Multiculturalism
For Glynthea, Ghizala and Yasmin
About the Author

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This book does not aspire to be a comprehensive theory, detailed comparative study or a policy blueprint. It is written to help us see the wood and not just a bunch of trees; to better identify what multiculturalism might mean as a political project that we might be for or against. The argument is that there is an understanding of civic equality that offers a core vision of multiculturalism that is not only coherent and relevant to the twenty-first century but is also attractive and ought to be a basis for civility, political reform and social research.

The arguments presented in this book have benefited from the opportunities I have had to do a number of presentations and engage with diverse gatherings. The people who have been helpful in these ways are too many to acknowledge individually and I offer them a collective thanks. I would like expressly to thank those who offered comments in writing. Thanks to Yahya Birt, Geoffrey Levey, Nasar Meer, Bhikhu Parekh, Andy Pilkington and Varun Uberoi for reading and commenting on a draft of the book (and also to two anonymous readers). I am also grateful to Veit Bader, Rainer Baubock, Adrian Favell and Jon Fox for the same in relation to Chapter 5. It is a
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I would also like to thank the Leverhulme Trust. Co-directing the Bristol–UCL Leverhulme Programme on Migration and Citizenship perhaps competed for my attention with the writing of this book rather than flowed from it but I am conscious that the Trust's generous funding created a level of activity which provided me with a stimulating context to think about social research in relation to the development of multicultural societies.

As is perhaps true of many university books today, much of the writing was done outside formal work time. Many people could complain that they have a time-IOU from me in their hands but I am most conscious of the diminution of companionship and family life that it has entailed for my wife, Glynthea, and daughters, Ghizala and Yasmin. It is small recompense but I dedicate this book to them, the most important loves of my life.
I am pleased that there is a demand for a second edition of this book when its topic is supposed to have intellectually and politically died some years ago. I have made some minor corrections and amendments and added two new chapters, each of which try to take the argument of the book further. Chapter 7 develops the view that integration will remain incomplete without multicultural citizenship. Chapter 8 gives further substance to the view that political secularism is the new, major site for multiculturalism, and while this does not amount to a crisis it means that the current controversies around political secularism are structured by pro- and anti-multiculturalism.

My membership of the two European Union FP7 projects, A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal Political and Educational Challenges (EMILIE, 2006–9) and Tolerance, Pluralism and Social Cohesion (ACCEPT PLURALISM, 2010–13), nine and sixteen countries projects respectively, enabled me to continue to explore the nature of diversity and how it was changing across Europe, and I would like to express thanks both for the funding and the stimulating collaboration. The work
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I would like to renew the thanks of the original Acknowledgements, in particular to Nasar Meer and Varun Uberoi, who have in this period become co-authors even when not employed to be so, and to Jan Dobbernack for his research assistantship.

I am also pleased to renew the original dedication.
The 1960s were a time for asserting the singular character of the human race. Nazism had asserted the irreducible difference between Aryan, Jew, Slav and so on but it had been defeated and anti-racism was on the march. Martin Luther King Jr and his followers proclaimed humanity’s essential sameness, that nothing differentiated whites and blacks other than skin colour and few outside the besieged laager of *apartheid* were willing to defend separate development. The imperial idea of ‘the White Man’s burden’ of ruling ‘the lesser breeds without the Law’ was regarded as an embarrassing anachronism if not a matter of shame amongst white youth. Yet it was also the time for the celebration of difference. A time when people were not only encouraged to ‘do their own thing’ but when African-Americans started to assert a new black historical pride and the need for a specifically black political mobilization. Some women focused on their sexual differences from men and postulated that women were naturally more caring, consensual and empathetic. For gays the company of co-sexuals became a necessity in order for them to explore the nature of homosexuality and to allow it to be