

**CONTENDING THEORIES OF TOLERATION:  
A CRITICAL STUDY OF LIBERALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University for the award of the degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**MS. SHYAMALIMA BORGOHAIN**



**CENTRE FOR PHILOSOPHY  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

**NEW DELHI, 110067**

**INDIA**

**2021**



जवाहरलाल नेहरु विश्वविद्यालय  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
सामाजिक विज्ञान संस्थान, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
दर्शन शास्त्र केंद्र, CENTRE FOR PHILOSOPHY  
नई दिल्ली - ११००६७, NEW DELHI - 110067

Date: 07/06/2021

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Contending Theories of Toleration: A Critical Study of Liberalism and Multiculturalism" submitted by Ms. Shyamalima Borgohain, for the requirement of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi -110067, is her original work. It has not been submitted, in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of this or any other University, to the best of our knowledge and belief.

The thesis may be placed before the Examiners for evaluation.

07.06.2021

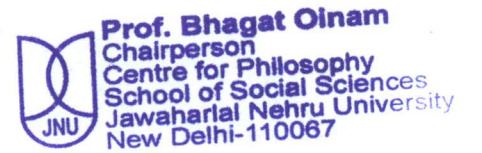
PROFESSOR R.P. SINGH

SUPERVISOR



PROF. BHAGAT OINAM

CHAIRPERSON



## DECLARATION

I, Ms. Shyamalima Borgohain, do hereby declare that the thesis entitled *Contending Theories of Toleration: A Critical Study of Liberalism and Multiculturalism* submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University for the award of the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*, is my original research work. The thesis has not been submitted in part or in full to any other university or elsewhere for the attainment of any other degree.



Date: 16-07-2021

Place: New Delhi

---

Shyamalima Borgohain  
Centre for Philosophy  
School of Social Sciences  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi- 110067

*Dedicated to my Family*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My sincere gratitude goes first to my supervisor Prof. R. P. Singh whose expertly guidance and advice carried me through all the stages of writing my thesis. I am fully indebted to Prof. Singh for his understanding, patience, enthusiasm and encouragement and for pushing me further than I thought I could go. I am proud and grateful for the time working with Prof. Singh as he kept me constantly engaged with my research, new ideas and demanding high quality of work in all my endeavors. Your advice on my research as well as on my career has been invaluable. I would also like to render my warmest thanks to the members of my Research Advisory Committee, Dr. Manindra Nath Thakur and Dr. Ajay Verma, for providing extensive academic guidance.

With boundless gratitude, I thank my parents whose love, blessings and guidance are with me in every endeavor I pursue. Words cannot describe their patience, kindness and love and without whom this thesis would not have been possible. My appreciation also extends to my friends and well-wishers, especially Ekta who has been a constant support system; and Dr. Nikhil Jain for his valuable suggestions and early insights that launched the greater part of this thesis.

I would also like to recognize the assistance of the staff members of centre for Philosophy, Mr. Ashok, Mr. Yogender and Mr. Praveen Singh. I must also thank all the people who have contributed directly or indirectly in completion of the thesis. Last, I thank God for providing me protection and making me able to do my work.

**SHYAMALIMA BORGOHAIN**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>PREFACE</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1-13</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	<b>14-40</b>
<b>Locating Toleration in Ancient Greek Philosophy</b>	
A) Contribution of Plato in the Development of Toleration	15
B) Contribution of Aristotle in the Development of Toleration	27
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b>	<b>41-71</b>
<b>Theory of Toleration in Classical Liberalism: John Locke and Immanuel Kant</b>	
A) Relevance of Right in Locke and Kant	43
B) Individualism and Secularism	54
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b>	<b>72-108</b>
<b>Theory of Toleration in Liberal Multiculturalism: Will Kymlicka</b>	
A) From Individualism to Collectivity	74
B) Limits and Beyond: Interrogating Toleration	90
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b>	<b>109-136</b>
<b>Theory of Toleration: Retrospect and Prospect</b>	
A) Toleration and Respect: Compatible or Incompatible?	111
B) Diversity as the Ethos	121
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>137-144</b>
<b>GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPY/WEBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>145-157</b>

## PREFACE

The present study is an effort to investigate the theory of toleration in the context of skepticism, liberalism, multiculturalism and post multiculturalism. Toleration is a central tenet of liberalism especially in the philosophical works of John Locke and Immanuel Kant; however, the kernels of toleration could also be located in the works of Plato and Aristotle. The theory of toleration underwent various modifications and contestations with the course of time; for example- Locke gave rational and prudential justification for toleration and associated it with non- interference which was considered as a possible solution for religious conflicts. On the other hand, Kant recognized toleration as a virtue and endorsed it in terms of religion as well as public use of one's reason. Toleration in liberalism supported diversity but only in terms of individual character; as a result, it fell short of addressing issues related to groups and cultures. This matter became the subject of concern for multiculturalist philosopher like Will Kymlicka who recognized the struggles faced by minorities in terms of culture, race, religion, ethnicity, etc. However, liberal feminist political philosophers like Susan Okin and Anne Phillips challenged multiculturalism and stated that it is inadequate in addressing the struggles faced by women at private sphere. They wanted to break the stereotypes that theories of multiculturalism put on women and accepted that tolerating certain practices that harms the basic rights of women are not justified at all. This thesis tries to argue that today when we have political, social and moral conflicts in the world, toleration, which was seen as the sole solution for addressing religious conflicts, falls short in dealing with these matters. There is no doubt that toleration today is as effective as it was before, but it needs to be complimented by certain positive concepts like recognition, respect, education, compassion, shift from customary to reflective morality, change of family structure (if found sexist), dialogue, etc. in order to attain the goal of peaceful co- existence.

I am thankful to the authors whose philosophical works have helped me directly or indirectly in completing my thesis. I have duly acknowledged these works in the references and the footnotes, and in the general bibliography I have given some additional books for further reading. Apart from the primary sources, I have also referred to various articles and online sources and would remain grateful to those authors. In referring the works of Plato, Aristotle and Kant, I have used the most accurate available English translations. I am thankful to those translators of the texts as well.

## INTRODUCTION

In the present study, I will critically examine the history and meaning of toleration in the context of the philosophical works of Plato, Aristotle, liberalism, multiculturalism and post-multiculturalism. The objective of this study is to examine various aspect like inception of toleration in the ancient Greek period; its evolution along with the modification of its components; how it is treated in liberal and multicultural societies and whether toleration is enough for a peaceful life; if not then what other measures can be adopted to reach this end. This study will take into account the work of philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, Will Kymlicka, Susan Moller Okin and Anne Phillips

Toleration is considered as a central tenet of a liberal regime which is one of the enlightened strategies to deal with religious strife that took place during sixteenth and seventeenth century. Toleration celebrates difference and diversity as its advocates believe that instead of suppressing, individuals should have the freedom to observe their beliefs and practices; otherwise conflict is bound to happen. Toleration, along with principles like liberty and equality, define the essence of liberalism that has become a necessary requirement for achieving a harmonious and peaceful society. Toleration is a way of granting equality and freedom to citizens through the provision of rights. In due course of time, the notion of toleration has been associated with various meanings like non- interference, endurance, moderation, ability to control one's own emotion, putting up with someone/act/practice that one disapproves, resisting negative judgments, heterogeneity, self- discipline, etc.

In today's globalized world cultures continuously come into contact with each other and often clash. Factors like immigration, emergence of mass media, escalation of social movements, etc. have led to religious as well as cultural diversity. And toleration has been proposed as an effective response to the global rise in these social differences. With these advancements, there is also a fear of identity and cultural deprivation. Hence, demand for toleration is more pressing today than ever before. But this leads one to question: toleration which appeared as a response to political and religious turmoil, does it have the potential to address conflict that arises out of cultural diversity? Can toleration solely satisfy the demands/needs/interests of minorities? Toleration is needed everywhere, but is it achieved in reality? Is toleration sufficient for a harmonious and peaceful society?



Liberalism is a multi- dimensional ideology that comprise of tenets like individualism, liberty, equality, freedom, toleration, universalism and many more. Every liberal society places individual at the centre and frames policies and programmes for their welfare. The social and political institutions must allow the individuals to realize their full potential rather than considering as means to achieve their target. As rational and autonomous being, everyone is free and equal and must be given equal opportunity in terms of legal and political aspects. As a moral ideal, an individual should be tolerant towards various opinions and conceptions of good life. The state's role in a liberal society is to prevent any kind of harm and exploitation that might affect the rights of individuals. As a political ideal, the state should support and promote toleration.

The liberal claims of toleration get contested in liberal multiculturalism of Will Kymlicka. In multiculturalism, toleration is exercised not only in terms of cultural diversity but also individual diversity. Will Kymlicka capture the demands raised by various cultural minorities and vulnerable groups, and the various dilemmas associated with the groups. The state rather than maintaining neutrality should be play a prominent role in ensuring and protecting the rights and interests of these groups. However, questions that arise are- is toleration capable enough to deal with conflicts that arise out of every kind of differences in the society be it religious, cultural, gender, race etc.? What are the limits of toleration? Is toleration a commitment towards relativism? Is toleration in multiculturalism enough to deal with the dilemmas faced by women, children, disabled, indigenous people, immigrants, LGBTQA, etc?

Even though liberal multiculturalism recognised the struggles faced by cultural minorities, liberal feminist political philosophers like Susan Okin and Anne Phillips challenged multiculturalism and stated that it is inadequate in addressing the struggles faced by women at private sphere. They argued for a new model of multiculturalism sans essentialist tendencies and stated that tolerating certain practices that harm the basic rights of women and consider them as subordinates/inferior should not be justified at all. The study argued that today when we have political, social and moral conflicts in the world, toleration, which was seen as the sole solution for addressing religious conflicts, falls short in dealing with these matters? Are there any alternatives to toleration or any aspects that supplement toleration? There is no doubt that toleration today is as effective as it was before, but it needs to be complimented by certain positive concepts like recognition, respect, education, compassion, shift from customary to reflective morality, change of family structure(if found sexist), dialogue, etc. in order to attain the goal of peaceful co- existence.

The methods that will be taken into consideration in order to discuss various aspects of toleration are comparative, critical, evaluative, analytic, derivative and pluralistic. It is comparative as various theories given by philosophers have been compared and contrasted; it is critical and analytical because every the theory of toleration has been critically analyzed in all the chapters; the evaluative aspect of my approach consists in regarding toleration as a disposition not only of the Guardian class as Plato has advocated but also it could be attributed to every member of a society as Locke and Kant have vindicated; since no explicit theory of toleration was given by Plato and Aristotle, toleration was derived from their moral and political philosophies; and it is pluralistic as the role of toleration in dealing with pluralism has also been discussed.

The study will be divided into four chapters besides Introduction and Conclusion. The general plan of the study is as under:

1. Locating Toleration in Ancient Greek Philosophy
2. Theory of Toleration in Classical Liberalism: John Locke and Immanuel Kant
3. Theory of Toleration in Liberal Multiculturalism: Will Kymlicka
4. Theory of Toleration: Retrospect and Prospect

In the first chapter, discussions moved back to the period of ancient Greek Philosophy and located the kernels of toleration in moral and political works of Plato and Aristotle. Toleration is often considered as a product of modern times especially in the philosophical works of Locke and Kant. The question that arises is: Did Plato and Aristotle contribute towards the emergence of toleration? They have not provided any explicit theory of toleration but there were some engagements about it in their works. And because of this reason, the attempt was not to look for the word toleration but the various aspects of toleration like endurance, patience, non-interference, controlling senses, no homogeneity, putting up with views/things/people that one disapprove of, etc. Both of them had realized that there was conflict in the *Polis* which led them to give their own theories in order to address this chaos. Plato set forward requirements for an ideal society whereas Aristotle considered conflict as a reality and kept a prudent stance in order to accommodate it. Some of the many resemblances between their theories and the notion of toleration will be discussed in the following passages.

In *The Republic*, Plato considers temperance to be one of the cardinal virtues that people need to possess in an ideal society. He defines temperance as controlling one's emotions and desires and being his own master. One can be a master of right desires and passions when the

rational part of the soul is controller of the irrational part. Going by this definition of temperance, if I have a desire to harm another person may be because I don't like him or any of his act, then acting on this desire will not make me a temperate person. I will be temperate person if I control my desire and allow the person to live his life. Believing in the same line of thought, toleration too states that rather than making someone object of our judgment, one should be allowed to do his job. Next similarity could be found in the virtue of justice and its aim is to ensure harmony in the society. Harmony is attained when Guardians, Auxiliaries and Producers do their job without meddling or any interference. Even in *Charmides* temperance is defined as quietness, modesty, doing one's own business, etc. In *The Gorgias*, there is an evidence of dialogical toleration where Socrates associates truth with open- mindedness leading to a unitary vision of truth.

In spite of being a disciple of and influenced by Plato, Aristotle did differ from Plato in various matters. Both of them believed that there is a universal or absolute truth but differed in terms of its location. For Plato, highest knowledge is the Idea of good which is located in the world of forms or reality known only to guardians; whereas Aristotle believed that reality/universals are embedded in the particulars that could be known through reason. Unlike Plato, Aristotle considered conflict to be a reality and found ways to accommodate it; and one such way is political friendship. The notion of toleration in terms of heterogeneity can also be located in Aristotle's concepts like political friendship and polity.

For Aristotle it is the virtue of friendship that keeps a *polis* intact. He classified various types of friendship but the concept of political friendship was central to his work. In political friendship, people of various needs and interests are a part of the community. However, their consensus is required only regarding matters that concern everyone. Through political friendship Aristotle has provided people with a private sphere where they can practice their differences. On the grounds of prudence, this concept of political friendship resembles the modern concept of toleration where uniformity is not enforced on individuals.

Apart from taking active part in philosophy, Aristotle believed that men should also take part in politics for a happy life. Only a regime which is best, possible and focuses on aspect that people have more in common, can lead towards happiness. And such regime is what Aristotle calls Polity. It is an inclusive regime that focuses on fulfilling the desires of both rich and poor and prevents conflict to take destructive turn by making everyone a part of decision making process. Political friendship is a key component of polity where people are required to give their consensus only on aspects that are common in them. It considers differences and conflict that

arise out of it to be reality and focuses on fundamental elements that bind everyone rather than trying to build a homogenous society. Aristotle gave prudential justification in order to aim for a heterogeneous and stable society.

The prudent stance was instrumental in emergence of the theory of toleration in modern thought especially in Locke's philosophy. Like his predecessors, Locke too considered that there is a need for some principles that will allow everyone to follow their beliefs and practices. Conflict is legitimate and one way of addressing it is through the principle of toleration. Unlike his predecessors, his justification of toleration is based on prudence. Locke promotes religious intolerance because he believed that intolerance is irrational and imprudent. The virtue of prudence dictates a man to be rational and tolerant towards the diversity which does not harm the public order. Moreover, one can utilize the right to frame a concept of good life only when they have freedom and such a platform is provided by the principle of toleration. Hence, focus shifted from virtue to right based theories.

The political and religious turmoil in Europe led Locke to write *A Letter Concerning Toleration* where his concept of religious toleration was based on two arguments: secular and religious. According to his secular argument, civil state will be responsible for the public sphere whereas church will take care of the private sphere- salvation and religious matters. One cannot give consent to an interfering government as nobody wants to be dictated by an external factor in terms of personal belief. However, toleration should be observed as long as the public sphere is not disturbed. According to his religious argument, toleration should be extended to the nature of faith. There is no one path to be united with God. Everyone should be given the freedom to follow his own path towards salvation as force will never lead one to choose a correct path. Hence, toleration in terms of non- interference should be observed. Toleration for Locke basically meant non- interference or freedom from interference. Rather than suppressing, it is rational to allow different religious views to exist that might bring one closer to the truth.

The application of Lockean toleration was limited as it could not address the issues arising out of cultural conflicts, cultural memberships and identities, etc. No doubt he gave prudential justification of toleration, but it was extended only towards rational and autonomous individual and was not applicable to groups, especially cultural minorities, ethnic minorities and other vulnerable groups. Locke was focused more on things that need to be restrained rather than measures required for human flourishing. As a result, his concept of toleration could not address issues related to cultural and social differences.

Toleration is about a “live and let live” attitude where people learn to ignore things that they don’t understand or cannot trust. Over the time, this attitude may convert to fear and eventually fear grows to hate. And if this happens, then toleration can itself become the source of illiberal attitude towards difference and puts a blind eye toward the rights that is promised and protected by liberalism. Kant in order to give it a positive aspect associated toleration with the concept of respect. The reason being in toleration there is less scope of interaction among individuals; whereas while respecting others, there is a broad possibility of engaging in dialogue and discovering various dimensions of one’s own and other’s personality. Being a deontologist he gave immense importance to rationality, courage, autonomy, freedom and dignity. Kant endorsed toleration both in religion and in public usage of one’s reason. Matters related to conscience should be brought under the domain of morality where a person performs from a sense of duty.

Like Locke, Kantian notion of toleration too has contestations as it considers plurality and protecting rights only in terms of individual character rather than of groups. Respect was catered only to autonomous agents/ individuals in order to keep their dignity and self- esteem intact. Moreover, respect opened scope for conversation but only to understand belief and faith of individuals and not to comprehend the needs, interests and plight of the minorities and other vulnerable groups. The concept to duty was only to consider individuals as an end-in-themselves and not groups. For both Locke and Kant the major focus was not on why or how an agent formulated his views and beliefs but to ensure that he has the freedom to follow them without any interference. In spite of difference in beliefs, their focus was on attaining a harmonious society where individual liberty is protected and promoted to a greater extent. As a result, community became a secondary entity as no attention was provided to common or shared values but on individual beliefs.

Liberalism considers man as atomistic and autonomous being whose protection is the foremost aim of a state. A state must maintain a neutral stance by not preferring any concept of good life. The public and private sphere dichotomy is a well known distinction in liberalism where people are attached to the public sphere, regardless of their differences, by the virtue of universal concepts like peace, justice, order, etc; in private sphere one is free, can follow practices, faiths, religion and join communities of his choice. In this sphere, everyone is autonomous and free to live as he see fit without any interference from public restraint. A tolerant society must respect this public/private dichotomy and tolerate the ‘deviant behaviors’ that are observed in the private sphere given that they are chosen freely and do not disturb the

public sphere such as same-sex relation as well as marriage, narcotics, polygamy, etc. In liberalism, public sphere focuses on unity and everyone is considered as equal or equally different. However, it fails to perceive that these differences are not distributed equally. The differences shared by majority such as whiteness, maleness, straightness, etc. are seen as normal; whereas differences shared by minority/ marginalized section such as blackness, femaleness, gayness, etc. are considered as deviant. Confining these differences to private sphere is not enough to consider toleration as respect.

Moreover, liberalism puts so much emphasis on individual's autonomy and freedom that it hampers cultural inclusion and identification. At the same time, it does not pay much attention to principles like community, tradition, citizenship, obligation, responsibility, etc. which are indispensable for human good. Too little appreciation of social roles, relationships, mutual responsibility and human interdependence in liberalism led many liberal thinkers to adopt another concept i.e. liberal multiculturalism. The main aim of Multiculturalism is to recognise and appreciate identities and promoting differential treatment, and all of them are possible when state plays an active role in protecting and recognising differences in a sensitive and flexible manner. Hence, there was a shift from beliefs to identities, neutrality to recognition and universality to particularity and a relative shift from an older to a newer version of toleration.

In the third chapter, the individual centric concept of toleration gets contested specifically in the multiculturalism theory provided by liberal multiculturalist Will Kymlicka. The study primarily pays attention to the issues and struggles associated with indigenous groups, immigrants and women. Multiculturalism was first adopted as a policy model in Canada in 1970, followed by Australia in 1971. The model focuses not only safeguarding the rights of individuals but also of various vulnerable groups. However, many questions were associated with this model and some of them are: Does multiculturalism lead to parallel societies? How has multiculturalism succeeded over the years since its inception? How does multiculturalism benefit the majority or mainstream society/ culture? Is there anything beyond multiculturalism?

The indigenous groups are those who have been a native of a place, have their own institutions and distinct culture, economically marginalized, non- dominant as a result of conquest, colonisation and settlement and are often being discriminated in the fields like political sphere, social service, employment, education, etc. Kymlicka's suggestion is to investigate the history and circumstances of disputes in order to solve issues related to indigenous groups. However, the process of assimilation was functional voluntarily or involuntarily since antiquity

in the form of conversion, inter- marriage, conquest, etc. and these groups were in close proximity to one another; in such a case, it is difficult to determine how far one should go back to find out their indigeneity. The inefficiency of civil rights in curbing these tensions led him to maintain that civil rights need to be supplemented by some special rights or minority rights. Hence, for Kymlicka all they want is acceptance and recognition rather than any hate and that is only possible through “group- differentiated rights” that provide them self- governing rights that allow them to maintain their culture, language, institutions, etc. They are permitted to have autonomous institutions and formulate their own laws and practices without any interference from the mainstream society but at the same time they have the freedom to be a part of the institutions of the mainstream society. Hence, through ‘group- differentiated rights’ these groups have both external protection and protection against internal restrictions.

As a result of such autonomous institutions and practices, freedom and equality of the members might get affected. Is it justified to tolerate such situation? Any society can only thrive if it satisfies and fulfils the need and interest of its members. The status of autonomy should only be given to those societies that do not promote any illiberal practices and works for the welfare of its members; only such societies need to be tolerated. Hence, autonomy and toleration are both equally important but need to be brought under the domain of freedom and equality. Moreover, the state’s responsibility is not only towards groups but also towards protecting other forms of diversity (environment) that provides meaning to the groups’ existence. Hence, multiculturalism should focus on co- existence of every form of diversity.

Another group that requires our attention is the immigrants and the various challenges, risks and threats that they come across. For example, Germany in 2010 asked its immigrants to adapt its culture and values; and in 2015 multiculturalism was considered as a failure in Germany as the country believed that the policy model led to parallel societies where people shared no common value leading towards the division of the society. Britain in 2011 held multiculturalism responsible for attacks such as 9/11 and 7/7 as due to influx of people from various parts of the world, the immigrants were concentrating on the personal things and seldom unity is seen in the country. However, on a closer look, the claim for a parallel society cannot be taken to be true in its entirety as all the immigrants want is acceptance and recognition more than toleration. The state should play an active role in framing policies and programmes that instil a sense of belongingness among the immigrants, inclusive strategies, anti- discriminatory policies in terms of academics, employment, organisations, etc., making them a part of decision making

process, dialogues, role of media, etc. According to Kymlicka, multiculturalism is never a failure if one knows how to implement it in an effective manner.

The immigrants, on the other hand, should learn and respect the history, language and culture of the mainstream society and should contribute collectively towards the progress of the society. The state should also put emphasis in securing the self- esteem of the mainstream by creating common platform where people can interact with the immigrants, try and understand each other's view, identities, cultures, history, and struggles and keep a positive attitude towards each other. Differences should be accepted and recognised publicly not because they are important per se, but because they are significant for their bearers; and to do so is in ways consistent with their equality and respect. Moreover, various surveys have found that any society that encourages multicultural policies, have a positive psychological impact on the immigrants. They excel in every sphere including academics, institutions, and organisations and have high well- being and life satisfaction, better cognitive performances, low health risk, low level of depression, and many more. Hence, the psychological impact of immigrants depends upon the policies framed by the society. Moreover, Multiculturalism is successful if it both objective and subjective aspects of multiculturalism function properly. The objective aspect includes policies and programmes that accommodate and promote diversity; whereas subjective multiculturalism reported that if the policies are non- discriminatory and respectful, then it leads to lower psychological problems among the minorities and higher level of life satisfaction. Hence, the focus should be on formulation of more inclusive policies and accepting noble thoughts from various aspects whereby an intellectual environment is created where all values are examined, appreciated and leads toward a pluralist society. If everyone is allowed to follow their own concept of good life and on the other hand, if challenges faced by a society are addressed in a flexible and sensitive manner, only then peaceful co- existence could be attained.

Liberal feminist political philosophers like Susan Okin and Anne Phillips challenged multiculturalism and stated that it is inadequate in addressing the struggles faced by women at private sphere. They wanted to break the stereotypes that theories of multiculturalism associates with the female gender and accepted that tolerating certain practices that harms the basic rights of women are not justified at all. Both Okin and Phillips addressed the inter group essentialism and made an attempt to break false universalisms of the mainstream. Okin believed that the existing multicultural theories are harmful to women which is why there is a need for new model of multiculturalism that treats both men and women to be moral equals. Cultural practices and traditions can never be an excuse to overshadow the rights of its members. Unlike her, Phillips



considered multiculturalism is compatible with feminism which is only possible by deconstructing the meaning of culture. The reified notion of culture needs to be replaced by one that places individual agency at its core which she calls “multiculturalism without culture.”

Reducing women to a universal group or stereotyping women into regional groups have led to views that cultures are bounded and having essentialized values. There is a need for a new model of multiculturalism based on cultural understanding and due recognition of individual agency among ethno cultural minorities. People must be treated as agents and not as captives of their culture and attention must be paid to the obstacles that discourage people from voicing their problems with cultural pressures and practices. This is precisely where governments and public agencies can step in to remove these obstacles so that individuals can make informed choices and decide when to abide and when to resist. Discussions, dialogues, formulation of policies with the fullest possible involvement of all relevant groups, community outreach, education etc. were some of the remedies suggested by her. It is time to move towards a new theory that will not compartmentalise women and will protect their rights. Any culture that practices certain rituals that harm the autonomy of women calls for revision and reformation and the application of toleration in such situations is not justified at all. Hence, toleration needs to be observed as long as it is committed to protect autonomy, dignity and rights of the citizens and needs to be complemented by positive aspects in order to reach its goal.

Toleration was considered as the primary solution to deal with the issues resulting out of religious strife. Toleration today is as important as it was before but with the growing demands from cultural, minority, vulnerable groups etc. and issues related to gender, race etc. toleration may not be considered as the single solution to deal with every kind of difference. Moreover, there is also a possibility that toleration may lead to grudging respect but cannot lead to intercultural respect. Toleration leads individuals to choose one’s own belief and ignore those which they don’t understand. In a course of time this dislike converts to fear and finally to hate. Toleration may itself give rise to illiberal conditions which may prove to be a hurdle in attaining the rights that liberalism guarantees. Toleration may not be a single solution for every kind of difference as it is only one of the aspects that ensure pluralism. Then, are there any alternatives to toleration for a harmonious and peaceful society?

In the fourth chapter, the study focuses on the need for a fusion of various horizons of theories because the theories of toleration whether they are based on the idea of good or individual rights or group differentiated rights have limitation of one kind or the other. There is a

need to re-visit these theories and recognize the plurality of views in terms of goodness, right to property and inheritance, marriage and settlement, so that members of each culture, gender, race, ethnicity and religion become a valid participant in the civil and democratic life. In order to attain a harmonious and peaceful society and to restore harmony in it, toleration should be complemented by various constructive aspects that not only address cultural, ethnic and religious conflicts but also instil a sense of respect, recognition, love and acceptance among the members.

One such approach is through creating a platform for intercultural dialogue that can not only reduce fear but can also erase public hysteria in the times of crises and build confidence in conflicting parties. A genuine dialogue should focus on the needs of the marginalised sections that consider everyone as different but also equal at the same time. Intercultural dialogue is the way for co-existence as it includes “communication with culture, realization and reproduction of its achievement, detection and understanding of values of other cultures.” Such dialogues help us to understand various dimensions of others as well as of our own self. Moreover, there are many challenges that a multicultural society come across in order to make intercultural dialogue a success, for example- clash may arise in case of groups who are diverse in terms of language and culture; interfaith dialogue can intensify tensions; divergent memories that have been the source of many conflict throughout history may act as hurdle in front of a successful dialogue and many more. Hence, effective measures are required so that no culture, gender, ethnicity or religion is demonised but promotes cultural understanding and sensitivity, contributes to everyone’s well-being and allows dialogue between different cultures to exist resulting in fusion of horizons.

Another constructive approach towards the growing religious, cultural and ethnic conflicts in the present day context is the concept of *Sarva Dharma Sambhava* i.e. equal respect for all the religions, given by Mahatma Gandhi. He viewed religion from a multicultural perspective which is more than religious pluralism and secularism. The way Gandhi perceived religion can contribute in promoting harmony among various communities which is manifested in his doctrine Truth is God. The contemporary society is often filled with social distempers which lead to fragmentation that allows no scope for a basic consensus. In such a devastating state, truth can only be attained by reformation of the minds of the people and service whereby “welfare of others his prime duty, a dictate of conscience.” Instead of emphasizing on the metaphysical aspect, he dwelled more on the ethical implication of this doctrine. Today people often hold the view that Gandhi’s idea of non-violence is unrealistic and utopian. However, the increasing violence, bloodletting and clash of cultures could only see Gandhi’s principle of non-violence to be the urgent necessity as he profoundly believed in introducing humanity to the

principle of non- violence. We should aim for a state of peace that would be a mean to attain greater end in onward journey of civilisation. His ideas of swaraj, transformation religion, spiritualization of politics, etc. are the unfinished agenda of Gandhi that we must try to fulfil.

Education or educational programmes are also a way to bring closer to humanity where a child is educated to realize his ethical goal in life and that aims for a harmonious development of body, mind and soul of the individual leading him to contribute towards a just social order. Modern educationists should draw inspiration from Gandhi and consider education as an urgent imperative for attaining systematic and rational tolerance that must educate people about their shared rights. Education strategies should contribute towards development of tolerance, understanding and solidarity among individuals and various cultural, ethnic, social, linguist and religious groups. Moreover, policies should be inclusive so that there is no fear or hate toward others and should aim at helping young people to develop capacities like critical thinking and ethical reasoning. Education also allows people to move from an atomised self to a relational self. An isolated self becomes self- obsessive that might turn violent and eventually lead to destruction. Instead, in a relational self one considers human as a social being and takes his relationship or experiences with others as a basic fact about him. The process of “educationlization” is also pivotal in creating an intellectual environment that is often considered as a coping mechanism for social problems. Moreover, being compassionate towards others foster a sense of relieving all sentient beings from suffering and to improve the well- being of humanity. The principles of shared feeling and shared suffering are the core concepts associated with compassion (*karunā*) that resemble the contemporary idea of living in harmony or co- existence.

Diversity which could be regarded as the ethos of a harmonious and peaceful society often paves the way for conflict. Conflict can be dealt in a constructive manner which can generate opportunity, development, security, enhanced relationships, increased cohesion, openness and transparency, build up trust between parties and avoid dangerous misunderstanding. We do require some conflict resolution process and confidence building mechanism for negotiating a solution and pursuing these ends. Various alternatives like education, respect, love, compassion, dialogue, etc. focus on uniting people and bringing harmony and peace both outside and inside a person and have the potential of restoring humanity in a society. There is a need for engagement with the masses in order to understand them and win their trust which will also resolve gender issues. But as people’s choices, needs and interests change over time, no one rule, regulation or restriction is considered as absolute. It has to be

changed and revised with the changing needs and preferences of the people by keeping national unity and peace as the sole aim at its backdrop. Apart from respecting diversity, we too need to respect various approaches to deal with issues that arise out of diversity.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **LOCATING TOLERATION IN ANCIENT GREEK PHILOSOPHY**

This study makes an attempt to examine certain questions such as: can we locate any theory of toleration in the works of ancient philosophers? Whether theory of toleration could be found in the philosophical works of Plato and Aristotle? Do Plato and Aristotle have directly or indirectly contributed towards the evolution of theory of toleration? How their theories of toleration are similar or dissimilar to contemporary theories of toleration? In addition to this, the study also provides a conceptual analysis of toleration. The development of toleration (from the ancient period) will be examined from two different perspectives- first, toleration in Plato's philosophy; and second, toleration in Aristotle's philosophy. The study further attempts to show that these ancient philosophers had something to say about toleration which is instrumental in understanding the historical evolution of this concept.

In order to organize this study, I have divided the chapter into two sections namely: Section I: Contribution of Plato in the development of Toleration, I will first discuss the epistemological, moral and political works and made an attempt to trace toleration in these works. Toleration is specifically associated with Plato's concept of Justice. In Section II: Contribution of Aristotle in the development of Toleration, the concept of toleration is derived from the virtue ethics given by Aristotle. The connection between virtue of friendship and toleration will be portrayed in this section. Moreover, Aristotle's form of experiential learning also contributes towards the implicit presence of toleration in his philosophy.

While explaining the moral and political philosophies of Plato and Aristotle and their indirect contributions towards the inception of toleration, this study also simultaneously draws various themes where they both agree and disagree with each other. One can never find any explicit articulation of toleration in Plato's philosophy. But his moral and political philosophy has immense evidence of having in it the seed of toleration; the same could be said for Aristotle as well. Both of them acknowledged the existence of conflict in the society and tried to address these situations in their own terms. Their implicit theories of toleration paved the way for many theories on toleration in the modern society. All these positions and discussions will be extensively investigated in the following sections.

## Section I

### Contribution of Plato in the Development of Toleration

It is imperative to understand that Plato never mentioned about toleration explicitly. Although in his moral and political philosophy, especially in *The Republic*, one can find certain traces of toleration. Plato held the position that a person can know anything with certainty. Plato never gave utmost significance to sense perception regarding certainty, but he never considered sense perception would yield ignorance either. The reason being sense perception is the starting point of knowledge. Even though sense can never give rise to absolute knowledge but it provides the mind with raw materials helping it to reach knowledge with certainty.<sup>1</sup> Hence, for Plato it was always reason over sense. One of the pre- Socratic philosophers Parmenides too emphasised on the superiority of reason over senses. According to his philosophy:

“The world of falsity and appearance, of becoming, of not- being, this is, says Parmenides, the world which is presented to us by the senses. True and veritable Being is known to us only by reason, by thought. The senses therefore are, for Parmenides, the sources of all illusion and error. Truth lies only in reason. This is exceedingly important, because this, that truth lies in reason and not in the world of sense, is the fundamental position of idealism.”<sup>2</sup>

Plato built his philosophy on this idealistic aspect of Parmenides. Plato was immensely influenced by Parmenides and believed that reality could only be found in our thoughts or concepts or in “the Idea or Form” He associated the Idea or Form with the concept of *Being* given by Parmenides.<sup>3</sup> Plato was also influenced by the doctrine of flux given by another pre-Socratic philosopher, Heraclitus. Heraclitus maintains that each and every thing in world is in flux or constantly changing. Since everything is changing, it becomes very difficult to capture the real nature of things. This made Plato to conclude that knowledge is impossible when a thing is in constant flux.<sup>4</sup> However, he too accepted Parmenides’ position of finding something in the midst of all the mutation of which knowledge is possible.

---

<sup>1</sup>Gulley, N., (1961), *Plato's theory of Knowledge*, p. 26

<sup>2</sup>Stace, W. T. (2016), *A Critical History of Greek Philosophy*, p. 45,

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 50

<sup>4</sup>Tankha, V., (2014), *Ancient Greek Philosophy: Thales to Socrates*, p. 65

In his early works, the most important feature of inquiry that Plato gave importance was on general definitions. Since he did not consider senses to yield knowledge, he believed that there is an absolute and universal definition of everything perceived by the senses which is beyond any change. For instance, Plato discussed about the definition of temperance in *Charmides*, justice in *The Republic*, love in *Symposium*, statesman in *The Statesman*, friendship in *Lysis*, etc. For Plato, the importance he gave to senses is only instrumental as he believed that whatever we perceive is not ignorance but only opinion. And, such opinion serves as raw material for the reason to work on to attain absolute and universal knowledge. Hence, sense perceptions vary from person to person but these absolute and universal definitions are beyond any kind of change and can be known with certainty.

According to Plato, there are two worlds- world of appearance of which we can know through our senses; and the world of reality or world of Form that could be known through reason and which is beyond any change. The former produces opinion which is fallible, whereas the latter is infallible.<sup>5</sup> When the soul moves from the world of senses to the world of Forms, it is known as the upward movement of the soul. However, the soul never learns new things as it always knows everything; the soul only recollects.<sup>6</sup>In this regard Stumpf writes:

“Socrates was convinced that the surest way to attain reliable knowledge was through the practice of disciplined conversation, acting as an intellectual midwife, a method he called *dialectic*. This was a deceptively simple technique...Socrates believed that through the process of dialogue, where each party to the conversation was forced to clarify his ideas, the final outcome of the conversation would be a clear statement of what was meant...In the earliest dialogues in which this method is displayed, as, for example, in the *Euthyphro*, Socrates would feign ignorance about a subject and try to draw out from the other person the fullest knowledge about it. He considered this method of dialectic a kind of intellectual midwifery.<sup>7</sup>

In *Phaedo* Plato states that the soul has knowledge before its reincarnation in human form; however, whatever it learns, tends to get forgotten as a result of inattention and time. When it perceives anything through its senses, it recollects all the information about that

---

<sup>5</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, p. 478-80

<sup>6</sup> Plato, (1994), *The Meno* 81c4-81d6

<sup>7</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, p. 40

particular thing.<sup>8</sup> The Forms are in our soul and to have correct information about it we need to have education about how to reach them. When the soul moves away from the world of becoming to the world of being it comes across ideas and the highest idea or highest knowledge is the knowledge or idea of good.<sup>9</sup> This highest knowledge is attained without any aid from the sense.

To every sensible thing, there is a corresponding world of forms known by reason alone. For instance, the sensible thing is a chair and its form is Chair. The sensible things come into being because they participate in the forms; their being is dependent upon the forms. A chair comes into existence because it participates in its form of chairness. Similarly, a thing is beautiful because it participates in the form of Beauty not because it has certain colour or shape.<sup>10</sup>

To clarify the difference between the two worlds he gives the analogy of the allegory of the cave. Socrates asks Glaucon to imagine an underground den where prisoners have been there since their childhood. Their necks, legs and heads were chained in such a way that they cannot move their body. In front of them was a wall and above and behind them was a blazing fire. In front of that fire, men passed carrying various vessels, statues, materials whose shadow would appear on the wall in front of prisoners. They started thinking those shadows to be real things. One of them escapes from the cave, he is pained and distressed by the sight of the sun; but once his eyes were accustomed, he started realizing that what he was observing was real and the shadows on the cave's wall were an illusion. At first, he saw the shadows, then his reflection on the water eventually leading him to see himself in his own place. He, then, went to the cave again to liberate others but they believed the shadows to be only reality.<sup>11</sup>

Hence, men need to realize that whatever we see in the sensible world are just the shadows cast by the real things or forms. One needs to move from the shadows/images to sensible things to forms to highest forms, that could be known through imagination, perception, reason and understanding respectively. When we attain the highest forms through the medium of

---

<sup>8</sup> Plato, (1992), "The Phaedo", in *The Trial and Death of Socrates Four Dialogues*, B. Jowett (trans.), 73e

<sup>9</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, p. 517

<sup>10</sup> [www.sophia-project.org](http://www.sophia-project.org), "Plato in a Nutshell: A Beginner's Guide to the Philosophy of Plato", by Michael S. Russo, retrieved on 24-07-2017

<sup>11</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, pp.219- 220



understanding, then the highest level of certitude is attained.<sup>12</sup> Plato was a dogmatist as he talks about possibility of attaining certainty of knowledge in this manner.

Plato in his work *The Republic* claimed that not every person could attain this highest knowledge. In order to understand his claim, we need to understand his political philosophy where he maintained that there is a specific relation between men and state. Even though Plato had discussed the nature of state first, I will first take up the issues related to men. The soul of a man has three parts- rationality, spirit and appetite; rationality being the highest and appetite being the lowest part. The rational or the intellectual part decides what is right or wrong. Subordinate to this part is the spirit that wilfully executes a right decision made by rationality. It provides the soul with passions in proportionate amount to live an honourable life. And, last the appetitive part is controlled by both rationality and spirit. This part is related to fulfilling our needs like physical, biological etc. that remain common with animals.<sup>13</sup>

Corresponding to these three parts of soul are the three classes of the state. These parts are the extension of the parts of the soul. First comprises of a group of producers who would specialize in activities where they are best at. They would never interfere in other's activities. They are the providers of our wants and needs most importantly towards our need for food, clothing and shelter. This group involves husbandman, builder, weaver, farmers, shoemakers, merchants etc. There would be different occupations suiting our diverse natures. Having said that, one cannot indulge oneself in multiple occupations. He must make his occupation his prime object.<sup>14</sup>

Their duty would be also to make sure that things are produced more easily, in abundance and of better quality. They need to make sure that things produced are enough for the residents of the State as well as for the merchants from whom they receive other supplies. This state was considered to be a true and healthy state. But, according to Glaucon, what about those who would like to indulge in luxury? What about those people “who are to be comfortable are accustomed to lie in sofas, and dine off tables, and they should have sauces and sweets in the modern style?”<sup>15</sup> This led to the formation of a luxurious state. Now, Socrates' healthy state will also include gold, ivory, painter, embroiderer, furniture, perfumes, people who would have money and indulge in drinks, fights etc.

