Impact case study (REF3)

Institution: University of Bristol
Unit of Assessment: 21) Sociology
Title of case study: Redefining Islamophobia and shaping the public and political debate on multiculturalism and the accommodation of Muslims in the UK
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2000-present
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:

Name(s): Tariq Modood	**Role(s) (e.g. job title):** Professor of Sociology, Politics and Public Policy; Director, Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship	**Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:** 1 December 1997-present

Period when the claimed impact occurred: 1 August 2013- 31 December 2020
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N

1. Summary of the impact

Modood's research has significantly raised awareness of, and shaped, public and political debate around: public religious identities and multiculturalism; the definition and implications of Islamophobia; and the necessity of a new ethos of national identity regarding the integration of minority groups, not least British Muslims. Modood's research has been highly influential at the macro-discursive and policy paradigms level, most specifically in relation to ethno-religious accommodation, employment, and higher education. His theorisation of Islamophobia as a form of cultural racism has been adopted by MPs, a range of UK political parties, and other policy actors. His engagement with policy makers has shaped the work of the Muslim Council of Britain and other Muslim organisations. His thinking on issues of ethnicity, religion and citizenship has longer-term resonance: it is now included in A-level subject content for English schools.

2. Underpinning research

The integration of Muslims in countries in which they have settled in large numbers is a central and controversial societal matter – politically, in media discourse, and academically. Modood has substantially contributed to vital issues around 'Islamophobia', multiculturalism and national identity by developing a sociologically grounded theory of political multiculturalism, together with making the case for a new style of moderate secularism. He has helped design, capture funding for, and conduct a number of empirical research projects. While the Bristol-UCL Leverhulme Programme **[i]** enabled him to focus his research on the UK, his theoretical lead in two European projects **[ii] [iii]** achieved this at the European level and is currently being followed up by Plurispace **[v]** and a project across eight global regions **[iv]**. The Thinker-in-Residence post at the Royal Academy of Flanders **[vi]** allowed him to prepare a report on political secularism and religious education in Flanders. His work encompasses three strands:

1. **Conceptualising Islamophobia as a form of cultural racism**
   Modood has been at the forefront of theorising Islamophobia as a form of cultural racism, moving it away from the previously dominant definition of 'fear of Islam' **[3.1] [3.2] [3.3] [3.5]**. His research explains the racialisation of Muslims in Western Europe, especially in the UK, by reference to issues such as discrimination, free speech and incitement to hatred, identity assertiveness, institutional accommodation and the re-making of national identity **[3.1] [3.3]**. He has sought to develop a research agenda that goes beyond anti-racism, critiquing the difference-blind neutral liberal state model in favour of active de-othering, and has devised a way of testing, based on five tests, for distinguishing Islamophobia from reasonable criticism **[3.3]**.

2. **Rethinking secularism in the UK and beyond**
   Modood's research shows that equal citizenship requires a difference-sensitive accommodation of Muslim and other religious identities and that this means rethinking the concept of political secularism **[3.1] [3.2] [3.3]**. He has argued that – contrary to a

Rawlsian neutrality, liberal nationalism, and radical secularism – an egalitarian accommodation of Muslims requires the extension of multiculturalism to include ethno-religious groups; and that this can be done by multiculturalising Western European 'moderate secularism' and updating the 'un-sociological' definition of secularism as a straightforward separation of religion and state **[3.3]**.

Modood has also argued for a concept of multicultural integration that is built on national citizenship (rather than just localism and/or globalism) in at least two respects **[3.2]**. First, the concept involves a macro-symbolic integration that cannot be reduced to individual choices, individual integration, local multiculture or local cohesion. Second, the concept fosters new forms of belonging that are best achieved through a suitably pluralised national identity rather than a merely civic one or 'constitutional patriotism'. Thus, Modood's 'multicultural nationalism' unites the concerns of those sympathetic to majoritarian nationalism and those who are pro-diversity and minority accommodationist, in a way that liberal nationalism or cosmopolitanism does not **[3.5]**. It therefore represents the political idea and tendency most likely to offer a feasible alternative rallying point to monocultural nationalism **[3.6]**.

