Laborde) (Blackwell).

Per Mouritsen is director of the Centre for University Studies in Journalism and Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Aarhus. His research interests are political theory, migration studies and the history of ideas. He is partner in the EU 6th framework programme, EMILE. His work includes 'What's the Civil in Civil Society? Robert Putnam, Italy, and the Republican Tradition' (*Political Studies*, 2003), 'Four Models of Republican Liberty and Self-Government' (in I. Honohan and J. Jennings, *Republican Theory, Republican Practice*, Routledge, 2004) and 'The Particular Universalism of a Nordic Welfare State (in T. Modood et al., *European Challenges to Multicultural Citizenship: A Contextual Approach*, Routledge, 2006).

Ephraim Nimni is Reader at the School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy at Queen's University, Belfast. His research interests are comparative ethnic conflicts, theories of nationalism and minority rights, and multiculturalism with particular reference to models of national self-determination without separate nation states. He is author of *Multicultural Nationalism* (Routledge, 2008), *National-Cultural Autonomy and its Contemporary Critics*, an edited volume on the work of Karl Renner (Routledge, 2005), and editor of the English translation of Otto Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy* (University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

Islam Qasem is a Doctoral Candidate of Political and Social Science at the University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. He holds an Advanced Degree in Political Science from UPF and a Master's Degree in International Affairs from Columbia University, New York.

Ole Wæver is a Professor of International Relations at the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. His research field is

international relations, theories of security and conceptual history. His recent work includes *European Integration and National Identity: The Challenge of the Nordic States* (with L. Hansen) (Routledge, 2001), *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (with B. Buzan) (Palgrave, 2003), and 'In Defence of Religion: Sacred Referent Objects for Securitization' (with C. B. Laustsen) (*Millennium*, 2000).