---

<sup>12</sup> [www.sophia-project.org](http://www.sophia-project.org), “Plato in a Nutshell: A Beginner’s Guide to the Philosophy of Plato”, by Michael S. Russo, retrieved on 24-07-2017

<sup>13</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, pp. 439-441

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-27

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225

With the formation of the new state, the aspect of enmity and war penetrated into the society. To ensure internal peace and to tackle the enemies, group of armies was formed known as the Auxiliaries. Some of the characteristics are:

“None of them are allowed to have any property of his own beyond what is absolutely necessary; neither should they have a private house or store closed against anyone who has a mind to enter; their provisions should be only such as are required by trained warriors, who are men of temperance and courage; they should agree to receive from the citizens a fixed rate of pay, enough to meet the expenses of the year and no more; and they will go to mess and live together like soldiers in a camp. Gold and silver we will tell them that they have from God; the diviner metal is within them, and they have therefore no need of the dross which is current among men, and ought not to pollute the divine by any such earthly admixture; for that commoner metal has been the source of many unholy deeds, but their own is undefiled.”<sup>16</sup>

As long as they can work according to their virtue i.e. spirit, they work as auxiliaries; once they get old, they form the third group which is called Guardians. This group by using their rationality and philosophy can only know the truth or have the highest knowledge of Forms or wisdom. Plato mentions:

“And perhaps the word ‘guardian’ in the fullest sense ought to be applied to this higher class only who preserves us against foreign enemies and maintain peace among our citizens at home, that the one may not have the will, or the others the power, to harm us. The young men whom we before called guardians may be more properly designated auxiliaries and supporters of the principles of the ruler.”<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, they need to master the art of dialectic. Before becoming guardians, go through excessive training that will make them both physically and spiritually strong. It can be cited from *The Republic* that:

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 110-111

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 108

“...ought to be quick to see, and swift to overtake the enemy when they see him; and strong too if, when they have caught him, they have to fight with him...to be a really good and noble guardian of the state will require to unite in himself philosophy and spirit and swiftness and strength...gymnastics for the body and music for the soul...go on to gymnastics...include literature.”<sup>18</sup>

Hence, it can be now stated that the producer class focuses on fulfilling natural appetites, so the appetite part of the soul is given prominence; the auxiliaries correspond to the spirit part; and lastly, the guardian class correspond to the rationality part.<sup>19</sup>

Corresponding to the three parts of man and soul are the virtues of wisdom, courage and temperance. Justice is also a virtue but has a very different nature as compared to other virtues. Wisdom belongs to the guardian class as they embody the element of rationality. They are the wise men who lead an intellectual and contemplative life who only could attain the highest knowledge i.e. the knowledge of good.<sup>20</sup> The Auxiliaries possess the virtue of courage as the spirit part of soul is given prominence here. And last is temperance which means to be willing to be subordinate to higher authority. Even though the producer class possess it because they focus on fulfilling their natural appetites, this virtue must apply to both the Producers and Auxiliaries. The reason being both the classes are subordinate to the guardian class. Similarly, both these classes must also possess wisdom along with the guardians. The producers must have wisdom to keep a check on his appetites; and the Auxiliaries must also have the wisdom to know what to fear and what not to. Finally, wisdom in a guardian propels him to attain highest knowledge.<sup>21</sup>

But justice is a very specific virtue whose aim, according to Plato, is to make sure whether other parts are fulfilling their functions in accordance with their virtues or not. As a result of doing their own jobs in which they excel, there would be harmony in both soul and the state. Justice in soul is when reason controls both spirit and appetite. And justice in the society is harmony among the three classes that would be only manifest if they are doing the jobs according to their virtues and part of the soul. This makes justice the highest virtue in the hierarchy. Plato believed that since everyone will be doing their job in accordance with their virtues, there would be no conflict in the society. Since the health of the state majorly depends

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 61- 64

<sup>19</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, pp. 74-75

<sup>20</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, pp. 441-442

<sup>21</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, pp. 76-78

upon the guardians, their aim is to attain the knowledge of Good.<sup>22</sup> The reason being, as they are the authority and possess the aspect of reason, they will shape the society to be ideal as much as possible.

Further, the distribution of people into these groups is based on merit that is supervised by the guardians. However, Plato admitted that it would be a difficult task to convince people to do their jobs efficiently of the group in which he did not want to be in the first place. But it was mandatory for the people to undergo excessive training before they are put into their respective groups by the guardians on the basis of their merit. It is not necessary that the child of a guardian will have to fall under that group if he/she does not possess the qualities required to belong to that group; same for the children of producers.<sup>23</sup>

In *The Republic*, Plato gave absolute authority to the guardians. He soon realized that people often get swayed by their emotions, desires and passions which distract them to do their jobs in accordance with their virtues. Moreover, Plato admitted that the ideal society that he aimed for in *The Republic* is unattainable by men. It is for this reason that he introduced a new ideal that would be ruled by a new statesman and also could be achieved by men. This new statesman will have the art of ruling which can be associated with the analogy of weaving. Just as the weaver make use of arts of carding and spinning to produce the best fabric, similarly, the statesman will also take help from people with different skills to rule.<sup>24</sup>

He takes the help of the orator for his persuasive skill; the general for his knowledge of war; and the judge for knowledge of law.<sup>25</sup> Since the statesmen have the power to implement, revise and regulate laws, his art is considered to be the highest of all. This is because of the fact that it is eventually the statesman who will decide when to persuade the masses, when to go for war or whether a war is necessary at all and to decide which and how laws to be implemented. The only difficulty here is to find such a person who would inhibit such qualities. A true statesman might exist but not everywhere. In such a case, “the rule of law” is given prominence.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in places where a true statesman existed at some point of time, laws framed by him need to be passed on to the future generations.

There is another situation that could be found in his *The Laws* where neither guardian nor statesmen is given any authority. The absolute power is given to the laws alone. Here, none is

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p 78

<sup>23</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, pp. 415-416

<sup>24</sup> Plato, (1957), *The Statesman*, in *Plato's Statesman*, J. B. Skemp (trans.), & M. Ostwald (ed.), 279a-283b

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 303d-305e

<sup>26</sup> Plato, (1957), *The Statesman*, in *Plato's Statesman*, by J. B. Skemp (trans.), & M. Ostwald (ed. 297d-e).

over and above the law which was not the case in *The Republic* and *The Laws*. Unlike *The Republic*, here significance is given to only one virtue i.e. temperance. For Plato the soul has two parts- rational and irrational; the former makes one a virtuous person whereas the latter makes one the opposite. However, a man in order to act in accordance with his virtue constantly needs a pull by the law.<sup>27</sup> Plato always believed knowledge of good to be superior to any law, but he also admitted that not everyone could attain this ideal. In this situation we opt for the next option i.e. laws.<sup>28</sup>

A person becomes temperate when the reason part of the soul is accompanied by the laws. Everyone should feel a natural pull to follow the laws. If temperance means controlling the spirits, then how can an intemperate person feel this pull or subordinate himself to the laws? Plato answer that such a person can be corrected or reformed only by the aid of education. He has discussed different form of education like physical training, reading, writing, arithmetic, military, games etc. for both boys and girls at different stages of their life. Eventually they will learn to follow and respect the laws and can contribute for the betterment of their state. The stability of the laws is not only maintained by them, but is also taken care of by a body of magistrates that are known as *nomophulakes*, by “Nocturnal Council” and by religion. The job of all the three bodies is to ensure the nature, preservation and implementation of the laws.<sup>29</sup>

Coming back to the evolution of toleration, from the above discussion one could derive the fact that even though Plato never gave any theory on toleration explicitly, his philosophy did have the kernels of this concept. There could be many instances from *The Republic* that could pose as evidence. First instance is according to Plato, a person is temperate when rational part of the soul controls irrational part. By stating “a man being his own master” he means that man needs to be master of right passions and desires.<sup>30</sup> Plato writes:

“Temperance, I replied, is the ordering or controlling of certain pleasures and desires; this is curiously enough implied in the saying of “a man being his own master;”...the meaning is, I believe, that in the human soul there is a better and also a worse principle; and when the better has the worse under control, then a man is said to be master of himself...the better principle,

---

<sup>27</sup> Plato, (1975), *The Laws*, p. 691

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 875

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 789-889

<sup>30</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, p. 126

which is also the smaller, is overwhelmed by the greater mass of the worse- in this case he is blamed and is called the slave of self and unprincipled.”<sup>31</sup>

Plato maintained that soul is the principle for movement and life and the inanimate body is moved by this principle. According to the tripartite conception of soul, the rational part of the soul has control over spirited and appetitive parts. Desires/pleasures/passions can often lead the spirit into a wrong direction without the aid of reason which is “a goal seeking and measuring faculty.”<sup>32</sup> Pleasure is a legitimate aim of life and passions without being controlled by reason are incapable of differentiating between things that produce higher pleasure and things that appear to offer these pleasures. Appetites or passions might direct us towards a world of fantasy and deceive us to think that certain kinds of pleasures will give us happiness; however, it is the reason that leads the passions to objects that bring us “true happiness and true pleasure.”<sup>33</sup> Without the rule of reason over spirit and appetite, one would always consider the shadows on the cave to be the reality or consider world of appearance to be the real world. Hence, one becomes temperate when the rational part of soul controls the irrational part.

The modern theories of toleration too focus on the faculty of reason and in its absence a person is ignorant and this ignorance eventually turns into hate and violence. The concept of toleration could be derived from the virtue of temperance as both believed that reason helps one to see the reality which leads to harmony; whereas, without reason passions can guide spirit to wrong pleasures or to a world of fantasy where one will remain ignorant forever and this might cause destruction. Hence, both the virtue of temperance and modern theories of toleration consider that ignorance is the root cause of violence and only reason can lead us toward knowledge and reality.

Second instance is, for Plato justice is everyone doing their job in accordance with their virtue. In case of the soul, justice is when the rational part controls the spirit and appetite. Similarly, in a state, justice is when the guardians, auxiliaries and producers are engaging in where they excel. But if someone does otherwise then there would be injustice and no harmony. Plato writes:

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, p. 67

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

“...then I think you will agree with me in saying that this interchange and this meddling of one with another is the ruin of the State. Most true. Seeing, then, I said, that there are three distinct classes, any meddling of one another, or the change of one into another, is the greatest harm to the State, and may be most justly termed evil doing...and on the other hand when the trader, the auxiliary, and the guardian each do their own business, that is justice, and will make the city just.”<sup>34</sup>

It can be derived from the above discussion that when one interferes into others' job harmony is distorted which leads to conflict in the society. The way they want their individuality to be respected, the same is expected from their end towards others' individuality. Regarding any sort of differences like religion, morality, culture etc. everyone needs to maintain a neutral stance. One needs to respect and recognise the differences. Plato claimed that toleration refers to “the conditional acceptance or non- interference with beliefs, actions or practices that one considers to be wrong but still ‘tolerable’ such that they should not be prohibited or constrained.”<sup>35</sup> There should be non-interference if harmony in the society is the aim to be achieved.<sup>36</sup>

Further, philosophers like Michael Walzer too believes that toleration will lead to peaceful co-existence among people having different identities, histories, cultures, languages etc.<sup>37</sup> The essence of his statement is that the differences need to be respected and recognised rather than meddling into others people's affair (the same was said by Plato as we have discussed earlier). On similar lines Benjamin Kaplan writes that toleration is a form of behaviour that will lead to peaceful co- existence among people with different religions.<sup>38</sup>

Another instance to show that theory of toleration can be located in the ancient Greek philosophy is evident from Plato's work *Charmides*, wherein he makes an effort to investigate, examine and formulate a definition of temperance. Even though temperance is a virtue but it can be derived that its essence can be related to the nature of toleration. The Greek word for temperance is *sophrosyne*. Although, Socrates in *Charmides* could not come up with a proper definition of temperance, but the nature of temperance could be grasped to a certain extent. Dialectic conversation between Socrates, Charmides and Critias results in various answers

---

<sup>34</sup> Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, p. 130

<sup>35</sup> Plato.stanford.edu, “Toleration”, retrieved on 19-06-2017

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Walzer, M., (1997), *On Toleration*, p. 2

<sup>38</sup> Kaplan, Benjamin, (2007), *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflicts and the practice of toleration in early modern Europe*, p. 8

regarding the nature of temperance like- temperance is quietness, modesty, doing one's own business, self-knowledge, doing good and knowledge of what a man knows and what a man does not.<sup>39</sup> Socrates refutes all the suggestions one by one and in the end the conversation between them is considered dead.

However, we will only consider one of the answers i.e. doing one's own business to show the similarity between temperance and toleration. This aspect of *Charmides* has also been discussed in *The Republic*. When we consider the aspect of doing one's own business, it refers to non- interference. The same aspect could be found in *The Republic* where justice meant not meddling into others' affairs which will result in harmony. Hence, these aspects can be associated with the concept of toleration whose one of the aspects is non- interference.

Another instance is, in *The Gorgias*, Socrates established a link between philosophical method and a form of toleration. Socrates says, "And what kind of man am I? One of those who would gladly be refuted if anything I say is not true, and would gladly refute another who says what is not true, but would be no less happy to be refuted myself than to refute, for I consider that a greater benefit, inasmuch as it is a greater boon to be delivered from the worst of evils oneself than to deliver another."<sup>40</sup> For Socrates, then, the pursuit of truth is linked to an open mind, although of course this form of dialogical toleration is supposed to lead to a unitary vision of the truth.

Next instance to show how the essence of toleration was existent in the ancient period, we will have to resort back to Socrates' philosophy. Socrates was concerned with the good life for everyone and how to achieve it. Only such life can bring happiness. But how will we achieve it? The answer is by attaining knowledge and if we act in opposite of this knowledge, then we are behaving against the nature of our soul. What is the nature of our soul? The soul is the structure of our personality. The aim of the soul is to know and control or govern a person's conduct. By the virtue of being human, one needs to act rationally. By focusing on knowledge like what human life really is, one could take utmost care of the soul. Once such knowledge is acquired, the soul is taken care of and directs his behaviour in accordance with true moral values.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup>Tsouana, Voula, (2017), "What is the subject of Plato's Charmides?" in *Studies in Ancient and Political Philosophy*, p. 35

<sup>40</sup>Plato (1967), *Gorgias*, Plato in Twelve Volumes, Vol. 3 translated by W.R.M. Lamb, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, p. 39



In order to make our soul good, we need to have the knowledge of virtue i.e. to know good, is to do good. If someone acts in accordance with this knowledge, then he is considered as a virtuous person. However, if a person acts otherwise, then he is ignorant which is because of vice. But Socrates maintains that no one performs wrong action knowing that his action is wrong. His wrong doing is the by-product of his ignorance. For example- since Socrates wants everyone to have happy and good life, I can rob a person and acquire his possession and feel happy, since happiness is the end. Socrates states that to have true knowledge or to take care of our soul, our action must harmonize with our true nature. Even though people may think and act differently, cultures and societies may differ, their morality, laws, rules, regulations etc. may differ, but there are certain things that would remain constant like moral values, Idea of Law, Idea of Justice, Idea of Goodness, etc. Men may have different shapes, sizes and mentality, but they still fall under the category of man i.e. the Idea of Man.<sup>42</sup> Rather than focusing on differences, commonality or fundamental element should be considered as central for a harmonious society.

The issues of the above discussions like good life, knowledge, nature of soul i.e. rationality, behaving in accordance with virtue and certain things being constant/common can also be located in the theory of toleration. Toleration though it believed in relativity (there is no absolute truth), also has its limits. Two cultures may differ, but they can have the same morality. Even though different cultures and societies practice from their own point of view, there are certain practices which are wrong under any circumstances. For instance: sati, discrimination of any form, slavery, abuse, etc.<sup>43</sup> No rationality would dictate to injure or discriminate anyone on the basis of his difference. We do not require any language to understand violence or injustice. A good life would be a life when a person is allowed to live his life the way they in their private sphere want without being discriminated. It is only rational to allow them to practice their individuality without making them to bend their conscience.<sup>44</sup> If followed, then the actions are considered to be in accordance with virtue. Injustice or violence can happen in many forms, but the Idea of Injustice remains constant everywhere.

---

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-45

<sup>43</sup> Motilal, Shashi, (2010), "Moral Relativism and Human Rights", in *Applied Ethics and Human Rights*, p, 69.

<sup>44</sup>Montaigne, M. de, (1991), "An Apology for Raymond Sebond", in *The Complete Essays* by M. A. Screech (trans.), p. 543

## Section II

### Contribution of Aristotle in the Development of Toleration

Aristotle, being a disciple of Plato, was immensely influenced by his thoughts but that did not lead him to accept each and every issues of his teacher. He moved away from Plato's philosophy formulating his own theories eventually. In spite of their differences, still Aristotle's work had major influence from Plato. Aristotle's metaphysics deals with knowledge of universals that is of supreme abstraction (what Plato considers as Forms). The question that arises here is how can the knowledge of universals be acquired? In *Metaphysics* book I, Aristotle states that men have senses and they desire to know for the sake of knowing. Out of all the senses, significance is given mostly to the sense of sight or sense perception. This sense perception produces memory and leads men to have experience eventually. But such knowledge will never lead us towards the knowledge of universals or wisdom or scientific knowledge or art. It can only provide us with the knowledge of particulars. The reason being, sense perception only tells "that" of a thing but can never tell "why" or the cause of that thing. For example- sense perception can tell us that this particular medicine cures a disease, but cannot tell why.<sup>45</sup>

Aristotle (even Plato) gave importance to senses only to the extent that they provide raw materials to the mind from which it can produce wisdom. Wisdom can only tell "why" or the cause of things. Aristotle further mentions that senses produces experience and sense can too lead us to art but both of them are significantly because experience cannot tell us about the causes and lead to wisdom, whereas, art even though it starts from senses but goes beyond them. Aristotle writes "art arises when from many notions gained by experience one universal judgment about a class of objects is produced."<sup>46</sup> For example- a doctor cures a patient by giving him a particular medicine. Next day another patient came with the same disease and he repeats the sense experience. Eventually he goes beyond these experiences and gives a universal judgment by taking in consideration the causes of the objects that he experienced.<sup>47</sup> Hence, it is clear that wisdom has nothing to do with visible or sensible things but it only deals with abstract knowledge which is most exact science.

Unlike Plato, Aristotle claims that to attain such knowledge it is not required to go into another world and search for it. They agreed on the fact that there is an absolute and universal truth or reality but they disagreed regarding the location of their existence. Plato considered that

---

<sup>45</sup>Aristotle, (2001), *Metaphysics*, in *The basic works of Aristotle*, Richard Mckeon (ed.), book I, p. 689

<sup>46</sup> Ibid

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

true knowledge or Forms could only be found in the world of reality which is beyond the world of senses or appearance. However, Aristotle never agreed with Plato regarding the division of worlds. Plato was more concerned with metaphysical and transcendent aspects of the Good and the Justice, whereas Aristotle was interested in everyday normative aspect of conduct. Aristotle regarding the Idea of Good given by Plato stated that "...that there is an absolute good apart from these particulars, it is evident that this good will not be anything that man can realize or attain."<sup>48</sup> However, their differences in thought did not lead Aristotle to reject Plato's Form entirely.

Even though Plato and Aristotle discussed about form, their way of understanding it is quite different. Both of them agree to the fact that forms are universal and abstract. For Plato form is the knowledge of universals that could be only found in the world of reality; but Aristotle considered that to have knowledge of form one need not to go into a different world. The universals are embedded in the particulars that have their own objective reality that are known through reason. Reality does not exist anywhere else but inside the particular things themselves that we perceive through our senses.<sup>49</sup> Stumpf writes:

"Of course, Aristotle did agree that there are universals, the universals such as Man and Table are more than merely subjective notions. Indeed, Aristotle recognized that without the theory of universals, there could be no scientific knowledge, for then there would be no way of saying something about all the members of a particular class. What makes scientific knowledge effective is that it discovers classes of objects (for example, a certain form of human diseases), so that whenever an individual fall into this class, other facts can be assumed also to be relevant. These classes, the, are not merely mental fictions but do in fact have objective knowledge."<sup>50</sup>

Hence, senses are the initial point from where knowledge begins.

Aristotle, unlike Plato, believed that whatever we perceive through our senses are also real. At the same time there are immaterial things too that are considered to be real like God. He refers both material and immaterial things to be substance. The substances which are sensible as well as material have matter and form; whereas immaterial substances are devoid of any matter

---

<sup>48</sup> Aristotle, (1906), *The Nicomachean Ethics*, by F. H. Peters (trans.), book I, p. 12.

<sup>49</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, p. 97

<sup>50</sup> Ibid

and form. Matter is the primary stuff out of which anything is made; whereas Form refers to the essence without which a thing ceases to be that thing. Both matter and form are inseparable; there cannot be matter without form and form without matter.<sup>51</sup>

The concept of substance can have many meanings to it- first, substance refer to material things; second, it can refer to essence, “substance, that is, is what we know as basic about something after which we can say of other things about it. Whenever we define something, we get at its *essence* before we can say anything about it, as when we speak of a large table or a healthy man. Here, table and man are understood in their “essence”, in what makes them a table or a man before they are understood as large or healthy.”<sup>52</sup> Hence, substance can mean material things, essence and form.

Coming back to matter and form, the former is subject to change whereas the latter is devoid of any change. For example- beds can be made up of any matter like wood, steel etc. but their form or essence remains the same i.e. they are beds. Even though Aristotle considered change, his understanding of it is significantly different from the doctrine of flux given by Heraclitus. Plato considered Heraclitus’ doctrine and eventually provided the conclusion that since things in the world of appearance keep on changing, their knowledge is impossible.<sup>53</sup> For Aristotle change takes place in things in the ordinary realm of existence whose knowledge is possible. There are three kinds of change- change of position, change of state, decay and growth.<sup>54</sup>

These changes occur because of four causes that answer “why” of anything, for example- why a table is such and such. First cause is matter or material cause- table is hard and strong as it is made up of wood; second is essence or formal cause- it does not break down as it has a certain structure or it has four legs of equal strength; third is source or efficient cause- it is made by a carpenter; and last the purpose and the good or the final cause- it can be used by people.<sup>55</sup> Hence, these causes answers “why” of anything and everything which eventually leads to wisdom, knowledge of forms, scientific knowledge, knowledge of universals, art etc.

Anything that participates in the process of change has the capacity to come out of their potentiality and move towards their end or actuality that its form has set for it. The ends can differ i.e. some may strive for external ends like house, car, etc. while some may move towards

---

<sup>51</sup> Ibid

<sup>52</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, p 96

<sup>53</sup> Tankha, V., (2014), *Ancient Greek Philosophy: Thales to Socrates*, p. 65

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 158

<sup>55</sup> Aristotle, (2001), *Metaphysics*, in *The basic works of Aristotle*, Richard Mckeon (ed.), p. 693

their internal end, for example- a man can move towards fulfilling his true nature as a man. Such movement towards one's end is called entelechy that everyone has. Hence, these movements are teleological in nature. Aristotle always gave prominence to actuality over potentiality as he believed that potential can never move towards actual if there was nothing actual in the first place. For example- potentially a boy is a man but before that there has to be an actual man before him.<sup>56</sup>

Plato believed that one can attain knowledge with certainty; whereas Aristotle believed that there are some sciences that are certain only for most of the part but at the same time he is also not a sceptic because he believed that theoretical science can provide knowledge with certitude. Aristotle considers three kinds of sciences having different levels of certainty which are theoretical, practical and productive science. Theoretical science seeks knowledge for its own sake and it includes metaphysics, mathematics, physics etc. Its subject matter is beyond any external influence that leads this science to follow its own course. Practical science is concerned with conduct and good behaviour in terms of both individual and societal. The subject matter of this science can change and it includes politics and ethics. Productive science deals with human production that includes rhetoric, music, art, agriculture, medicine etc. which have the tendency to change.<sup>57</sup>

Out of three sciences, theoretical has more certitude than the other two as it is beyond any human influence and it remains constant. The other two has less consistency as they are affected by human conduct. They are not totally false but have certitude only to a certain extent.<sup>58</sup> If we consider practical science that deals with individual and societal conduct, we can state that it deals with morality whose subject matter tends to vary. Every society and individual are different from each other and have their own set of morality which is why there cannot be any universal moral judgment imposed on everyone. Similarly, if we take rhetoric (productive science), it is about art of persuasive speech at various political situations.<sup>59</sup> This art does not have any prescribed universal set of rules for people to follow; it varies from situation to situation.

If we look from the above discussion of practical and productive science, it can be stated that no universal set of judgments can be made here that is imposed on everyone everywhere. Because these are under human influence and human being vary, we cannot have one or absolute

---

<sup>56</sup> Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, pp 99-100

<sup>57</sup> Plato.stanford.edu, "Aristotle", retrieved on 17-07-2017

<sup>58</sup> Barnes, J., (1976), "Introduction to Aristotle", in *The Nicomachean Ethics*, J. A. K. Thomson (trans.), p. 20

<sup>59</sup> Plato.stanford.edu, "Aristotle"

judgment. This leads to the conclusion that there is no absolute truth that one needs to adhere. This conclusion can be associated with the one of the aspects of toleration that is relativity. Modern form of toleration (religious toleration) is a product of Protestantism that allowed people to find their own truth rejecting any form of absolute truth that everyone needs to attain.<sup>60</sup> Hence, one could find some foundation of toleration here.

Another instance from where we can find some base of toleration from the ancient period is in Aristotle's experiential learning/ education. His ethic is character based that entails people how to live, in accordance with virtue. By bring virtuous a person a person can attain eudaimonia. There are two ways through which one can be act virtuously- practice and shared. In practice, a person must make it a habit to act from an established state of character<sup>61</sup>. Aristotle writes:

“But habits or types of characters are not only produced and preserved and destroyed by the same occasions and the same means, but they will also manifest themselves in the same circumstances...and so with courage: by habituating ourselves to despise danger, and to face it, we become courageous; and when we have become courageous, we are best able to face danger.”<sup>62</sup>

Next illustration is shared life where one can learn about virtue when he is placed in a family, community, friendship etc. Virtue is considered to be a community affair without anything related to self-help. This aspect allows people to participate, to know his own self as well others, reflect and respect each other.<sup>63</sup> The underlying element here is that since an individual is placed in a community, among people having different thoughts and faiths, he becomes aware of the differences and starts to respect it rather than making a mockery of it. He learns be to be neutral regarding differences that exist in a community leading to the disappearance of narcissism. This way of experiential learning proves to be more fruitful for students and teaching professionals. But such kind of learning not only helps one section of the society, but helps each and every

---

<sup>60</sup> Spinner- Halev, Jeff, “Hinduism, Christianity, and Liberal Religious Toleration”, in *Political Theory*, Vol. 33, No. 1, (2005), pp. 28-32.

<sup>61</sup> [www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Stonehouse, Paul & Allison, Pete & Carr, David, (2011), “Aristotle, Plato and Socrates: Ancient Greek perspective on Experiential Learning”, ResearchGate Publications, retrieved on 21-07-2017

<sup>62</sup> Aristotle, (1906), *The Nicomachean Ethics*, by F. H. Peters (trans.), book II, p. 38.

<sup>63</sup> [www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Stonehouse, Paul & Allison, Pete & Carr, David, (2011), “Aristotle, Plato and Socrates: Ancient Greek perspective on Experiential Learning”, ResearchGate Publications, retrieved on 21-07-2017

person to respect each other. It allows them to recognise others and get recognised for the difference they bring in the community.

This underlying element can also be found in toleration. The concept of toleration evolved over the period of time. The issues dealt by and included in toleration got developed and enhanced. Some of the aspects that toleration is associated with are non- interference, considering that there is nothing absolute in terms of truth, religion, faith etc., respect, equal treatment, etc. One such aspect is recognition and acceptance.<sup>64</sup> When a person is placed in a community and is given proper education, he refrains from committing any kind of discriminatory act and learns to co- exist.

Next instance of toleration having its base in ancient period is Aristotle's virtue ethics given in the fourth century B.C. Aristotle aim was to make people achieve their end (eudaimonia) that will lead to a good life or their well- being. This is only possible acting in accordance with virtue. He focused more on the character of a man rather than his act or its consequence. Virtue is a permanent state of mind that lies as a middle position between two vices. For example- courage is the virtue that lies between rashness as excess and cowardice as deficiency, temperance is a virtue that lies between profligacy as excess and insensitivity as deficiency.<sup>65</sup> It is a habit of choice where choice is a thoughtful desire of things determined by reason. A man is not virtuous if he acts under pressure and not by choice considered by reason. Hence, a good life is only possible if his act is rational and consistent, and in accordance with the principles of ethics.<sup>66</sup>

Every art, action, choice etc. aims at some kind of an ultimate end or good which, for Aristotle, is Eudaimonia or happiness or wellbeing. Profound disagreement existed regarding the nature of happiness that will lead us towards a good life. Ordinary people associated happiness with pleasure or wealth or honours of political life. Aristotle reviews all these aspects that led him to deny them and eventually introducing a fourth aspect which is the life of contemplation. The fourth aspect that is contemplative life becomes the preferred interpretation of happiness or eudaimonia.<sup>67</sup> Eudaimonia is the final end that is desirable in itself, self-sufficing and end in itself.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Carter, Ian, "Are Toleration and Respect Compatible?" in *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, (2013), p. 196-197

<sup>65</sup> Aristotle, (1906), *The Nicomachean Ethics*, by F. H. Peters (trans.), p. 48

<sup>66</sup> Lillie, William, (2018), *An Introduction to Ethics*, p. 287-290

<sup>67</sup> Aristotle, (1906), *The Nicomachean Ethics*, by F. H. Peters (trans.), book I, pp. 1-18

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19

The function to achieve this end can be determined only by the human soul. The soul is composed of two parts- rational and irrational which are inseparable. The rational part, peculiar to man, refers to intellectual virtue composed of two parts- Wisdom which is the scientific or theoretical part that is devoid of any change and Prudence which is the practical or calculative part where change does exist. On the other hand, the irrational part refers to Moral virtue has two parts- vegetative which is source of generation and nutrition and appetitive that deals with pain, pleasure, desires and emotions. Since one can get swayed by their emotions, rational part should be the controller of irrational. Eudaimonia can be defined as the exercise of the faculty of the soul in accordance with virtue.<sup>69</sup>

This good consists of certain aspects that are required for the attainment of eudaimonia and these are external goods that lie outside of our body like friends, family, wealth, honour, etc; second is the good of the body i.e. health; and third is the good of the soul.<sup>70</sup> Well- being is attained if a person is virtuous and makes moral judgments on the basis of reason. However, a person becomes virtuous not merely by endorsing and preaching good habits only but also by practicing them in their lives too. Hence, virtue is the quality of the soul that moves a person upward towards eudaimonia or ultimate end.<sup>71</sup>

Virtue is a mean that lies between two vices which needs to be avoided. There are two kinds of virtue- intellectual following instructions and thinking rightfully which requires both practice and time. Two types of intellectual virtue are wisdom and prudence. Another virtue is the moral virtue which is acting in a virtuous way, a product of habit. Some of the moral virtuous are courage, temperance, friendliness, truthfulness, etc. Both these virtuous are interdependent and combination of this virtue determines one's personality.<sup>72</sup> Happiness is a lifelong activity which is a permanent state of mind. Even Solon quotes regarding this. "call no man happy till he is dead."<sup>73</sup> Hence, happiness is the final end which is achieved by being virtuous that will determine one's character and eventually lead towards a good life.

Toleration considers that there is no absolute of anything. Everyone wants to lead a good life. It is the nature of the soul to act in accordance with virtue to pursue a good life or well- being. However, if we consider one way of life to be absolute and superior and impose it

---

<sup>69</sup>Ibid, pp. 19-21

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 22

<sup>71</sup>Thiroux, P. Jacques, (1995), *Ethics: Theory and Practice*, pp. 77-83

<sup>72</sup>[www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Stonehouse, Paul & Allison, Pete & Carr, David, (2011), "Aristotle, Plato and Socrates: Ancient Greek perspective on Experiential Learning", ResearchGate Publications, retrieved on 21-07-2017

<sup>73</sup>Aristotle, (1906), *The Nicomachean Ethics*, by F. H. Peters (trans.), book I, p. 23



on others, then this act might not be in accordance with virtue. Moreover, an attitude of being virtuous and allowing others to lead their own kind of good life rationally, requires to make it a habit and practice. Such an attitude must not be practiced for superficially but must come internally.

Another instance to locate toleration in the ancient period is the community of friendship. Friendship according to Aristotle is a moral virtue and is also a social food that will lead a person towards happiness or eudaimonia. Friendship is desired by everyone in any situation be it prosperous or poverty. It exists not only among men but also between birds and animals, different species etc. Statesmen gave immense significance to it as it holds people together in *polis*. The reason being they wanted to eliminate enmity among people so that they could live peacefully aiming towards eudaimonia. However there exist lot of agreements and disagreements regarding the nature of it; some considers friendship to be possible among similar individuals while some consider it to occur among opposites too.<sup>74</sup> For Aristotle, virtues like justice and friendship are important that keep a society intact; but he puts more emphasis on friendship because in a society where different people are living with different interests, conflict is bound to happen. Concord in terms of common interests like security, protection, etc. can only be attained by the virtue of friendship.

Aristotle identifies three kinds of friendship- first is friendship based on the usefulness, it exists for personal benefit rather than loving each other for who they are; second is friendship based on pleasure, here people are in relation because of pleasure like beauty or wit. Both these friendships are termed as accidental for the object of love is not stable. The object of love is not loved because of its actual nature but for some usefulness or pleasure (instrumental). If the object of love changes then such friendship also gets dissolved. And, the last one is friendship based on goodness. This friendship is considered to be perfect as people love each other for what they are and not in any accidental way. This kind is everlasting as it exists among good men who are virtuous. Such a friendship also provides benefit and pleasure but does not exist only for the sake of them. This friendship is founded on similarity which will lead to more agreements and less disagreements. However, this friendship is uncommon and difficult to find as not many people are good who acts in accordance with their virtues.<sup>75</sup>

Aristotle classifies friendship into two categories again- first is relation where friendship exists between father and son; and second is friendship that exists among the members of any

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., book VIII, pp. 251-253.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 255-258

association for example members of voyage, members of tribe, soldiers, etc. Since they are part of an association or community, they have common property. There will be agreements and disagreements but the main intention of such a community is not to unite them on the basis of their individual thoughts but to unite them on the basis of common property. Every member is a part of or joins a community to pursue their common interest that is required for their living. The legislator must aim at ensuring that their needs are met in a community which will eventually eliminate enmity to a certain extent. However, there could be many associations and they may have their own end to be fulfilled. For example- sailors aim to complete the voyage successfully so that they could earn some money.<sup>76</sup> Aristotle, regarding the community friendship, states:

“Thus, all other associations seem to aim at some particular advantage...some associations, again, seem to have pleasure for their object, as when men join together feast or a club dinner; for the object here is feasting and company. But all these associations seem to be subordinate to the association of citizens; for the association of citizens seems to have for its aim, not the interest of the moment, but the interests of our whole life...For the ancient festivals and assemblies seem to take place after the gathering in of the harvest, being of the nature of a dedication of the first-fruits, as it was at these seasons that people had most leisure.”<sup>77</sup>

Further, Aristotle makes a clarification regarding the nature of the friendship that exists in a community. This kind of friendship is different from the common friendship that exists between man and wife, father and son etc. The kind of affection present is also different in both these friendships. The common friendship exists among individuals whereas in a community friendship exists among citizens (comrade, soldier, fellow student, stranger etc.). They don't have to agree on anything but only on common property.<sup>78</sup> So, in way it can be claimed that Socrates was leaning towards the friendship based on usefulness. Such kind of friendship hints towards what Barker calls “political friendship” that shares the same characteristics that friendship in community possesses. According to Barker, it is not possible for a person to be

---

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., pp. 265-271

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 271

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

intimate or friends with everyone in a *polis*. Its aim is not to unite people over their ideologies to make them give their consent on common goods.<sup>79</sup>

There are lot of similarities between Aristotle's friendship and Barker's political friendship. For instance, political friendship is also a community where people rather than giving prominence to their individual thoughts, gave significance on improving their living conditions by being in such a community. Going by this explanation, political friendship can be equated with Aristotle's friendship based on usefulness. Second, political friendship is among citizens rather than individuals; in the same manner, Aristotle's community friendship also exists among fellow citizens. Hence, the similarity between friendship of Aristotle and Barker's political friendship is quite evident.

Aristotle considers that since a community is comprised of people endowed with different needs, desire and wars, conflict is inevitable. No society can deny any kind of tension that exists in the society. Plato, unlike Aristotle, aimed for an ideal state where every section of the state would be doing their job in accordance with their virtues without meddling into each other's affairs. Aristotle being realistic accepted conflict in community and also tried to address such situations. For Aristotle, there would be peace in a community if one focuses more on the similarities or common thongs rather than differences. Moreover, friendship is realized when lived together. In book IX of *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle states that:

“Lovers delight above all things in the sight of each other, and prefer the gratification of this sense to that of all the others, as this sense is more concerned than any other in the being and origin of love. In like manner, we may venture to say, friends find living together more desirable than anything else: for friendship is essentially community, and a man stands to his friends in the same relation in which he stands to himself; but with regard to himself the consciousness of existence is desirable; therefore the same consciousness with regard to his friend is desirable; but it is in a common life that they attain this consciousness; therefore they naturally desire a life in common.”<sup>80</sup>

From the above understanding, it can be stated that nobody endorses or welcomes conflict or any kind of tension in a society. To deny conflict is to live in a denial mode. Rather

---

<sup>79</sup>Barker, E., (1997), “Socratic Intolerance and Aristotelian Toleration” in *Philosophy, Religion and the Question of Intolerance*, M. A. Razavi & D. Ambuel (ed.), p. 253.

<sup>80</sup>Aristotle, (1906), *The Nicomachean Ethics*, by F. H. Peters (trans.), book VIII, book IX p. 316.

than emphasising the difference, concentration should be on living on the basis of similarities that unite everyone. No matter how much difference exists, one must always maintain a mean (virtue= friendship) for an orderly society. From the above passage, it can be held that Aristotle too believed in peaceful co- existence. The attitude of neutrality needs to be the centre of attention because just as conflict is inevitable so is difference. There is no one way of looking into truth, reality or religion. All that matters is respect, recognition, non -interference, peaceful co- existence and stability and eventually that will lead towards a good and happy life. Hence, the concept of toleration can be conceived from Aristotle's virtue of friendship. Syllogistically it could be stated:

Friendship is a virtue

Virtue is necessary for living good and happy life

Therefore, friendship is necessary for living good and happy life

Hence, one needs to realize that the harmful consequence that results from being intolerant is much grave than the benefits that are received by acting in a tolerant manner.<sup>81</sup> This is what Aristotle calls acting in accordance with Prudence.

Apart from leading a philosophical life, men must also take part in politics in order to have a happy life. But what kind of regime will lead a man towards happiness? Aristotle considered Aristocracy to be the perfect regime which is based on virtue (wisdom and prudence) and merit. But such a regime is difficult to attain as virtues can be possessed by very few people only. Since, in this regime friendship is based on goodness, there is no need for political friendship as there is no room for any disagreement regarding common interests of the *polis*. So a legislator "should not study merely the regime that is best but also the regime that is possible...and have more in common with."<sup>82</sup> Hence, the best regime is formed by combining two imperfect regimes i.e. democracy (rule by poor majority for their benefit) and oligarchy (rule by rich minority for their minority), which Aristotle terms as "Polity".<sup>83</sup>

Polity is an inclusive regime that takes care of the needs and interests of both rich and poor. Polity combines the legislation of both democracy and oligarchy and then finding a mean:

---

<sup>81</sup>Here tolerance is an attitude, tolerant is when a person has this attitude and toleration is the practices that ensure such attitude in practice.

<sup>82</sup> Aristotle, (1997), *The Politics*, in *The Politics of Aristotle* by P.L.P Simpson (trans.), pp. 1288b37-39.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1293b32-33

“...take something common and mean between them, and hence something that, as mixed from two, is proper to polity.”<sup>84</sup> It also finds a mean position regarding property arrangements or qualifications.<sup>85</sup> Hence, polity is a one such regime that prevented conflict from taking a destructive move by making everyone part of decision making process regarding common interests and compromising on various aspects. Such a regime will lead to a stable and harmonious society.

Polity is made possible by political friendship where consensus is required only in terms of common interests/ goods. People in a society will have different moral and political ideologies and have different ways to perceive the world. A society should act in a prudent manner that is to consider the cost and benefit of suppressing differences and must realise that consequence of acting irrationally is much more than benefit that comes from acting rationally by allowing everyone to pursue their respective views. Conflict that arises out of diversity should be perceived as natural and need to find a way to accommodate it; one such way is through toleration. Rather than focusing on building a homogeneous society, one must focus on the fundamental element or common interests that bind everyone regardless of their differences. Differences should be tolerated in order to attain a harmonious and stable society. And this view can be considered as toleration based on prudence which could be derived from Aristotle’s political friendship and regime of polity.