3. **Investigating and addressing the 'ethnic penalty'**
Using his concept of Islamophobia, Modood later investigated with Dr Nabil Khattab (University of Bristol and Doha Institute) the 'ethnic penalty' experienced by different groups in employment and higher education. Their findings reveal that an 'ethno-religious penalty' is a more accurate characterisation than 'colour racism', and that 'ethnic capital' – understood as the choices that different groups make and their ability to act in terms of tangible and intangible resources – must be taken into account **[3.1] [3.4]**.

3. References to the research

3.1 **Modood T** (2005), *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*, University of Minnesota Press and University of Edinburgh Press [Available on request]

3.2 **Modood T** (2007, 2nd ed. 2013), *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*, Polity [Available on request]

3.3 **Modood T** (2019), *Essays on Secularism and Multiculturalism*, European Consortium of Political Research and Rowman and Littlefield [Available on request]

3.4 **Modood T** & Khattab N (2015). Both Ethnic and Religious: Explaining Employment Penalties Across 14 Ethno-Religious Groups in the United Kingdom, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, **54.3**, pp.501–522, https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12220

3.5 **Modood T** (2017). Majoritarian Interculturalism and Multicultural Nationalism, in Tabachnick DE & Bradshaw L (eds.) *Citizenship and Multiculturalism in Western Liberal Democracies,* Lexington Books [Available on request]

3.6 **Modood T** (2019). A Multicultural Nationalism?, *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, **25.2**, pp.233-246, [Available on request]
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yJhJ92fNmI90mOvpYaehtaNwRxtdHM66/view

iii.   Triandafyllidou A (PI), **Modood T** (CI), 6 EU partners, Tolerance, Pluralism and Social Cohesion (ACCEPT), EU FP7, 2010-2013, (Bristol's share EUR345,000)

iv.   Triandafyllidou A (PI), **Modood T** (CI), 12 international partners, GREASE: Radicalisation, Secularism and the Governance of Religious Diversity: Bringing together European and Asian Perspectives, EU Horizon 2020, 2018-2022, EUR3.5m (Bristol's share EUR460,000), http://grease.eui.eu

v.   **Modood T** (co-PI), 4 PI partners, Plurispace: Negotiating Diversity in Expanded European Public Spaces, HERA, 2019-2022 (Bristol's share GBP103,000)

vi.   **Modood T**, 'Thinker-in-Residence', Programme on Multiculturality, Royal Academy of Flanders (KVAB), 2017

4. Details of the impact

Modood has made a substantial impact through public intellectual engagement as a pathway to shaping and changing public attitudes around multiculturalism and Islamophobia, especially those of MPs, opinion-formers, and those involved in pressure-group politics. The Muslim Council of Britain's (MCB) General Secretary states that Modood has shaped their work '*as an expert and point of reference on the socio-economic challenges facing British Muslims; as an opinion-maker in discussions on Islamophobia; as a role model; as a defender of multiculturalism*' **[5.1]**.

1.   Shaping the understanding and definition of Islamophobia in the UK

Modood's conceptualisation of Islamophobia as cultural racism **[3.1] [3.3]** has led to two major redefinitions of Islamophobia in the public arena. In 2017, the Runnymede Trust replaced its definition of Islamophobia, used since 1997, with Modood's. According to the Trust's Director, Modood's work has had '*a large impact on the way civil society, and hopefully now government, approach the issue. Most importantly, the impact of a definition will lead to better policymaking and response to one of Britain's most challenging issues: anti-Muslim racism*' **[5.2]**. The Secretary General of the MCB states that the publication of this definition '*has major ramifications in the way our society moves forward in tackling incidents of bigotry, unfounded hostility and unfair discrimination faced by one faith community. In our view, [Modood's] insistence over many years that Islamophobia was a form of cultural racism has eventually been recognised and appreciated.*' **[5.1]**.