Aristotle is one of the greatest philosophers who have immensely contributed in the field of ethics and whose virtue ethics still finds place in the contemporary ethical debates. His concept of happiness is considered as elusive that cannot be an end. Even though Aristotle has given a detailed analysis of virtues and vices, he states nothing regarding how to know that one has hit the mean. Regarding this Mackie state: “...though Aristotle’s account is filled out with detailed descriptions of many virtues...but very little about where or how to fix the mean.”<sup>86</sup> Moreover, there is no universal agreement on the understanding of virtue:

“Aristotle regards pride as virtue, Christian ethics sees it as a terrible vice, Marxists see acquisitiveness as a vice, Capitalists regards it as a virtue...The ‘virtue’ which Machiavelli introduces, obviously, contradicts most of our traditionally cherished ideals of virtue. For

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., pp. 1294a40-41

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp. 1294b6-13

<sup>86</sup> Mackie, J. L., (1977), *Ethics: Inventing Right and Wrong*, p 186

example, he encourages craftiness, stinginess, lying and brutality as mean of acquiring and retaining political power.<sup>87</sup>

Aristotle considers certain mental capacities to be required in order to be happy. However, if a person lacks these capacities, then by Aristotle's definition he would never be happy in his life time. Moreover, one's character is not only a product of voluntary action but is also influenced by other aspects like environment, upbringing, temperament, childhood experiences, etc. Since Aristotle focused on everyday normative aspect of conduct, his concept of happiness is transient as it lasts till a person exists. If we combine his view that happiness is the activity of the soul with Plato's Immortality of the soul, then happiness becomes a transcendent good. But this is possible only in an ideal world where the soul is devoid of any kind of constraints. Hence, agreements and disagreements still exist regarding questions like: Is happiness is an actual end? What is happiness? How can we find it?

To sum up, the attempt of this study was to locate the concept of toleration in the ancient Greek period. There is no explicit concept of it given by any ancient Greek philosophers; still this study makes an attempt to find their indirect contribution in its evolution. Toleration can also be derived from the moral and political philosophies given by Plato and Aristotle. For Plato harmony prevails in a society when everyone does their job dictated by their virtues and without meddling into each other's affairs. Toleration has many aspects to it like respect, co- existence, peace etc; non- interference being one of them. Hence, the non- interference aspect of it can be very aptly inferred from the harmony aspect of Plato. Aristotle, however, believed in a good life that can only be attained if one aims for happiness or eudaimonia by being virtuous. He refutes Plato's Idea of Good considering it as transcendent entity that is unattainable. For him, the end of human life is to live well directing one's conduct towards the ultimate end i.e. Eudaimonia. We do this by accumulating all the real goods and cultivating good habits. Happiness requires intellectual contemplation for this is the ultimate realization of our rational capacities. Moreover, his experiential learning, his virtue of friendship, his acceptance of conflict to be existent in a society and how to curb it, all directs towards co- existence which is an essential aspect of toleration. Political friendship along with the regime of polity demonstrated how we can attain a harmonious state by calculating cost and benefit that arises out of acting rationally and irrationally. Rather than concentrating on creating a homogeneous society, focus should be on

---

<sup>87</sup> Ezedike, Edward U., "Happiness as an end: A critique of Aristotle's rational eudaemonism" in *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 10, No.1, (2019), p. 59.

matters that concern everyone. Regardless of the differences, one must focus on the fundamental/common aspect that unites everyone. Hence, this view is called toleration based on prudence found in Aristotle's philosophy.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORY OF TOLERATION IN CLASSICAL LIBERALISM: JOHN LOCKE AND IMMANUEL KANT

In the present chapter, I will discuss the theories of toleration in the context of the debates between two eminent liberalists: John Locke (1632-1704) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Liberalism is a political, moral and philosophical movement that stressed on the values of liberty, autonomy, justice, rationality, equality, toleration, consent and property that started during the period of Greeks. The Age of Enlightenment made liberalism a distinct political movement. Liberals opposed the absolute power that the government possessed and tried to replace it with participatory democracy where everyone abides by the law.<sup>88</sup>

It goes to the credit of John Locke, the father of liberalism, whose argument focuses specifically on the conflict between political authority and religious belief. He articulated a view of toleration based on the epistemological claim that it is impossible for the state to coerce genuine religious belief. Different from Locke, Immanuel Kant argues against religious intolerance by pointing out that although we are certain of our moral duties, human beings do not have apodictic certainty of God's commands. Thus, a religious belief that demands a contravention of morality (such as the burning of a heretic) can never be justified.

In Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, an essay that was written during his exile in Holland, he argued that the state should refrain from interfering in the religious beliefs of its subjects, except when these religious beliefs lead to behaviors or attitudes that run counter to the security of the state. Locke claimed that every being is born equal and free and cannot overpower anyone. Interference in one's liberty is only allowed when there is a clear threat against an individual or groups.<sup>89</sup> To tolerate something does not mean to suppress something in an absolute manner. The State has the power if one's activities can harm others, but it cannot impose legal restrictions or other obstructions. For early liberals, diversity of beliefs led to reveal the truth rather than suppressing those beliefs.<sup>90</sup> Hence, this separation of church and state led to the inception of secularization.

Immanuel Kant, in response to skeptics such as Hume, tried to avoid skepticism while focusing on the limits of human knowledge and the limits of political power. In his essay, "What

---

<sup>88</sup> <https://plato.stanford.edu>, "Liberalism", retrieved on 06-01-2018

<sup>89</sup> Locke, John, (1990), *Second Treatise of Government*, pp. 3-7.

<sup>90</sup> Deveaux, Monique, "Toleration and Respect", in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), p. 407.



is Enlightenment?" Kant argues for an enlightened form of political power that would allow subjects to argue among them, so long as they remained obedient to authority. This position is further clarified by Kant's claim in *Perpetual Peace* that philosophers should be allowed and encouraged to speak publicly.<sup>91</sup> Kant's contention in this later essay is that public debate and discussion lead to the truth, and that kings should have nothing to fear from the truth. Kant's views on religious toleration are clarified in his *Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*. Here, Kant argues against religious intolerance by pointing out that although we are certain of our moral duties, even God's command has to be brought within the commands of reason, within the free will of human beings and the Goodwill.<sup>92</sup>

In order to organize the discussion in this chapter, I propose to divide the chapter into two sections namely, Section I: Relevance of Right in Locke and Kant; this section explains how the concept of goodness was overpowered by the concept of right in the context of liberalism. Kant, a deontologist, believed that duty is the fundamental moral concept. In Section II: Individualism and Secularism, I will discuss the separation of the church and the state made by Locke and claimed that toleration must be observed between them.

Even though Locke and Kant have many differences in the way they see the role of religion in their respective societies, they are all concerned with the peaceful life that their proposed theories would bring to the society. What is the difference between Plato and Locke on the idea of peaceful co-existence in the society? Has Locke tried to supersede Plato's position? The remarkable change that takes place is that Plato's idea of the good gets superseded by the idea of individual rights in Locke and Kant. For both Locke and Kant, 'right' is morally superior to the idea of 'goodness'.<sup>93</sup> With Locke, one of the earliest enlightenment thinkers, right to life, property and freedom became more important than goodness. Toleration became more of an individual centric. The question arises – can religion be relegated to personal preference, instead of something that is compulsory and forced? Should it be something that an individual could choose if need be? Since it was the period of secularization with the treaty of Westphalia in Germany in 1648<sup>94</sup> signed by the European nations fighting for the thirty-year War of Religion, the separation of church from state and the toleration between different churches is the key to a working society and an effective and unbiased governmental system. In the later phase of

---

<sup>91</sup>Kant, Immanuel, (2010), *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, p. 15.

<sup>92</sup> Kant, Immanuel, (1793), *Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*, p. 159

<sup>93</sup> Kant, Immanuel, (1953), *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, p. 109.

<sup>94</sup> Paul Kennedy, (1989), *The Rise and Fall the Great Powers, Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000*, pp.45-51. For details, please see Paulos Mar Gregorios "On Humanism, Secularism, and Socialism" *Journal of Indian Council of Philosophical Research* Vol. XIV, Number 3, May-August, 1997pp.75-89.

enlightenment, Kant regarded toleration as well as mutual respect<sup>95</sup> to be the principles to treat humanity as an end so that autonomy and dignity of the individuals are not violated. Kant presented the comprehensive depiction of a liberal understanding of toleration as an international order which could be termed peaceful in normative terms. He developed an account of peace that rested upon the concepts of enlightenment rationality like autonomy, toleration, property, public and private spheres, rights, etc. and the maxims of ‘categorical imperative’.

Locke and Kant made epistemological claim regarding toleration that one should tolerate the opinions and beliefs of the other because it is either impossible to coerce belief or because such coercion is not the most useful pedagogical approach. With the above explanations, I now would like to go into the details of section 1.

## **Section I**

### **Relevance of Right in Locke and Kant**

The work *A Letter Concerning Toleration* by John Locke was in response to the political and religious turmoil witnessed in the seventeenth century Europe and Britain which led him to write this essay where he addressed issues related to religious intolerance. After Christianity was made official in the Roman Empire and became a dominant religion, the Church extended its power to politics and government. In the name of God, the Church started extracting property, gold, wealth etc. Punishments were inflicted by Church on people for having clashing views and opinions and also for crimes varying from petty to serious. These actions proved that it is another kingdom that they aimed at and not towards the advancement of the Kingdom of God.<sup>96</sup>

In the essay, Locke employs two kinds of arguments justifying religious toleration: secular and religious. His secular arguments in favour of toleration are based on the assumption that government finds its legitimacy in the consent of the members of a society. Prior to the formation of state, human beings lived in a “state of nature” where each man enjoys a natural right to life, liberty and property and are subject the law of nature where principles are the dictate of reason. Without any political body, everyone has the right to defend their rights and also has a right to punish those who harmed their rights.<sup>97</sup> But there was a fear of invasion that made enjoyment of property unsafe and unsecure. This led the individuals to form a civil government

---

<sup>95</sup> DeLue, Steven M., “Martin Buber and Immanuel Kant on Mutual Respect and the Liberal State”, *Janus Head*, 9(1), (2006), p. 117

<sup>96</sup> Locke, John, (1990), *Second Treatise on Government*, p. 5

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

which, rather than interfering, took care of their rights and properties and punish those who violate any law. They entered into a civil society by compromising a little bit of freedom unlike the state of nature.<sup>98</sup>

The formation of the government should be consensual whose aim must be to protect the rights of life, health, most importantly, possession or property. For Locke, Justice meant rightful ownership of lands whereby the harmony between individuals and the civil society is maintained. One is taken away from his justice when his labor is beyond his power. By doing so the feudal lords invited a state of war from the peasants. In state of war, the offended party can resolve the situation by killing the other party or if the offending party admits defeat and requests a ceasefire.<sup>99</sup> Use of force leads to the violation of laws of reason and hampers one's liberty and property. It destroys the peace and harmony that should prevail in a society. For Locke "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."<sup>100</sup> According to this, the peasants had the right to kill their masters for injustice done on their part.

And, what were the prescribed roles for the Church and the civil government? He began this work by stating that toleration should be the characteristic mark of the Church. Anyone lacking charity, meekness and goodwill in general towards all mankind, even to those not Christian, is certainly short of being Christian. The Church is an institution whereby the lives of the people are regulated in accordance with the rules of virtue and piety. One needs to place love over his lusts and vices.<sup>101</sup> Locke distinguishes the works of the church and the civil magistrate. This division of work somehow gave people the right to have their own religious preferences without having any fear. He believed there should be toleration among churches and between church and state. The jurisdiction of the magistrate is confined only to the civil concerns; it has no concern with the saving of the souls. Similarly, the church has no business in entering into these fields, but should concern itself to helping people find God and enrich their souls.<sup>102</sup>

Toleration and right are interrelated. According to liberal tradition, men have and must exercise basic fundamental rights. For Locke, right involves life, liberty and property. For Kant one must have autonomy, dignity and respect. Men must hold his belief, view and faith without any fear from the external factor. But all citizens, no matter what nationality they hold, what

---

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-18.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 12

<sup>101</sup> Locke, John (1997), *A Letter Concerning Toleration* in Steven M. Cahn ed. *Classics of Modern Political Theory*, p. 3

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7

beliefs they endorse, are equal before law. One must accept the law and form their conduct accordingly. While all are welcome to have their views, they don't have any right towards malice, public vices and barbarities. Anyone using their right for all these causes will not be tolerated by the law and hence, will be subjected to punishment.<sup>103</sup> Hence, toleration is a way of granting equality and freedom to citizens through the provision of rights.

According to the religious arguments in favour of toleration, everyone needs to decide for themselves the true path to God. Locke's concept of religious toleration persuades one to tolerate religious diversity and conflicting views and opinions that lead one towards salvation. Rather than suppressing or interfering, it is rational to allow different religious views to exist that might bring one closer to the truth. Moreover, government can force men to follow any outward practices but "confiscation of estate, imprisonment, torments"<sup>104</sup> can make one to change his inward faith they have already framed. In support of this argument, Locke gave three main reasons; first, individuals cannot divest control over their souls to secular forces; second, force can never create any change required for salvation. It may coerce obedience but it can never change one's beliefs; third, there is no reason that magistrates are reliable judges of religious truth.<sup>105</sup> It is not the diversity of opinion that will lead to war; instead it is the refusal of toleration that will be considered as oppression done to men that will bring unrest in the society. When government extends toleration to people with different religious beliefs and protects their rights, then they are no longer considered as a threat to society; rather it is their equal treatment that will turn a society peaceful. Hence, Locke provided a prudential justification for religious toleration as he finds intolerance to be irrational and imprudence. Prudence dictates man to follow the dictate of reason and to be tolerant towards the diversity that does not harm the public order.

Locke's concept of toleration i.e. non- interference in terms of religious diversity fall short in addressing issues that arise regarding cultural conflicts, safeguarding cultural identities and membership, and issues related to race, gender and homosexuality, etc. which make the application of toleration limited. Rather than non- interference, the minority and vulnerable groups demanded inclusion, equal participation, respect, recognition, protection their rights and interests, and many more. Hence, his justification of toleration on the basis of rationality and prudence was only for rational and autonomous individuals but was not applicable for cultural

---

<sup>103</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com>, RIGHT or TOLERATION, retrieved on 23-09-2018.

<sup>104</sup> Locke, John (1997), *A Letter Concerning Toleration* in Steven M. Cahn ed. *Classics of Modern Political Theory*, p. 20

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9

and ethnic minorities, indigenous people and other vulnerable groups. He did give importance to respect/mutual respect but that was only in terms of rational and autonomous agent. He saw individuals as rational agent rather than belonging to or a member of any group.<sup>106</sup> As a result, his concept of toleration could not accommodate wide range of social and cultural differences.

As long as there is no harm to the public good, state should exercise non- interference; but if any political harm is caused because of some views and opinions, then the magistrate has the right to intervene in these matters. However, Locke did not correctly state the criteria to be followed by the magistrate in order to define the scope of the public good. Locke considered the views of atheists and Catholics to be harmful and was himself not very tolerant towards them. If any practice or view is preventing any society from being civil, then toleration should not be extended to these aspects. However, if they discard their uncivil beliefs, then they would be tolerated. One needs to have clarity regarding the fact that toleration is not a commitment to relativism. The reason being there are certain practices that are considered wrong no matter what that need not be tolerated like - murder, rape, abuse, slavery, discrimination on the basis of caste, colour, religion, gender, etc. Toleration is only functional as long as it is associated with autonomy and rationality.

There is no evidence where he mentions about the right to form one's own conception of good life. He was more focused on what needs to be restrained rather than on positive measures required for human flourishing and a stable society. Locke is not wrong in giving importance to toleration but it has too little to offer as it could not address issues related to social and cultural differences. Respect must cater both to individuals as rational and autonomous beings and also to groups. Respect takes into account a person's dignity and self- esteem and also allows dialogue to happen between conflicting parties. Today various minority and vulnerable groups have raised demands and without any dialogue it is impossible to understand the content and intensity of their demands, which was not a characteristic mark of toleration.<sup>107</sup> Toleration may not be a single solution for every kind of difference as it is only one of the aspects that ensure pluralism. But it cannot be denied that Locke's concept of toleration provided a ground for many debates, agreements, disagreements, modifications, etc. that exist today regarding the content of toleration.

---

<sup>106</sup> Deveaux, Monique, "Toleration and respect", in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), pp. 410-412

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 421-424

The enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant was a deontologist and political liberalist who considered human beings to have unconditional value. The Kantian notion conceived human beings as an end-in-themselves who are the bearers of rights because of the very fact that they are human beings. By the virtue of these rights, an agent is considered to be free, rational and an autonomous being capable of realizing his potential and making decisions. The rights that an agent possesses are “absolute, universal and fundamental.”<sup>108</sup> The key concepts in his philosophy are autonomy, rationality, dignity, toleration, respect, freedom, etc. With the help of their rational and autonomous nature, they are capable of entering into a kingdom of ends where they can form laws by themselves and ought to obey them as well.<sup>109</sup>

Kant has used the word toleration both in a direct and indirect manner in his works like *What is Enlightenment?*, *Religion Within the Bounds of Bare Reason*, *Perpetual Peace*, *The Metaphysics of the Morals*, etc. He has used German words like Aushalten, Duldsamkeit, Ertragen, Toleranz etc. to refer to toleration.<sup>110</sup> In his essay *What is Enlightenment?* Kant states that for enlightenment an agent ought to make use of his rationality, autonomy, courage and freedom. Men must be allowed to freely make use of his public reason that alone can bring enlightenment among people; whereas private reason is often restricted to ensure that it does not hinder enlightenment or cause any harm in the society. Kant states that:

“...he considers it his duty, in religious matters, not to prescribe anything to his people, but to allow them complete freedom...who left all men free to use their own reason in all matters of conscience...scholars freely and publicly submit to the judgment of the world their verdicts and opinions, even if these deviate here and there from orthodox doctrine.”<sup>111</sup>

It is evident that Kant endorses toleration not only in terms of religion but also regarding public use of one’s reason. The private use of reason is when a person expresses his views and opinions as an officer, clergymen or any other official or social role he is entrusted in; whereas

---

<sup>108</sup>Menon, Krishna, (2010), “Human Rights- A Theoretical Foray”, *Conceptual Analysis and Contextual Applications*, Shashi Motilal (ed.), p. 58

<sup>109</sup>Motilal, Shashi, (2010), “Moral relativism and Human Rights”, *Conceptual Analysis and Contextual Applications*, Shashi Motilal (ed.), p. 75.

<sup>110</sup>Bain, Andrew and Formosa, Paul, “Toleration and Some Related Concepts in Kant”, *Kantian Review*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, (2020), p.3

<sup>111</sup> Kant, Immanuel, (1996), “An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?” in (ed.) J. Schmidt, *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Question*, p. 5

public use of reason is utilized while addressing the entire public.<sup>112</sup> Even though we have freedom, but matters related to conscience have to be brought within the moral law where a person acts from a sense of duty. Often we have a desire to act on our inclinations but by the virtue of being free and rational one should act from their rational will. So to obey the moral law is to obey our reason which is present in each and every individual.<sup>113</sup> Toleration in terms of religions leads to experimentation and discussion that needs to be brought under moral law which will eventually leads one towards enlightenment. Moreover, the state must maintain neutrality in terms different faith as every faith promote various means to move towards a true religion.

In *Toward Perpetual Peace*, Kant's notion of toleration is to put up with other's physical presence and the right to have conversation.(moral or interpersonal) In *Conflict of the Faculties* Kant claims that state should not tolerate any religion that never allow its members to be helpful of each other in attaining the aim of being moral. As a rational and autonomous being, an agent should inquire and observe his own understanding but at the same time he should also be a law-abiding citizen. Moreover, an ethical will is to act in a tolerant, loving, respecting manner, observing reciprocity, being open- mindedness so that they promote virtue. Toleration for Kant is about being patient and putting up with person/thing/view that we consider to be confliction or do not approve of. It perfectly fits personal and interpersonal aspect; however, regarding political aspect, state must be fine with citizens acting lawfully but at the same time punishing those who disobey the laws. Here, the state has nothing to do with being tolerant towards those who act unlawfully. Hence, Kant has mentioned about the significance of toleration in personal, interpersonal and political aspects.<sup>114</sup>

Even though Kantian notion of toleration is about cultivation of virtues and making a commitment to morality, it did come with certain shortcomings. Kant considers diversity and safeguarding rights, interests, beliefs and faiths only in terms of agents rather than ethnic groups, indigenous people etc. In a liberal society, an agent is seen as an autonomous and rational person rather than as someone who is a member of a group having cultural identity/membership or any association. Even his concept of 'end-in-themselves' was only applicable to individuals and not groups. Moreover, toleration is often associated with a "live and let live" attitude where people

---

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 2

<sup>113</sup> <https://www.qcc.cuny.edu>, "Moral Law" by Stephen O' Sullivan and Philip A. Pecorino, retrieved on 21-08-2017.

<sup>114</sup> Bain, Andrew and Formosa, Paul, "Toleration and Some Related Concepts in Kant", *Kantian Review*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, (2020), pp. 8-11

learn to ignore things that they don't understand or cannot trust. Over the time, this attitude may convert to fear and pave the way for hate and violence.<sup>115</sup> Hence, toleration can become a source of illiberal attitude towards difference which puts a blind eye towards the rights that are protected by liberalism.

To make it appear in a positive light, Kant supported toleration with the concept of respect. The reason being in toleration there is less interaction among the masses, whereas in respecting others, there is a wider possibility of engaging in conversation and understanding each other's view. Kantian idea of respect acknowledges and recognizes dignity in other men; whereas it is not mandatory to consider dignity and self-esteem while tolerating others.<sup>116</sup> Like Locke, Kantian notion of toleration too has contestations as it considers plurality and protecting rights only in terms of individual character rather than of groups. Respect was catered only to autonomous agents/ individuals in order to keep their dignity and self-esteem intact. Moreover, respect opened scope for conversation but only to understand belief and faith of individuals and not to comprehend the needs, interests and plight of the minorities and other vulnerable groups. The concept to duty was only to consider individuals as an end-in-themselves and not groups. For both Locke and Kant the major focus was not on why or how an agent formulated his views and beliefs but to ensure that he has the freedom to follow them without any interference.<sup>117</sup> In spite of difference in beliefs, their focus was on attaining a harmonious society where individual liberty is protected and promoted to a greater extent. As a result, community became a secondary entity as no attention was provided to common or shared values but on individual beliefs

For Kant, toleration is based on moral concepts that guide our conduct to treat others as an end and involvement of third parties like social and political institutions, media is justified in ensuring respect.<sup>118</sup> However, it is quite challenging to answer how by following certain moral concepts, relation or interaction among is possible? Kant put immense significance on moral concepts and observing certain duties like- never to commit suicide, speak the truth, keep promises etc. because we can treat others as an end only if we ourselves are moral. For that we need to act on our ethical will whereby focus is on acting rationally rather than getting swayed by our interests. We must always act on our motive as a free person without bothering about the

---

<sup>115</sup> Deveaux, Monique, "Toleration and respect", in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), pp. 421-422

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 421

<sup>117</sup> Fernandez, Christian, "Toleration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Revised Liberal Defense", *Centre for European Studies*, No. 4, (2008), p. 12

<sup>118</sup> DeLue, Steven M., "Martin Buber and Immanuel Kant on Mutual Respect and the Liberal State", *Janus Head*, 9(1), (2006), pp. 117



external factors that might make us treat people as mean and not end.<sup>119</sup> But a society comprises of individual and communities and in order to make a society civil, our duty is not only to cater to the demands of rational and autonomous agent, but also take care of the needs of various communities. Here, the Kantian notion of respect can also be extended to these groups.

To understand the content and intensity of their demands, critical and respectful conversation or dialogue among communities is the primary requirement. To build communal intimacy, direct and immediate communication is required which will allow people to help each other when in fear, confusion, distress etc. A strong human relationship is formed when individuals take it as their duty engage in dialogue, seek truth, being non-judgmental, build trust, there is language of immediacy as well as duty, third parties that aim at ensuring respect rather than considering it as a mean to achieve their target and a state that prevents exploitation, harm and secures the rights and interests of its members. Hence, this will not only allow us to understand others but at the same time we will also discover various dimensions of our personality.<sup>120</sup>

Apart from the inadequacy of classical liberals in addressing the demands of minority, cultural groups, etc. there are few shortcomings associated with the ideology of liberalism. First, it is claimed that liberalism does not go into the reasons for enmity and distrust among cultural groups or between majority and minority groups. If this allegation is true, then by mere ensuring rights to these groups may not be sufficient enough for maintaining stability and peace in the society. What we need is to rectify, remove and repair the injustices that have scarred these groups.<sup>121</sup> As a moral and political ideal, toleration should be observed both by the state and the people. There should be dialogue among the conflicting parties to repair the damage caused and understand each other's perspective. One such example is India where Article 29 states that "any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same."<sup>122</sup> The Indian state is liberal as it allows every culture to protect their rights and interests and is tolerant towards every view and opinion; however, the onus is also upon its members to exercise restraint in their response toward behaviors and attitude that they disapprove of.

---

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 122

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., pp. 118-121

<sup>121</sup> Spinner- Halev, J., "From Historical to Enduring Injustice", *Political Theory*, Vol. 35, No. 5, (2007), p. 576.

<sup>122</sup> <https://www.india.gov.in>, "Constitution of India", retrieved on 27-09-2018

Second, William A. Galston claimed that in actual sense no society is neutral as it would always prefer or give superiority to a dominant language, a particular way of life, holidays catering to state religion, specific attire, etc. However, Galston's position can be refuted by again taking into consideration liberal Indian society.<sup>123</sup> As India speaks and writes in many languages, the Indian Constitution gives recognition to 22 major languages which are included in its 8<sup>th</sup> Schedule.<sup>124</sup> India does not have any state religion and practices non- interference in terms of religious views. Everyone is allowed to choose their path of getting united with the reality as every path is only a fragment of the reality. However, moving away from the modern view, the state in India is allowed to interfere as long as it is doing it for human flourishing which is known as positive interference.

Third, the public and private sphere dichotomy is a well known distinction in liberalism where people are attached to the public sphere, regardless of their differences, by the virtue of universal concepts like peace, justice, order, etc; in private sphere one is free, can follow practices, faiths, religion and join communities of his choice. In this sphere, everyone is autonomous and free to live as he see fit without any interference from public restraint. A tolerant society must respect this public/private dichotomy and tolerate the 'deviant behaviors' that are observed in the private sphere given that they are chosen freely and do not disturb the public sphere such as "same-sex relation as well as marriage, narcotics, polygamy, etc."<sup>125</sup> In liberalism, public sphere focuses on unity and everyone is considered as equal or equally different. However, it fails to perceive that these differences are not distributed equally. The differences shared by majority such as "whiteness, maleness, straightness, etc. are seen as normal; whereas differences shared by minority/ marginalized section such as blackness, femaleness, gayness, etc."<sup>126</sup> are considered as deviant. Confining these differences to private sphere is not enough to consider toleration as respect

Till now the study has examined the theories of liberalism and toleration along with their shortcomings in the philosophical works of Locke and Kant. One of the contemporary liberal philosophers John Rawls have also contributed towards development of the concept of toleration. His main intention was to form a political conception of justice which is moral and sound that works for political, social and economic institutions, agreed upon by free and willing citizens,

---

<sup>123</sup> Galston, W. A., (1991), *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Diversity in the Liberal State*, p.3,

<sup>124</sup> <https://www.india.gov.in>, "Constitution of India", retrieved on 27-09-2018

<sup>125</sup> Fernandez, Christian, "Toleration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Revised Liberal Defense", *Centre for European Studies*, No. 4, (2008), pp. 10-11

<sup>126</sup> Galeotti, A. E., (2002), *Toleration as Recognition*, pp. 57-60.

allows citizens to form their conception of good life as they see fit, agrees to the norm of neutrality and supported by overlapping consensus that will eventually lead towards a stable social unity. For Rawls, diversity is a permanent feature of modern democracies where attaining overlapping consensus regarding the conception of justice is not always possible; in spite of diverse doctrines or pluralism, he tries to demonstrate how such a concept of justice may be attained and social unity is maintained. And, this conception of justice Rawls refers a 'justice as fairness'.<sup>127</sup> As long as citizens' ways of good life do not harm the prerequisites for justice as fairness, they should be tolerated.

In order to maintain a system of ethics, Rawls proposed an account of 'reflective equilibrium' that consists of broadest possible considered moral judgments which are as coherent as possible. These judgments carry beliefs and views which are beyond any partiality and biasness. As diversity is the permanent characteristic of any society, whatever moral judgments are formed should be without "wrongness of racial discrimination, religious intolerance, terrorism, torture and political conflicts of interest."<sup>128</sup> However, these judgments are subject to revision and needs to be adjusted as the situation demands so that they remain grounded and sound. There exists one difficulty regarding this coherence theory:

"One problem with this general model is that a bare coherence of norms never provides a sufficient basis for justification because the body of substantive judgments and principles that cohere could themselves be morally unsatisfactory... These considered moral judgments...are credible and trustworthy; but how is one to justify such a claim in the case of any proposed set of considered judgments?...it is also not clear how we should and should not achieve coherence, or how to be sure that we have done so."<sup>129</sup>

An objection regarding the conception of justice given by Rawls is that may be realized in terms of individual and social difference but in terms of cultural minorities, cultural identities and membership, the role of it is not explored in a proper manner. To understand this difficulty, it is necessary to look into the theory of toleration given by Rawls. His theory of toleration

---

<sup>127</sup> Rawls, John, "The idea of an Overlapping Consensus", *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (1987), pp. 1-7

<sup>128</sup> Beauchamp, Tom L., (2005), "The Nature of Applied ethics", *A Companion to Applied Ethics*, by R.G. Frey and Christopher Heath Wellman (ed.), p. 11

<sup>129</sup> Beauchamp, Tom L., (2005), "The Nature of Applied ethics", *A Companion to Applied Ethics*, by R.G. Frey and Christopher Heath Wellman (ed.), p. 12

maintains that a pluralist society has diverse social, religious, moral and political doctrines that embrace conflicting conceptions of good life. The state is required to tolerate them as long as they satisfy the requirements for justice and fairness and should not favour or promote any particular view or doctrine. Rawls' toleration is closely associated with the principle of neutrality, equality and justice and could accommodate social, moral and political differences. Hence, his theory of toleration could foster a sense of respect among the people.<sup>130</sup>

The virtue of toleration is also required in a liberal plural society to ensure and protect the rights and interests of the ethnic and cultural minority groups whereby their practices are respected by the majority group members. In spite of all the positive aspects, there are reasons to be skeptical that Rawls' toleration could inculcate respect for cultural minorities. The reason being first, Rawls wanted to form a just and tolerant society in term of political norms, political culture and the public reason. However, he ignored the other important aspects which determine the social life of a person like cultural identity and membership; second, Rawls' concept of justice as fairness may discourage people and their representatives to express their personal opinion as they are guided by the norms of public reason, where they are supposed to refrain from making any claims regarding cultural minorities, communities etc. Regarding this it can be stated:

“Rawls must instead appeal to some combination of principles of justice and public reason. He cannot point to the importance of toleration in supporting individual autonomy, since to do so is to invoke a non- political norm...Rawls; conception of justice as fairness and his account of toleration may pose tangible obstacles to the positive recognition of cultural minorities...Rawls' notion of public reason requires and assumes that “reasonable” citizens accept a basic division between their private, particular moral views and arrangements, and public or political norms, principles and procedures...Citizens and their representatives are thus discouraged from arguing from their own partial perspectives in public life, and political institutions are to be structured according to “the guidelines and procedures of public reason”...Ethnic and religious minority groups whose political views are intertwined with their moral and religious beliefs may consequently be excluded from this model of neutral liberal politics, for they may not agree to follow the norms of neutral public reason required by Rawls.”<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Deveaux, Monique, “Toleration and respect”, in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), p. 414

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 414-415

From the above discussion, it can be stated that even though Rawls' justice as fairness and toleration could cater to individual and social differences and inculcate respect to citizens as individuals but could not do so in terms of cultural identities and memberships. Moreover, there is also a possibility that toleration may lead to grudging respect but cannot lead to intercultural respect. Toleration leads individuals to choose one's own belief and ignore those which they don't understand. In a course of time this dislike converts to fear and finally to hate. Toleration may itself give rise to illiberal conditions which may prove to be a hurdle in attaining the rights that liberalism guarantees.<sup>132</sup> To avoid such state of affairs, the theory of toleration must be supported by other concepts like respect, recognition, acceptance, love, inclusion, dialogue and communication.

## Section II

### Individualism and Secularism

Liberalism encompasses many principles, values and elements within its fold and one of its principle tenets is individualism. Individualism is a nineteenth century term which is used in many ways and in various contexts. In France, the use of the word individualism came out in response to the French revolution and the Enlightenment. Individualism giving significance to individual welfare is against the superior interests of society. They saw it as a threat to the pluralist order of the society.<sup>133</sup> In America individualism supported capitalism and liberal democracy that has been applied area of natural rights, free enterprise etc. It came to hold immense importance in America after the cold war. It became a symbol of 'national identification' in terms of its characteristic attitudes, behavior, aspirations etc.<sup>134</sup>

Locke's theory of individualism was a critique of the feudal system after witnessing havoc created in a massive scale by it. Kant's individualism gave sanctity to individual autonomy and freedom to come out of the dependence or guidance of another person and be enlightened. There existed a section that was in an advantaged situation and could afford all the luxuries like education, holding lands etc. It was a social injustice on the part of the peasants as they sold their labor and lived under their feudal lords. All they could do was to change their

---

<sup>132</sup>DeLue, Steven M., "Martin Buber and Immanuel Kant on Mutual Respect and the Liberal State", *Janus Head*, 9(1), (2006), pp. 117-118.

<sup>133</sup> Lukes, Steven, "The Meanings of 'Individualism'", in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 32, No. 1, (1971), p. 46.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

master and could not actually come out of that system. This led Locke to come up with his theory of individualism where he put forth the natural rights (life, liberty and property) theory.<sup>135</sup>

In a state of nature or a situation prior to the civil society, first, an individual is free as no one has authority over him other than the creator; second, he is naturally rational; third, he is equal in the sense that since everyone is endowed with the same rational faculty, nobody can overpower him. They have the same needs and the same rights to pursue them; and last, being equal, individuals need to respect each other. They have state of liberty but not license:

“...one of license: though man in that state have an uncountable liberty to dispose of his person or possessions, yet he has not liberty to destroy himself, or so much as any creature in his possession, but where some nobler use than its bare preservation calls for it”<sup>136</sup>

For Locke, reason is the connecting link between ideas which leads us to knowledge or lead us away from mere opinion. Men have a right to punish in the state of nature but such a decision needs to be made with conscience and calm mental faculty. This power is only retributive. Moreover, this faculty of reason needs to be cultivated over the time and none is guilty till the time they are aware with the law. Till then they are under the guidance of an expert who helps one to build the capacity to understand the laws of reason. Locke wanted the individuals to follow certain laws of reason and avoid any form of monarchy which will eventually lead the individuals to self- rule. In those situations which exceed an individual's capacity to decide, the responsibility goes into the hands of majority.<sup>137</sup>

In *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, Locke stated how the church expanded into politics and civil governance and accumulated a huge amount of wealth in the form of property, gold, art etc. The church introduced civil laws based on religious doctrine, thus making it possible to criminalize difference of opinion. This led Locke to distinguish the works of church and civil magistrate. The jurisdiction of the magistrate is confined only to the civil concerns; it has no concern with the saving of the souls. Similarly, the church has no business in entering into these fields, but should concern itself to helping people find God and enrich their souls.<sup>138</sup> For Locke, Church is a free and voluntary society into which nobody is born. Nobody can be tied to the

---

<sup>135</sup> Locke, John, (1990), *Second Treatise on Government*, p 19

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p 19.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>138</sup> Locke, John (1997), *A Letter Concerning Toleration* in Steven M. Cahn ed. *Classics of Modern Political Theory*, pp. 6-7

church, but is attracted to it for one's salvation.<sup>139</sup> No person can inflict problems and pain to others in the name of the teachings of Christ, who advocates toleration, love and peace. The care of the souls does not belong to the magistrate.<sup>140</sup> Locke claims that, "Faith only and inward sincerity are the things that procure acceptance with God."<sup>141</sup>

The works of Kant have been related to an "allegiance to the inviolability of the individual and a prioritization of personal autonomy."<sup>142</sup> In his work "Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?" he claims that a person is naturally free. An individual's freedom is restricted by prejudices, dogmas, social pressures etc. In order to claim his right for freedom, he needs to rise above those prejudices and dogmas and must express freely. He needs to think for himself and take decisions without the influence of any external or internal forces.<sup>143</sup> Regarding the notions of freedom and autonomy of individual at an individual level, Kant gave his model of Categorical Imperative. Even though Kant's categorical imperative can be seen as a necessary principle of morality, there are certain dilemmas involved in it as it only takes into consideration the people at a private level.

Kant claims that the immaturity in a man is not because of any lack of understanding; what it lacks is resolution and courage and removal of such immaturity will lead to Enlightenment.<sup>144</sup> It was Kant who tried to give a definition of how a moral action ought to be in conformity with the Enlightenment Rationality. In order to define morality, Kant's Categorical Imperative is the only principle that can be taken into account. The principles or the maxims involved in it are:

First, "act only on those maxims through which you can at the same time will that it should become a Universal Law."<sup>145</sup>

Second, "act in such a way that you always treat humanity as an end."<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 21

<sup>142</sup> Jackson, Liz, (2007), "The Individualist? The Autonomy of reason in Kant's philosophy and educational views" in *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 26, (2007), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-007-9045-3>, p. 335.

<sup>143</sup> Kant, Immanuel, (1996), "An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?" in (ed.) J. Schmidt, *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Question*, p. 58.

<sup>144</sup> Kant, Immanuel, (1986), *Was ist Aufklaerung: Thesen und Definitionen*, p. 9.

<sup>145</sup> Paton, H.J., (1969), *The Moral Law: Kant's Groundwork of Metaphysic of Morals*, p. 67.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

Third, “act as if you were through your maxim a law-making member of a kingdom of ends.”<sup>147</sup>

In *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, he explained individualism as; a person by the faculty of reason can choose what is right and wrong and can decide to take the future course of action. Men must treat each other as an ‘end’ rather than a ‘means’ because one is matured enough to formulate his own laws and follow them as well. Since, categorical imperative is an inward-looking model of morality, one need to be free from external forces in order to follow it. For Kant, autonomous reason is the most valuable faculty a person has. One needs to follow or act on principles that have no ‘ungrounded “authority”’.<sup>148</sup> Reason “is the principle of thinking and acting on principles all can freely adopt”.<sup>149</sup>

For Kant, being autonomous or freedom is the most necessary thing an individual must possess. Accepting anyone’s interference or influence would be to shed off one’s “personhood”. In a liberal state, according to Kant, the members must respect one self and others; violation of one’s dignity is strictly prohibited. None (a single person, a group or for that matter the state) can force an individual to enslave someone. But, no matter how much dignity and respect are provided to person, if one cannot accomplish something by their own effort, no autonomy would be effective. One needs to get rid of external as well as internal conflicts. Hence, he needs to be free and think rationally.<sup>150</sup>

Moreover, the major challenge in front of mankind is to create a society where there is no interference or influence on the freedom or liberty of a person and a rational thinking prevails. For that matter, Kant says that a civil construction needs to be framed where by its role is to protect the rights of its members without any coercion. It may be allowed when the rights of its members are at stake, which will lead to the progress of the humanity.<sup>151</sup>

Kant’s moral and political philosophy came under scrutiny when it was claimed that the role of state is only effective during invasion of freedom. In its absence, the role of the state is inactive. Moreover, Kant should not be viewed as an individualist because his theory could only defend individual freedom when it is enacted towards the interest of the society. It remains inactive when the interests of the individual and the society differ.

---

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>148</sup> O’ Neill, O., (1992), *The Cambridge companion to Kant*, pp. 338-339.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Kant, Immanuel, (1981), *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Moral*, James W. Ellington (trans.), pp. 35-41.

<sup>151</sup> Kant, Immanuel, (1991), *Kant: Political Writings*, pp. 45-46.



The concept of individualism expressed by both Locke and Kant refers to the political philosophy or doctrine called Secularism. The period of modernity witnessed developments like urbanization, industrialization, secularization, capitalism, enlightenment, individualism, and emancipation from religion as it was considered to be outdated and many more. Once these developments penetrated into the society, it was considered to be in the state of being secular. Everyone was free to find their own religious truth which made religion a private matter. While Europe witnessed the growing distance of religion from daily life, America advocated freedom of conscience. Hence, tension between those who abolished and who accepted religion started to gather the momentum.

The three concepts “secular”, “secularization” and “secularism” are related to each other but are used differently in diverse contexts. The term secular is “a realm different from religious...secularization refers to transformations...from early modern to contemporary societies...decline and privatization of religion became central...secularism refers to world views and ideologies.”<sup>152</sup> The term secular is used to mean a world that is dissociated from the religious realm. Secularization is a process of separation of religious spheres from secular areas. During the process of secularization, the influence of religious institutions and symbols over institutions, government, ideas, behaviour and sectors of culture, is removed. It is a process of transformation of traditions that led to the formation and development of various cultures and religious traditions in different places depending upon their own conditions. The separation of church and state is one of the consequences of secularization. And, secularism includes beliefs, ideologies or philosophies that maintain that religion must be kept away from temporal activities and secularization refers to the effort of implementing those philosophies. It usually endorses the idea of progress that is also found in socialism, feminism and science, which is materialised by human secular activity. It can sometime mean an effort to separate religion from state, sometime to a condition that is the basis of life for religious and non- religious people and at times to spirituality being different from Christianity.<sup>153</sup>

Since its inception, the meaning or concept of secularism got developed and modified. The term ‘secularism’ was derived from Latin word that stands for “the age”; in the Christian world it meant deriving life principles from the material or temporal world.<sup>154</sup> The term ‘secularism’ was coined by George Holyoake in 1851 an English writer who associated the

---

<sup>152</sup> Casanova, José, “The Secular and Secularisms”, in *Social Research*, Vol. 76, No. 4, (2009), pp. 1049- 1051.

<sup>153</sup> Warner, Michael, (2014), “Secularism”, in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, Bruce Burgett & Glenn handler (trans.), pp. 220-221

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220

separation of church (religion) and social order with this term. Being an agnostic, he did not criticize nor tried to show religion (Christianity) to be irrelevant. His argument for secularism was just to maintain a social sphere that is not affected by religion.<sup>155</sup> However, since European enlightenment different democracies have developed the concept of secularism based on the needs and interests of their people but its essence remained the same.

This study tries to focus on issues like- is secularism enough for addressing religious conflicts in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Is there any alternative for secularism? Secularism is a western concept that has its origin in Christianity. Even though the term was coined in nineteenth century, Martin Luther was the first European to advocate the separation of church and state. He along with many European princes fought against the dominion of the Church. He addressed how the society painfully moved towards modernity that led to the thirty years of War of Religion, one of the consequences of modernity out of many. Medieval Catholicism was communal as the sacred is only realized by being in a community that has given set of principles and rules. He believed that the Roman Catholic Church was unable to fulfil its aim of adhering to spiritual matters as it allied with the sinful institutions of the world. For him a true Christian must cater to his inner righteous world rather than getting involved in worldly affairs.<sup>156</sup>

As a need for modernity, the kings of Europe wanted to defeat religion which influenced each and every aspect of people's lives. Once this aim was fulfilled, property that belonged to the Catholic Church would be taken away and distributed among the public. Moreover, ideas and institutions should be taken away from the grasp of the church and should be given to the public. For the same attempt, they tried to conquer the Ottoman model. These need for changes led to the Wars of religion that prevailed from the period of 1618 to 1648. By the end of these wars, several states became independent, sovereign and secular and religion was made privatized.<sup>157</sup> Hence, this led to the separation of Church and state or religion and politics that resulted in the formation of many liberal states.

Secularism has a long history starting from the ancient period till the contemporary world. Now, secularism is considered as a principle that separates religion from politics. As a result, the state would be neutral in religious matters, there would be emancipation from religion as well as freedom of conscience and every member of the state (religious or non- religious)

---

<sup>155</sup> [www.secularism.org.uk](http://www.secularism.org.uk), "George Jacob Holyoake", retrieved on 26.05.2018.

<sup>156</sup> <https://charterforcompassion.org>, "The Violent History of Secularism.", retrieved on 26.05.2018.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

would be given equal opportunity and accessibility.<sup>158</sup> Religion was a western concept that was only associated with Christianity. Words that stand for religion had a deeper meaning rather than only to be associated with a supernatural deity. As a result of this secularization, many countries started considering themselves to be non- religious but that did not mean that they had no beliefs or practices of any form; hence, the various meanings of religion in different world started getting recognized and acknowledged.

The movement from religion to secularism was seen as a development from supernatural to science, irrational to rationality and outdated to modernity. There were values like moral relativism, individualism, narcissism etc. that got engraved in the society. It was expected that the separation of religion from politics will eventually lead to peaceful state; this led many countries to become secular but with slight variations in its concept depending upon history, situation, needs and interests of the people of the countries. One form of secularism is ‘separationism’ that holds the position that state will not aid or put restriction on any religion. Second form of secularism is ‘disestablishmentarianism’ which is same as the former one but differs in only one aspect i.e. disestablishment of any state religion. It also includes another issue which is if state starts to fund religion (establishment), then what are the things that would belong to state as well as religion.<sup>159</sup>

Third form of secularism is ‘laicite’ that emerged along with republicanism, followed by France focusing mainly on separation from religion. This model is related to emancipation from the abuses and conflicts that arise out of religion. According to this form, there is a public sphere that needs to be protected from religion and to achieve it, a state is justified in sacrificing basic or democratic or individual rights making it a strict regime. The fourth form is ‘accommodationism’ which advocates freedom of religion from state intervention. It is a liberal or pluralist regime as it focuses on freedom of conscience. It respects human rights and believes that if every religion can work and are treated equally, it can lead to public good. The American form of secularism is based on this regime. Fifth form is ‘non- cognizance’ where the state, even though it realizes the importance of religion, puts a blind eye regarding theological issues. And the last form is ‘state sponsored atheism’ where state adopts principles and policies that would throw religion out of the state.<sup>160</sup> The debate between laicite and accommodationism will always remain significant in the history of secularism.

---

<sup>158</sup> Casanova, José, “The Secular and Secularization”, in *Social Research*, Vol. 76, No. 4, (2009), p. 1051-1052.

<sup>159</sup> <https://exploringsecularism.org>, “Different types of secularism” retrieved on 09-11-2018

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

As a consequence of secularism one could witness the declination of the religious beliefs. Secularism maintains that there has to be a separation of religion and politics and at the same time there should not be any hegemony of a particular religion. Americans often exaggerate their being religious whereas Europeans considered themselves to be non-religious and associated themselves with being modern, secular and rational beings. America followed the accomodationism model of secularism and endorsed freedom of religion; at the same time Europe advocated laicite model that considered religion to be intolerant and source of all the conflicts that arises in a state and must be separated from the public realm.<sup>161</sup> And because of this reason, they dissociated themselves from religion and consider being non- religious.

However, among all the religions Europeans particularly considered Islam to be the cause of all societal tensions. The violent and horrific history that prevailed from 1914 to 1989 was attributed to Islam. They often tend to forget the wars that took place were a result of contradictory secular world views but frequently associated all the tensions with pre- modern dogmatism.<sup>162</sup> There is no doubt that societies had witnessed the Thirty Years of War of Religion, but it is not justified to blame religion to be the source of all the conflicts. Moreover, if we look into the formation of Islamic law system, the allegations made by Europeans could be denied to a certain extent.

To demonstrate that the allegations made by Europe against Islam were false, the secularism of Turkey could be as an example. The history of secularism in Turkey shows that how a country was divided into two camps (AK party and Kemalist party). The AK party comprised of the conservatives of Turkey who advocated the American secularism endorsing freedom of conscience; whereas the Kemalist party strictly followed the laicite model that believed in freedom from religion to make a state secular. It would be fascinating to witness the consequences of a Christian based doctrine when applied in a Muslim majority country. Even though secularism is a modern doctrine and is a part of contemporary Turkey, its essence could be found in the ancient Turkey. The initial point of such transformations or the presence of secularism could be located back in the Ottoman model. During this establishment, there was no Vatican to dictate and the Sharia law rather than being constitutional laws was only confined to local courts. The existence of millet system allowed every community to pursue its own faith leading towards peaceful co-existence. With time there were modifications and reforms that came into being regarding education and professions for women, army establishment tanzimat,

---

<sup>161</sup> Casanova, José, “The Secular and Secularization”, in *Social Research*, Vol. 76, No. 4, (2009), pp. 1056-1058

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 1059

madrastas, etc. and all these reforms were made with slight variations from the original concept keeping in mind the needs and interests of the Muslim people.<sup>163</sup> Hence, all these developments refer towards the accommodationist model of secularism.

As the era of modernization began, there were lots of changes incorporated to these reforms. Since the Republican regime advocated the separationists model, this period saw the diminishing impact of caliphate, sultan, abolishment of madrastas, replacing religious scriptures with Latin, cutting down autonomous religious institutions, etc. One major change that was introduced in this regime was that the state can directly intervene in religious matters. Here, one of the challenges that secularism might face was from the Sharia law that is a totalitarian law; whereas the same cannot be said for secularism in the western world.<sup>164</sup> As a consequence of this specific development, religion and religious practices or symbols were banned from any public domain. One significant example could be the ban on headscarves from the public sphere.

The issue of the ban on headscarves created a conflict between AK and Kemalist party. The issue between them was not whether to follow any form of secularism or not, but they contradicted each other regarding which definition or model of secularism to be implemented. The AK party followed the accommodationist model and believed that everyone must be provided with freedom of conscience; inability to do so would be a violation of human rights. There were lot of women who wanted to wear headscarves as they considered it to be a matter of faith and by the use of which they could be able to pursue their education or career. Hence, the AK party wanted the ban on headscarves to be lifted. The demand for lifting up the ban made the Kemalist party to consider AK party to be anti- secular and posing as a threat against secularism. If any conflict arises out of religion, the state has the freedom to interfere.<sup>165</sup>

There might exist a dilemma regarding this ban which is if the position given by the Kemalist party is accepted then the rights of women who wanted to wear *niquab* is violated. The supporters of the ban see this as a way of men telling women how to conduct in public institutions. On the other hand, AK party denies the allegation that they are anti- secular as they are only endorsing freedom of conscience. However, there is a threat regarding AK party which is if they manage to win votes, then they might pressurize the women who supports the ban to wear headscarves; which is again men dictating women. The battle is not between any religion

---

<sup>163</sup> Topal, Semiha, "Everybody Wants Secularism- But Which One? Contesting Definitions of Secularism in Contemporary Turkey", in *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 1/3, (2012), p. 5

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7

and politics or Islam and secularism, but the main problem here is regarding the acceptance and application of proper model of secularism.

To prove that AK party believes in accomodationism there is a need to practically show how they believe in a pluralistic society and in equality among all its residents. There is no doubt that they must incorporate modern values of democracy, equality, liberty etc. into the society, but these values must be accompanied by the ancient values of Islam and Ottoman regime like tanzimat, millet system etc.<sup>166</sup> For them it is unrealistic and sometimes discriminatory to keep religion away from public order. Apart from some countries where they have civic religion, in most of the countries, religion plays an active role in the public realm.

It is difficult to reach an objective definition of secularism. Every country that adopted secularism, had modified it keeping in mind the needs and interests of its people. Nevertheless, the ban on headscarves was lifted on 2010 for students and on 2013 for professional employees but there is no denying that there were loopholes in the model of secularism endorsed by AK party and the Kemalist party. The secularism endorsed by both the parties was problematic as women were told by men how to conduct in public institutions or whether they are allowed to wear headscarves in public domain or not. Nobody cared to take suggestions and advices from women and the ban seemed to be based upon assumptions. Even though the ban on headscarves emancipated a section of women but the same ban placed those women who wanted to wear *niqab* in a very crucial situation. Moreover, the committees that gave landmark judgments regarding this issue hardly had women as front liners, be it the Stasi commission, the National Assembly of France or the Chief Prosecutor deciding the case between AK and the Kemalist party.

Another loophole in secularism model followed by Europe is that it is not as secular as it claimed to be. Even though it saw declination of religious beliefs, there were still churches, schools, health institutions, media etc. that were sponsored by the state. Hence, the secular spheres were no more secular. Even though every democracy has secularism of its own kind, separation and freedom of conscience remains to be constant principles in them. Apart from being secular, it is necessary for the state to be democratic for the well-being of the people. The separation principle is significant but the absence of the freedom of conscience will not make the state democratic. For example- there are countries like United States that are secular but not

---

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 12

democratic. There are holidays that only cater to Christian faith like Thanksgiving, Veteran's day, Memorial Day, but no holidays are dedicated to Diwali, Id, Gurburab etc.

Secularism first appeared during the ancient Greek period but after some time it disappeared. Later during the period of modernity and enlightenment, it resurfaced and societies started to adopt it and mould it in accordance with their needs and interests. As a product of that time, the scope of religion got limited because the spheres like education, societies etc. on which it had dominion, were made secular. A strict form of secularism controls or restricts freedom of conscience whereas the liberal form endorses freedom of religion. However, a society is not only limited to only one form of secularisms at a time; in other words, a society can follow the former type on one aspect and can apply the latter on other aspects.<sup>167</sup> For example, France is strict in the sense that it restricts religious attire or symbols in the public sphere and fined if found guilty, but is also liberal regarding the fact that it allows women to wear headscarves in the private area or vehicle and nobody was allowed to use force to unveil women in the public area.

Now the question that arises here is: whether secularism is a mean or an end? It could be considered as a mean to achieve ends like freedom of conscience, equality, state neutrality, separation of religion and politics etc. Even though secularism could not be treated as an end in itself, efforts must be made in molding secularism into such a way that the each and every person can take equal participation in the state formation without any discrimination thereby making the state democratic.<sup>168</sup>

Another question that arises is – does secularism have the potential to tackle contemporary conflicts regarding religious and moral challenges? Maclure and Taylor states that apart from realizing ends like equality and freedom of conscience, there are two more values that societies aim to attain to tackle contemporary issues and these are emancipation from religion and civic integration.<sup>169</sup> But there lies certain problematic, regarding the latter ends. Maclure and Taylor rightly mentions that societies, especially European, often wants people to be emancipated from religion which they believe would make people secular, rational, modern and enlightened. But this position portrays religion in a negative light making it seem irrelevant. They fail to understand and explain that a person can be all of the above mentioned, even by being religious or following their faiths and beliefs. Secularism can never be equated with

---

<sup>167</sup> Maclure, Jocelyn and Taylor, Charles, (2011), "The Regimes of Secularism", in *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*, pp. 27-28

<sup>168</sup> Casanova, José, "The Secular and Secularization", in *Social Research*, Vol. 76, No. 4, (2009), p. 1062

<sup>169</sup> Maclure, Jocelyn and Taylor, Charles, (2011), "The Regimes of Secularism", in *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*, p. 29

atheism and secularism itself is not any kind of religion; it must protect both believers and non-believers. Moreover, European societies are not as secular as they claim to be as there are secular areas that are still funded by the state. According to them:

“The secular state, in working toward marginalizing religion, adopts the atheist’s and the agnostic’s conception of the world and, consequently, does not treat with equal consideration citizens who make a place for religion in their system of beliefs and values. Yet the state’s true commitment to individuals’ moral autonomy entails the recognition that individuals are sovereign in their choices of conscience and have the means to choose their own existential options, whether these be secular, religious, or spiritual.”<sup>170</sup>

The principle of civic integration focuses on giving the citizens of a state a common identity where everyone would pursue common or public good. The main intention behind this is to tackle religious conflict; as they will have common identity, there would be no discrimination on the basis of religion, ethnicity, culture, etc. In other words, there would be “neutralization of identity” in every sphere of the society.<sup>171</sup> However, like emancipation principle this aspect too falls short in achieving its aim. Some allegations put on civic integration are that it tries to make the world homogeneous without giving importance to the plurality of cultures and diversity that various cultures bring into the society. Moreover, because of this homogeneity, there is possibility of people receiving cultural shock when they realize that there are countless different and contradicting ways of leading lives.

Taking advantage of their vulnerability, state also imposes fine on those who do not respect the laws or conditions set by the state. As wearing of *niqab* was considered to be illegal in France, those who violate it were be penalized, fined, imprisoned and subjected to other sorts of abuses. A bill was passed on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2010 by the Constitutional Council of France making the ban effective. For instance, two Muslim women named Hind Ahmas and Najate Nait Ali were the first to be banned on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2011 for wearing burqa in France. As a punishment she was asked to attend French citizenship course to which she resented and refused to remove her *niqab*. She was pressed with criminal charges and her appeal to follow her beliefs was dismissed by the French criminal courts. This bill also witnessed demonstrations, riots and

---

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., p. 31

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.



protests by Muslim women in niqabs in many parts of Europe. Those who supported the bill saw it to be promoting secularism and gender equality, but those who were not happy with this bill cited violation of their rights. Moreover, after some months since this bill was passed, women who wore *niqab* were attacked and assaulted in public and also have been arrested. Even though the UN Human Rights Committee considered such ban to be unethical and violation of human rights, France still continues with the ban in the name of maintaining peaceful co- existence and harmony in the society.<sup>172</sup>

Form the above discussions one thing becomes clear and that is religion does play an impactful role in the public domain. It would be very hard to separate it from public sphere and confine it to an exclusive area. Secularism would be successful in addressing moral and religious conflicts, if it does not curtail freedom of religion and provide a democratic platform for every people where everyone is treated with equality and fairness. Moreover, the laws must protect minorities of any sort and the public spheres like education, jobs, health, politics etc. must be made accessible to everyone. In a secular state, everyone must have the right to express themselves without having the fear of getting attacked and their rights being violated. Hence, in the twentieth century, secularism provides a platform where all ideas, opinions and beliefs are open for discussion.

In spite of fulfilling all these criteria why does a state still witness disturbances? Where is it lacking? From the history of secularism, it can be observed that the meaning that was attributed to secularism by Holyoake is quite different from the concept of secularism that the world has today. There are thinkers like Martin Luther, Locke, Kant, Jose Casanova, Charles Taylor, Craig and many more, who have immensely supported secularism. But at the same time there are other philosophers like John Rawls, Peter Berger, and Will Kymlicka who have openly shown their dissent towards secularism and cited other means to attain peaceful co- existence. According to them, secularism is not enough to tackle the conflicts that societies face today. For Rawls overlapping consensus is more effective than secularism and Will Kymlicka in *Contemporary Political Philosophy* has not even considered secularism to be a prerequisite for a tolerant society. Hence, it is much needed for the society to adopt an alternative approach apart from secularism.

If we have to talk about the impact of secularism in south Asian countries especially in India, it is significant to observe whether India was able to follow the grounds and principle on

---

<sup>172</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org>, “French ban on face covering”, retrieved on 23-11-2018

which secularism was based. India is a pluralist state with various religions, castes, sub- castes, cultures, languages etc. To live in peace and harmony in such a society is only possible when the internal tensions are removed from its root; and it was believed that this is only possible if a theory such as secularism is adopted. Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Abdul Kalam Azad and many others had assented towards the adoption of secularism. It was made a part of our constitution after Independence, which referred to two things; first is *Dharma Nirapekshita* that is religion and state would be given separate existence and none will interfere in other's work and second is *Sarva Dharma Sambhava* which was interpreted by leaders as every religion will be respected equally and no one would be discriminated on the basis of his religious practices.<sup>173</sup> The main intention of adopting secularism in India was to tackle multi- religious issues as opposed to the reason for adopting secularism in the western countries.

The main intention of *Sarva Dharma Sambhava* should be that “the state as an entity separate from all religions was to ensure trust between religious communities and to restore basic confidence if and when it was undermined.”<sup>174</sup> Instead of endorsing separate goods for separate communities, the state must work for a common good that every community aims for. The main aim behind such an act is to maintain minimum peace or pluralism or basic comfort among various communities that may prevent any form of disturbances. A similar concept can be found in Bhikhu Parekh's ‘minimum universalism’ that is one of the ways for ensuring co- existence. Parekh maintains that every culture instead of focusing on differences that divides them, must work on the commonalities that could bind them.<sup>175</sup> In order to co- exist in a society it is necessary for everyone to instil a sense of mutual understanding, trust and comfort. Moreover, they must realize that their way of living or belief or religious truth is only a fragmented view of the whole truth. Instead of leading to conflicts, society must focus on recognition, mutual appreciation, respect, trust, understanding, and many more to make a society tolerant and peaceful to put up in.

However, there are instances to demonstrate how the actual tenet of secularism is quite challenging to achieve in India. This could be understood with the help of some incidents- when religious affairs or practices are glorified and are often captured on the front pages of daily

---

<sup>173</sup> Naidu, Ashok, “SECULARISM RE- EXAMINED”, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 68, No. 3, (2007), p. 609.

<sup>174</sup> Bhargava, Rajeev, (2016), “Is European Secularism Secular Enough”, in *Religion, Secularism, and Constitutional Democracy*, Jean L. Cohen & Cecile Laborde (ed.), p. 170

<sup>175</sup> Menon, Krishna, (2010), “Human Rights- A Theoretical Foray”, in *Applied Ethics and Human Rights: Conceptual Analysis and Contextual Application*, p. 64.

newspapers, when acts and stunts done by political figures as seen as an addition to their vote banks, when caste and religion of candidates are given more importance than his eligibility and when religious persons (priests or mullahs) are seen to be the head of a society or state, etc.<sup>176</sup> It is because of this reason that one political party (affiliated to a particular religion) often accuses another of wrong doings and the trail of accusations never ends. Hence, *Dharma Nirapekshita* seems to be a taxing task to achieve.

In European laicite model of secularism, the state is entirely separated from religious matters, but how would they deal with situations that are the cause of religious confusions? Regarding this situation, the concept of ‘principled distance’ could be incorporated in Indian secularism, where the state is neither exclusive nor inclusive of religious sphere. The state will have the power to interfere when there are interreligious and intra- religious conflicts, when majority exploits the minorities and when practices like child marriage, caste system, untouchability, patriarchy, not allowing untouchables to enter into Hindu temples etc. becomes frequent. These situations allow the state to intervene in religion without violating them and to find solution and maintain basic, peace, comfort, respect, toleration, etc.<sup>177</sup>

Since Indian secularism was adopted to deal with multi- religious issues, various additions and modifications could be made in this model. For example-minority religious institutions receiving financial aids and subsidies from the state and also funding for Hajj, state ensuring community specific rights, dignity and status of its members being protected, differential treatment or certain communities being exempted from certain laws like Sikhs exemption from wearing helmet, Muslim women on wearing *hijab*, state guaranteeing equal treatment, equality of citizenship of people, state encouraging people to make use of public justification, state allowing hostility as long as there is respect etc.<sup>178</sup>

There are certain matters that need to be re- examined to get a better clarity about how the state needs to function in secular India. Often thinkers mention about equal and differential treatment of certain cultures and how these cultures get exempted from certain laws. But more than such a treatment, a state requires just treatment. A person acting on his criminal intention, must not be treated differently and exempted from sanctions just because of the fact that he belongs to a different culture and have different sentiments. And every criminal act is punishable and to exempt people on the basis of their faiths and practices may lead to any kind of conflict let

---

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., pp. 609-610.

<sup>177</sup> Bhargava, Rajeev, (2016), “Is European Secularism Secular Enough”, in *Religion, Secularism, and Constitutional Democracy*, Jean L. Cohen & Cecile Laborde (ed.), pp. 171-172

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., pp. 171-174.

alone communal. If such exemption is allowed, then it could be used as an excuse to spread violence in the name of religion, faith, rituals etc.

Secularism should also act on removing all kinds of discriminations that arise from socio- religious practices like untouchability, gender issues, child marriage etc. Even though this model of secularism may remove disparities related to religious minorities, interreligious as well as intra religious issues, but it fails to address a basic issue like how to fill the gap that exists between rich and poor? The model never talked about any rights to the poor to be on the same position as the rich people.

Since the above-mentioned secularism model was not fruitful entirely, we can consider the concept of ‘overlapping consensus’ given by Rawls. The main aim of political liberalism is to maintain a just and well-ordered society in the midst of conflicting religious, moral and philosophical doctrines followed by its residents. The aim is also to establish a fair and democratic society with reasonable pluralism in the society. This, for Rawls, is possible by introducing the idea of overlapping consensus which is to agree on doctrines of political conception and giving these to its citizens and ensuring that no doctrine will ever hinder their interests. Instead of believing in only one doctrine of good, it would be better if political liberalism sees the real picture and considers that there are numerous conflicting conceptions of the good. As a result, every citizen is considered to be free, equal and rational having the capability to decide for their own.<sup>179</sup> It is always better to be constructive, by the virtue of which it is possible to look into the positive aspects of all the theories that we have. Instead of abandoning theories for their overall futility, it is always best to assemble and form new theories out of the positive aspect of these theories. As a result, requirement for minimum pluralism, basic respect among citizens, peace, tolerant society, etc. is possible to fulfil.

The contemporary western form of secularism maintains that for a state to ensure peaceful coexistence, it must be neutral between different traditions. Religion should be a private matter and should not be taken into account while formulating political institutions. However, Kant’s notion of secularism denies this view and presupposes the public role of religion. Political leaders must safeguard and preserve the fundamental rights of men. They must not meddle with

---

<sup>179</sup> Rawls, John, (1921), *Political Liberalism*, pp. 131-135

the religious faiths of citizens or favour any religious faith. They must also respect the pluralism of religious faiths.<sup>180</sup> Kant considers that:

“...the essence of any government consists in that everyone strives for his own happiness, being allowed to enter freely into relationship with everybody else. It is not the governments’ role to strip its private citizens of this liberty, but only to grant harmony among them according to the laws of equality and without establishing any privileges”.<sup>181</sup>

For Kant to be moral one needs to be free and does not require any being above him to guide him rather than universal and rational laws to recognize his duty. Hence, morality is secular. Same goes for politics too. For Kant every man must have some basic rights which need not be based on any political decision nor any religious doctrines. Hence, politics is secular too. One is mistaken if one considers this view to be the entire view of Kant. Even though he wanted morality and right to be based on reason, he also considered religion to be necessary to reason. In moral law, there is no ground that contains the connection between morality and happiness. Only a being that contains such ground is worthy of making men to rise to such a state (happiness). And that being is God. Hence, God is necessary to morality.<sup>182</sup>

Kant considers men to be affected by “bad principle”, an evil, to an extent that it cannot be removed by human forces. The principle of right is not enough to solve this matter as it caters only towards external factors rather than inner dispositions. For this purpose, men must feel a sense of duty towards the entire human race and not towards any particular human being. But this imperative of duty is religious as orders men to refer to God to remedy their public feuding. Adherence to God is required for an ethical community. Since ethical community is required for the existence of political community, God is necessary to politics.<sup>183</sup> But Kant did not profess his secular ideas in the sense we understand them today. There are certain secular ideas given by Kant which are still relevant today. For example: just as Kant conceived, constitutions of numerous nations refer to fundamental human rights. Political leaders are asked to motivate in terms of making rational arguments, which hint towards his public use of reason. However, there are certain ideas given by Kant which are not professed in the manner Kant intended. Even

---

<sup>180</sup> Pera, Marcello, (2012), “Kant on Politics, Religion, and Secularism”, in *Universal Rights in a World of Diversity- The Case of Religious Freedom*, p. 546

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 547

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., pp. 549-557.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., pp. 557- 561.

though Kant asked the political leaders to refrain from meddling into one's faith, there are still evidences to communal tension. The more Kant expected states to be tolerant, the more it is becoming intolerant. Moreover, no theoretical knowledge of God is possible.<sup>184</sup> To find morality on God's revealed commands is to violate our autonomy.

To sum up, rather than being neutral, it is important and necessary to recognize and acknowledge the differences. By the means of constructive dialogue, minimum universalism and cooperation, a sense of belongingness in the community could be instilled among the citizens. If the people in Turkey are not allowed to practice their faith in their own country or the Muslim women in France are not allowed to wear headscarves in public domain or the Sikhs and the Jews are not permitted to wear turbans and yarmulkes in workplace and construction sites, then the democratic and human rights of these people are violated. If they are treated as the less significant other because of their religious practice and symbols, the other people might initially have fear towards them that will eventually lead to hatred. Moreover, liberalism puts so much emphasis on individual's autonomy and freedom that it hampers cultural inclusion and identification. At the same time, it does not pay much attention to principles like community, tradition, citizenship, obligation, responsibility, etc. which are indispensable for human good. Too little appreciation of social roles, relationships, mutual responsibility and human interdependence in liberalism led many liberal thinkers to adopt another concept i.e. liberal multiculturalism. The main aim of Multiculturalism is to recognise and appreciate identities and promoting differential treatment, and all of them are possible when state plays an active role in protecting and recognising differences in a sensitive and flexible manner. Hence, there was a shift from beliefs to identities, neutrality to recognition and universality to particularity and a relative shift from an older to a newer version of toleration.

---

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., pp. 549- 552.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**THEORY OF TOLERATION IN LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM:**  
**WILL KYMLICKA**

Identity of a person, whether it is cultural, gender, religious, sexual or racial, often makes one vulnerable to cultural imperialism (that includes erasure and stereotyping), exploitation, marginalization and violence.<sup>185</sup> Instead of accepting negative narratives about them given by a dominant culture, these groups transform the sense of their self and community through “consciousness-raising.”<sup>186</sup> Various groups recognised the commonality of their experiences and struggles and aimed at building a politics that will not only change their lives but also end their oppression inevitably. As a result, “identity politics” came into force that signifies a wide range of political movement for identity freedom; since then identity has become vital to contemporary political discourse. Multiculturalism is a socio-political and philosophical ideology that addresses the struggle associated with indigenous groups, women, cultural minorities, religious minorities, immigrants and other vulnerable groups.

Multiculturalism aims for accommodating diversity and maintaining peaceful coexistence among various communities that inhabit within a state. As an official policy model, it came into effect in 1970, Canada being the first country to adopt this policy in 1971 followed by Australia.<sup>187</sup> This model tries to address various challenges and discriminatory issues related to minorities who had a history of being the subject of oppression by dominant groups in areas like education, housing, employment, health, social life, etc. These minority groups are religious minorities, ethnic and national minorities, indigenous people, immigrants, refugees, women, disabled, LGBTQ, African-Americans etc. Multiculturalism as a policy makes an attempt to allow these minorities to live in a society without having to shed their own identity/culture/beliefs, which is why it moves away from the process of ‘assimilation’ or ‘melting pot’. Instead, it bends more toward integrating the minorities where everyone has an opportunity to equally participate by rightfully implementing inclusive policies that appreciate and support them eventually making the society tolerant. To realise these aims or policies, the state plays a significant role.

The individual centric theory of toleration advocated by Locke and Kant gets questioned

---

<sup>185</sup> Young, Iris Marion, (1990), *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, p. 9.

<sup>186</sup> Heyes, J. Cressida, (2015), *Identity politics*, p. 4

<sup>187</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org>, “Multiculturalism”, retrieved on 17-09-2017.

and challenged by Will Kymlicka. In what way does Will Kymlicka try to overcome the individual centric notion of right in Locke and Kant? Kymlicka advocated liberal multiculturalist perspective on toleration. Being a liberal, Will Kymlicka agrees that ‘rights’ have to be recognized, but as a multiculturalist, he argues that one of the fundamental rights is the right to practice his/her own faith, lifestyle, rituals, etc. The new notion of toleration, for Kymlicka, is based on ‘group- differentiated rights.’ Kymlicka deconstructs the individual centric theory of toleration which was inadequate in addressing group- rights.

Multiculturalism model is also referred as politics of identity, politics of difference and politics of recognition. It celebrates diversity and tries to instil the idea of embracing difference among people. The failure of liberalism to address community problems, racism (at individual and institutional level), civil rights movement advocating equal rights, ethnic cleansing’s aim to make ethnically homogenous society etc. paved the way for multiculturalism in the western democracies. There was a shift from liberal theory of toleration to multicultural theory of toleration; from beliefs to identities, from state neutrality to state’s role in providing recognition; and from universality to particularity.<sup>188</sup> Many countries, since its inception, have moved from being monocultural to multicultural state; some have doubted its credentials and remained monocultural; whereas some after becoming multicultural moved back to being monocultural citing its uselessness or failure.

In order to move forward with the above mentioned discussions, I propose to divide the chapter into two sections namely, Section I: From Individualism to Collectivity; this section explains what is *Objective* and *Subjective* multiculturalism, multicultural policies of different countries, challenges and concept of right regarding indigenous peoples, immigrants, refugees, women, African- American, etc., how does the majority benefit from the adaption of multiculturalism and what are the policies and programmes that could be proposed to ensure co-existence? In Section II: Limits and Beyond: Interrogating Toleration, liberal feminist political philosophers like Susan Okin and Anne Phillips challenged multiculturalism and stated that it is inadequate in addressing the struggles faced by women at private sphere. They wanted to break the stereotypes that theories of multiculturalism put on women and accepted that tolerating certain practices that harms the basic rights of women are not justified at all

The study raises many questions and addresses various challenges that are faced by a society that adopts multiculturalism. The attempt is also to weigh the pros and cons and

---

<sup>188</sup> Fernandez, Christian, “Toleration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A revised Liberal defense”, *Centre for European Studies*, No. 4, (2008), p. 11.



consequences and aftermath of adopting this policy. Some questions are- Does multiculturalism lead to parallel societies within a country, as it would be recognising various cultures? How does multiculturalism benefit the majority, as they might see immigrants as a threat to their culture and country? How does a poor country adopt this policy as implementing policies and principles could be quite expensive? How has multiculturalism succeeded? Is there anything beyond multiculturalism? The constant influx of immigrants (legally or illegally) has made the indigenous peoples a minority in their own territory, how does multiculturalism view this situation? To investigate these issues, the study majorly takes into account the works of Will Kymlicka, which will be complemented by accounts given by Susan Okin, Anne Phillips, Sarah Song, Bhikhu Parekh, and David Miller

The above issues and questions would be thoroughly examined in the following sections.

## **Section I**

### **From Individualism to Collectivity**

Multiculturalism is a broad concept having multiple meanings and the reason for its adoption vary from country to country. The study brings all the components of multiculturalism under two aspects- *objective* and *subjective* multiculturalism. The former is associated with the political meaning that includes policies and programmes that allows the minorities to equally participate; whereas the latter is related to the social meaning that focuses on the psychological impact (positive and negative) of this policy on its members. Both of them will be examined in the following sections.

The study primarily focuses on issues related to indigenous people, immigrants and women. There is no official definition of indigenous but in the due course of time many systems have provided a modern understanding of it. The indigenous peoples are against any form of rigid definition to describe them because they believe that there is a possibility that such definitions would exclude some of the groups. Another reason for not limiting themselves to particular definition is that if any definition is provided then they would not be able to decide for themselves. Moreover, their extensive diversity surpasses any definitions which enable them to move towards self- definition.<sup>189</sup> However, systems like *International Labour organisation* (ILO), *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, *Indian Constitution* etc.

---

<sup>189</sup> <http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in>, “Definition of Indigenous Peoples and Historical Perspective of their Rights”, pp. 17-18, retrieved on 14-06-2020.

have laid forward certain criteria that makes a group indigenous. According to the definition given in Article 1.1 (b) of ILO:

“People in independent countries who are...descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.”<sup>190</sup>

Article 1.2 of ILO has made ‘self- identification’ to be one of the criteria for determining indigeneity of the groups. According to *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* definition indigenous peoples are social groups who are free and equal to others, free from any kind of discriminations, have right to their distinctive culture, have their own social, political and economic institutions but at the same time have the freedom to participate in the institutions of the State, no one can force them to assimilate with the majority culture nor can they be displaced by any external force, have right to nationality, property rights etc.<sup>191</sup> Overall it can be stated that indigeneity belongs to those who have been native of a place, have distinct cultural practices, their own institutions, who are non- dominant as a result of settlement, conquest, colonisation, who are economically marginalized section and are being discriminated in fields like lack of political representation, social service, poverty, unemployment and many more.

The term ‘indigenous’ is used as a generic term for other words like tribe, aboriginals, adivasis, natives etc. India is a multi- ethnic, multi- lingual, multi- racial, multi- religious country that has 705 ethnic groups, 20 languages, more than 300 dialects, 12 religions, 300 castes and numerous mixed traditions. In India, the indigenous groups are recognized as ‘Scheduled Tribes’ but this term may have negative connotations as often there is a debate about whether tribals are indigenous or not or whether ‘Scheduled Tribes’ falls under indigenous or not. *The Indian Council of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples* have answered in an affirmative way; while on the other hand in the *United Nations Workshops on Indigenous and Tribal People’s Struggle for Right to Self- determination and Self- government*, the Indian participants formulated certain

---

<sup>190</sup>[www.oas.org](http://www.oas.org), “Indigenous and Tribal People’s Rights over their Ancestral Lands and Natural Resources”, retrieved on 14-06-2020.

<sup>191</sup>[www.un.org](http://www.un.org), “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples”, retrieved on 14-06-2020.

criteria that makes a group indigenous and declared that ‘Scheduled- Tribes’ in India does fall under indigenous peoples.<sup>192</sup>

Another reason why indigenous can have negative aspect to it is that since antiquity the process of ‘melting- pot’ has been functioning, voluntarily or involuntarily, in India. It can be either through conversion, inter- marriage, conquest, settlement, assimilation, etc. India is an amalgamation of various races like- Indo- Aryan, Dravidian, the Mongoloid, Nordic, Western Brachycephaly etc.<sup>193</sup> which make it difficult to determine how far should one go back to history to find out which group is indigenous and which one is not. And because these groups remained in close proximity to one another, assimilation was bound to happen which makes the process of classification more tedious.

Will Kymlicka, a liberal multiculturalist, in *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* brings in the issues centered on indigenous peoples and immigrants. At the very outset, he states that any solution regarding such issues ask for investigation of the history and circumstances of the disputes. The inefficiency of civil rights in curbing these tensions led him to maintain that civil rights need to be supplemented by some special rights or minority rights. According to Kymlicka, indigenous or national minorities are those who “wish to maintain themselves as distinct societies...demand various forms of autonomy or self- government to ensure their survival as distinct societies.”<sup>194</sup> He gave many examples of national minorities in U.S. like American Indians, native Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos etc. who were involuntarily brought under United States and were given special political status and rights regarding land and language. However, their demand for self- government is denied by the State.<sup>195</sup>

In spite of cultural, social and linguistic differences, people or groups in a multicultural State must consider themselves to be united. Often the reason for the unity is cited to be national identity; but Kymlicka denies this and considers patriotism to be the sole reason for them to be united. Moreover, it is also the larger societies like Switzerland, Canada and Belgium, which instil a sense of belonging in them and respect and recognise their diverse identity.<sup>196</sup> However, there is a record of the larger societies like Australia, New- Zealand and Brazil, of being harsh

---

<sup>192</sup><http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in>, “Definition of Indigenous Peoples and Historical Perspective of their Rights”, p.38, retrieved on 14-06-2020.

<sup>193</sup><https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com>, “Classification of Indian Races”, retrieved on 16-06-2020.

<sup>194</sup> Kymlicka, Will, (1995), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, p.12

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

towards the indigenous groups to an extent where they denied any presence of such groups in their countries (but the scenario has got better in the contemporary world). The societies considered these groups to be inferior, lacking any political development and hence to be 'racial minority'. To address such issues, Kymlicka came up with three forms of "group- differentiated" rights. First is, self- government rights for national minorities or indigenous peoples; second is polyethnic rights to secure the rights of the ethnic and religious minorities. Anti- racism policies were incorporated in this right as to allow the immigrants to live without any discrimination and prejudice. And last is the special representation act whereby minorities: cultural, ethnic, racial and religious, women, disabled etc. are given a chance to break free the barriers and to be able to make their voices reach the larger society.<sup>197</sup>

These group differentiated rights have a communitarian outlook which is quite different from what 'collective rights' implies. The collective rights are practiced by groups whereas the group differentiated rights are for both individual and groups which enables them to break any form of discrimination.<sup>198</sup> However, there have been contestations regarding the credibility of these rights. Because of group differentiated rights, there is a possibility that illiberal tendencies might crop up among indigenous groups if they are provided with self- governing rights. As a result of these rights, they are permitted to have autonomous institutions and can also formulate laws and practices that might tend to restrict freedom and equality of its members. For example- Pueblos discriminate against their fellow members who do not share tribal religions.<sup>199</sup>

Polyethnic rights could be used to restrict freedom and equality of the members too. For example:

"Immigrant groups and religious minorities could, in principle, seek the legal power to impose traditional cultural practices on their members. Ethnic groups could demand the right to take their children out of school before the legally prescribed age, so as to reduce the chances that the child will leave the community...There have been cases of husbands who have beaten their wives because they took a job outside the home."<sup>200</sup>

These incidents raise questions like does multiculturalism promote tolerance? Does these right lead to any illiberal activities in the group? Is liberal society justified in imposing values to

---

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., pp.27-32

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., pp. 35-37

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 40

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p. 41

the groups who do not share any liberal ideas? How can a liberal society impose liberal values in a community that is given self- governing rights?