In November 2018, the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on British Muslims and Islam also adopted Modood's definition **[5.3]**, recognising Islamophobia as '*a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness*' **[see also 5.1, 5.7]**. Their report states that '*Modood's definition … encapsulates perfectly the concept of racialisation of Muslims*' **[p.40, 5.3]**, and praises his five tests for distinguishing Islamophobia from reasonable criticism **[p.36, 5.3]**. The APPG definition has been adopted by over 22 local councils across the UK, and 70 civic organisations and charities **[for a full list, see 5.4]**, as well as the following political parties: Labour Party, Liberal Democrats, Scottish National Party, Scottish Conservatives, Plaid Cymru and Scottish Greens. The Labour Party adopted the definition in March 2019 '*to help tackle Islamophobia, build a common understanding of its causes and consequences, and express solidarity with Muslim communities*' **[5.5]**. The Home Affairs Select Committee on Islamophobia also took evidence from Modood and published it in September 2019 **[5.3]**.

2.   Shifting political and public debates on multiculturalism worldwide

Modood has been a prominent defender of multiculturalism in public arenas worldwide, arguing that his conceptualisation **[3.1] [3.2] [3.5]** continues to be relevant. This work has had a conceptual impact, influencing debates on multiculturalism not only in the UK but in Europe and beyond.

In the UK, his membership of the Commission on Religion and Belief in British Public Life (CORAB, 2013-15) influenced its pluralistic-national focus **[5.6]**. Lord Parekh, Patron of CORAB, attests that '*by providing… a public language Professor Modood has most helpfully illuminated a*

new way of thinking and talking about cultural and religious diversity… which has had quite a lot of impact in Britain and other countries' **[5.7]**. The MCB, which represents the UK's largest and most diverse national Muslim umbrella organisation, states that Modood's '*intellectual defence of multiculturalism … has been important for us in developing reasoned arguments to challenge the claim that multiculturalism fosters alienation and separatism*' and '*in developing our interfaith relations*' **[5.1]**.

The impact of Modood's work on public understandings of multiculturalism is also evidenced by the fact that his concept of multiculturalism is now, since 2017, included in the A-Level Politics curriculum (e.g. AQA) and has been followed up with a three-part teaching video **[5.8]**. This work has been described as '*invaluable*' both by teachers and students. The Head of Sociology at Maiden Erelgh School states that Modood's work challenges students '*to think carefully about the place of religion and belief in contemporary society*' **[5.8]**. A student (Y13) remarked on the contemporary relevance of Modood's work in relation to issues such as '*the Black Lives Matter campaigns and the problem of institutional racism*' **[5.8]**.

Beyond the UK, Modood's argument for 'multicultural nationalism' as the best feasible alternative to monocultural, populist nationalism has been included in major reports in Germany (Bertelsmann Stiftung) and Flanders (Royal Academy of Flanders) **[vi]**; featured in leading newspapers in the Netherlands (*Volkskraant*) and Denmark (*Politken*); and presented to public audiences in Australia, including on an ABC radio discussion programme, and to parliamentary staff in Canberra in July, 2018. Modood was invited to give evidence to the French National Assembly's fact-finding mission on 'The Emergence and Development of Different Forms of Racism' on 26 November 2020 and to the plenary of the Council of Europe's European Commission on Racism on 3 December 2020. His work is also a key theoretical basis of the H2020 GREASE project **[iv]**, which has engaged with a wide range of publics through Massive Open Online Courses (1,069 learners enrolled in its first year), two films (1,400 views), and its own webpages on OpenDemocracy (49,294 views as of 20 October 2020).

3. Informing debates on secularism and the role of religion in public life

Modood's work on moderate secularism and religion **[3.2] [3.3] [3.6]** was a contributory factor in the formation of CORAB **[5.6]**. As a Steering Group member, he shaped the work of the Commission and its 2015 report, including its use of his concept of 'ethno-religious' groups, shifting the focus from religion to group identity. According to the report, a *'person's ethno-religious identity is not primarily to do with a system of religious beliefs which they may or may not embrace, or various religious practices they may or may not take part in, but with who their parents and family are and how they are perceived, approached and treated by others, regardless of their own wishes and preferences*' **[p.13, 5.6]**. CORAB's report was featured on the front pages of *The Telegraph* and *The Independent* and was formally welcomed by Government in the House of Lords in 2016 **[5.6]**. Modood promoted discussion of the report during a two-day symposium to mark its first anniversary. His theoretical analysis of the ethno-religious aspect of CORAB has been made accessible to non-academic online and print readers, including in French in Quebec **[5.6]**. In the report produced during his KVAB fellowship **[vi]**, Modood applied the concepts of multicultural nationalism and moderate secularism to the topics of religious education, instruction, and worship in state-funded Catholic and secular schools in Flanders.