It would be mistake to state that every self- governing community or minority community is illiberal. There are evidences that show minority culture or self- governing societies are much more liberal than the larger society. However, there are also minority groups that want autonomous institutions and reject any interference from the State or any foreign country for that matter. Any liberal State can promote and embrace various forms of diversity but it limits itself in terms of any restrictions to the liberal values that its citizens have. The demands of the members of such group can be broadly classified into two categories- first the members want their autonomy to be respected, no restrictions put on their basic rights and the authority be tolerant towards them; and second, the group wants external protection so that no dominant society exploits them in any form and they are considered equal with regard to other cultural groups.<sup>201</sup> Hence, they demanded protection against internal restriction and external protection from the larger society. But from the examples provided above, it is evident that illiberal societies do exist.

Kymlicka captures the debate that often occurs among liberals regarding the prominence of the two chief tenets of liberalism- autonomy and tolerance. Kant on one hand considers dignity and autonomy to be more significant; whereas Rawls' overlapping consensus considers plurality and tolerance to be pre requisite for a liberal democracy. But if autonomy for everyone is endorsed, then the autonomy of illiberals also gets promoted; and how can an illiberal society to be tolerated in the name of plurality? Chandran Kukathas who considered tolerance to be more effective claimed that self- governing groups must be excluded from the larger society and be left alone. So even though they have external protection but protection against internal restriction would exist.<sup>202</sup> However, Kukathas did not realise that even though the group would be recognised as autonomous, the members might not be. It might be intolerant and disrespect the beliefs and wishes of its members. One example could be cited here- in Pueblo culture the members did not have freedom of conscience. They were out casted and were not given any community benefit if they do not follow the tribal religion.<sup>203</sup> Moreover, if the society is conservative and patriarchal, then beliefs and faiths of disadvantaged members like women, children and disabled are compromised as the society turns intolerant to these sub- groups.

---

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., p. 35

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., p. 154

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, p.40

Tolerance was initially related to freedom of religion and what Kukathas endorsed was not related to it in any way. In a liberal democracy, autonomy needs to be recognised but only of those who promote the civil rights of its members. And only such a society needs to be tolerated that respects autonomy of its members and tolerant about their belief and faiths and allows them to decide whether they want to follow its religion or want to change or wish to not follow any religion at all. Hence, autonomy and tolerance both are equally important for a society to thrive. But the authority might fear that if they allow its members to unfollow to change its religion, would it not wipe out their culture? The authority must realize that no society can thrive for long, if its members are not taken care of. No society will progress and prosper in a right direction if it imposes and pressurizes its members. A member will only change its culture or religion if he feels that the society is intolerant towards his needs and interests which are no longer been taken care of. Everyone has the right to decide his own ends.<sup>204</sup> And at the society's end, its duty is to work for the benefit of its members as societies are made up by its members, being tolerant and revise and formulate new laws and practices rationally when the need be.

What if a self- governing illiberal society still does not pay any heed towards the need of its members? John Stuart Mill supported coercive measures like colonization to impose liberal values in various societies. In America, liberals supported the establishment of a Supreme Court that would review the government's decisions in ensuring the civil rights of its members within the country. Contemporary liberals supported non- coercive measures like education, funding, incentives, peaceful negotiations, dialogue, etc. to promote liberal values. These measures, be it coercive or non- coercive, are not applicable for a foreign country. However, the capacity of these measures gets limited when a society is illiberal and has self- governing rights. In these situations, liberals have the responsibility to call out the illiberal practices even though they do not have direct access to impose liberal values in these societies. They can talk and help the members who experience discriminations and let them know about various incentives of being in a liberal society.<sup>205</sup>

There are many national minorities who do not want to be in their illiberal society, whereas there are others who would not mind and see no harm being in such a society. But there are also instances of few groups who would want to review their decision in their own court and then an international one. But intervention by the State is required in an illiberal self- governing

---

<sup>204</sup> Ibid. p. 158.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., pp. 166- 168.

society when human rights are severely damaged through practice like slavery, expulsions etc. Regarding this Kymlicka writes:

“The exact point at which intervention in the internal affairs of a national minority is warranted is unclear, just as it is in the international context. I think a number of factors are potentially relevant here, including the severity of rights violations within the minority community, the degree of consensus within the community on the legitimacy of restricting individual rights, the ability of dissenting group members to leave the community if they so desire, and the existence of historical agreements with the national minority. For example, whether it is justified to intervene in the case of an Indian tribe that restricts freedom of conscience surely depends on whether it is governed by a tyrannical dictator, who lacks popular support and prevents people leaving the community, or whether the tribal government has a broad base of support and religious dissidents are free to leave.”<sup>206</sup>

Ideally, any authority of a society is expected to be tolerant towards its members and promote and respect their basic rights. But in illiberal societies these conditions seem to be non-existent. Both the coercive and non-coercive methods are used to impose liberal values in societies, but in illiberal self-governing societies, internal reform remains the only option. Sarah Song suggests that self-governing rights should be given to national minorities if and only if they agree to accept the constitutional bill of rights.<sup>207</sup> Kymlicka too, believing in the same line, states that “I have defended the right of national minorities to maintain themselves as culturally distinct societies, but only if...they are themselves governed by liberal principles.”<sup>208</sup> And once these rights are given to these groups, there should not be any kind of regret at government’s end because there are also instances where certain decisions taken proved to be complicated. For example- Amish community was exempted from integration and was allowed to maintain certain internal restrictions. They were against any form of modernity and once left, no member is given a place in the community again. Moreover, if one is a part of this community, he/she will have to be loyal towards their particular church, else punishment would be served or no benefit would be forwarded to that member.

To protect the rights of the minorities, B. R. Ambedkar wrote a memorandum on the safeguards against self-discrimination for state minorities and the Scheduled Caste to be submitted to the Constituent Assembly. The memorandum was made public in the form of book *States and Minorities* whereby he proposed certain articles, clauses and conditions for the minorities and Scheduled Castes. According to the memorandum, the above section of the people

---

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., pp. 169- 170.

<sup>207</sup> Song, Sarah, (2010), “Multiculturalism”, in *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, by Mark Bevir (ed.), p. 7.

<sup>208</sup> Kymlicka, Will, (1995), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, p. 154.

has the right to life, liberty, happiness, speech, religion etc. The memorandum claimed to protect them from external and internal disorders and from social, economic and political tyranny by providing them with better opportunities. For example- the Article II, Section III provides provisions for the “protection of the minorities against Communal Executive, social and official tyranny, social boycott and state and union governments to spend money for their betterment.” Similarly, Article II, Section IV provides the “Scheduled Castes the right to representation in the legislature, executives and services. It also provides them with special responsibilities regarding higher education, separate settlements etc.”<sup>209</sup>

There are many challenges that indigenous peoples tackle even after they are granted self- governing rights. These challenges are not regarding any internal restrictions but about external protection or from the State. In India, diverse groups of indigenous people are concentrated in the north- eastern states. According to National Crime Records Bureau,

“6,568 cases were officially reported against indigenous peoples in 2016 and many such cases went unreported. The right to land that prohibits any sale of tribal lands to non- tribals is out rightly violated and is ineffective as tribal people live in a fear that they would be evicted from their house and land in the name of forest and animal preservation. The same bureau reported 974 cases of exploitation, trafficking and killing of tribal girls and women in 2016. In Assam, the National Register of Citizens (NRC) registered only 31,121,004 names out of 33,027,661, excluding more than 100,000 indigenous people.”<sup>210</sup>

Moreover, the State’s responsibility is not only towards these groups but also towards other forms of diversity that give meaning to their very existence. For example: The National Board for Wild Life’s (NBWL) approval for coal mining in Dihing Patkai Wildlife Sanctuary on April 2020, saw an uproar amongst the residents of Assam. A campaign to save 111.19 sq.km of this Sanctuary gathered momentum that led the committee to temporarily halt its operation.<sup>211</sup> The State along with these indigenous groups also has responsibility towards other forms of existence and particularly those that adds richness to the diversity and gives meaning to these groups. A liberal multicultural democracy like India must learn to co- exist which is the chief tenet of multiculturalism. The concept of co- existence is not only about people but it includes all forms of lives and living peacefully with each other by adding richness to the diversity.

---

<sup>209</sup> Ambedkar, B. R., (1947), *States and Minorities*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>210</sup> [www.iwgia.org](http://www.iwgia.org), “Indigenous Peoples in India”, retrieved on 16-06-2020.

<sup>211</sup> <https://www.thehindu.com>, “Coal Mining near Assam Wildlife Sanctuary Suspended”, retrieved on 19-06-2020.



The study also takes into account the challenges, risks and threats that immigrants often come across. Immigrants are the groups of people who voluntarily integrate into a society without demanding any form of self-governing rights. The period prior to 1970 gave importance to processes like ‘assimilation’, ‘melting-pot’, etc. where these immigrants were expected to shed their own culture, beliefs and practices and assimilate into the dominant culture. However, late 1970s witnessed many countries like USA, Canada and Australia to adopt a multicultural policy that not only protected their individual rights but also provided them with community rights, whereby they were allowed to retain some of their cultural practices. Movement is indispensable part of a society and this realization made many countries to open their boundaries to the immigrants.

The inefficiency of multiculturalism was cited by Germany in 2010 where immigrants were asked to adopt the culture and values of the host country. In 2015, Germany stated that multiculturalism model, by allowing every minorities to follow their own culture, can lead to parallel societies within a State. Canada gave the Indians who were residing there a collective identity whereby they were allowed to observe their own cultural practices. This created a fear in the dominant culture of Germany that it will lead to “many parallel societies”<sup>212</sup> without having any common point to unite; and it may also lead towards the division of the country. However, in reality, immigrants do realise that their demands could never be equivalent to the demands of indigenous peoples. They also realise that since their culture is small, they would never be able to build a similar community that they had in their homeland. They are more than willing to integrate into the institutions of the host country.<sup>213</sup> Hence, all they want is recognition within the laws and the institutions whereby they would be allowed to at least retain some of their cultural practices (which are not detrimental for its members and the larger society).

In this context, we can quote the example that Kymlicka provides regarding the African-American community. The community is often reported to be exploited and discriminated casually or institutionally. Even though they were entitled to human rights, the dominant and hegemonic larger society never really considered them to be part of any society. There were very few among this community who wanted to establish a “black state” in southern part of USA. However, they soon realized that since they were scattered all over the world, the idea of forming a new state may not materialise. But the majority of the Afro-American community never really wanted a parallel state. They only wanted recognition by the dominant culture, by

---

<sup>212</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org>, “Multiculturalism”, retrieved on 17-09-2017.

<sup>213</sup> Kymlicka, Will, (1995), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, pp. 145-146.

laws and institutions and would not want to be subject of any form of discrimination in the hands of the majority.<sup>214</sup>

Kymlicka regarding citizenship of these immigrants maintained that anyone can be a citizen of a country if he is willing to learn and respect the dominant culture, its history, the language spoken and wills to equally contribute towards the progress of the State without being detrimental to it.<sup>215</sup> David Miller did not agree with the immigration policy given by Kymlicka and stated that even though movement is a natural phenomenon and everyone has his freedom, some restriction has to be put on its limit. Miller gives two reason for such limitation- first, one needs to admit that by huge influx, the existing culture will be affected as state would find it difficult regarding which of their demands need to be fulfilled first; and second, if a country is overpopulated, such influx can make the residents suffer to a certain extent and in case of any conflict, the situation might get out of the State's control. Moreover, no state has any obligation to make anyone its members; it will only include those immigrants who prove themselves to be in the interests of that State.<sup>216</sup> Another reason that could be added to it is if a country is witnessing a crunch regarding unemployment, land issues, housing problem, poverty, any form of slavery, communalism, etc. accommodating these immigrants will prove to be detrimental for the residents. This may even lead to more conflicts and crimes as everyone would be focused on fulfilling their needs first. Hence, State must revise and reformulate new immigration policies keeping all this issues into account.

United Kingdom witnessed large influx of people that led it to adopt this multicultural policy from 1970 to 1980. However, in 2001, it dropped this model and adopted the process of 'social cohesion' but on 2011 it declared multiculturalism to be a failure. The prime minister of Britain state that even though it allowed its people to live separate lives still multiculturalism proved to be a failure. Cultural pluralism could be considered to be the main reason for Brexit. In addition to that, the attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 and terrorism led its government to claim that multiculturalism made the immigrants to concentrate on their personal commitments which could be a threat to social cohesion. The British Muslims saw a severe backlash in this

---

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.,p. 24.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.,p. 23.

<sup>216</sup> Miller, David, (2005), "Immigration: The Case for Limits", in *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*, pp. 195- 201.

process.<sup>217</sup> Even Netherlands moved away from multiculturalism to build a homogenous society and stated that it is more tolerant than being multicultural.

It can be argued that multiculturalism was never a failure as it was not effectively implemented. Apart from claiming it to be tolerant, the state also need to adopt policies and programmed that is more inclusive where the diversity brought by the immigrants are respected, recognised and where they can equally participate. On the other hand, the immigrants need to treat the State as their own by contributing towards its progress, respecting its cultural practices and not creating any kind of violence. But the majority also needs to instil a sense of belongingness among the immigrants so that they are not left out in formulating laws or community life. Multiculturalism is not only about living separate lives as it will make every community isolated from each other, it is also about finding the common things that every community can participate and interact, which will unite them despite their differences. Hence, different identities and cultures need to be treated with respect and equality as “differences should be publically recognised not because they are important or significant per se, though they may well be, but because they are important for their bearers.”<sup>218</sup>

Regarding this sense of belongingness, Bhikhu Parekh feels that certain standards need to be introduced so that any conflict that community has could be solved. The values of multiculturalism need to be cherished and nurtured. One of the standards is having fruitful dialogue between the majorities and minorities having different cultural and moral visions. The State must come forward in ensuring that their rights would be safeguarded from any form of exploitation. Both the dominant and non-dominant groups must cultivate self-criticism and be morally and intellectually sympathetic towards each other and other forms of existence. The citizens must have a sense of belongingness and must be loyal towards its political and social community. But this sense of belongingness is of reciprocal nature because the dominant also at their end must put in effort to make the minorities welcome in their community. Apart from political bond, the immigrants must also have an emotional bond with the society. On one hand a citizen must be loyal towards its community and on the other hand the community must also accept him as one of its members.<sup>219</sup>

---

<sup>217</sup> Ashcroft, Richard & Bevir, Mark, “Pluralism, National Identity and Citizenship: Britain after Brexit” in *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 87, No. 3, (2016), p. 1

<sup>218</sup> Galeotti, A. Elisabetta, (2002), *Toleration as Recognition*, p. 104.

<sup>219</sup> [www.india-seminar.com](http://www.india-seminar.com), “What is multiculturalism?”, by Bhikhu Parekh, retrieved on 8-03-2016.

Communitarian like Charles Taylor rejects that individual is prior to its community. In spite of giving them equal citizenship, immigrants may still have the fear of rejection and might alienate themselves from the rest of the society. Their social recognition is only possible through intellectual dialogues and moral appeals. He supports ontological holism where social goods are viewed as “irreducibly social”.<sup>220</sup> Adding to this, Parekh says that mere intellectual argument cannot bring them recognition, which is why they need to fight for it even if it calls for violence.<sup>221</sup> This statement could be contested because if violence is permitted then peaceful co-existence among various communities, which is one of the aims of multiculturalism, would be very difficult to achieve. Since majority is always advantageous, any violence from the immigrants would be a mistake to commit. The State must make sure that any form of violence is kept out of the scenario. But it must be kept into account that if the immigrants are not recognised or respected and discriminated casually or institutionally, then such violence is bound to happen.

It is imperative for the immigrants to learn the dominant language, its history, customs, and attitude apart from being aware of their rights. Even though they are allowed to retain some of their cultural practice, they must maintain certain codes of the dominant in order to ensure peace and harmony. Since they are the new residents, misunderstandings are bound to happen; which is why the majority must be tolerant and patient in dealing with these minorities. This will make the minorities more confident in their outlook and may not have any reservation in reaching out to the wider society.<sup>222</sup> Parekh with the help of examples of what images needs to be portrayed by a multicultural society:

“...England often evokes images of serene southern counties, church bells, quiet Sundays, dreaming spires...as a result of the work of the work of ethnic minority and other writers, artists, musicians, etc., and some of the imaginative programmes on the television, England now also evokes images of mosques and temples, elderly gentlemen walking with their children to the Friday prayers in response to the call of the muezzin, Diwali celebrations in public squares, spicy foods, saris...This makes it easier for them to take ownership of it, participate in a common but internally differentiated discourse on their shared public world, and to build common emotional bonds among themselves.”<sup>223</sup>

---

<sup>220</sup>Taylor, Charles, (1994), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, pp. 97- 110.

<sup>221</sup> Bhikhu, Parekh, “Unity and Diversity in Multicultural Societies, *IILS Publications*, (2005), pp. 1-2.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-18.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., p. 18

Hence, the onus to eradicate any form of discrimination lies not only on the State but also on media, institutions, organisations etc. and make sure that the minorities do not fall under any form of particularisms.<sup>224</sup>

Multiculturalism concentrates on protection and accommodation of the diverse cultures through various policies and programmes. According to Berry and Ward, there are currently two databases that describe and review the status of various multicultural policies- first is Multicultural Policy Index (MPI) that focuses on the relation between state and minorities (immigrants and indigenous peoples). There are nine criteria that review the status of any policy for immigrants' like- government policy that promotes multiculturalism, including multiculturalism in curricula, representation of ethnic minorities in media, dual citizenship, funding institutions for bilingual and heritage language and others. Canada and Australia are reported to be at the top whereas lowest place is occupied by Germany, Denmark, France, etc.; and second one is Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which is about migrant integration including indicators like- education, access to nationality, anti- discriminatory laws, participation in political sphere etc. It is believed that these policies have positive impact on the minorities that enhances not only their economic outcomes but also political, social and academic outcomes. These policies instil a sense of belongingness and trust among the immigrants allowing them to equally participate in the democracy. Anti- discriminatory policies must be adopted in educational settings as well as in organisations. Moreover, a democracy needs to implement policies that have greater inclusiveness, be "identity conscious", appreciate and support diversity, believes in creating heterogeneous and tolerant societies and must adopt integration policies rather than assimilation.<sup>225</sup>

Every multicultural policy put stress on political representation for the minorities. But certain question arises like- who should be represented? How should they be represented? Kymlicka believes that one reason that prevents the minorities to equally participate is their under- representation in the legislature. Under- representation has been an issue for indigenous peoples, immigrants, religious minorities, women, disabled, economically backwards sections, etc. Kymlicka suggests that regarding these minorities they should not only be ensured of 'group representation' that is guaranteed but also of 'proportional representation'. The external barriers like "public funding of nomination campaign expenses...financial incentives to parties which

---

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13

<sup>225</sup> Berry, J. W. & Ward, Colleen, (2016), "Multiculturalism", in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, by David L.S. and J.W. Berry (eds.), Cambridge University Press, pp. 444- 447.

nominate or elect members of disadvantaged groups, etc.” needs to be eliminated that prevents the minorities in expressing their views publicly. By proportional representation, Kymlicka means that encourage all the binaries including men and women, blacks and whites, indigenous and immigrants etc. One of the examples can be quoted:

“The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (the most powerful feminist lobby group in Canada) recommended that 50 per cent of Senate seats be reserved for women, and that proportionate representation of ethnic minorities also be guaranteed: the Francophone Association of Alberta recommended that at least one of the proposed six Senators elected from each province represent the official language minority of that province; and various government commissions have advocated Aboriginal- only districts not only in the Senate, but also in the House of Commons.”<sup>226</sup>

The groups that need representation must have history of oppression, exploitation, harassment and marginalization in the hands of the dominant. The following groups are oppressed in one or the other way: “women, blacks, Native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Spanish- speaking Americans, Asian Americans, gay men, lesbians, working- class people, poor people, old and mentally and physically disabled people”.<sup>227</sup> Kymlicka states that there are two models through which the representatives are held accountable- first is the Maori model of New Zealand, where the representative chosen may not be from this community but must feel responsible as he/she is chosen by the community. This model denies any form of mirror representation which states that one can represent only his community; and second is the NAC model where one represents his own community but is not directly represented by them. So, the former “guarantees that some representatives are solely accountable to Maori voters, although it does not guarantee that the representatives are themselves Maori”; whereas the latter “guarantees that representatives mirror important groups in the electorate, but it does not guarantee that the representatives are accountable to the group they mirror.”<sup>228</sup>

The above discussions come under the objective aspect of multiculturalism that includes policies and programmes that accommodate and promote diversity. Next, the study examines the subjective aspect of multiculturalism, i.e. how do these policies affect the psychological aspect of the minorities? Berry and Ward maintains that when a person/group wants to integrate, he/they come in contact with others (which is basically everyday) in a society, acculturation and

---

<sup>226</sup> Kymlicka, Will, (1995), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, p. 133.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 149.

adaptation takes place. There can be adaptations in terms of economic, academic, socio-cultural, intercultural and multicultural, that influences the holistic well-being of the minorities, but whether the effect will be negative or positive depends upon the policies and programmes taken by the State. They suggest that every policy and programme pertaining to the minorities must be inclusive, pro-immigration, supportive and keep positive perception regarding them. For example- the immigration policy of Europe could not instil a sense of belongingness in the immigrants as the policies were not inclusive and it supported a homogenous state; whereas Canada is more flexible regarding its immigrants. Robert D. Putnam criticised multiculturalism and stated that this model affects social trust; people in diverse communities have started disbelieving each other having fewer friends.<sup>229</sup> However, these findings have not been replicated in international sphere. Instead, recent reports have suggested that more diverse community leads to less discrimination and exploitation of the minorities, for example- the societies of Canada and New Zealand.

It is evident that multicultural policies and programmes are often beneficial to the minorities, but how does it benefit majority or the dominant culture? The majority might feel threatened regarding their culture, rituals, etc. to be wiped out by the immigration process and this fear might turn into hatred in no time. This may lead to violence and rejection of multiculturalism as ideology and policy eventually. What is the responsibility of the State here? Berry and Ward, however, states that the majority needs to be made secure about their culture and boost their self-esteem. The reason being once they are secured and accept themselves only then they could accept and be secure of other cultures and ready of acculturations and adaptations of any form.<sup>230</sup> Moreover, the threat is also to the indigenous peoples as they might fear that immigration could lead to their displacement. How to deal with such issues? The state must come forward with its inclusive policies that focus on integration of majority and minority rather than separation. The state must have constructive dialogue with the dominant stating every pros and cons and ensuring that their culture, history, rituals, beliefs, etc. would be protected against any illiberal practices or groups. They must be sensitized regarding any form of fear or jealousy. And regarding the indigenous peoples, since they are the native, they must be given special rights regarding their land, property and resources and must be safeguarded against any form of exploitation from the dominant as well as immigrants.

---

<sup>229</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org>, "Multiculturalism", retrieved on 17-09-2017.

<sup>230</sup> Berry, J. W. & Ward, Colleen, (2016), "Multiculturalism", in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, by David L.S. and J.W. Berry (eds.), p. 453.

The same could not be said about the adoption of Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), 2019 by the Indian government. According to this act, citizenship would be provided to the non-Muslim illegal immigrants who had fled persecution from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan before December 2014. Even though this act was seen to be discriminatory regarding religion, its implementation would heavily affect residents and indigenous peoples. The Act was passed at a time when the country was witnessing a crunch regarding its economy, employment, health, education, environment etc. There was nation-wide protests regarding the effects of CAA with NRC that took away many lives. Moreover, the state never had any dialogue with the residents or the activists downplaying the narratives on NRC.<sup>231</sup>

The state must also put effort on spheres like education, justice, media, arts, politics, sports etc. where people from diverse cultures could come in contact with each other. In order to remove the 'gap' that existed since antiquity, 'Ethnic Studies' was introduced in the U.S. which highlights the neglected aspects like women, blacks, religious minorities etc. It tries to make the society conscious about the various struggles/contributions made by the minorities that were ignored. Moreover, education should not be class bound but experiential learning or outdoor education which focuses on interactive sessions among students from various communities. Since many aspects would be unfolded in these sessions, there is a less probability of receiving 'cultural shock' at both the ends which will make them more aware, accepting, supportive, tolerant and appreciative of each other. The intention behind such an education is to remove fear that may turn into hatred.

There should be programmes that bring communities together. The 21<sup>st</sup> century world is considered a pluralist society because of "a community center in the United States may offer classes in Indian yoga, Chinese calligraphy and Latin salsa dancing...community also have one or more synagogues, Mosques, Mandirs, Gurudwaras, Buddhist temples...various churches."<sup>232</sup> The contemporary world is a pluralist one as various communities within a larger society are co-existing side by side. The precursor of multiculturalism (especially co-existence) could be witnessed in the Indian society way before this model was adopted. The nine schools of Indian philosophy existed and flourished side by side in spite of preaching different philosophies. Their constructive criticism not only enabled them to fill up what they lack but also to spread their richness and diversity in the whole world. Even Parekh states that different culture enriches us

---

<sup>231</sup> <https://en.m.wikipedia.org>, "Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019" retrieved on 20-06-2020.

<sup>232</sup> Singh, R.P., "Understanding Diversity/ Plurality in Multiculturalism: Fusion of Cultural Horizons", in *World of Philosophy: A Harmony*, (2011), p. 191.



with the richness that they bring along and rather than focusing on the negatives, we should find the universal commonalities that can unite us and influence each other in a right manner.

Surveys conducted shows that 27 European countries agree to the fact that ethnic diversity enhance the national culture; negative attitude towards immigrant youth leads to low self- esteem and low life satisfaction; academic adjustment leads to low level of depression, better cognitive performance, high well- being, low health risk; those who are accepting of both the cultures can take benefit out of them and competent in handling issues that arise in both the cultures.<sup>233</sup>

A successful multiculturalism is the proper implementation of objective and subjective multiculturalism. The policies and programmes implemented must be inclusive, supportive, tolerant, that gives proper representation to indigenous as well as minorities, safeguarding their rights, instil belongingness, promotes autonomy, guarantees citizenship, supporting a heterogeneous society, that makes them less vulnerable in academics, institutions and organisations and give them proper recognition for the diversity and richness they bring along. The subjective multiculturalism reported that if the policies are non- discriminatory and respectful, then it leads to lower psychological problems among the minorities and higher level of life satisfaction. Often multiculturalism is related to cultural relativity that considers every culture to be significant that needs appreciation and recognition, which is a mistake; there are instances where many societies have put limit to the detrimental practices observed by the illiberal societies. The onus lies on the state to process initiatives that may vary depending upon the social, political and economic aspects of a particular country. Every society and every policy come with its own challenges that need to be rightfully addressed. And if done properly, then it will pave the way for co- existence.

## **Section II**

### **Limits and Beyond: Interrogating Toleration**

Multiculturalism focuses on safeguarding the interests of the groups who have a history of being oppressed, exploited, harassed and marginalized by the majority. The onus to protect their rights falls upon the state, public agencies, media, organisations etc; however, it may not be as easy for Multiculturalism to realise its end as it seems. This policy model was challenged by Susan

---

<sup>233</sup> Berry, J. W. & Ward, Colleen, (2016), "Multiculturalism", in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, by David L.S. and J.W. Berry (eds.), pp. 443-453.

Moller Okin and Anne Phillips, liberal feminist political philosophers who worked for social and political equality for women. They accused that multiculturalism may be beneficial for some section of the society but at the same time it also has the potential of harming the rights and interests of women, children, disabled, LGBTQ etc. Both the philosophers considered that cultures are loaded with ideologies and practices that put women in disadvantageous situations as compared to men. In this section, the study will examine what are the challenges faced by the theories of multiculturalism stated by post- multiculturalist philosophers? How do they overcome the allegation that most of the multicultural policies endorse essentialism? Are they able to overcome it in a justified manner?

In *Is Multiculturalism Bad for women?* Okin explores the concept of equality in the world of exploitation, discrimination, oppression etc. Okin started her work with an example of polygamy where women and children were shown to be the worst sufferers.<sup>234</sup> Culture is an integral part of an individual but it should not be an excuse to overshadow the basic rights of any member. The advocates of group rights often focuses on maintaining intergroup or intercultural harmony but their contribution regarding intra cultural issues remains very limited. Okin being a liberal feminist philosopher believed that the civil rights of women needs to be protected and attention should also be paid to the structure of institutions like family, workplace etc. Apart from the public sphere, the interests of women should be safeguarded in the private sphere too.

The minority cultures that have threats to extinct and on the verge of losing their societal cultures demand group rights. As culture provides holistic meaning to its members, it natural for them to fight for their culture and maintain their identity and membership. Most of the cultures are infused with certain ideologies and if such cultures turn out to be sexist and patriarch, then complying with their demand of providing group- rights may not be beneficial to women. Believing on the same line of thought, Okin states that:

“Suppose, then, that a culture endorses and facilitates the control of men over women in various ways...Suppose, too, that there are fairly clear disparities of power between the sexes, such that the more powerful, male members are those who are generally in a position to determine and articulate the group’s beliefs, practices, and interests. Under such conditions, group rights are potentially, and in many cases actually, antifeminist. They substantially limit the capacities of

---

<sup>234</sup> Okin, M. Susan, (1999), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard & Martha C. Nussbaum (ed.), p. 9

women and girls of that culture to live with human dignity equal to that of men and boys, and to live as freely chosen lives as they can.”<sup>235</sup>

If in a multicultural society, the liberal values like equality, autonomy, dignity, etc. in terms of women, are not taken care of, then application of toleration is not justified. Toleration is accepted as long as the basic rights of all the members are secured and no harm is caused to the society. Many liberal democracies have incorporated policies and programmes that offer equal opportunity and treatment to women in terms of education, health, employment, right to vote, political representation.

Apart from the public level, equal attention should also be paid towards differentiation of women at private sphere. There are evidences which could be taken from ancient till contemporary period of different countries that prove that women have been considered as subordinates. Okin has referred to many examples from different countries like Egypt, Mali, Peru, Yemen etc. that showcase how women are controlled by men in terms of “reproductive life...marriage, divorce, child custody, division and control of family property and inheritance.”<sup>236</sup> Famous anthropologists Ruth Benedict in *Patterns of Culture* had stated that every culture has its own patterns, imperatives, temperament, beliefs, customs and values that hold meaning to its members; it would be a mistake to judge any culture from one standpoint. Moreover, as she believed in cultural relativism, Benedict appealed that the aim for a safer world could be achieved only when we are tolerant and accept diversity with dignity that every culture brings along.<sup>237</sup>

The appeal made by Benedict is partially true as there are certain customs that might have the potential of exploiting women’s right over her body and application of toleration is not justified in such cases. For example- the state of attaining adolescence in many parts of the world has been associated with social rituals than a mere biological change. The rituals performed in order to celebrate this new status might affect the personality and body of the women in a negative way. She had cited the example of Carrier Indians of British Columbia where women on attaining puberty are forced to:

---

<sup>235</sup> Ibid. p. 12

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-16

<sup>237</sup> Benedict, Ruth, (1934), *Patterns of Culture*, pp, 30-31

“live in wilderness..she was a threat to any person who might catch a glimpse of her...she was herself in danger and she was a source of danger to everybody else...Puberty rites...admit of no extension to boys...girl at puberty is segregated, sometimes for years...she is taught during this time her corpulence that is followed by her marriage to her proud bridegroom. It is not regarded as a necessary for the man to achieve pulchritude before marriage in a similar fashion.”<sup>238</sup>

The taboos that are associated with attaining adolescence can also be found in India especially in Tamil Nadu and Assam. The ‘sadangu ceremony’<sup>239</sup> in Tamil Nadu and ‘tuloni biya’ of Assam are the forms of regressive patriarchy where attaining the new status is celebrated with grand gestures. The intention behind these rituals is to portray women as objects that are ‘pure’ and ready for marriage. Women from their childhood are often taught to behave like a lady, talk in a polite manner, dress in a particular order, etc. but no such restrictions or stress could be found in case of boys. Hence, women as well as men need to accept that such rituals are nothing but social construction that affects the progress of women. And such processes in a culture are in a dire need of reaffirmations. There should be a shift from customary to reflective morality where we can scrutinize the past beliefs and replace it with new beliefs if the need arise. Toleration is applicable as long as it does not affect the rights and interests of its members and tolerating the above mentioned rituals might prove to be detrimental to women’s personality and health. Therefore, providing group- rights to any culture that promotes such rituals may not provide a holistic meaning to the lives of women.

Toleration is also not justified regarding domestic oppression that very few advocates of group rights have discussed. In a society with high sex ratio, the economic and political freedom of women is restricted as they are expected to confine themselves only to domestic life. It seems women (mothers and wives) are respected as long as they fulfil their duty of being a ‘good wife’ and capable of bearing sons; hence, respect towards women becomes conditioned. It is a mistake to assume that domestic life should not be taken care of as there are women who are happy in devoting time for their family; but at the same time if the freedom of women to take part in economic, political and social institutions is not respected, then their basic rights get hampered. And because of their engagement in domesticity, there is a less possibility of feminist movements to occur in high-sex ratio societies. Another aspect of domestic oppression that is

---

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., pp. 38-39

<sup>239</sup> <http://cirhep.linghag.se>, Wash your hair and keep a lemon” by Kerstin Jurlander, retrieved on 9-03-2016.

prevalent in a patriarchal society is sex selection that needs attention. Mary Anne Warren has the same concern as she writes:

“...sometimes the choice is clearly coerced, and sometimes it is clearly not coerced; and usually it falls somewhere between the two extremes. Consider, at one extreme, poor, young, uneducated women in a highly patriarchal and high son- preferring ritual community in northern India. She has married into a family which values her only for dowry and her potential to produce sons...she fears that if she fails to have sons she may be abused...even murdered...she may want a daughter as a companion ...Even if she is not directly coerced into undergoing sex- selection procedure, this woman may perceive no alternative to submission. In this situation, her “choice” to avoid bearing daughters is arguably no choice at all, and her “right” to make it is a mockery of reproductive freedom.”<sup>240</sup>

The main contention here is that practices like sex- selection always make a mockery of the reproductive freedom of women, whether one opts for it or not. The reason being till the times such practices exist there will always be a sense of fear, being abandoned etc. in a woman. Hence, any practice or ritual that is not beneficial to women, calls for revision and reformation.

Warren has cited an example of a modern, single and educated woman who wants to adopt a girl child and her decision, even though not coerced by any individual directly, seems to be affected by social realities. Her decision does not make her sexist because she realizes that the no matter how much care she gives to her son (if she adopts one), there is a possibility that her son might have the potential of becoming a rapists, violent, rule breaker, etc. From both the examples, it can also be stated that decision to undergo sex- selection procedures by some women may not be coerced at all by individual. They choose to do that because “they judge that this is the best option for the child itself, in a world in which gender is still one of the most powerful determinants of opportunity.”<sup>241</sup> In other words, they realize that in a patriarchal society where male violence is not contested, a girl child may not be bestowed with same opportunities as men.

However, even though the feminist philosophers make effort in breaking stereotypes associated with women, the same should also be carried out regarding stereotyping men as

---

<sup>240</sup> Warren, Marry Anne, “Sex Selection: Individual Choice or Cultural Coercion”, *Bioethics: An Anthology*, p.

116

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118

“potential rapists”. The onus may lie on government, media, public agencies, institutions etc. for gender sensitization, but the primary role in this context is played by the structure of the family. Okin believes that since a child adopts the value that is instilled in him by his family, the structure of any familial setting needs to be gender fluid. Unless any theory of justice addresses women discrimination and gender inequality, it would be considered as an incomplete and biased theory.<sup>242</sup> Respect should not be conditioned on aspects like gender, whether a woman is capable of being a good life, can bear sons, confine themselves to domesticity, etc.; rather she should be respected because she is an agent capable of deciding without any coercion, moral equals and has autonomy and dignity like her male counterparts. If not any special treatment, women deserve at least equal treatment.

In many parts of India like Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan, Assam and Uttar Pradesh, there exist another form of oppressing women known as witch hunting. This practice has been prevalent since the Biblical era and still finds its existence in today’s global world where technology has slipped into every sphere, every moment of human being. Witch hunting is often associated with gender stereotype in a negative manner that leads to societal exclusion, exploitation and inferior value of lives of particularly women. A woman is labelled as a witch “characterized to be spiritual, divinatory and mystic in nature...believed to influence the mind, body or property- of others in a malicious manner.”<sup>243</sup> For any calamity or tragedy that occurs in a family or society like- “diseases, physical deformities, famine, bad crops, deaths and other non- favourable stances”<sup>244</sup>, women (along with her children) are often targeted as the sole reason. And as a consequence they are hounded, out casted, molested, tortured mentally and physically and even murdered mercilessly.

Execution of such practices could be attributed to lack of education opportunities, lesser scientific intervention, lack of gender sensitization, less interaction with the outside world, less awareness, lack of state intervention, etc. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, technology has reached greater heights, human civilization has progressed, man has made discoveries and inventions, but somehow it seems the practice of witch hunting is not on the verge of fading away any time soon. According to the reports provided by National Crime Records Bureau of India “more than 2500 people in India have been tortured and killed in these hunts between 2000 to 2016...number is much higher, because most states don’t list witchcraft as a motive of

---

<sup>242</sup> [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org), “Susan Moller Okin”, retrieved on 20-06-2019

<sup>243</sup> [www.iitp.ac.in](http://www.iitp.ac.in) “The Academic Journey of Witchcraft Studies in India” by Alam, Shamsheer, Raj, Adita, retrieved in 07-09-2019

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

murder.”<sup>245</sup> The stories of women who have survived such hunts and are still existing in the midst of torture is heart wrenching. We often appeal male to be sympathetic and understanding towards women, but same should also be applicable in terms of women. Being woman, if one takes part and encourages these regressive patriarchal practices and not making any effort to understand the plight of a woman being targeted as witch, then such a state could be considered as the worst part of the reality.

Multiculturalism allows minority cultures to preserve their identity and practices but if such cultures follow illiberal practices like forceful marriage, forceful veiling, genital mutilation and no education to women, then this policy model does harm the rights of women. And, extending groups rights to these cultures would mean to consider women as subordinates and morally inferior. These discrimination and oppression of women that persists at the private sphere lead Okin to conclude that multiculturalism is harmful to women. Hence, we need to strive for a multiculturalism that “effectively treats all persons as each other’s equals.”<sup>246</sup> Apart from theories, public policies and discourses, attention must also be paid to family, workplace, institutions, media, etc.

Okin considers multiculturalism as a form of cultural relativism that prevents any form of interference or judgment of the practice of minority cultures. This critic of Okin can be considered as false as multiculturalism does bring practices into the domain of equality and freedom. Principle of autonomy is given prominence and no toleration is extended to illiberal practices of minority cultures. Moreover, group- differentiated rights are only provided to those groups that accept the constitutional bill of rights.<sup>247</sup> However, it is also true that advocates of group rights often discuss about elimination of the limitations that are associated with civil and political freedom of individuals belonging to a culture at the public level. The right against internal restriction provided by Kymlicka rightfully acknowledged the struggles faced by oppressed sections, but could not recognize the differentiation faced by women at private level.

Okin’s conclusion that multiculturalism is harmful for women cannot be considered as entirely true because if there exist a minority culture that safeguards autonomy and dignity of women, then it does require multicultural policies for recognition. Liberals must recognize

---

<sup>245</sup> <https://arccg.is/1fpfPX1>, “Witch Hunting in India”, retrieved on 20-06-2019

<sup>246</sup> Okin, M. Susan, (1999), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard & Martha C. Nussbaum (ed.), p. 31

<sup>247</sup> Song, Sarah, (2010), “Multiculturalism”, in *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, by Mark Bevir (ed.), p. 7

domestic oppressions as forms of internal restrictions that need to be rejected. For Kymlicka, the aim and structure of both feminism and multiculturalism are same and both reject traditional theories that consider “majority culture as the ‘norm’”<sup>248</sup> and wants special rights for the oppressed as a remedy.

Okin can also be criticised for the generalization she made that principles of equality and autonomy are negated only in non- western cultures ignoring their changes that has been brought about by the resistance of women. She considers “non- Western cultures as almost by definition patriarchal and the women in these cultures as victims in need of protection.”<sup>249</sup> In reality, these principles are often violated in the form of domestic oppression, violation of bodily integrity, rape, inequality in pay, etc in western cultures too. Okin tends to connect western cultures with their best practices and those of non- western cultures with their worst.

For Anne Phillips, there is a close relationship between feminism and multiculturalism as both aims at emancipating the oppressed that are not considered as equals because of the differences they bring along. Phillips, unlike Okin, considers multiculturalism to be compatible with feminism if and only if it is based on agency and not on any group version: “a multiculturalism that dispenses with the reified notions of culture that feed those stereotypes to which so many feminists have objected.”<sup>250</sup> Kymlicka considers culture to be a platform that allows one to make choices regarding one’s life. The members of minority cultures need security regarding their culture in order to avail facilities and enjoy rights as others. However, Kymlicka fails to recognise that most of the cultures function through family laws which involve certain restrictions on the rights of the women members. Sarah Song has cited one example regarding this:

“According to tribal membership rules, instituted in 1939, women who married out of the tribe could not transmit their membership to their children. At stake was not only recognition as a tribal member but also the political rights and material benefits of tribal membership, including health care, education, and housing assistance from the federal government. On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that it could not hear the equal protection claim on the grounds that it did not have jurisdiction over matters of tribal membership. If the federal courts were to intervene in

---

<sup>248</sup> Ibid. p. 32

<sup>249</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 26

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., p. 8



tribal decisions, the Court added, they would interfere with the ‘tribe’s ability to maintain itself as a culturally and politically distinct entity.’<sup>251</sup>

Kymlicka justifies state intervention in case of specific discriminations within a cultural group which he identifies with “violations of human rights, such as slavery or genocide or mass torture and expulsions.”<sup>252</sup> Until and unless there is no gross violations, intervention by government is not required. Going by this standard, most of the discriminatory actions against women will not qualify as violations as exploitation and oppression at private level often go unnoticed and unreported. As a result, these acts will be considered as “natural” and women would have to unwillingly consider their situation as just in the absence of any rectification.

In spite of multicultural policies that focus on full equality, citizenship, human rights and other democratic values, minorities still continue to face oppression and stigmatization. One of the reasons for the ongoing exploitation of minorities could be located in the essentialist tendency of multiculturalism; it tends to essentialize the practices and identities of minorities making it a “cultural straitjacket”.<sup>253</sup> Kymlicka’s explanation of societal culture is idealistic to an extent that it “confuses social structure with social signification.”<sup>254</sup> His liberal multiculturalism involves culturalist essentialism and gender essentialism. Kymlicka identifies societal culture with dominant culture and endorses their preservation which is evident from the argument:

“...any culture which is not a societal culture will be reduced to ever-increasing marginalization. The capacity and motivation to form and maintain such a distinct culture is characteristic of ‘nations’ or ‘peoples’...Societal cultures, then, tend to be national cultures.”<sup>255</sup>

Even though multiculturalism recognizes diversity of cultures and aims to make a society tolerant and inclusive, there exists some tension between multiculturalism and cultural diversity, regarding which Phillips states:

---

<sup>251</sup> Song, Sarah, “Majority Norms, Multiculturalism and Gender Equality” in *The American Political Science Review*, (2005), Vol. 99, No. 4, (2005), pp. 473-489

<sup>252</sup> Kymlicka, Will, (1995), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, p. 169

<sup>253</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 14.

<sup>254</sup> Benhabib, Seyla, (2002), “‘Nous’ et ‘les Autres’ The Politics of Complex Cultural Dialogue in a Global Civilization”, *Multicultural Questions*, by Christian Joppke & Steven Lukes, (ed.), p. 54

<sup>255</sup> Kymlicka, Will, (1995), *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, p. 80

“Multiculturalism exaggerates the internal unity of cultures, solidifies differences that are currently fluid...makes people from other cultures seem more exotic and distinct than they really are...Multiculturalism then appears...forcing those described as members of a minority cultural group into a regime, denying them the chance to cross cultural borders, borrow cultural influences...”<sup>256</sup>

The source of this problem could be pinned down to the understanding of the concept of culture. The concept of culture often gets merged with a society or a nation which fails to recognise a person being a part of different cultures that could be related to one’s occupation, local and political associations, etc. Moreover, Phillips argued that culture “denies human agency, defining individuals through their culture, and treating as the explanation for virtually everything they say or do.”<sup>257</sup> In *Multiculturalism Without Culture*, Phillips has given many examples to show how the mindset of the mainstream society is laden with stereotypes regarding minorities. One such example that can be quoted from her work is:

“When, for example, European Governments decide that the best way to protect young Moroccan, Turkish, or Bangladeshi women from being forced into unwanted marriages with strangers from their parents’ country of origin is to ban marriages with overseas partners for anyone under the age of eighteen, twenty- one, or twenty- four, they represent young women from these groups as incapable of agency. They operate on the (highly stereotypical) assumption that all parents from these cultural groups are coercive and all young women are submissive, and hence, that marriage arranged with an overseas partner should be regarded as forced.”<sup>258</sup>

Such assumptions not only project the culture in a negative light but also consider women to be its subordinate devoid of any agency. Cultural stereotypes often attribute all aspects of behaviour to culture when dealing with members from minority groups but at the same time associates behaviour with moral judgments and personal choice when dealing with people from mainstream society. Gerd Baumann regarding such essentialism states that “all agency seemed to be absent, and culture an imprisoning cocoon or determining force.”<sup>259</sup>

---

<sup>256</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 14

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., p. 9

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Baumann, Gerd, (1996), *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi- Ethnic London*, p. 1.

Apart from inter cultural essentialism there also exists essentialism within a group or minority culture. The main contention here is if any minority culture that observes social customs and practices like polygamy, veiling, honour killing etc. adopts multiculturalism, then tolerating such practices that undermine the rights and interests of women would not be justified which will lead women to become “minorities within minorities.”<sup>260</sup> In this case, multiculturalism nurtures the ideologies and stereotypes favoured by the old men who are the authority of that community. As a result, multiculturalism ends up favouring some members of that minority culture and freedom, autonomy and equality of women eventually gets sacrificed in the name of tradition making the subordinates or morally unequal.

The aim of multiculturalism is to capture and address range of issues within its domain like land rights, language rights, autonomy, education, health, political representation and many more; but it offers little protection regarding women and other vulnerable members. Feminist in order to deny essentialism or false universalism of mainstream theory often “in its demand for equality for women...sets itself in opposition to virtually every culture on earth.”<sup>261</sup> In order to treat everyone as moral equals and protect their freedom and autonomy, these principles should be formulated or brought under the conditions of gender equality.

Phillips considered three such principles like harm, choice and equality and examined from the sphere of gender equality. No matter how relative cultures are from each other, there are certain norms and principles like equality, autonomy and freedom that should always remain constant. Practices such as “genital cutting, child marriage, or religious conventions that gave men, but not women, the unilateral right to divorce...keep women indoors, marry their girls off young to unknown and unwanted partners, and force their daughters and wives to wear veils”<sup>262</sup> harm women’s needs and interests no matter how different cultures or groups are from each other.

Sexual difference has always been linked with inequality and making choices or providing their consent regarding whether they want to be in a particular society or not cannot be associated with women who live in the fear of abandonment, violence, abuse, societal and family pressure, etc. Even though they are denied agency and considered as inferior to men, “this does not mean they lose all capacity for agency and choice.”<sup>263</sup> They are not permitted to raise their

---

<sup>260</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 12

<sup>261</sup> Pollitt, Katha,(1999), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard & Martha C. Nussbaum (ed.), p. 27

<sup>262</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 2

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., p. 40

voice and eventually their silence is often mistaken as their consent to illegitimate pressure. They often submit to their situations that make them unable to recognize any injustice. It might be asked why rights of women can't be protected by granting them the right to associate and dissociate. By giving them this freedom, they have a choice and can compare and assess alternative option. At the first glance this would seem to solve their tension but on closer examination this solution does not seem to be satisfactory. A woman who has lived her entire life under domination and confined herself to domesticity, find it even hard to envisage men taking equal share and responsibility. It has become customary for women to prioritize the well-being of their family, husband and children over their health and happiness. And women belonging to any minority culture that nourish such ideologies would not mind if such cultures "become extinct."<sup>264</sup>

The equality principle also invites lot of challenges and asks if any practice is allowed to both women and men. The above mentioned practices (like veiling, genital mutilation, confining to domesticity) are only applicable to women and not men, putting women in a disadvantage situation and are treated as subordinates and inferior.<sup>265</sup> However, equality is often mistaken with sameness, for example equal right to employment for both men and women is a positive step but it may not be as beneficial to women as it seems because the familial arrangement and domesticity can prevent her from exercising this right. Equality also refers to no segregation i.e. no separate spheres for men and women should be provided. But some feminist philosophers believed that "an equal rights approach is insufficient to compensate for the past discrimination against women."<sup>266</sup>

Just as not all minority cultures may require same rights, similarly rights for men and women may also differ. It was claimed that "true equality will require rights for women that are not available to men, such as affirmative action, women- only classrooms, gender specific prohibitions on pornography, gender specific health programmes and the like."<sup>267</sup> However, such segregation, instead of benefiting, will harm both boys and girls as it will restrict any communication to happen between them. Without any interaction, the stereotypes related to sexuality or gender will become more difficult to destroy. According to various feminist theories, focus should be global feminism or global solidarity among women; but what global feminism

---

<sup>264</sup> Okin, M. Susan, (1999), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard & Martha C. Nussbaum (ed.) p, 22

<sup>265</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 35

<sup>266</sup> Okin, M. Susan, (1991), "Sexual Difference, Feminism and the Law" in *Law & Social Inquiry*, pp. 553-573.

<sup>267</sup> Kymlicka, Will, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard & Martha C. Nussbaum (ed.), p. 33

should make of identity politics or how to achieve a state of solidarity among women belonging to massively different places and situations, remain open.

Culture gives identity to its members and it can be made favorable to women if right kind of incentives, rules and regulations are developed.

Instead of group version, Phillips advised philosophers to base multiculturalism theories on cultural understanding and respect to individual's agency as she wanted people to be treated as "agents, not as captives of their culture...programmed by cultural rules."<sup>268</sup> But when she states that multiculturalism must undergo "radical overhaul"<sup>269</sup> it is not clear whether she is attacking the theories of multiculturalism or its practice. Phillips has cited range of examples in her work that include cultural exemptions, forced marriages, dress code, etc. At first glance, it appears that she has problem with formal laws, policies and programmes as it seems that the public officials are taking part in forceful acts, exploitation, denial of rights etc. But at the same time she has also admitted that public officials have dealt with the complex issues in sensitive manner. She states:

"...some have rephrased the question about whether people are able to exit...In the absence of physical coercion, it is assumed that people can leave, and this assumption is confirmed by the evidence that some people do...someone whose sense of herself is profoundly bound up with being a catholic is still free to choose an abortion, just as someone whose self- definition depends on being a good and loving daughter is still free to refuse the marriage partner that her parents have chosen."<sup>270</sup>

If the problem of essentialism does not lie with theories or with the practice of multiculturalism, then what is her target? Where does she have a problem? On deeper investigation, her problem could be located in a phenomenon called public ethos regarding which she states that "a strongly multicultural ethos is likely to have some of the suggested effects."<sup>271</sup> This multiculturalist public ethos can direct members of the majority culture to have essentialist attitude towards the members of minority culture. This is the problem of essentialism among cultures; intra group essentialism also exists between the dominant members (male) and

---

<sup>268</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 176

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16

<sup>270</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 144

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76

the subordinates (female). Moreover, the leaders (generally male) of such group often tend to impose a script on its members. According to Fraser such script:

“Put moral pressure on individual members to conform to group culture. The result is often to impose a single, drastically simplified group identity, which denies the complexity of people’s lives, the multiplicity of their identification and the cross- pulls of their various affiliations.”<sup>272</sup>

The problem of essentialism could be associated with “the way we talk about multiculturalism in public life, and it is this that needs a radical overhaul, not multiculturalist policies or academic multiculturalism theories.”<sup>273</sup> In other words, how we talk about multiculturalism among our family and friends and how media showcases multiculturalism often contributes to this area. Policies and programmes should be carried forward with involvement of the relevant groups. New strategies for community outreach and education need to be adopted. Government and public agencies should step forward to remove the obstacles that prevent people from raising their voice and to make informed choices. Multicultural dilemmas could be solved by dialogues and discussions through which the needs. Moreover, women must also actively take part in legislative, deliberative and other decision making processes.<sup>274</sup> Phillips also proposes:

“Laws against female genital cutting...right of individuals to exit from their group and focus policy initiatives on support programmes that enable this...government could adopt primarily an exit strategy in relation to forced marriage...exit may also be pursued in a more proactive manner, involving the distribution of information about support services, the provision of income support and alternative accommodation...greater willingness to recognise the validity of different points of view and a greater optimism about ways of promoting intercultural understanding...right to choose a marriage partner without interference from the state, to follow the dress code prescribed by one’s religion or culture, or more generally, to live one’s life in accordance with one’s beliefs...the requirement to prevent serious harms to minors, to prevent physical and mental violence, and to ensure that men and women are treated as equals...encapsulate values about children’s rights, the age of maturity...women’s equality can

---

<sup>272</sup> Fraser, N., (2001), “Recognition without ethics” in *Theory, Culture and Society*, p. 24,

<sup>273</sup> Kymlicka, Will, (2014), “The Essentialist Critique of Multiculturalism: Theories, Policies, Ethos”, in *Multiculturalism Rethought*, by Varun Oberoi and Tariq Modood (ed.), p. 232

<sup>274</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, pp158- 180

be adequately secured by reference to a bill of rights...or by establishing a fair representation for women on the bodies that determine group rules...in many cases, it is the individual themselves who “empower” customary or religious authorities because they want their lives to be regulated in ways that accord with their religions and customs.”<sup>275</sup>

Though the central theme of her work is made clear with wide range of illustrations, Philips provides little suggestion or guidelines regarding how the new multiculturalism can be realised. She does not offer any new recommendation as whatever she suggested was already there in the framework of liberal multiculturalism which are being followed by Canada and Australia. Probably her suggestion was not to move away from multiculturalism but to fill the gaps and strengthen the policies. Hence, from the above discussion it is confirmed that there is no actual retreat from multiculturalism.

Even though the post multiculturalist philosophers offered limited guidelines regarding the revision of the practice of multiculturalism, their critique cannot be refuted so easily. In spite of formulating numerous policies and programmes for women protection, gender essentialism still exists in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Women in India have experienced it all from participating in nationalist movement to getting confined to domesticity to becoming the bread winner of the family. Many women’s group and activists across India have fought and campaigned hard enough to publicize practices like dowry, child marriage, restrictions on widow remarriage, wife-battering, deprivation regarding health, abuse, etc. and struggled hard to get the government formulate laws and provide justice to women. For example- the Constitution of India giving women equal rights and freedom as men, the Sharda Act of 1929 that help raise the marital age limit of girls, the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961, programmes like Saakshar Bharat Mission for female Literacy and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan helped in increasing literacy rate among women, many constitutional amendments, etc.

In spite of providing such economic, social and political benefits, no radical change can be witnessed in terms of stereotyping women in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Staying outside late at night is still a criterion to judge a women’s character. It is still expected from her to prioritize her family’s need before her own, eat whatever is left after she has served everyone which results in malnutrition. Phillips states:

---

<sup>275</sup>Ibid., pp 159- 171

“There are many women around the world today whose individuality is so little recognized that they are systematically passed over in the distribution of food or health care...one hundred million women are missing because girls and women have been systematically ignored and denied in the allocation of foodstuffs and medical supplies. Women desperately need to be recognized as separate beings, whose well being is distinct from that of a husband’s...they need the flourishing of individual human beings to be made prior to the flourishing of the state or nation or religious group.”<sup>276</sup>

Slowly with time women have recognised their potential and proved that they have always held an integral position in the society against all odds. With their talent they have now excelled in areas like politics, corporate, sports, academics, literature, entertainment, and many more. They have proved themselves to be excellent homemakers as well as successful working women. They are more aware now which makes them question the societal norms and break the barriers that are holding them back. But with such progress, challenges are also immense. Survey states that “26% of women are faced directly by economic concerns today including cost of living, high taxes; 22% of women’s most pressing concern is their family; 15% of women’s concern is health; 14% of women are most concerned about stress and time management; 8% are concerned with job and career, 7% with education and schooling; 4% are concerned with equal opportunity and discrimination.”<sup>277</sup>

BBC interviewed 100 women as part of its 100 Women series who were asked to share their thoughts on being women in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Women from India, South Africa, New Zealand, Japan, Germany, Syria and many more countries were a part of this interview and gave their opinions regarding gender inequality. Physical safety, equality in employment, homophobia, sex education, economic concerns, marriage, child care, maternity leave, paid leave, domestic oppression, balance between work and house and patriarchy were some of the pressing concerns among these women.<sup>278</sup> Going by recent statistics “245 million Indian women lack the basic capability to read and write...13.9% women are employed in the urban sector...29% in the domestic and agriculture sector.”<sup>279</sup>

---

<sup>276</sup>Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 9

<sup>277</sup><https://news.gallup.com>, “The Challenges Women face in their Daily Lives” retrieved on 15-07-2019

<sup>278</sup>[www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com), “100 Women: Your views on life in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, retrieved on 15-07-2019

<sup>279</sup>[www.youthkiawaaz.com](http://www.youthkiawaaz.com), “Status of Women in India: From the 1950s to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, retrieved on 15-07-2019



On one hand where women like Kamala Harris and Jacinda Ardern are cherishing their leadership moments, there are women suffering in silence from violence inflicted by her family, relatives and friends. Research says that women face suffering at home from a very early age. Front pages of news papers are filled with incidents where women are burnt alive because of dowry, incapable of producing son, acid attacks, etc. that prove that lives of women are at the mercy of men. Violence against women can be considered to be as old as Mahabharata and Ramayana where women have to prove their chastity time and again. Exploitation of women could also be located in the inefficient rule of judiciary, social and political structures still being dominated by values favouring men. Women still fear violence and abandonment which prevents them from fully participating in many areas.

As compared to the past, women today have achieved a lot but this is just a starting point and it will take a long travel to realise the desired end. They need to move beyond the prejudices and the male counterparts must take it as their duty to recognise the talent of women and consider them moral equals who demand equal respect. The structure of a family must be gender fluid as gender inequalities are perpetuated in most of the society by family. A person is born into his family first and goes on to enact the ideas that he has observed as an adult; if he acquires the values of a sexist family, then it may not be beneficial for his own family, society or country if he become a leader in the future having the power to control the world.

Principles like equality, autonomy and freedom should be brought under the domain of gender inequality. It is often believed that if equal opportunities are provided to both men and women and they choose their role or occupation voluntarily, then there is no scope for inequality. However, this position is criticised by Okin as she believes that equality is not only about equal opportunities but it should also be considered in terms of child care, household chores, paid employment, etc.<sup>280</sup> Okin's version of equality is criticised by Richard Arneson when he argues that difference in taste and talent may make it difficult for a one to specialise in household chores, child care and paid employment.<sup>281</sup> For example it often taken for granted that women because of their feminine character can take better care of children and house as compared to a men who can excel in job front. This sexual division of work is objected by Phillips when she states that "men and women only 'choose' systematically unequal outcomes because they live in gender regimes that make it hard for them to do otherwise."<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>280</sup> Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, p. 37

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., p. 37

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., p. 38

In contemporary situation where there is interplay between languages, cultures and identities, it has become imperative to be tolerant and sympathetic towards each other, understand and initiate a cross- cultural dialogue. From a multicultural perspective, a good society encourages a creative dialogue between its different cultures and their moral visions. Such a society respects its members' rights and cultivates their powers of self-criticism, intellectual and moral sympathy, and contributes to their development and well-being. A multicultural society cannot be stable and last long without developing a common sense of belonging among its citizens, which must be political and based on a shared commitment to the political community. This one might call political loyalty. But this belonging is reciprocal in nature. A citizen cannot be committed to her political community unless it is also committed to her, and she cannot belong to it unless it accepts her as one of it.<sup>283</sup>

Communitarian multiculturalist like Bhikhu Parekh supports an international ethos which is not only democratic in nature but beyond any ethnocentric biases. This development will lead towards a cross- cultural dialogue and formulation of universal moral values like “human unity, human dignity, human worth, promotion of human well- being and equality.”<sup>284</sup> But what prevents from such a dialogue to occur? What should be the nature of a dialogue? Benhabib states:

“All dialogue in order to be distinguished from cajoling, propaganda, brainwashing, strategic bargaining and the like presupposes certain normative rules...normative rules entail that we recognize the rights to equal participation among conversation partners: the right to suggest topics of conversation, to introduce new points of view, questions, and criticism into the conversation; and the right to challenge the rules of the conversation insofar as these seem to exclude the voice of some and privilege those of others. These rules of conversation can be summed up with the norms of ‘universal respect’ and ‘egalitarian reciprocity’.”<sup>285</sup>

However, this egalitarian reciprocity may be difficult to attain where people are at different levels regarding social, economic, political and cultural constraints, technology, inequalities, etc. In such situations, it is imperative to find a mean, fundamental aspect common

---

<sup>283</sup> [www.india-seminar.com](http://www.india-seminar.com), “What is multiculturalism”, by Bhikhu Parekh, retrieved on 8-03-2016.

<sup>284</sup> Menon, Krishna, (2010), “Human Rights- A Theoretical Foray” in *Applied Ethics and Human rights: Conceptual Analysis and contextual Applications*, by Shashi Motilal (ed.), p. 64

<sup>285</sup> Benhabib, Seyla, (2002), “‘Nous’ et ‘les Autres’ The Politics of Complex Cultural Dialogue in a Global Civilization”, *Multicultural Questions*, by Christian Joppke & Steven Lukes, (ed.), p. 52

in all or an underlying unity that bring people closer to one another in spite of diversity. The state's role is to ensure that every citizen including women and members belonging to minority groups is protected.

There can never be a single culture and every member contributes (should be allowed to contribute) towards its progress. The primary aim of any policy that focuses on the preservation of cultures should be towards the empowerment of its members. Women holds an integral position in a society/culture/community and if they don't feel empowered then culture cannot move towards any moral progress. Their cultural membership must give them the right to question and deny (if need arise) any offer made by one's culture, family, friends, colleagues, religion, etc. No culture is immune to change and in order to achieve a new horizon every culture must recognise its struggle. However, it is also imperative that women realize that their fight is not against each other rather they need to unite and support each other in the battle against discrimination; only then feminism would be able to attain its goal for which it has fought hard enough. A minority culture becomes stronger when its members feel safe, protected and empowered which will help it to fight against the mainstream culture and attain its long due recognition. There should be scope for revision and reformation for more pluralist and open understanding about culture and identity.

Toleration is one of the key concepts of multiculturalism; but any practice which is gendered and deny rights to women should be not be tolerated. Culture should not be an excuse to overshadow their freedom and autonomy. Moral principles like equality, autonomy and justice should be developed under the conditions of gender equality. A culture is stronger and makes moral progress when it dispenses any essentialist tendencies that would consider women to be inferior and subordinates. As Okin and Phillips says multiculturalism is only beneficial to women if every culture considers women as moral equals who demand equal respect on the basis of her agency. Along with public policies and programmes, familial settings (if sexist) need to be altered for securing the rights and interests of women. Men must consider them to be equal participant and recognise their effort in the country's way forward. But women too need to unite in order to continue their fight against the larger society. Women with time have realised their potential in various spheres of life but for total gender empowerment still they have a long way to travel.

## CHAPTER 4

### THEORY OF TOLERATION: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

There is a need for fusion of various horizons of theories because the theories of toleration whether they are based on the idea of good or individual rights or group differentiated rights have limitation of one kind or the other. There is a need to re-visit these theories and recognize the plurality of views in terms of goodness, right to property and inheritance, marriage and settlement, so that members of each culture, gender, race, ethnicity and religion become a valid participant in the civil and democratic life. In order to attain a harmonious and peaceful society and to restore harmony in it, toleration should be complemented by various constructive aspects that not only address cultural, ethnic and religious conflicts but also instil a sense of respect, recognition, love and acceptance among the members.

In order to organize this study, I have divided the chapter into two sections namely Section I: Toleration and Respect: Compatible or Incompatible; this section will investigate the concepts of toleration, tolerance and respect respectively and makes an attempt to find out the situations where both toleration and respect can and cannot exist. In Section II: Diversity as the Ethos, emphasises is on diversity which could be regarded as the ethos of a harmonious and peaceful society that often paves the way for conflict. Conflict can be dealt in a constructive manner which can generate opportunity, development, security, enhanced relationships, increased cohesion, openness and transparency, build up trust between parties and avoid dangerous misunderstanding. Hence, the study aims to show various measures given by western and Indian scholars to tackle the issues that arise out of diversity.

Toleration is a cardinal virtue that is required by every liberal democracy. Toleration can be a political, intellectual as well as moral virtue. It is a political virtue as it is mandatory in a democratic republic where separation of powers and independent judiciary can ensure equal rights to the minorities. Toleration is an intellectual virtue because “if the legislative art in liberal democracy is the capacity to create majorities out of disparate minority interests, thereby securing them, this art may be said to be defined in part by some operative principle of toleration.”<sup>286</sup> Toleration is also a moral virtue, since moral virtue aims to overcome our passions

---

<sup>286</sup> Licht, Robert A., “Toleration as a Virtue”, in *The Good Society*, Vol. 10, No. 1,(2001), p. 10.

similarly toleration too aims at self-restraint, to put up with something that we disapprove of, controlling our fear and anger towards others etc.<sup>287</sup>

The doctrine of toleration has invited understanding and theories from various theorists and philosophers. From ancient to contemporary period, theorists have delved into the nature of toleration. The understanding of toleration has varied from descriptive to normative, ethical to political, liberal to cultural etc. Moreover, one also cannot put a blind eye towards the criticism that the concept of toleration invites. The theories of toleration provided by Locke and Kant were extended to the beliefs and faiths of individuals who are considered as atomistic, autonomous and rational beings. To safeguard the rights, needs and interests of agents became the foremost aim of the state. Hence, groups, communities and shared beliefs became a secondary entity. In fact, their liberal theories tend to confine the differences of minority groups to private sphere which is not enough to consider toleration as respect.

The theory of toleration provided by Rawls was ahead of Locke's and Kant's theories as he focused more on human flourishing rather than on what needs to be restrained. His toleration prevents the state from preferring any particular conception of good life and this principle of neutrality is essential for justice as fairness. Even though his intentions were good, his theory could not extend sufficient respect and recognition to cultural minorities as he could not "invoke morally comprehensive beliefs to justify toleration."<sup>288</sup> Rawls' theory of toleration collided with the limits of public reason because according to this theory "citizens and representatives are discouraged from arguing from their partial perspectives in the public life...political institutions to be structures according to the guidelines of public reason."<sup>289</sup> Hence, Rawls' account of toleration could not address cultural pluralism in a proper manner and posed as an obstacle in providing recognition and respect to cultural minorities.

Too much emphasis on individual's autonomy and freedom and too little appreciation of shared beliefs, communities, traditions, social roles and human interdependence, led Will Kymlicka to provide his theory of liberal multiculturalism. Along with the shift from beliefs to identity, neutrality to recognition and universality to particularity, relative shift also took place from an older to a newer version of toleration. However, toleration of multiculturalism was inadequate in addressing the struggles faced by women at private sphere. Multiculturalism reduced women to a universal group or stereotyping women into regional groups have led to

---

<sup>287</sup> Ibid p 11

<sup>288</sup> Deveaux, Monique, "Toleration and Respect", in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), p. 414

<sup>289</sup> Rawls, John, (1996), *Political Liberalism*, p. 62.

views that cultures are bounded and having essentialized values. Any culture that practices certain rituals that harm the autonomy of women calls for revision and reformation and the application of toleration in such situations is not justified at all. Hence, toleration needs to be observed as long as it is committed to protect autonomy, dignity and rights of the citizens and needs to be complemented by positive aspects in order to reach its goal.

Moreover, the philosophical analyses of toleration identify “paradox of toleration” i.e. “how can one will that some other person or practice not exist, yet at the same time will the freedom and political power that will generally ensure their continued existence?”<sup>290</sup> One must offer persuasive reasons as to why one should refrain from interfering and hindering with what one disapproves of presents this “paradox of toleration.” On one hand there lies the object (act or belief) of toleration; and on the other hand lies the conscience of the subject who must have some good reasons for tolerating. Hence, there is a need for certain measures in order to overcome this “paradox of toleration.”

The above issues and discussions would be thoroughly examined in the following sections.

## Section I

### **Toleration and Respect: Compatible or Incompatible?**

Toleration and tolerance are often used interchangeably by theorists without discussing and clarifying the normative aspects of both. Toleration is used for social and political practices while tolerance is associated with attitudes. Liberal societies must provide the members with some measures that will ensure peaceful negotiations and a stable society. Moreover, for him, it is toleration that is closer to liberal tradition rather than tolerance.<sup>291</sup> Toleration involves a thing that is tolerated or a behavior which is disapproved. Toleration is a combination of acceptance and rejection i.e. we reject or disapprove a person’s behavior or a thing but still find a reason to accept or not to interfere. Religious toleration is however the acceptance by the ruling power of people following their own preferable religion other than the established one. The government endorses such diversity thereby not punishing anyone for engaging in any such practices.<sup>292</sup>

---

<sup>290</sup> Carter, Ian, “Are Toleration and Respect Compatible?” in *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, Vol. 30, No. 3, (2013), p. 198.

<sup>291</sup> Murphy, Andrew R., “Tolerance, Toleration and the Liberal Tradition”, in *Polity*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1997), pp. 593-595.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 596-599.

Moving forward to tolerance, it is a willingness to accept individual's contradictory viewpoints, hesitation to judge one's life or choices and respecting the autonomy with which one has made these choices. These conditions, however, bear certain similarities with relativist stance.<sup>293</sup> Glenn Tinder defines tolerance as "a disposition to rational deliberation in certain circumstances in which people disagree."<sup>294</sup> Jay Newman states that "tolerance is manifested when one is tolerant; toleration is manifested when one tolerates."<sup>295</sup> Regarding political tolerance, Stephen Kautz claims that when one is tolerant he is willing to provide civil liberty to the less popular groups.<sup>296</sup> It is possible for intolerant person to support a theory of toleration. . One can tolerate without essentially being tolerant of it. But it is also possible for a tolerant person to oppose toleration for maintenance of public order in case of crisis. We all have engaged in intolerance in our everyday lives. We even encounter illiberal legislations that function in liberal societies. Russell Hanson maintains that even though men prevent themselves from executing intolerant actions, which does not necessarily make him a tolerant person; he may possess less tolerant attitudes.<sup>297</sup>

Toleration is about a "live and let live" attitude where people learn to ignore things that they don't understand or cannot trust. Over the time, this attitude may convert to fear and eventually to hate. And if this happens, then toleration can itself become the source of illiberal attitude towards differences and puts a blind eye toward the rights that are protected by liberalism.<sup>298</sup> There also has to be some limit to toleration i.e. toleration must include the aspect of punishment for those who disrupt the peace and stability of society, misuses fundamental rights (one cannot use freedom of speech to hurt someone), initiate crime etc. How much and to what extent toleration needs to be extended depends upon the current legal and political context. The liberal tradition and toleration both advocates self-restraint possessed by the individuals. And this self-restraint is approached through either Hanson's forbearance or Hobbes' and Locke's prudence. The main intention of these is to minimize violence towards diversity. Kant in order to give it a positive aspect associated toleration with the concept of respect. The reason

---

<sup>293</sup> Murphy, Andrew R., "Tolerance, Toleration and the Liberal Tradition", in *Polity*, Vol. 29, No. 4, (1997), p. 600-602.

<sup>294</sup> Tinder, Glenn, (1976), *Tolerance: Toward a New Civility*, p.2

<sup>295</sup> Newman, Jay, "The Idea of Religious Tolerance", in *American Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 3, (1978), p. 188.

<sup>296</sup> Kautz, Stephen, "Liberalism and the Idea of Toleration", in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 37, No. 2, (1993), pp. 610-32.

<sup>297</sup> Hanson, Russell, (1993), "Deliberation, Tolerance and Democracy", in *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*, p. 274.

<sup>298</sup> Deveaux, Monique, "Toleration and respect", in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), pp. 421-422.

being in toleration there is less scope of interaction among individuals; whereas while respecting others, there is a broad possibility of engaging in dialogue and discovering various dimensions of one's own and other's personality.<sup>299</sup>

The study focuses on whether toleration and respect are compatible or not. Toleration, in classical liberalism, has three features: first, the objection component, which includes negative evaluation of a person, thing or a belief; second, the acceptance component, where one finds an overriding reason to not interfere and to accept that is initially objected; and third, the power component, where an individual must have an actual power to interfere. The last one points toward an asymmetry of power where there is a powerful party that tolerates and a less powerful party that is tolerated. But this power condition is not a necessary condition as opposition can very much occur between two equally powerful parties.<sup>300</sup> Hence, in this case, toleration is mutual.

Toleration can be considered as a moral virtue if and only if it gives prominence to the acceptance component where a person is recognized as a moral agent, given respect and recognized for his agential capacities and no evaluation take place of these capacities. But the most difficult part is to examine how toleration as a moral virtue qualify objection component also? The answer can be found in "paradox of the tolerant racist". According to this paradox, a racist who has the power and reason to restrict the freedom of a person who he considers to be inferior is considered to be a tolerant and virtuous person. However, this seems to be problematic as "racism differs from other marginal viewpoints in as much as those other viewpoints are based on certain ultimate values that we can nevertheless admit to sharing." The racists failed to apply the significant principles universally.<sup>301</sup> However, if the racists recognize the difference and extend equality to a man on the basis of men having equal moral status, then he not only considers recognition respect but also his notion of toleration would be a virtue.

Coming back to the relation between toleration and respect, both are considered as mutually inclusive of each other. To respect a person is to consider him to be a moral agent and to consider others to be a moral agent is to recognize their capacity for making rational choices and ends. Such a person is regarded as having high status who commands respect. Apart from a moral agent, a person is also a political agent where he can cast his vote, hold office etc. without

---

<sup>299</sup> Fernandez, Christian, "Toleration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Revised Liberal Defense", *Centre for European Studies*, No. 4, (2008), p. 12.

<sup>300</sup> Carter, Ian, "Are Toleration and Respect Compatible?" in *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, Vol. 30, No. 3, (2013), p. 196.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 203- 204



getting interfered in his freedom. A specific question that arises regarding this matter is- how to respect and evaluate a thing/belief/act/person at the same time? This dilemma could be addressed when one makes no judgment regarding a person's choices or goals and elements any element of disrespect. One needs to be non-judgmental about various other factors like one's ethnicity, class, race, gender etc. The fact that a person needs to be appreciated for his agency and identity rather than criticizing him for his differences presents the so called "recognition respect."<sup>302</sup>

This recognition respect is associated with "opacity respect" which not only gives importance to one being a "moral agent or his agential capacities but also puts a blind eye towards the degree to which one possess such capacities."<sup>303</sup> Opacity respect recognizes a particular threshold or existence of range properties, but is not concerned with the level above the threshold. It is a specific form of recognition respect that does not evaluate one's agential capacities, does not see similarity and dissimilarity, appreciate men as they are and also respecting them by maintaining certain distance. The acceptance component rules out any kind of evaluation and here respect is compatible with toleration; but if there takes place an evaluation in a negative form, then it has the capacity to appear as the premise for objection component. In such a case, respect is incompatible with toleration. Both remains incompatible as long as the objection component contravene opacity respect. Once opacity respect is brought into the picture, a person's character, behavior and choices can be evaluated without his agential capacities getting evaluated.<sup>304</sup> It is only the agential capacities of men that the opacity respect is concerned about which needs to be protected from any kind of evaluation. As long as there is no evaluation of agential capacities, respect remains compatible with toleration.

In classical liberalism, the principles of toleration and neutrality were dominant that has evolved both in theory and practice over the centuries. Multiculturalism is clearly beyond these principles as it involves support for cultural differences, discouragement of exploitation and oppression, re- making of national identity and citizenship and establishing a new public sphere which will entirely include marginalized identities. Multiculturalism extends a platform where both minority and majority identities find commonalities that encourage interaction and social mixing. It centres on developing a frame where people from different cultures and religions can participate in order to have a deeper understanding of each other and also of humanity. Various values such as "co-presence, interaction, public support, inclusive policies, societal

---

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., p.198

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., p. 200

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., pp.200- 202

redefinition...encouraging greater public participation by women, gays or Muslims”<sup>305</sup> have been emphasised in order to de- stigmatise marginalized sensibilities and to have a deeper cross-civilisational and cross- cultural understanding. In these ways, cultures can mutually influence each other and the societies will become more diverse and composite where “a kind of mutual admiration will prevail and also learning becomes a multilogical process.”<sup>306</sup>

In spite of a society being multicultural that is concerned about collectivities and not individuals, the problems that motivated identity political movements still exist in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Indigenous people, women, queer, blacks, racial minorities, religious minorities and many other marginalised sections are still ignored from the mainstream society where oppression and exploitation still permeates their lives. The group identities of individuals become the ground for existing discrimination whereby people are treated as less rational, morally inferior and culturally backward. In spite of various theories on toleration given by different philosophers to address such circumstances, attaining a harmonious and peaceful society seems to be a distant dream.

Despite the commonalities that people have in common, cultural differences in terms of language, etiquette, cuisine, dress, religion and other cultural practices, are more predominant than cultural universals. One tends to consider his cultural values and practices to be superior to other cultures that often lead to hatred and hostility towards those who are outside the group which eventually create division among the members of different ethnicities, religious groups and races in a society. Such attitudes present the concept of ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is a kind of “cultural or ethnic group egocentrism”<sup>307</sup> where people judge and formulate false assumptions about others on the basis of their own limited knowledge and experience. Ethnocentrism has been a popular concept across a variety of fields, including philosophy, anthropology, psychology, sociology, education, political science and many more. Ethnocentrism is considered as an undesirable phenomenon that is often associated with other concepts such as nationalism, racism, discrimination, xenophobia and prejudice. It is widely assumed that the concept of ethnocentrism was coined by William Graham Sumner, a sociologist, in 1906. However, several researches provide evidence that shows that this phenomenon had existed in various publications for several decades before Sumner’s work on ethnocentrism.

---

<sup>305</sup> Modood, Tariq, “Multicultural Equality, Liberal Citizenship and Secularism” in *Journal of the Study of British Cultures*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (2009), p. 138.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

<sup>307</sup> Bizumic, B., “Ethnocentrism” in R. A. Segal & K. von Stuckrad (eds.), *Vocabulary for the study of religion*, Vol. 1, (2015), pp. 533–539, p. 1

Ludwig Gurnplowicz, another sociologist, had published several books on the concept during nineteenth century.<sup>308</sup>

To have a high level of appreciation and respect for one's own culture can be considered as healthy; but ethnocentrism can lead to misunderstanding or disdain for other cultures that can disturb the harmony of the society. Almost everyone is a little bit ethnocentric in their nature and is guilty of cultural imperialism. A person with an ethnocentric attitude may experience disorientation and have a culture shock, when confronted with differences; for instance:

“A traveler from Chicago might find the nightly silence of rural Montana unsettling, not peaceful. An exchange student from China might be annoyed by the constant interruptions in class as other students ask questions- a practice that is considered rude in China. Perhaps the Chicago traveler was initially captivated with Montana's quiet beauty and the Chinese student was originally excited to see a U.S. style classroom first hand. But as they experience unanticipated differences from their own culture, their excitement gives way to discomfort and doubts about how to behave appropriately in the new situation. Eventually, as people learn more about a culture, they recover from culture shock.”<sup>309</sup>

Culture shock is not necessarily associated with only travelling abroad but can also happen in one's own country or state. For example- India is a multi- ethnic, multi- lingual, multi- racial, multi- religious country that has 705 ethnic groups, 20 languages, more than 300 dialects, 12 religions, 300 castes and numerous mixed traditions. In India, every year a large number of people migrate into different states to avail academic, employment and various other opportunities. Research has shown that people from north- eastern states often face racial attacks, discriminated, harassed and molested because of their “different cultural habits” or how “different” they look. They are often called as “chinki”, “momo”, “chinnimalai”, “chowmein”, etc.<sup>310</sup> Recent studies have shown that amid the Covid- 19 outbreak in 2019, people from the region were harassed and traumatised. The cultural practices, physical features, food habits and lifestyle of the north- east communities are the ground on which people from this region are

---

<sup>308</sup> Bizumic, B., “Who Coined the Concept of Ethnocentrism? A Brief Report”, in *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 2(1), (2014), p. 1

<sup>309</sup> <https://courses.lumenlearning.com>, “Ethnocentrism and Xenocentricism”, retrieved on 03-04-2019.

<sup>310</sup> VeioPou, K. B., “Understanding Language and Culture: Bridging the Gap between Delhi city and Northeast Students”, in *DU Journal of Undergraduate Research and Innovation*, Vol. 1, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 144- 149.

subject to judgment and stereotyping in the capital city and other metros. What is more troublesome is the message that goes back to the north- east region as such experience “fuel the already strong feeling of alienation among the youth and encourage separatist movement.”<sup>311</sup> People from capital city and other cosmopolitan cities face culture shock as they are not always expecting any cultural differences which lead them to demean and belittle those belonging to north- east region. Hence, people from this region require special measures.