Drawing on his re-conceptualisation of secularism **[3.3],** Modood co-authored a Leadership Foundation in Higher Education report on religious inclusion, to which an article was devoted in *Times Higher Education*. This report was the basis for a workshop held on 26 March 2018 with 20 managers/officers with responsibilities for student welfare at the University of West of England (UWE) – which as of November 2020 has more than 3,000 staff employed and over 30,000 students. According to the Head of Equality Diversity and Inclusivity at UWE, the workshop '*helped to inform the development of our work in a number of ways in the past couple of years*' **[5.9]**. In particular, as part of UWE's effort to diversify their curriculum and practice, Modood's work informed efforts to help '*people to understand and expose their own assumptions in our teaching and learning practices*' **[5.9]**. The report has also informed the

University's work on return to campus during the current Covid-19 pandemic. The personal risk assessment now considers not only health risks from Covid-19, but also additional risks to being able to work effectively and feel a sense of wellbeing, which for some Muslim staff includes having access to prayer facilities **[5.9]**.

4. **Raising awareness about the 'ethnic penalty' in the labour market**

According to the Secretary General of the MCB, Modood's research constitutes '*a point of reference on the socio-economic challenges facing British Muslims*' and has been used in several of their submissions to parliamentary enquiries **[5.1]**. Modood's research on 'the Muslim penalty' **[3.4]** received widespread media coverage in 2016 and was used by the MCB in its submission to the Women and Equality Select Committee inquiry 'Employment opportunities for Muslims in the UK' **[5.1]**. The report refers to the triple 'penalty' experienced by Muslim women in the UK. Moreover, in relation to his work on the ethnic penalty, Modood was also asked by BBC Inside Out to work on a test to see what effect a Muslim name has on a job application **[5.10]**. The high level of discrimination results was broadcast to over 1 million viewers on 6th February 2017, and the Facebook video received over 40,000 views, with the film having the highest rating on the series to that date **[5.10]**. A 2017 report of the Social Mobility Commission on the Social Mobility Challenges Faced by Young Muslims **[5.10]** also cites evidence from Modood's research on the ethnic penalty **[3.4]**.

5. Sources to corroborate the impact

5.1	Muslim Council of Britain – Corroborating Letter (29 July 2019), Secretary General; House of Commons Women and Equality Committee, *Employment opportunities for Muslims in the UK* (2016)
5.2	Runnymede Trust – Corroborating Letter (28 September 2018), Director
5.3	All Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims (APPG), *Islamophobia Defined* (2018); Home Affairs Committee, Oral evidence: Islamophobia, HC 1828, Tuesday 25 June 2019
5.4	Islamophobia definition: Endorsements from political parties, groups, parliamentarians and scholars [Accessed 6 January 2021]
5.5	The Guardian – Article (20 March 2019), *Labour formally adopts definition of Islamophobia* [Accessed 11 February 2020]
5.6	Commission on Religion and Belief in British Public Life (CORAB) Report, *Living with Difference* (2015) and House of Lords Debate (18 January 2016); Modood T (2018) «Réflexions sur la religion dans la vie publique britannique», in Lefebvre S and St-Laurent G (eds), *Dix ans plus tard: La commission Bouchard-Taylor, succès ou échec?*, Montréal, pp.207-220
5.7	Letter from Professor Lord Bhikhu Parekh (23 July 2019)
5.8	AQA A Level Politics, Paper 3: Political Ideas, 2017 [Accessed 11 February 2020]. Video can be accessed here; Three corroborating letters from A-level teachers (2020)
5.9	University of West England – Email (October 2020), Head of Equality Diversity and Inclusivity
5.10	BBC Article (6 February 2017), *Is it easier to get a job if you're Adam or Mohamed?* [Accessed 11 February 2020]; email correspondence with BBC Inside Out team (February 2017); Social Mobility Commission (2017) *The Social Mobility Challenges Faced by Young Muslims*