In January 2014 a youth from Arunachal Pradesh named Nido Tania succumbed to his injuries as he was physically assaulted by the locals. This was followed by an angry protest by the fellow north eastern people. In order to ensure safety for them, a committee named Bezbaruah Committee was set up at the centre and various measures were undertaken to ensure safety to people from this region, such as- Delhi police started recruiting people from north east into its force; a website was launched in the middle of the year 2014 to provide assistance to people from this region; a facebook page (Delhi Police For North East Folks) was created that received 5500 complaints and advices.<sup>312</sup> Moreover, media must also play an active role in spreading positive messages across the nation of the region, regarding vibrant cultures of various communities, emerging literature, increasing educational ventures, rich flora and fauna, tradition of music and many more, rather than focusing on the conflicts that disturb its social fabric.

Instances of discrimination and oppression could also be located in a liberal multicultural society such as the United States of America. Regarding this matter, Sarah Song writes:

“According to tribal membership rules, instituted in 1939, women who married out of the tribe could not transmit their membership to their children. At stake was not only recognition as a tribal member but also the political rights and material benefits of tribal membership, including health care, education, and housing assistance from the federal government. On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that it could not hear the equal protection claim on the grounds that it did not have jurisdiction over matters of tribal membership. If the federal courts were to intervene in tribal decisions, the Court added, they would interfere with the ‘tribe’s ability to maintain itself as a culturally and politically distinct entity.’”<sup>313</sup>

---

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., pp. 148-149.

<sup>313</sup> Song, Sarah, “Majority Norms, Multiculturalism and Gender Equality” in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4, (2005), pp. 473-489

Racism is another form of exploitation that violates one's basic rights. Various acts were passed to ensure their safety but they were discriminated and exploited at multiple levels. They were subjected to discrimination in terms of education, employment, housing, public accommodation, public places, voting, etc. The title II, title III, title IV, title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination against them regarding public accommodation, public facilities, education, employment, housing etc.<sup>314</sup> However, these safety measures for them did not come easy. There were countless protests (both peaceful and violent) that led to a heavy loss of life and property. Protests witnessed not only the participation from the black people but also from supportive white people, activists, socialists, political leaders, people from popular cultures etc.

Popular culture provides a platform to wide heterogeneous masses of people where they can identify collectively. It includes a broad array of genres that include films, music, radio, books, entertainment, television, sports, print, cyber culture, etc. Popular or 'pop' culture provides people with a chance to alter the existing norms of behavior and sentiments and also make available opportunities to find individual happiness and strengthen communal bonding. One of its component, internet has made it easy for the audience to have direct interaction with the content creator. The use of internet is harmless except when people are made vulnerable to threatening circumstances such as *trolling* on social networking sites, like facebook, twitter, etc.<sup>315</sup> Online or internet trolling could be considered as a form of intolerance that exists in the cyber culture, where one person trolls another by posing messages, photos and videos that are "malicious, offensive, provocative or menacing."<sup>316</sup> The real motive of trolling "is/are to cause disruption and/or trigger or exacerbate conflict for the purpose of their amusement."<sup>317</sup> It has now become a source of frustration and quite challenging for the users of social media site. A 2014 survey have found that "70% people are harassed, 26% women are stalked online; according to a 2015 survey 24% are cyber bullied for their gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, transgender identity."<sup>318</sup> Hence, internet trolling may have a negative psychological effect on the target or victim.

---

<sup>314</sup> [www.civilrights.findlaw.com](http://www.civilrights.findlaw.com), "Civil Rights: Law and History", retrieved on 29-06-2016.

<sup>315</sup> [www.aclweb.org](http://www.aclweb.org), "Determining Trolling in Textual Comments", retrieved on 17-08-2019

<sup>316</sup> Bishop, J., "The Effect of De- Individuation of the Internet Troller on Criminal procedure implementation: An Interview with a Hater" in *International Journal of Cyber Criminology*, 7(1), (2013), p. 28.

<sup>317</sup> Hardaker, C., "Trolling in Asynchronous Computer- mediated Communication: From User Discussions to Academic Definitions" in *Journal of Politeness Research*, 6(2), (2010), pp. 215-242.

<sup>318</sup> Case, Carl J., & King, Darwin L., "Internet Trolling Victimization: An Empirical Examination of Incidence in Undergraduate Business Students", in *Research in Higher Education Journal*, Vol. 34, (2018), p. 1.

Popular culture is also a tool for bringing into light numerous social issues that run widespread but are ignored. For instance, the famous reggae singer Bob Marley is known for contributing political and protest songs. Through one of his songs *Buffalo Soldier*, he paid tribute towards the strength, courage and contributions of African Americans who were serving for the U.S. military.<sup>319</sup> His song *Get Up Stand Up* represents just about any movement;<sup>320</sup> Aretha Franklin's *Respect* was a landmark anthem for the feminist movement;<sup>321</sup> *Glad to be Gay* by the Tom Robinson Band contributed towards bringing change in to the world for gay people.<sup>322</sup> Movies like *12 Years a Slave*, *The Blind Side*, *The Help*, *To Kill A Mockingbird* and many more showcased how the superiority of one's race has caused enormous suffering and bloodshed over the centuries and is still rampant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century on an almost regular basis.

The death of Freddie Gray of Baltimore on April 18, 2015 presented a case of institutional racism. He was manhandled by six police officers, out of whom three police officers were black. His death led to a mass protest which called for a state of emergency that ended on May 6. As a consequence of such violence "at least 250 people were arrested, 150 vehicles being fired, 27 drugstores looted, etc."<sup>323</sup> The recent attack on a 46 year old person named George Floyd on 25 May, 2020 in Minnesota is another instance of racism that prevails against African-American citizens. Mr. Floyd was pinned to the floor by a white police officer whom he repeatedly told that he could not breathe and his death occurred within 30 minutes.<sup>324</sup> Mr. Floyd's death witnessed resurfacing of the "Black Lives Matter" movement that protest against police brutality and racial violence against black people. Around 26 million people participated in the protest globally making it one of the largest movements in the country's history.<sup>325</sup>

The basic rights of the Cherokee, who are indigenous people of the United States, are also violated through a process of certification for the proof of Indianness provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to the Native Americans. Since a lot of people want to attain American citizenship, BIA introduced certain measures that need to be fulfilled by those who want to avail

---

<sup>319</sup> [www.hubpages.com](http://www.hubpages.com), "Bob Marley Sings against Imperialism and Slavery, for the Buffalo Soldier", retrieved on 29-06-2016.

<sup>320</sup> [www.songfacts.com](http://www.songfacts.com), "Get Up Stand Up", retrieved on 13-09-2019.

<sup>321</sup> [www.imdb.com](http://www.imdb.com), "Respect" retrieved on 13-09-2019

<sup>322</sup> [www.Gladtobegay.net](http://www.Gladtobegay.net), "Glad to be Gay" retrieved on 13-09-2019

<sup>323</sup> [www.vox.com](http://www.vox.com), "How systematic racism entangles all police officers-even black cops", retrieved on 29-06-2016.

<sup>324</sup> <https://www.bbc.com>, "George Floyd: What happened in the final moments of his life", retrieved on 21-09-2020.

<sup>325</sup> <https://blacklivesmatter.com>, "Black Lives Matter", retrieved on 21-09-2020

the facilities and benefits provide in the country making a person its legitimate citizen.<sup>326</sup>

According to BIA:

“Quantum of Indian Blood is computed from the nearest paternal and/or maternal direct ancestor(s) of Indian blood listed on the final rolls. For example, my mother is enrolled with the Cherokee Nation as a full-blood Cherokee. Because my father is San Felipe Pueblo, my white card lists me as 1/2 Cherokee although all together the BIA would consider me a full-blood Indian because my father is registered as a full-blooded Indian with his tribe.”<sup>327</sup>

Even though BIA had good intentions, still difficulty arises in such a proof which is required to attain citizenship. If one’s ancestor were not enrolled, then he might not qualify for Cherokee citizenship. What about those who were unaware or uneducated at the time of the enrolment? Does failing to enrol one allow harming basic rights of an individual? And why the consequence of an unaware and uneducated should be faced by a person of today’s generation? Hence, certain questions are still open-ended and unanswered.

Every person is ethnocentric to a certain extent and it is natural to identify with one’s own culture. Culture is learned and it takes time adjusting to another culture. The greatest challenge today regarding different cultures is the matter of maintaining a perspective. It demands a lot of effort to keep all cultural prejudices and biases at bay. Moreover, the existing intellectual crisis associated with identity politics has occupied a significant position in the contemporary political philosophy. Changing and advanced technologies like genetic make-up of potential person, cloning, cosmetic surgeries, sex change, etc. have immensely affected our philosophical understanding regarding who we are. Self-understandings, beliefs and behaviours are “pathologized as syndromes and disorders, including through the identification of new “types” of person.”<sup>328</sup> The best all could do is to make an attempt to be aware and study about different cultures and individuals with a critical eye and appreciate the richness they bring along without imposing any external values on them.

---

<sup>326</sup> [www.cherokeephoenix.org/Article/Index/579](http://www.cherokeephoenix.org/Article/Index/579), “How we prove our ‘Indianness’” by Will Chavez, retrieved on 20-06-2016, p. 1

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>328</sup> Heyes, J. Cressida, (2015), *Identity politics*, p. 30

## Section II

### Diversity as the Ethos

Diversity in terms of culture, language, religion and ethnicity is the characteristic make of the contemporary world which also paves the way for conflict. Tolerance principle was often viewed as restraining aggressions and respecting different beliefs, lifestyles, rituals and identity of people belonging to different cultures. Tolerance principle may lead to a harmonious society but it might not initiate any interaction among individuals/cultures required for peaceful co-existence. Moreover, the application of toleration becomes futile “where another’s attempt on cultural values of the host society begins.”<sup>329</sup> Conflict grows out of “differences in outcomes, personal goals, aspirations of interdependent parties in the presence of scarce resources...differences in convictions or perceptions about reality.”<sup>330</sup> It often results in destruction and even leads to death but it does not have to. On the positive side, conflict can be dealt in a constructive manner which can generate opportunity, development, security, enhanced relationships, increased cohesion, openness and transparency, build up trust between parties and avoid dangerous misunderstanding. Hence, we do require some conflict resolution process and confidence building mechanism for negotiating a solution and pursuing these ends.

Charles Taylor advocated the idea of communitarianism, which embraces ontological holism, which views social goods as “irreducibly social”. These social goods cannot be reduced to individual good. This holistic view underlies Charles Taylor’s case for a multicultural “politics of recognition”.<sup>331</sup> A healthy community is the one which maintains a balance between individual as well as communal interest. Charles Taylor also considered recognition to be of utmost importance for anyone’s identity. One’s identity is formed ‘dialogically’. As Taylor puts “we define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us.”<sup>332</sup>

The minorities, however, do not want the majority to tolerate them as toleration in their case involves the power component. All they want is equal treatment and recognition from the majority culture. Rather than criticizing they feel their differences need to be appreciated. The act of withholding recognition or misrecognition is considered as a form of oppression. Derek Edyvane provides an example of misrecognition where the recognition of a tamed wife is

---

<sup>329</sup> McGhee, D., (2008), *The End of Multiculturalism? Terrorism, Integration and Human Rights Dialogue*, p. 50.

<sup>330</sup> <https://www.maxwell.syr.edu>, “Conflict resolution” by Katz, N. & McNulty, K., (1994), retrieved on 10-08-2019

<sup>331</sup> Taylor, C.,(1994), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, p. 110.

<sup>332</sup> Edyvane, Derek, “The Varieties of Cultural Perception: Multiculturalism after Recognition”, in *European Legacy*, Vol. 16, No. 6, (2011), pp. 735-750.



defined by her husband. If the husband recognises his wife as a person whose duty is to serve him, then it is a case of objective misrecognition; and if the wife too accepts such recognition, then it leads to subjective misrecognition as she does not have a subjective self- understanding. A clear recognition is a challenge to attain if the conflict between objective and subjective recognition does not dissolve.<sup>333</sup> Second example is of a jazz musician Milton “Mezz” Mezzrow. Mezzrow was a Russian- Jewish and was so fascinated by jazz music and black culture that he not only married a black woman but considered himself to be black. What recognition should be given to Mezzrow- black or white? If he is considered as black, then there arise objective misrecognition; if he is considered white, then it is case of subjective misrecognition.<sup>334</sup>

The situation could be addressed through the aspect of “attention” that neither recognizes nor denies one’s identity but look into it in a just and loving way. Attending to one’s identity is a selfless act that is not detrimental to anyone’s identity. The intention is to accept one’s identity without extending any judgment or going into the complexities of it.<sup>335</sup> Homi Bhabha too developed a concept of ‘hybridity’ which allows a person to be who he wishes to without comparing him to any other thing. It is kind of a third space that appreciates and accepts changes or new things without measuring them against any new principles. He believes that doing so makes a society and its members, progressive allowing them to be in position of constant negotiations.<sup>336</sup> Regarding Mezzrow, a third aspect or space (besides objective and subjective aspects) should be provided to him without actually hampering his objective and subjective identity. He should be accepted for what he is and needs to be embraced for bringing newness. No comparison to any old measures should be drawn.

Communitarian philosopher Bhikhu Parekh stated that for a good multiculturalist society, it is imperative to foster a sense of belongingness in the heart of members and in turn, the members must be loyal and committed towards the political community. Hence, this sense of belongingness is kind of reciprocal in nature i.e. one can only develop this sense if the community is also willing to make him a part of the community. Moreover, this sense of belonging is all about acceptance, a sense of identification which can be given by equal citizenship right but is not enough. The reason being a person can have all the rights but still may not have a sense of belonging to that political community. They may be allowed to take part in

---

<sup>333</sup> Ibid., p. 739.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid., pp. 740-741.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid., pp. 744-748.

<sup>336</sup> Bhabha, Homi K., (1994), *The Location of Culture*, pp. 19-40.

all the public activities but because of the fear of rejection they often tend to alienate themselves from the bigger society. At this juncture, Charles Taylor's theory fall short as held the view that the majority could be rationally persuaded to alter its view regarding the minorities with the help of intellectual arguments. This is to misinterpret the subtleties of recognition.<sup>337</sup>

For Parekh intellectual arguments are considered to be inadequate for claiming recognition and to achieve recognition he justified violence. Parekh failed to realise that violence could create further tension and division in the society. Moreover, the state's role is also to ensure that the minorities are not left out from the decision making process and contributing towards the welfare of the society. If a society claims itself to be multicultural, then it must cultivate some emotional bond within its members.<sup>338</sup> In order to maintain a sense of reciprocity, the vulnerable groups must follow a certain code of conduct so that the society's peace and harmony is not disrupted while demanding for their rights and interests. The onus also lies on the residents or the majority to be patient with them and understand their plight so that they can reach out to the wider society without any fear.<sup>339</sup>

Conflict could be settled creating a platform for dialogue of cultures which could not only reduce the level of fear but could also ease public hysteria in the periods of crises and build confidence among conflicting parties. Constructive dialogue between cultural, ethnic, linguist and religious groups requires concentrating primarily on a reciprocal effort to identify a common ground on which interactions can take place rather than on differences or uniqueness that might create division. A genuine dialogue pays attention to need of oppressed and marginalised groups like indigenous people, women, poor, etc. that leads to recognise other as a different person, but equal. Cultures survives in a dialogue that "observe one another, seek each other out, influence one another, and mutually define one another"<sup>340</sup>, must embrace a world build on pluralism and multiple affiliations. A successful dialogue of cultures is possible through positive and active interaction among cultures when they do not seek to suppress or dominate each other but search for a compromise and look forward for points of intersection for interaction. Cultural dialogue is based on the idea of respecting human rights and accepting traditional origins of various cultures; however, it also does not require that acceptance and recognition is extended to all existing traditions. Only those traditions and practices are respected that could be brought under the domain of autonomy and equality. Hence, dialogue is the way for co- existence as it includes

---

<sup>337</sup> [www.india-seminar.com](http://www.india-seminar.com) "What is Multiculturalism?" by Bhikhu Parekh, retrieved on 9-03-2019.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid.

<sup>339</sup> Bhikhu, Parekh, "Unity and Diversity in Multicultural Societies", *IILS Publications*, (2005), pp. 8-9.

<sup>340</sup> UNESCO, (2009), *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*, p. 39.

“communication with culture, realization and reproduction of its achievement, detection and understanding of values of other cultures.”<sup>341</sup>

In a world of plurality, it is vital to develop a dialogue that not only allows us to know others but also allows us to discover various dimensions of our own personality.<sup>342</sup> A good multiculturalist society should allow creative dialogue to take place among its various members that enhances their ability of self-criticism thereby contributing towards their moral betterment. Cultural dialogue leads to awareness of plurality of cultures and world views and to the recognition that cultures are diverse but also unified at the same time. However, a multicultural society comes across various challenges in order to make cultural dialogue a success. The first challenge arises in case of groups who are diverse linguistically and culturally and effective strategies need to be implemented to avoid any kind of clash that might result out of such diversity. Initiatives like “school projects and educational programmes...exchange programmes, study trips like EU’s Erasmus and Scholarship programmes, cultural festivals”<sup>343</sup>, film festivals and showcasing movies of various places across the world, aim at fostering a sense of empathy, flexibility, anxiety reduction, understand the cultures of distant communities thereby promoting cultural pluralism. In all these ways, one can address the issues faced by diverse groups and through dialogue they reach out to others while maintaining their own identity.

Further, challenges also exist in terms of interfaith dialogue which can heighten tensions. Cultural pluralism allows different groups to maintain their unique identities and also to exist side by side at the same time without any form of domination. It also endorses racial, ethnic and cultural diversity in different spheres of a society like school, business, jobs, neighbourhood etc. The 21<sup>st</sup> century is an apt example of cultural pluralism where different institutions like temple, mosque, church, and gurdwaras exist without any hindrance. However, in a multicultural society state also plays an active role in ensuring the smooth functioning of these institutions and practices.<sup>344</sup> The Pluralist aspect of any society can be captured through the Vedic exhortation of *Ekam sat viprah bahudha vadanti*. This accurately captures the essential nature of Indian society which is pluralistic, liberal, diverse etc. But in spite of this plurality or diversity, there exist a fundamental unity and collectivity that binds everyone and eliminates individualism. Professor Singh proposes a dialectical dialogue where different cultures come into contact that leads to

---

<sup>341</sup> Romanova, A. P., Khlyshcheva, E. V., & Iakushenkov, S. N., (2015), *Multiculturalism for Dummies*, p. 153.

<sup>342</sup> DeLue, Steven M., “Martin Buber and Immanuel Kant on Mutual Respect and the Liberal State”, *Janus Head*, 9(1), (2006), pp. 118-121

<sup>343</sup> UNESCO, (2009), *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*, pp. 46-47

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.* 48

conflict and confluence. A good society is always supportive of the diversity, humility, respects others' rights and identities, contributes to everyone's well-being and allows dialogue between different cultures to exist resulting in fusion of horizons.<sup>345</sup>

Intercultural dialogue can also reconcile many “divergent memories that have been the source of many conflicts throughout history...the path to reconciliation lies in the process of active dialogue which requires the interlocutors contemplate other points of view in order to access the plausibility of competing claims.”<sup>346</sup> The groups and individuals often conflict openly with accepted norms that act like barriers holding back internal dialogue. In this regard, mechanisms like trainings to help parties in conflict communicate with each other and challenge assumptions, prejudices and stereotypes. Dialogue mechanisms such as “restorative justice programmes should facilitate workshops or similar forums where parties engaged feel that their concerns have been heard and recognised.”<sup>347</sup> Moreover, media must also play an active role in expressing positive messages about cultures so that it not only demonises other cultures but at the same time promotes cultural understanding and sensitivity. The role of supranational associations like the UN becomes necessary when borders become a nominal aspect.

Another alternative to toleration could be “Fraternity” that moves beyond multiculturalism towards blending or amalgamations. Or in other words, fraternity focuses on constant contact and developments and progress. It can manifest itself in universal love for the humanity as a whole. One must admit that fraternity never claims that reality of such blending has already been achieved; but fraternity is an ongoing process that everyone must aim for. It is at this juncture that diversity and multiculturalism fall short as both may include “silo”<sup>348</sup> type mentality. Fraternity is determined to challenge this type of mentality that exists. But how can one explain the gap that persists between diversity/ multiculturalism and fraternity? One way of answering this problem is that diversity/multiculturalism encourages differences only as laissez-faire tolerance but never makes any effort to instil a sense of brotherhood or sisterhood that fraternity aims to achieve. Fraternity needs to be considered as a guiding ideal that every democratic society needs to abide by. But blending and mixing is only possible to an extent

---

<sup>345</sup> Singh, R.P., “Understanding Diversity/ Plurality in Multiculturalism”, in *World of Philosophy: A harmony*, (2011), pp. 191-199.

<sup>346</sup> UNESCO, (2009), *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*, p. 49

<sup>347</sup> <http://egyankosh.ac.in>, “Tolerance, harmony and Forgiveness”,(2017), retrieved on 05-08-2019.

<sup>348</sup> Boisvert, Raymond D., “Diversity as Fraternity Lite” in *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (2005), p. 120

where one's privacy is not compromised.<sup>349</sup> Hence, apart from liberty and equality, a democratic society must also aspire to follow fraternity.

Social changes could also be brought about by taking into consideration our ancient traditions through the medium of education. The education system of ancient India was regarded as a basis for knowledge, traditions, practices and character building that encouraged humanity. It took care of both inner and outer self focusing on holistic development of the individual. Values such as humility, discipline, truthfulness and respect for all beings, etc. were emphasised on in the process of teaching and learning whereby everyone realises their potential and fulfils duty towards self, family and society. Hence, education in Indian was not only complementary but a way of life. In twenty first century, we do require such educational programmes that bring people closer to humanity where a child is educated to realize his ethical goal in life and that aims for a harmonious development of body, mind and soul of the individual leading him to contribute towards a just social order. Rather than, falling into the mad rush to obtain marks and certificate, the purpose of education should also be to promote self- actualisation. One such example is Gandhi's scheme of education known as "Nayi Talim", which aimed at facilitating a healthy relationship between city and village and eradicating the tensed relation between the classes. According to this programme of social transformation:

"...true self is moulded out of intensive practice, and that education, which prevents the self from undergoing trial and error, may cater knowledge but not learning. By granting leeway to err, but at the same time, making the individual accountable to it is the best way to make man learn and unlearn. Such an experiential self is a learned self..."<sup>350</sup>

For Gandhi tolerance is required for harmony among individuals and education, provided in a formal or non- formal manner, is the most successful means for tackling intolerance. Modern educationists should draw inspiration from Gandhi and consider education as an urgent imperative for attaining systematic and rational tolerance that must educate people about their shared rights. Education strategies should contribute towards development of tolerance, understanding and solidarity among individuals and various cultural, ethnic, social, linguist and religious groups. Moreover, policies should be inclusive so that there is no fear or hate toward

---

<sup>349</sup> Ibid., pp. 124-127.

<sup>350</sup> Gavaskar, Mahesh, "Gandhi's Hind Swaraj: Retrieving the Sacred in the Time of Modernity", in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 36, (2009), p. 17

others and should aim at helping young people to develop capacities like critical thinking and ethical reasoning. Education programmes should also pay attention towards improving teacher training and content of text books should have a view to make people respect, recognise and appreciate diversity to be valuable thereby making them caring and responsible citizens. This is rightfully captured by what Helen Keller had said “The highest result of education is tolerance.”<sup>351</sup>

Cotemporary educationists should recognise the significance of multicultural and multilingual education and make attempt to associate ancient education system with contemporary/advanced learning process. The stress should be laid on connecting learning to the external world outside the classroom. Education should not be limited to books alone or blindly believing in something given to them; it must include one’s participation in the nature. Ancient philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle believed in an experiential form of education where the method used is not of self-help but helping the community. Socrates believed that role of educator is to facilitate learning and assessing the discoveries made by students. Plato believed in holistic development that includes physical as well as intellectual form of education. This is the reason why everyone in the society must go through extensive training, literature, music, gymnastics etc. His form experiential learning is relevant to outdoor education. And Aristotle believed that everyone needs to be virtuous and it is only possible when it is learned in a community be it family, friends, neighbours.<sup>352</sup>

The process of “educationalization” is also pivotal in creating an intellectual environment that is often considered as a coping mechanism for social problems. Educationalization became popular during 1920 and has been used widely since 1980 is “an instance of moral reassurance empowering the individual exposed to these modern conditions and their moral hazards to act morally or virtuously...a key concept of understanding and deciphering the grand narratives of modernity and the modern self.”<sup>353</sup> The process includes educationalization related to Bible classes, invention of museum education, education related to sex, environment and traffic at school level, etc. were introduced when there was a threat to morality, museums, teenage pregnancies, environment and to prevent rapid motorized traffic. Today, various cultures come into contact with each other and occasionally clash; factors such as immigration, media, social

---

<sup>351</sup> Keller, Helen, (1904), *My Key of Life*, p.32

<sup>352</sup> [www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Stonehouse, Paul & Allison, Pete & Carr, David, (2011), “Aristotle, Plato and Socrates: Ancient Greek perspective on Experiential Learning”, ResearchGate Publications, retrieved on 21-07-2017, pp. 1-6

<sup>353</sup> Trohler, Daniel, “Educationalization of Social Problems and the Educationalization of the Modern World” in *Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory*, by Michael A. Peters (ed.), (2017), p. 1

and political movements have resulted in cultural and religious diversity. With such advancements, there is also a fear of identity and cultural deprivation. Hence, there is a need for educationalization of culture through the introduction of cultural education/ community studies in schools so that the living and the future generation are made aware of the contributions made by various cultural groups specially minority cultures. Moreover, cultural education should highlight the neglected aspects of society, their struggles and oppressions they face at various levels such as minority groups are still ignored in the mainstream society, women are still facing violence, equality for queer is still an issue, etc. Moreover, cultural or community education will help individuals to have a clear view regarding their role in the society. Efforts have been made by U.S. as the state has introduced 'Ethnic Studies' as a part of school curricula and the U.S. government has recognised "one week a year as International Education Week, encouraging schools, institutions and organisations to heighten awareness of cultural differences; the Education Ministry of South Africa has introduced the study of tolerance in school curricula."<sup>354</sup> Rather than dehumanising other cultures, education should endorse cultural understanding and a sense of tolerance for differences and appreciate the richness every culture brings along.

Education should also be used as a medium to enhance a sense of social solidarity. As human are social beings also, this sense should be instilled in early stages of childhood by family and schools. Modern psychologists believe that early education has a tremendous impact on a child's later development. Emile Durkheim, a French sociologist, maintained that a society can only survive and make progress "by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities which collective life demands."<sup>355</sup> Social solidarity is one among many essential similarities that instils a sense of belonging and commitment to society which allows one to fulfil his social duties, roles and responsibilities. The school must provide a context where individuals learn to cooperate with those who are neither their friends nor kin and school rules should be strict so that pupils "learn that it is wrong to act against the interests of the social group."<sup>356</sup> Moreover, schools are considered as the next socializing agency and it must act as a bridge between family and society. As Talcott Persons, an American sociologist, states that:

"Within the family, the child is judged and treated largely in terms of particularistic standards. Parents treat the child as their particular child rather than judging her or him in terms of standards

---

<sup>354</sup> <http://egyankosh.ac.in>, "Tolerance, harmony and Forgiveness", (2017), retrieved on 05-08-2019.

<sup>355</sup> <https://kupdf.net>, "Role of Education; Functionalist and Critical Perspective", (2016), retrieved on 18-08-2019

<sup>356</sup> Ibid

or yardsticks which can be applied to every individual. Yet in the wider society the individual is treated and judged in terms of universalistic standards which are applied to all members, regardless of their kinship ties... Thus, the child must move from the particularistic standards and ascribes status of the family to the universalistic standards... The school prepares young people for this transition.”<sup>357</sup>

This kind of education also allows people to move from an atomised self to a relational self. An isolated self becomes self-obsessive that might turn violent and eventually lead to destruction. Instead, in a relational self one considers human as a social being and takes his relationship or experiences with others as a basic fact about him. Kellenberger rightfully provides justification for a relational self that he calls interpersonal relation or person/person relation where “we treat people with the kind of respect that a person per se deserves... violations of the person/person relationship are causing unnecessary harm and torture to others, having unjust/unfair dealings with persons, etc.”<sup>358</sup>

A significant constructive approach towards the growing religious, cultural and ethnic conflicts in the present day context is the concept of *Sarva Dharma Sambhava* i.e. equal respect for all the religions, given by Mahatma Gandhi. Before dwelling into this concept, it is important to understand that Gandhi’s approach to religion is a very unique one as it is more than religious pluralism and secularism. He viewed religion from a multicultural perspective which is evident from his cross-cultural inclusive base that saw participation of people from different communities; the Indian National Congress which was envisaged first by Allan Octavius Hume and nurtured by Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji that represents the interest of Indian masses; and the election held in 1937 that accommodated every community. However, the concept of *Sarva Dharma Sambhava* is more than tolerating diversity that preserves the pluralistic aspect and moves beyond multiculturalism towards peaceful and harmonious co-existence of different human civilizations. The way Gandhi perceived religion can contribute in promoting harmony among various communities which is manifested in his doctrine Truth is God.

Gandhi was deeply influenced by Hinduism that he believed to be grounded on broadest possible toleration which holds the belief that “all life is coming from One universal source, call

---

<sup>357</sup> Ibid.

<sup>358</sup> Motilal, Shashi, (2010), “Moral Relativism and Human Rights”, in *Applied Ethics and Human rights: Conceptual Analysis and contextual Applications*, pp. 78-79



it Allah, God or Parameshwara.”<sup>359</sup> Buddhism lays a premium on non- violence which is non-injury to all living beings. Gandhi was particular about right speech as “right speech reflects the character of the individual...one should neither talk about nor call attention to the faults of others.”<sup>360</sup> Hence, Buddha and Gandhi shared a very pragmatic attitude of non- violence which is suitable to the diversities and contingencies of the contemporary world. Moreover, even though Gandhi considered Truth to be absolute but he followed Jainism in holding the view that individual beliefs will always be “relative, many sided and plural”<sup>361</sup> through which he associated finite truths with eternal Truth. And because of this he never rejected traditions of any social life; rather he affirmed what is authentic in them and made an effort to bridge diverse views. He looked into religion in a very unique manner as he maintained that every religion is a path to the same reality. Gandhi was endowed with an intellectual openness that made him an intercultural Indian.

Gandhi understands Truth as *Satya* “meaning that which is or exists”<sup>362</sup> and since personal Gods have been used in a destructive manner to wage wars, which led him to formulate the doctrine Truth is God. Gandhi declared that no religion can be superior to truth, humanity and righteousness. This doctrine moves beyond religious pluralism as it also includes atheists and humanists. However, instead of emphasizing on the metaphysical aspect, he dwelled more on the ethical implication of this doctrine. The contemporary society is often filled with social distempers which lead to fragmentation that allows no scope for a basic consensus. In such a devastating state, truth can only be attained by reformation of the minds of the people and service whereby “welfare of others his prime duty, a dictate of conscience.”<sup>363</sup> In order to reform one’s mind, one must move towards self- purification which mandates strict observance of the five vows, be fearless, compassionate, kind, apply non- violence in the harsh realities of life, treat evil/enemy with love and “the ability to willingly endure suffering signals a spiritual metamorphosis.”<sup>364</sup> Moreover, focus should be on mind over body which will actualise a self-

---

<sup>359</sup> Gandhi, M. K., (1936), *Collected Works*, 70:181, *Harijan*, p. 365

<sup>360</sup> Sharma, I. C., (1965), “The Ethics of Buddhism”, in *Ethical Philosophies of India*, p. 162.

<sup>361</sup> Gandhi, M. K., (1986), *The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, by Raghavan Iyer (ed.), Vol. 2, p.176.

<sup>362</sup> Xaxa, Johani & Mahakul, B. K., “Contemporary Relevance of Gandhism”, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 70, No. 1, (2009), p. 42

<sup>363</sup> Gavaskar, Mahesh, “Gandhi’s Hind Swaraj: Retrieving the Sacred in the Time of Modernity”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 36, (2009), p. 16

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17

regulatory body that allows everyone to be capable of controlling themselves and “exhorts us to undertake an inward journey to retrieve the kingdom of God within.”<sup>365</sup>

On the other hand, service to humanity is service to God and one’s religion must be conveyed in “Service to the helpless”<sup>366</sup> or work in order to lessen the burden of the downtrodden. For this one must achieve the state of desirelessness which is an inward journey whereby all attachments become ethereal. Moreover, a state of selflessness is required for becoming desirelessness as “senses being primarily the seat of selfishness, it is only by sundering one’s ties with the world of senses that one can advance on the path towards selflessness.”<sup>367</sup> In order to maintain this state, an attitude of communitarian belonging among people must be nurtured in order to attain social order free from violence. Gandhi’s pluralistic approach in order to address cultural and communal conflicts was ahead of its time as he focused on finding a common ground among various cultures and different mentalities and promotes mutual respect and toleration. Apart from that, society must also nurture a continual reciprocity among its members that inspire them to participate and contribute in its progress. In his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*, he maintained that “I know the European mind...when it has to choose between abstract and self-interest it will plump for the latter.”<sup>368</sup> He attacked every aspect of western civilization and addressed the harmful aspects of modernity.

“In the traditional village world of India life was governed by a common morality by which each member performed his duty. This made it the exact opposite of modern society whose members chased their own self- interested and individualistic goals.”<sup>369</sup>

Hence, such reformation of mind and service will make one a true *satyagrahi* leading him towards the ideal of *swaraj*. This will provide nourishment to his ‘soul- force’ which is an ethical code of conduct that gives prominence to the pursuit of truth in order to inspire others. A *satyagrahi* must be able to self rule and understand that “Swaraj has to be experienced by each

---

<sup>365</sup> Ibid., p. 15

<sup>366</sup> Xaxa, Johani & Mahakul, B. K., “Contemporary Relevance of Gandhism”, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 70, No. 1, (2009), p. 46

<sup>367</sup> Gavaskar, Mahesh, “Gandhi’s Hind Swaraj: Retrieving the Sacred in the Time of Modernity”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 36, (2009), p. 16

<sup>368</sup> Mukherjee, Rudrangshu, “Gandhi’s Swaraj”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 50, *Economic and Political Weekly*, (2009), p. 35

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

one for himself.”<sup>370</sup> And in this entire process, a true satyagrahi must be prepared to lose his freedom, life and possessions.

Moreover, Gandhi never demanded a nation to be built on one culture or faith in order to safeguard its unity and coherence because he believed that such homogeneity will only lead to war and violence. Gandhi never preferred any particular culture or faith rather he believed that each culture and religion is valuable and must undergo a process of reinterpretation, evolution and scrutinization. He eloquently said “Our ability to reach unity in diversity will be the beauty and test of our civilization.”<sup>371</sup> In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi wrote “In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India.”<sup>372</sup> Diversity promotes peace and empowers people which contribute in the process of human development. UNESCO, in 2001, adopted a Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity catering to human as well as biodiversity and the United Nations Development Programme disclosed the Human Development Report in 2004 which stated that “any attempt to make diversities disquieting and disempowering will be extremely dangerous for a globalised world.”<sup>373</sup> In twenty first century, every nation is plural and diverse in terms of culture, religion, language, ethnicity, etc. and it is important to implement policies that widen opportunities to people to have access to economical, political, social and other entitlements.

In today’s world, people often have the view that Gandhi’s idea of non- violence is unrealistic and utopian. In fact, Nehru criticised the idea of *swaraj* as he considered it to be “utterly wrong and harmful doctrine, and impossible of achievement.”<sup>374</sup> However, the increasing violence, bloodletting and clash of cultures could only see Gandhi’s principle of non-violence to be the urgent necessity as he profoundly believed in introducing humanity to the principle of non- violence. Moreover, if one follows his doctrine Truth is God, focus on reformation of the mind, serve society, nurture a sense of communitarian belonging, voluntary suffering, mutual respect and toleration and treating people with love and kindness, then there is a possibility of creatively opposing all kinds of retributive vengeance. Gandhi’s principle of non-violence, to see every reality is a fragment of the Truth, harnessing ancient wisdom of India and combining it with the modern principles and ideologies to promote peace, earning trust by being

---

<sup>370</sup> Ibid.

<sup>371</sup> <https://positivevibes.today>, “Mahatma Gandhi in the context of Globalization, Multiculturalism and Peace Building in Twenty First century” by Dr. S. N. Sahu, retrieved on 22-04-2021.

<sup>372</sup> Gandhi, M. K., (1938), *Hind Swaraj*, p. 45

<sup>373</sup> <https://positivevibes.today>, “Mahatma Gandhi in the context of Globalization, Multiculturalism and Peace Building in Twenty First century” by Dr. S. N. Sahu, retrieved on 22-04-2021.

<sup>374</sup> Mukherjee, Rudrangshu, “Gandhi’s Swaraj”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 50, (2009), p. 38

with people, indulging in dialogues and engaging with Indian collective consciousness are more pressing today than ever before. At the same time “spiritualization of politics and the political person”<sup>375</sup> who must genuinely become inspired by spiritual and ethical values of true religion in order to eliminate evils and disharmony that has spread throughout the world today. As Gandhi said “Let us learn to make the whole world as an own. No one is a stranger.”<sup>376</sup> We need a state of peace that is mean to attain a greater end in onward journey of civilisation. His ideas of swaraj, transformation religion, spiritualization of politics, etc. are the unfinished agenda of Gandhi that we must try to fulfil.

The virtue of compassion in Buddha’s philosophy is undeniably a cardinal principle in realizing the aim of a prosperous society. Buddhism is one of the schools of Indian philosophy which originated in India emerged out of the teachings of Gautama Buddha who went on to give four noble truths, eight-fold path and pratyasamutpada. Many interpretations and philosophies underlie within Buddha’s teaching making it an evolving and a tolerant religion; it has now become a way of life. Buddha considered patience, wisdom, generosity, kindness, and compassion to be important virtues that one needs to adapt to acquire inner peace.

Compassion or *mahākarunā* is extended not only to human beings but to all beings in the universe. It is a wish or desire to relieve one from pain and suffering and bring happiness to all sentient beings. The first noble truth of Buddha maintains that “all human existence is marked by suffering, affliction and vexation”<sup>377</sup> and to understand and accept the harsh reality of human suffering leads one towards compassion. Moreover, to be compassionate towards the suffering of others, one must give away “blind ambitions, short- lived benefits and distorted view of reality”<sup>378</sup> which are the causes of human bondage that makes one ignorant forever. Hence, an expanded understanding of our true nature and self is instrumental in understanding and observing compassion.

The virtue of compassion was given utmost importance in which is a means to cultivate self- culture. Hīnayāna school preserves the teachings and literature of Buddha in Pali canon. The monks in order to acquire inner peace needs to adapt compassion, sympathy, good will and equanimity which are also the prescribed disciplines that they need to follow. For monks this spiritual discipline can lead them towards nirvana but for laymen it can lead to their rebirth

---

<sup>375</sup> Xaxa, Johani & Mahakul, B. K., “Contemporary Relevance of Gandhism”, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 70, No. 1, (2009), p. 53

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>377</sup> [www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Wong, Paul, “The Nature and Practice of Compassion: Integrating Western and Eastern Positive Psychologies”, (2006), p. 6.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-8.

where they could have a better existence situation. However, the concept of compassion holds different meanings for Buddha himself and his members. Buddha sees it as a main motive for imparting his thoughts and teachings to his members; whereas for the members it is a medium through which one can attain the passionless state of nirvana.<sup>379</sup>

After Buddha's death his members formed various communities and each community had their own stories regarding Buddha's birth or Jatakas. According to one of the stories, he gave away his wealth, his children and his kingdom to those who asked for them as his heart had boundless compassion and no unkindness. The moral of such a story is that Buddha was compassionate enough regarding giving people those which they asked. These stories intend to morally or intellectually uplift the common people. But at the same time these stories do not expect the readers to make efforts to become like Buddha by performing heroic acts;<sup>380</sup> even though one could cultivate the virtue of compassion and be non-violent towards every being in the universe.

The school of Mahāyāna had contributions made by various eminent philosophers like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, and Asaṅga etc. Unlike Hīnayāna, this school maintains that even a layman has the ability to attain nirvana. Moreover, this universe is comprised of many enlightened beings like Buddha in both celestial and terrestrial realms. According to Moriz Winetrnitz, "a householder, labour, artisans, king basically everyone could attain salvation,"<sup>381</sup> anyone can travel the path of Bodhisattva. Such kind of knowledge needs to be utilized for the good of every being in this universe. All they need to have is the aspiration for the attainment of wisdom or the supreme knowledge. The motive for such knowledge can be located in compassion. According to some Mahāyāna theories, there are few people who are naturally inclined to a religious life or a good life. For them all the good deeds are result of their impulse rather than purposefully setting some goals. When they witness suffering, misery, ignorance and momentariness in the world, it develops a possible goal of Enlightenment in their mind that they want to attain. This may invoke some sense of pity, sympathy, compassion and love that inspires them to seek Enlightenment for the sake of helping all the creatures that are suffering. And it is this compassion that helps him to purify his dispositions, practice the virtues and cultivate

---

<sup>379</sup> Hamilton, Clarence H., "The Idea of Compassion in Mahāyāna Buddhism" in *Journal of the American oriental Society*, Vol. 70, No. 3, (1940), p. 145-146.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

heroism for the sake of others. Compassion allows him to perfect himself in order to become a Buddha after a succession of his various lives.<sup>382</sup>

It is implicit in Mahāyāna philosophy that the knowledge or the supreme wisdom that one acquires must be used to help those who are wandering in ignorance. One such philosophy is given by Nāgārjuna in terms of emptiness that directs towards clearing one's mind of any illusions that can obstruct one's journey towards realizing the truth. Such a person or such a Bodhisattva has the potential to use compassion as a medium to guide his fellow mates towards realization of the truth. The essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism was accurately captured by Śāntideva, a seventh century Indian poet that one can become Bodhisattva in a truest sense if only he works for the interests of others. It is the element of charity that compassion includes is what everyone requires to relieve others from any kind of *suffering* that they are experiencing.<sup>383</sup> This is a virtue that is central in Mahāyāna Buddhism that is termed as a universal value. Hence, in the due course of time, there were lot of alterations and modifications introduced in Mahāyāna Buddhism but the essence of compassion was kept intact.

Compassion is considered as a “jewel”, a fundamental virtue that is required for complete awakening. The entire Buddhist philosophy has its root in the universal value of compassion that is also considered as a remedy for all sufferings. It is about being sympathetic and having concern for all the suffering creatures. According to Buddha, compassion is a state of mind where every being aspires to be free from agony and pain and help others too. Many scholars would not consider Buddhist philosophy to be complete without referring to the compassion philosophy. However, a modern outlook on compassion would claim it to be not a Buddhist ideal; rather it is a universal ideal irrespective of any religion, race, gender, culture etc. Mother Teresa in this regard stated that “religion has nothing to do with compassion.”<sup>384</sup> The compassion philosophy itself becomes a universal religion that everyone across the globe needs to follow. The two aspects of compassion, i.e. shared suffering and shared feelings, are instrumental in attaining the contemporary idea of living with harmony or peaceful co- existence.

Hence, compassion is seen as an effective tool to address issues related to diversity rather than focusing on toleration. More than tolerating others, what is more required is to understand them, work for their interests, deal with love and help them in relieving their pain. Elsewhere I have discussed the problems and various issues related to Dalit, caste system and religion.

---

<sup>382</sup> Ibid., pp. 148-149

<sup>383</sup> Ibid., pp. 150-151.

<sup>384</sup> Wangmo, Dr. Kalsang, “Middle Path and Universal responsibility- A Buddhist perspective” in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 4,(2011), pp. 6-11.

Eminent scholars or political figures like B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi have made immense contribution towards rectification of these systems. One such work that we can cite is Gandhi's Constructive programming where he mentions ways to achieve communal unity. Such a unity is not any sort of political unity but a heart unity that is unbreakable. The onus lies on the political leaders to befriend people of different class, castes, faith etc. and have the same regard for them that he has for his own. One must realize that power does not come from any external factor; it rather has origin in the people. Civil Disobedience is the storehouse of power that could only be realized once people unite. And regarding Harijans, every man should befriend them in their dreadful isolation which is without any doubt a difficult task but is prerequisite for Swaraj.<sup>385</sup>

In a multicultural society, all the individuals are free to live their social and political life. The dominant culture needs to help the new residents to cope up with a new system of life. The majority culture needs to decrease their participation in any form of discrimination against the minorities. And in the same way, the immigrants need to observe minimum code to ensure national peace and harmony, participate in common life, and even though they may have a home in their native land, they need to consider the country of their settlement as also their home. But as people's choices, needs and interests change over time, no one rule, regulation or restriction is considered for eternity. It has to be changed and revised with the changing needs and preferences of the people by keeping national unity and peace as the sole aim at its backdrop. Hence, there are diverse ways to deal with diversity.

---

<sup>385</sup> Gandhi M.K., (2008), *Constructive programme*, pp. 5-11.

## CONCLUSION

The present study has shown that the concept of toleration has been a contending theory in philosophy. There have been various lineages to it and I have discussed liberalism and multiculturalism out of them. The components of toleration, however, got evolved and modified over the period of time. In liberalism, toleration was instrumental in protecting individual's beliefs; whereas in multiculturalism it moved towards safeguarding one's identity, ensuring group/ community rights. In spite of numerous contributions made by philosophers and policy makers, toleration fell short of addressing issues regarding cultural pluralism, social differences, etc. Hence, other measures were incorporated to complement toleration in order to tackle various conflicts that exist in a society.

The study has focused on capturing the evolution and modification of toleration among the chapters and also within them. The contending positions on toleration and the discrepancies in the notion have been discussed in terms of comparison, criticism, evaluation, analysis, and so on. The kernels of toleration could be traced back to the ancient Greek period. Even though toleration is believed to be a chief characteristic of a modern society, its essence can be located in the moral and political works of Plato and Aristotle. Toleration has been discussed as a moral and political doctrine the foundation of which could also be found in the works of Plato and Aristotle. In Plato's philosophy, toleration is considered as a virtue required for an ideal state; whereas in Aristotle's work, toleration is considered as a moral or ethical virtue which is "the product of habit." Plato and Aristotle had never directly used the term toleration, but there are certain engagements of it in the virtue of temperance. As temperance is held opposed to insensitivity and toleration is about endurance, being patient, controlling senses, putting up with views/things/persons that one disapproves of, certainly toleration could be used as a derivative of temperance. Moreover, the idea of toleration and the virtue of justice mentioned by Plato in *The Republic* share the same essence i.e. doing one's own job, not meddling into others affairs and non- interference.

Aristotle's virtue ethics too moved along the same line of toleration. The virtue of friendship especially which is based on useful is maintained only for receiving benefits. However, friendship can also exist among strangers and fellow citizens by focusing on what common things they share rather on things that divides them. They can maintain their individuality at their private level but at societal level or in a community they need to agree on



commonly held things. Moreover, a community comprises of people having different backgrounds, culture and religions and friendship can only come into existence when we live together. This point hints toward the notion of peaceful co-existence which is only possible by focusing on similarity rather than dissimilarity, which is also agreed on by toleration.

Apart from his virtue ethics, the study has also examined the experiential learning which claims that one can acquire virtue in a shared life and practice. The mean of shared life does not refer to any individualistic life but claims that one can be virtuous by being in a community where they take part in any form of sharing that will bring people closer. In a community, everyone would have knowledge about the diversity that people bring in. Rather than being shocked and terrified, people in a community start respecting and recognising people for who they are, which is exactly the same position maintained by toleration.

Plato held the idea of Good to be superior among various forms which can only be attained by the guardian class. The guardians are the wise people as they work in accordance with reason and wisdom. They will decide everything on the basis of their knowledge. But this idea of Good fell short in securing the rights of people. People have their needs and desires and to fulfil them they might harm others also. The beliefs of the people need to be secured. And, one of the measures used to give protection is toleration. Hence, the concept of toleration got modified in the context of liberalism.

Liberalism has been observed as a multi- dimensional ideology that comprises of various contesting theories about the way a society should be. The primary tenets of liberalism are individualism, liberty, equality, freedom, toleration, universalism and many more. Every liberal society places individual at the centre and frames policies and programmes for their benefit. The social and political institutions must allow the individuals to realize their full potential rather than considering as means to achieve their target. As rational and autonomous being, everyone is free and equal and must be given equal opportunity in terms of legal and political aspects. As a moral ideal, an individual should be tolerant towards various opinions and conceptions of good life. The state's role in a liberal society is to prevent any kind of harm and exploitation that might affect the individuals in a wrong manner. As a political ideal, the state should support and promote toleration.

For Locke toleration as a measure is used to pacify the situation between the state and the church and among various churches. It was used for resolving religious tensions. Locke's concept of toleration persuades one to tolerate religious diversity and conflicting views and

opinions that lead one towards salvation. He gave rational and prudential justification for tolerating diverse religious beliefs. Toleration for Locke basically meant non- interference or freedom from interference. Rather than suppressing, it is rational to allow different religious views to exist that might bring one closer to the truth. That led him to assign separate works for the Church and the government where they will not interfere in each other's job. The job of the Church is to work entirely for enlightenment of the soul whereas the government would focus on bringing civil and political peace in the society.

Kant incorporated toleration with mutual respect and considered it to be the only means to treat human beings as an end in themselves. Hence, toleration and right were interrelated. Moreover, neutrality must be maintained among various traditions so that there is peaceful co-existence, which hints toward secularism. Religion should be a private matter and should not be taken into account while formulating political institutions. However, Kant's notion of secularism denies this view and presupposes the public role of religion. Political leaders must safeguard and preserve the fundamental rights of men. They must not meddle with the religious faiths of citizens or favour any religious faith. They must also respect the pluralism of religious faiths.

There is diversity in terms of culture, religion, race, gender etc. and toleration faces challenge from all these aspects. Locke's concept of toleration i.e. non- interference in terms of religious diversity fall short in addressing issues that arise regarding cultural conflicts, safeguarding cultural identities and membership, etc. which make the application of toleration limited. Rather than non- interference, the minority and vulnerable groups demanded inclusion, equal participation, respect, recognition, protection their rights and interests, and many more. Hence, his justification of toleration on the basis of rationality and prudence was only for rational and autonomous individuals but was not applicable for cultural and ethnic minorities, indigenous people and other vulnerable groups. He did give importance to respect/mutual respect but that was only in terms of rational and autonomous agent. He saw individuals as rational agent rather than belonging to or a member of any group. As a result, his concept of toleration could not accommodate wide range of social and cultural differences.

Even though Kantian notion of toleration is about cultivation of virtues and making a commitment to morality, it did come with certain shortcomings. Kant considers diversity and safeguarding rights and interests only in terms of individual character rather than ethnic groups, indigenous people etc. In a liberal society an agent is seen as an autonomous and rational person rather than as someone who is a member of a group and having cultural identity etc. Moreover,

toleration is often associated with negative attitude i.e. since people are expected to put up with the other which they disapprove, it might instil a sense of grudge in them that may eventually lead them to hate the other

The theory of toleration took a shift from beliefs to identities, as multicultural tradition considers liberal theory of toleration to be insufficient to promote toleration as respect. Moreover, liberalism was able to tackle individual diversity, but at the same time its effort to address cultural diversity was very limited. There was also the shift from neutrality to recognition, from universality to particularity. As the ideology of liberalism could not deal with cultural pluralism, role of toleration got a new outlook in the policy model of multiculturalism.

The concept of toleration got evolved in multiculturalism where it is not only extended to individual diversity but also towards cultural diversity. Liberal multiculturalist Will Kymlicka captures the dilemma and the demands raised by various cultural, minority and vulnerable groups. The state rather than maintaining neutrality should be play a prominent role in ensuring and protecting the rights and interests of these groups. However, the primary question that arises- is toleration capable enough to deal with every kind of differences in the society be it religious, cultural, gender, race etc.? What are the limits of toleration? Is toleration a commitment towards relativism? Is toleration in multiculturalism enough to deal with the dilemmas faced by women, children, disabled, indigenous people, immigrants, LGBTQA etc.?

Kymlicka emphasized on two kinds of group rights, first is external protection that minority groups can claim against the larger society; it can take the form of “language rights, guaranteed political representation, funding of ethnic media, land claims, compensation for historical injustice...” and the second is against internal restrictions that could violate the rights and restrict the freedom of the members (especially women) from raising their voice. The scope of right against internal restriction was limited because even though it emphasized on safeguarding the rights of women at public sphere, but could not address the limitation on the freedom of women at private sphere. Nevertheless, the multicultural theories should fill up the shortcomings so that it can work together with feminism as both aim at achieving the same goal i.e. safeguarding the rights, needs and interests of the oppressed.

The theories brought under multiculturalism could secure the rights and interest of the minority cultural, religious and ethnic groups, indigenous people, immigrants, etc. These theories were subject to contestation put forward by post- multiculturalist philosophers like Okin and Phillips. They did acknowledge that multiculturalism had other short comings but both of them

focused on addressing gender based discrimination that harms the rights and interests of women. Their intention was to break homogeneity and stereotypes that most of the theories associated with women.

For Okin apart from providing equal opportunities at public sphere, same must also be available to women at private level. Domestic oppression is one of the areas where contribution made by the advocates of group- rights remains very limited. Her primary focus was on maintaining intra group harmony and strengthening the rights and interests of women who were otherwise considered as inferior and subordinates. Rituals like ‘sadangu’, ‘tuloni biya’, and other rituals related to adolescence stressed on women across the world, witch- hunting, respect given to woman only when she proves to be a ‘good wife’ or capable of bearing sons, confining women to domesticity and restricting their freedom regarding taking part in political, social, economical and religious institutions, etc. are some of the aspects of reality, are considered as forms of regressive patriarchy that causes mental, physical and emotional trauma to women thereby restricting their progress. Any culture that observes these practices are given group rights allowing them to formulate their own rules and regulations, then it calls for revision as it would never be beneficial to women. And in such a situation the applicability of toleration is not justified at all as toleration is considered as a viable solution as long as it does not harm the rights, autonomy and dignity of anyone.

Unlike Okin, Anne Phillips considers feminism and multiculturalism are compatible but that required certain modifications to be made in the multicultural theories. Her focus was on public policies, discourses and formal laws that provide equal opportunity and treatment to women. Phillips accepted the premise of multiculturalism but also criticised as it essentializes identities and practices of minorities. Diversity is a real aspect of every society but it should not be highlighted to an extent where multicultural policies adopted by a state compartmentalise minorities into regimes. Plurality needs to be celebrated but at the same time there should exist some scope for cross- cultural communication to happen. There can be no retreat from multicultural policies but needs certain modification that will allow them to move away from essentializing minorities and should strengthen their internal strategies allowing the otherwise oppressed sections to utilise their rights.

A minority culture that is on the verge of getting extinct must take care of the needs and interests of its members, both at public and private sphere, in order to fight against the larger society. Every member should be considered as moral equals rather than inferior and

subordinate. Culture is a part of human life but if such a culture is not uplifting or fulfilling the needs and interests of its members or is restricting the rights of individuals, then no matter how hard it tries it will always be problematic to find support from each and every member that will eventually obstruct its progress and might be difficult to sustain itself. Moreover, women should be sympathetic towards each other and get united as they need to realise that their fight is not against each other but the larger society that considers women to be the weaker gender. Hence, perseverance of a culture depends upon equal treatment of minorities (particularly women) at both public and private level and adopting policies that rejects any form of essentializing.

Even though toleration was implemented to address problems related to religion, culture, community, universality etc. it had its own limitation. The problems cropped up regarding its meaning, structure and defining which interests were important, what constituted harm and what led to violation of rights. Moreover, the paradoxes involved in toleration made it more difficult to get any clarity regarding it. One of the main problems related to it was, how can one tolerate and respect at the same time. Hence, there was a need for something more than just toleration.

Another contestation related to the concept of toleration is that it cannot be applied universally i.e. since toleration is a product of liberal tradition its applicability was limited regarding Indian society where problems like caste system, patriarchy, gender discrimination, hierarchy in temples etc existed. It is because of this reason that the main tenets of toleration like autonomy and equality are not applicable universally. Toleration is effective as long as the majority are tolerating the minorities but it fell short regarding addressing certain situations like what is the role of toleration when the minorities are intolerant towards the majority. Moreover, it is not necessary to be tolerant about certain things and consider it to be relative such as illiberal practices. Hence, we require alternative measures that could deal with these dilemmas.

One such measure was intercultural dialogue which can reduce public hysteria in the times of crises and build confidence in conflicting parties. Such dialogues should not only focus on treating others/marginalised sections as equal but also at the same time try to understand various dimensions of their personality, language, culture, etc. contributing towards everyone's well-being. Next constructive measure is application of the concept of *Sarva Dharma Sambhava* i.e. equal respect for all the religions, in today's growing religious, cultural and ethnic conflicts. Given by Mahatma Gandhi, this concept concentrates on promoting harmony among various communities. Moreover, through his doctrine Truth is God, Gandhi declared that no religion can be superior to truth, humanity and righteousness. The contemporary society is often filled with

social distempers which lead to fragmentation that allows no scope for a basic consensus. In such a devastating state, truth can only be attained by reformation of the minds of the people and service whereby “welfare of others his prime duty, a dictate of conscience.”

Education or educational policies should play a pivotal role in bringing social changes by taking into consideration our ancient traditions through the medium of education. . Rather than, falling into the mad rush to obtain marks and certificate, the purpose of education should also be to promote self- actualisation. One such example is Gandhi’s scheme of education known as “Nayi Talim”, which aimed at facilitating a healthy relationship between city and village and eradicating the tensed relation between the classes. Cotemporary educationists should recognise the significance of multicultural and multilingual education and make attempt to associate ancient education system with contemporary/advanced learning process. Education should also be used as a medium to enhance a sense of social solidarity. As human are social beings also, this sense should be instilled in early stages of childhood by family and schools. The process of “educationalization” is also pivotal in creating an intellectual environment that is often considered as a coping mechanism for social problems.

The impact of education is such that a person will use his faculty of rationality regarding what to believe rather than following what is conventional or customary. It is important to understand that morality is a product of its time and calls for revision if the policies and strategies followed by any culture are not capable of providing meaning to the lives of its members. The experiential sort of education lays a platform for cross- cultural dialogue which will not only recognize the diversity that people from various cultures bring along but at the same time it also paves the way for a common platform where people can work together.

The Vedic exhortation of *Ekam sat viprāh bahudhā vadanti* expresses the essence of any society i.e. liberalistic, pluralistic, diverse etc. The concept of minimum universalism given by Bhikhu Parekh maintains that in this world of diversity and difference, one needs to focus on minimum universality or commonality people share with each other which will lead towards peaceful co-existence. Moreover, intellectual dialogue is also instrumental in receiving that end. The theory of hybridity focuses on attention where people are appreciated without passing any judgment, not compared against any conventional norm and given utmost need and care. Moreover, fraternity is about constant contact and developments which aims to instil a sense of brotherhood among citizens.

Compassion or *mahākarunā* is considered as a jewel, a fundamental virtue that is required for complete awakening. The entire Buddhist philosophy has its root in the universal value of compassion that is also considered as a remedy for all sufferings. It is about having concern for every being. According to Buddha, compassion is a state of mind where every being aspires to be free from agony and pain and help others too. However, a modern outlook on compassion would claim it to be a universal ideal irrespective of any religion, race, gender, culture etc. Hence, compassion is seen as an effective tool to address issues related to diversity more than toleration.

For unity and harmony to prevail within and between the cultures, the state must observe laws, policies and discourses that will inculcate values like respect, sympathy, instil a sense of security and belongingness among the members (both majority and minority) that will allow them to excel in areas like education, employment, political, social and economic institutions and support them physically, emotionally and psychologically. These were some of the measures that need to be accepted as complementary to toleration.

The theory of toleration has evolved from the ancient Greek period and has been modified in the context of liberalism, multiculturalism and post multiculturalism. It was contested and challenged by various philosophers because the applicability of toleration becomes limited in the areas where harm is caused to the autonomy and dignity of an agent. Moreover, toleration which was considered as the only solution to address religious conflicts by the classical liberal philosophers fell short in addressing the issues related to minority groups that have a history of being oppressed and exploited by the larger society. The thesis argued that because of its limitations, any theory of toleration needs to be supported by various other aspects in order to achieve the aim of peaceful co- existence. To realize this end it is imperative to break any form of homogeneity and universalism and accept that there are diverse ways to tackle and address diversity.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ambedkar, B. R., (1947), *States and Minorities*, Critical Quest, New Delhi.

Aristotle, (1906), *The Nicomachean Ethics*, by F. H. Peters (trans.), Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Aristotle, (1997), *The Politics*, in *The Politics of Aristotle* by P.L.P Simpson (trans.), Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Aristotle, (2001), *Metaphysics*, in *The basic works of Aristotle*, Richard Mckeon (ed.), Random House, new York.

Barker, E.,(1997), “Socratic Intolerance and Aristotelian Toleration” in *Philosophy, Religion and the Question of Intolerance*, M. A. Razavi & D. Ambuel (ed.), State University of New York, Albany.

Barnes, J., (1976), “Introduction to Aristotle”, in *The Nicomachean Ethics*, J. A. K. Thomson (trans.), Penguin Books, London.

Baumann, Gerd, (1996), *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi- Ethnic London*, Cambridge University Press

Beauchamp, Tom L., (2005), “The Nature of Applied ethics”, *A Companion to Applied Ethics*, by R.G. Frey and Christopher Heath Wellman (ed.), Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Benedict, Ruth,(1934), *Patterns of Culture*,Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Benhabib, Seyla, (2002), “‘Nous’ et ‘les Autres’ The Politics of Complex Cultural Dialogue in a Global Civilization”, *Multicultural Questions*, by Christian Joppke & Steven Lukes, (ed.), Oxford University Press.

Berry, J. W. & Ward, Colleen, (2016), “Multiculturalism”, in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, by David L.S. and J.W. Berry (eds.), Cambridge University Press.

Bhabha, Homi K., (1994), *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London.



Bhargava, Rajeev, (2016), “Is European Secularism Secular Enough”, in *Religion, Secularism, and Constitutional Democracy*, Jean L. Cohen & Cecile Laborde (ed.), Columbia University Press

Darwall, Stephen, (2006), “The Value of Autonomy and Autonomy of the Will”, in *Ethics*, The University of Chicago.

Fernandez, Christian, (2008), “Toleration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Revised Liberal Defense”, *Centre for European Studies*, Lund University.

Fraser, N., (2001), “Recognition without ethics” in *Theory, Culture and Society*, SAGE Publications.

Galeotti, A. E., (2002), *Toleration as Recognition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Galeotti, A. Elisabetta, (2002), *Toleration as Recognition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Galston, W. A., (1991), *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Diversity in the Liberal State*, Cambridge University Press

Gandhi M.K., (2008), *Constructive programme*, C&C Press.

Gandhi, M. K., (1936), *Collected Works*, 70:181, *Harijan*.

Gandhi, M. K., (1938), *Hind Swaraj*, Navajivan Publishing House

Gandhi, M. K., (1986), *The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, by Raghavan Iyer (ed.), Vol. 2, Oxford University Press.

Gulley, N.,(1961), *Plato’s theory of Knowledge*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London.

Hanson, Russell, (1993), “Deliberation, Tolerance and Democracy”, in *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*, Pennsylvania State University Press.

Heyes, J. Cressida, (2015), *Identity politics*, Critical Quest.

Heyes, J. Cressida, (2015), *Identity politics*, Critical Quest.

Kant, Immanuel, (1793), *Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*, Harper Torchbooks, New York.

Kant, Immanuel, (1939), *Rechtsleher Einleitung*, p. 40, quotation take from Vaughan, C.E., *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy Before and After Rousseau*, Manchester University Press

Kant, Immanuel, (1953), *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, London: Hutchinson

Kant, Immanuel, (1986), *Was ist Aufklaerung: Thesen und Definitionen*, Reclam, Stuttgart.

Kant, Immanuel, (1991), *An Answer to the question: 'what is Enlightenment?'* trans. By H. B. Nisbet, Cambridge University press.

Kant, Immanuel, (1991), *Kant: Political Writings*, by Hans Reiss. Cambridge (ed.), U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Kant, Immanuel, (2010), *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, Cosimo Inc.

Kaplan, Benjamin, (2007), *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflicts and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Harvard University Press.

Keller, Helen, (1904), *My Key of Life*, London: Isbister & Company.

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

Kymlicka, Will, (2014), "The Essentialist Critique of Multiculturalism: Theories, Policies, Ethos", in *Multiculturalism Rethought*, by Varun Oberoi and Tariq Modood (ed.), Edinburgh University Press.

Lillie, William, (2018), *An Introduction to Ethics*, Allied Publishers Private Limited.

Locke, John (1997), *A Letter Concerning Toleration* in Steven M. Cahn ed. *Classics of Modern Political Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Locke, John, (1990), *Second Treatise of Government*, Hackett Publishing Company.

Mackie, J. L., (1977), *Ethics: Inventing Right and Wrong*, N.Y.: Penguin.

Maclure, Jocelyn and Taylor, Charles, (2011), "The Regimes of Secularism", in *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*, Harvard University Press

Macpherson, C. B., (1962), *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke*, Clarendon Press.

McGhee, D., (2008), *The End of Multiculturalism? Terrorism, Integration and Human Rights Dialogue*, Berkshire: Open University Press.

Menon, Krishna, (2010), "Human Rights- A Theoretical Foray" in *Applied Ethics and Human rights: Conceptual Analysis and contextual Applications*, by Shashi Motilal (ed.) Anthem Press

Menon, Krishna, (2010), "Human Rights- A Theoretical Foray", in *Applied Ethics and Human Rights: Conceptual Analysis and Contextual Application*, London, Anthem Press.

Miller, David, (2005), "Immigration: The Case for Limits", in *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*, Blackwell Publishing

Montaigne, M. de, (1991), "An Apology for Raymond Sebond", in *The Complete Essays* by M. A Screech (trans.), Penguin Books, London

Montaigne, M. de., (1991), *The Complete Essays*, by M. A. Screech (trans.), Penguin Books, London.

Motilal, Shashi, (2010), "Moral Relativism and Human Rights", in *Applied Ethics and Human Rights*, Anthem Press

Motilal, Shashi, (2010), "Moral Relativism and Human Rights", in *Applied Ethics and Human rights: Conceptual Analysis and contextual Applications*, Anthem Press.

Motilal, Shashi, (2010), "Moral relativism and Human Rights", *Conceptual Analysis and Contextual Applications*, Shashi Motilal (ed.), Anthem Press

O' Neill, O., (1992), *The Cambridge companion to Kant*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oberdiek, H., (2001), *Tolerance: Between Forbearance and Acceptance*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Lanham.

Okin, M. Susan, (1991), "Sexual Difference, Feminism and the Law" in *Law & Social Inquiry*, Cambridge University Press

Okin, M. Susan, (1999), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard & Martha C. Nussbaum (ed.), Princeton University Press

Paton, H.J., (1969), *The Moral Law: Kant's Groundwork of Metaphysic of Morals*, London, Hutchinson University Library.

Paul Kennedy, (1989), *The Rise and Fall the Great Powers, Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000*, Fontana Press

Phillips, Anne, (2007), *Multiculturalism without Culture*, Princeton University Press.

Plato, (1955), *The Republic*, Penguin Books.

Plato, (1957), *The Statesman*, in *Plato's Statesman*, J. B. Skemp (trans.), & M. Ostwald (ed.), *The Liberal Arts Press*, New York.

Plato, (1975), *The Laws*, Penguin Books, London.

Plato, (1992), *The Phaedo*, in *The Trial and Death of Socrates Four Dialogues*, B. Jowett (trans.), Dover Publications, Inc., New York.

Plato, (1994), *The Meno*, Routledge, London.

Plato, (2016), *The Republic*, Maple Press, India.

Pollitt, Katha,(1999), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard & Martha C. Nussbaum (ed.), Princeton University Press

Rawls, John, (1921), *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Rawls, John, (1996), *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Romanova, A. P., Khlyshcheva, E. V., & Iakushenkov, S. N., (2015), *Multiculturalism for Dummies*, Astrakhan.

Sharma, I. C., (1965), "The Ethics of Buddhism", in *Ethical Philosophies of India*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

- Simmons, John, (1999), “Political Contract” in *The Social Contract Theorists*, by Christopher W. Morris (ed.), Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, New York.
- Song, Sarah, (2010), “Multiculturalism”, in *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, by Mark Bevir (ed.), by Mark Bevir (ed.), Sage Publications.
- Stace, W. T. (2016), *A Critical History of Greek Philosophy*, Surjeet Publications, India.
- Stumpf, S. E., (1996), *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, McGraw- Hill Book Company, USA.
- Sullivan, Roger J., (1989), *Immanuel Kant’s Moral Theory*, Cambridge University Press.
- Tankha, V., (2014), *Ancient Greek Philosophy: Thales to Socrates*, Pearson.
- Taylor, C., (1994), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, Charles, (1994), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton University Press.
- Thiroux, P. Jacques, (1995), *Ethics: Theory and Practice*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.
- Tinder, Glenn, (1976), *Tolerance: Toward a New Civility*, University of Massachusetts Press.
- Topal, Semiha, (2012), “Everybody Wants Secularism- But Which One? Contesting Definitions of Secularism in Contemporary Turkey”, in *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 1/3, Springer
- Tsouna, Voula, (2017), “What is the subject of Plato’s Charmides?” in *Studies in Ancient and Political philosophy*, Academia Verlag, Germany.
- UNESCO, (2009), *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*, Paris: UNESCO
- Walzer, M., (1997), *On Toleration*, Yale University Press.
- Warner, Michael, (2014), “Secularism”, in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, Bruce Burgett & Glenn handler (trans.), NYU Press.

Warren, Marry Anne, "Sex Selection: Individual Choice or Cultural Coercion", *Bioethics: An Anthology*.

Williams, B. (1999), *Tolerating the intolerable*, in S. Mendus (ed.) *The Politics of Toleration: Toleration and Intolerance in Modern Life*, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.

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

### **JOURNALS/ARTICLES**

Ashcroft, Richard & Bevir, Mark, "Pluralism, National Identity and Citizenship: Britain after Brexit" in *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 87, No. 3, (2016), Wiley- Blackwell

Bain, Andrew and Formosa, Paul, "Toleration and Some Related Concepts in Kant", *Kantian Review*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, (2020), Cambridge University Press.

Bhikhu, Parekh, "Unity and Diversity in Multicultural Societies", *IILS Publications*, (2005), International Institute for Labour Studies, P.O. Box 6, C H- 1211 Geneva 22 Switzerland.

Bishop, J. "The Effect of De- Individuation of the Internet Troller on Criminal procedure implementation: An Interview with a Hater" in *International Journal of Cyber Criminology*, 7(1), (2013), K. Jaishankar.

Bizumic, B., "Ethnocentrism" in R. A. Segal & K. von Stuckrad (eds.), *Vocabulary for the study of religion*, Vol. 1, (2015), Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers.

Bizumic, B., "Who Coined the Concept of Ethnocentrism? A Brief Report", in *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 2(1), (2014), PsycOpen Publishing psychology.

Boisvert, Raymond D., "Diversity as Fraternity Lite" in *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (2005), Penn State University Press.

Carter, Ian, "Are Toleration and Respect Compatible?" in *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, Vol. 30, No., (2013), Wiley Online Library.

Carter, Ian, "Are Toleration and Respect Compatible?" in *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, Vol. 30, No. 3, (2013), Wiley.

Casanova, José, “The Secular and Secularisms”, in *Social Research*, Vol. 76, No. 4, (2009), The John Hopkins University Press

Case, Carl J., & King, Darwin L., “Internet Trolling Victimization: An Empirical Examination of Incidence in Undergraduate Business Students”, in *Research in Higher Education Journal*, Vol. 34, (2018), Academic and Business Research Institute

DeLue, Steven M., “Martin Buber and Immanuel Kant on Mutual Respect and the Liberal State”, *Janus Head*, 9(1), (2006), Trivium Publications, New York

DeLue, Steven M., “Martin Buber and Immanuel Kant on Mutual Respect and the Liberal State”, *Janus Head*, 9(1), (2006), Trivium Publications, New York.

Deveaux, Monique, “Toleration and Respect”, in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), University of Illinois Press

Deveaux, Monique, “Toleration and Respect”, in *Public Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1998), University of Illinois Press

Edyvane, Derek, “The Varieties of Cultural Perception: Multiculturalism after Recognition”, in *European Legacy*, Vol. 16, No. 6, (2011), Taylor and Francis.

Ezedike, Edward U., “Happiness as an end: A critique of Aristotle’s rational eudaemonism” in *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 10, No.1, (2019), African Journals Online.

Fernandez, Christian, “Toleration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A revised Liberal defense”, *Centre for European Studies*, No. 4, (2008), Lund University, Sweden.

Fernandez, Christian, “Toleration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Revised Liberal Defense”, *Centre for European Studies*, No. 4, (2008), Lund University

Frost, R., “The Limits of Toleration”, in *Constellations*, Vol. 11, Issue.3, (2004), Wiley Publications.

Gavaskar, Mahesh, “Gandhi’s Hind Swaraj: Retrieving the Sacred in the Time of Modernity”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 36, (2009), Economic and Political Weekly.

Hamilton, Clarence H., “The Idea of Compassion in Mahāyāna Buddhism” in *Journal of the American oriental Society*, Vol. 70, No. 3, (1940), American Oriental Society.

Hardaker, C., “Trolling in Asynchronous Computer- mediated Communication: From User Discussions to Academic Definitions” in *Journal of Politeness Research*, 6(2), (2010), De Gruyter Mouton

Jackson, Liz, “The Individualist? The Autonomy of reason in Kant’s philosophy and educational views”, *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 26, (2007), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-007-9045-3> Springer, USA.

Kautz, Stephen, “Liberalism and the Idea of Toleration”, in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vo. 37, No. 2, (1993), Wiley.

Licht, Robert A., “Toleration as a Virtue”, in *The Good Society*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2001), Penn State University Press.

Lukes, Steven, “The Meanings of ‘Individualism’”, in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 32, No. 1, (1971), University of Pennsylvania Press.

Modood, Tariq, “Multicultural Equality, Liberal Citizenship and Secularism” in *Journal of the Study of British Cultures*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (2009), Verlag Konigshausen & Neumann GmbH, Wurzburg

Mukherjee, Rudrangshu, “Gandhi’s Swaraj”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 50, (2009), Economic and Political Weekly.

Murphy, Andrew R., “Tolerance, Toleration and the Liberal Tradition”, in *Polity*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1997), The University of Chicago Press.

Naidu, Ashok, “SECULARISM RE- EXAMINED”, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 68, No. 3, (2007), Indian Political Science Association.

Newman, Jay, “The Idea of Religious Tolerance”, in *American Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 3, (1978), University of Illinois Press

Otteson, James R., “Kantian Individualism and Political Libertarianism”, in *The Independent Review*, Vol. 13, No.3, (2009), Winter 2009, ISSN 1086-1653.



Parekh, Bhikhu, "Unity and Diversity in Multicultural Societies, *IILS Publications*, (2005), International Institute for Labour Studies, P.O. Box 6, C H- 1211, (2005), Geneva 22 Switzerland

Rawls, John, "The idea of an Overlapping Consensus", *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (1987), Oxford university Press

Shorten, A., "Toleration and Cultural Controversies", in *Res Publica*, Vol. 3, (2005), Springer

Singh, R.P., (2011), "Understanding Diversity/ Plurality in Multiculturalism", in *World of Philosophy: A harmony*, Shanti Prakashan, Delhi.

Singh, R.P., "Understanding Diversity/ Plurality in Multiculturalism: Fusion of Cultural Horizons", in *World of Philosophy: A Harmony*, (2011), Shanti Prakashan.

Song, Sarah, "Majority Norms, Multiculturalism and Gender Equality" in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4, (2005), American Political Science.

Song, Sarah, "Majority Norms, Multiculturalism and Gender Equality" in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4, (2005), American Political Science Association.

Sourgens, Fredric G., "Functions of Freedom: Privacy, Autonomy, Dignity, and the Transnational Legal Process", in *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, Vol. 48:471, (2015), Vanderbilt University.

Spinner- Halev J., "From Historical to Enduring Injustice", *Political Theory*, Vol. 35, No. 5, (2007), Sage Publications.

Spinner- Halev, Jeff, "Hinduism, Christianity, and Liberal Religious Toleration", in *Political Theory*, Vol. 33, No. 1, (2005), Sage Publication.

Trohler, Daniel, "Educationalization of Social Problems and the Educationalization of the Modern World" in *Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory*, by Michael A. Peters (ed.), (2017), Springer, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-287-588-4\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-287-588-4_8)

VeioPou, K. B., "Understanding Language and Culture: Bridging the Gap between Delhi city and Northeast Students", in *DU Journal of Undergraduate Research and Innovation*, Vol. 1, Issue 2, (2015), University of Delhi.

Wangmo, Dr. Kalsang, “Middle Path and Universal responsibility- A Buddhist perspective” in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 4,(2011), Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Xaxa, Johani & Mahakul, B. K., “Contemporary Relevance of Gandhism”, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 70, No. 1, (2009), Indian Political Science Association.

## WEBLIOGRAPHY

[www.sophia-project.org](http://www.sophia-project.org), “Plato in a Nutshell: A Beginner’s Guide to the Philosophy of Plato”, by Michael S. Russo,

[www.stanford.edu](http://www.stanford.edu), “Toleration”

[www.stanford.edu](http://www.stanford.edu), “Aristotle”

[www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Stonehouse, Paul & Allison, Pete & Carr, David, (2011), “Aristotle, Plato and Socrates: Ancient Greek perspective on Experiential Learning”, ResearchGate Publications.

<https://plato.stanford.edu>, “Liberalism”

<https://www.qcc.cuny.edu>, “Moral Law” by Stephen O’ Sullivan and Philip A. Pecorino.

<https://www.nytimes.com>, “Right or Toleration”

[www.secularism.org.uk](http://www.secularism.org.uk), “George Jacob Holyoake”.

<https://charterforcompassion.org>, “The Violent History of Secularism.

<https://exploringsecularism.org>, “Different types of secularism”

<https://en.wikipedia.org>, “French ban on face covering”

<https://www.nytimes.com>, “RIGHT or TOLERATION”

<https://www.India.gov.in> “Constitution of India”

<https://arcg.is/1fpfPX1>, “Witch Hunting in India”

<https://en.wikipedia.org>, “Multiculturalism”

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47053166>, “India ‘Witch Hunters’ Kill Mother and Four Children”

[www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com), “100 Women: Your views on life in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”

[www.iitp.ac.in](http://www.iitp.ac.in) “The Academic Journey of Witchcraft Studies in India” by Alam, Shamsheer, Raj, Aditya,

[www.india-seminar.com](http://www.india-seminar.com), “What is multiculturalism”, by Bhikhu Parekh

[www.youthkiawaaz.com](http://www.youthkiawaaz.com), “Status of Women in India: From the 1950s to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”

<http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in>, “Definition of Indigenous Peoples and Historical Perspective of their Rights”

<http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in>, “Definition of Indigenous Peoples and Historical Perspective of their Rights”

<https://en.m.wikipedia.org>, “Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019”

<https://www.thehindu.com>, “Coal Mining near Assam Wildlife Sanctuary Suspended”

<https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com>, “Classification of Indian Races”

[www.iwgia.org](http://www.iwgia.org), “Indigenous Peoples in India”

[www.oas.org](http://www.oas.org), “Indigenous and Tribal People’s Rights over their Ancestral Lands and Natural Resources”

[www.un.org](http://www.un.org), “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples”

<https://news.gallup.com>, “The Challenges Women face in their Daily Lives”.

<https://en.wikipedia.org>, “Susan Moller Okin”

<http://cirhep.linghag.se>, “Wash your hair and keep a lemon” by Kerstin Jurlander

<https://positivevibes.today>, “Mahatma Gandhi in the context of Globalization, Multiculturalism and Peace Building in Twenty First century” by Dr. S. N. Sahu

<https://kupdf.net>, “Role of Education; Functionalist and Critical Perspective”

[www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Stonehouse, Paul & Allison, Pete & Carr, David, (2011), "Aristotle, Plato and Socrates: Ancient Greek perspective on Experiential Learning", ResearchGate Publications

<http://egyankosh.ac.in>, "Tolerance, harmony and Forgiveness"

[www.india-seminar.com](http://www.india-seminar.com) "What is Multiculturalism?" by Bhikhu Parekh

<https://www.maxwell.syr.edu>, "Conflict resolution" by Katz, N. & McNulty, K.

[www.hubpages.com](http://www.hubpages.com), "Bob Marley Sings against Imperialism and Slavery, for the Buffalo Soldier",

[www.songfacts.com](http://www.songfacts.com), "Get Up Stand Up"

[www.imdb.com](http://www.imdb.com), "Respect"

[www.Gladtobegay.net](http://www.Gladtobegay.net), "Glad to be Gay"

[www.vox.com](http://www.vox.com), "How systematic racism entangles all police officers-even black cops"

<https://www.bbc.com>, "George Floyd: What happened in the final moments of his life"

<https://blacklivesmatter.com>, "Black Lives Matter"

[www.cherokeephoeenix.org/Article/Index/579](http://www.cherokeephoeenix.org/Article/Index/579), "How we prove our 'Indianness'" by Will Chavez

[www.civilrights.findlaw.com](http://www.civilrights.findlaw.com), "Civil Rights: Law and History"

[www.aclweb.org](http://www.aclweb.org), "Determining Trolling in Textual Comments"

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com>, "Ethnocentrism and Xenocentrism"

[www.researchgate.net/publication](http://www.researchgate.net/publication), Wong, Paul, "The Nature and Practice of Compassion: Integrating Western and Eastern Positive Psychologies", (2006), Psyc critiques, 51. 10.1037/a0002884