

Impact case study (REF3b)

Institution: University of Bristol
Unit of Assessment: 23 – Sociology
Title of case study: Influencing law, policy and public discourse on the accommodation of Muslims in Britain
<p>1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)</p> <p>Professor Tariq Modood - awarded an MBE for services to social sciences and ethnic relations in 2001 - is one of the UK's most prominent analysts of and commentators on Muslims and multiculturalism. He has developed firm research-based arguments for why and how Muslims should be accommodated in Britain. The impact of his work since 2008 includes: the operation of legislation on religious discrimination and incitement to hatred; the operation of racial equality policies in higher education; the increasing prevalence of his view amongst Muslims and others that Britain's distinctive form of moderate secularism should be seen as a valuable resource for the accommodation of Muslims; his participation in the creation and enhancement of mechanisms of Muslim participation in governance; awareness raising and agenda setting through his regular contributions to public events and media discussions (traditional broadcasting and social media); and the continuing adherence to multiculturalism, despite challenges to it, among Muslim and government actors, and their awareness of the importance of the macro-paradigm level of analysis that he has developed</p>
<p>2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)</p> <p>The impact set out in this case study relates to outputs based on research conducted by Modood as Professor of Sociology, Politics and Public Policy at the University of Bristol (1997-).</p> <p>Before coming to Bristol in 1997, Modood had begun to reconceptualise the prevalent academic and public understanding of white–non-white relations in Britain, challenging the centrality of colour-racism and class in the debate. He pursued these issues as Principal Investigator (PI) for the Policy Studies Institute's Fourth National Survey (1993-1997).</p> <p>Since coming to Bristol he has developed a sociological and normative understanding of minority, especially Muslim, political identities, and of a multicultural Britishness able to accommodate them. He has presented his ideas within and outside academia, and shifted opinion within each. Modood has emphasised (against the current of post-9/11 thinking) the importance of a concept of multicultural integration that is built on national citizenship in at least two respects. Firstly, the concept involves a macro-symbolic integration that cannot be reduced to individual choices, individual integration, local multi-culture or local cohesion. Secondly, the concept fosters new forms of belonging which are best achieved through a suitably pluralised national identity rather than a merely civic or constitutional patriotism. He also started a critical engagement with and defence of political secularism, arguing that it, no less than citizenship and national identity, needs to be multiculturalised in order to be genuinely inclusive. He has developed a sociologically grounded political theory of multiculturalism and pioneered the interrogation of secularism, using this intellectual framework in a series of funded projects [7] [8] [9] [10] [11].</p> <p>Modood's work has had four strands. The first two are macro/discursive/theoretical and the second two are concerned with specific areas of society and policy: First, rethinking racial equality, ethnicity, multiculturalism and Britishness in the context of Muslim political assertiveness and Islamophobia [1] [2] [7] [8] [9] [10] [11]. Second, rethinking political secularism in contemporary Britain [3] [7] [8] [9] [10] [11]. Third, ethnicity and Higher Education (HE) institutions in contemporary Britain. Modood has shown that the over-representation of most ethnic minority groups as students in HE is a continuing trend, as are differential rates in the offers made by universities [4] [7]. In addition, with Fenton (Sociology, Bristol), he established the fact of under-representation in 1998-99 of ethnic minorities among academic staff [5]. Fourth, socio-economic locations and trajectories of ethnic minorities in contemporary Britain and beyond. Here, he confirmed the diversity of ethnic minorities, who are differentially endowed with human and social capitals [6] [7]. Within that larger study (with Khattab, Sociology, Bristol) he has analysed the 'ethnic penalty' experienced by different groups and argued that an 'ethno-religious penalty' is a more accurate conceptualisation.</p>

Impact case study (REF3b)

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)**Outputs**Rethinking racial equality, ethnicity, multiculturalism and Britishness

[1] Modood, T. *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*, Univ. of Minnesota Press and Univ. of Edinburgh Press, 2005. 473 citations. Can be supplied upon request. Submitted to RAE 2008.

[2] Modood, T. *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*, Polity, 2007 (2nd edn, 2013). 530 citations. Can be supplied upon request. Submitted to RAE 2008.

Rethinking political secularism

[3] Levey, G.B. and Modood, T. (eds) *Secularism, Religion and Multicultural Citizenship*, Foreword by Charles Taylor, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009. 38 citations. Can be supplied upon request.

Ethnicity and higher education

[4] Shiner, M. and Modood, T. 'Help or Hindrance? Higher Education and the Route to Ethnic Equality', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23 (2), June 2002: 209–232, DOI: 0.1080/01425690220137729. Peer reviewed. 120 citations.

[5] Fenton, S., Carter, J. and Modood, T. 'Ethnicity and Academia: Closure Models, Racism Models and Market Models', *Sociological Research Online*, 5 (2), 2000 <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/5/2/fenton.html>. Peer reviewed. 12 citations.

Socio-economic locations and trajectories of ethnic minorities

[6] Modood, T. and Salt, J. (eds) *Global Migration, Ethnicity and Britishness*, Palgrave, 2011; pbk, 2012. 4 citations. Listed in REF2.

Grants

[7] Modood, T. (PI) 'Leverhulme Programme on Migration and Citizenship', Bristol-UCL, Leverhulme Trust, 2003-11. £1,020,000. Bristol's share was 60%.

[8] Modood, T. 'Political Secularism: the Multicultural Challenge', AHRC Fellowship, 2010-11, £72k.

[9] Modood, T. (CI) 'Muslim Participation in Contemporary Governance', AHRC, 2010-2012, £329k. PI: T. O'Toole, Sociology, Bristol.

[10] Modood, T. (CI) 'Muslim Participation in Contemporary Governance', AHRC Follow-on Funding Scheme, April 2013-March 2014, £92k. PI: T. O'Toole, Sociology, Bristol.

[11] Modood, T. (CI) 'Building the Bridge', ESRC Connected Communities Programme, August 2013-August 2014, £100k. PI: M. McDermont, Law, Bristol.

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

The impact since 2008 of Modood's research has taken the following main forms:

Operation of legislation on religious discrimination and incitement to hatred

The continuing operation since 2008 of legislation on religious discrimination and incitement to hatred has its origins in part in Modood's work. The introduction of a religion question in the 2001 Census and of monitoring and targeting of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis *per se* (as distinct from 'ethnic minorities') in relation to disadvantage in schools and labour markets was encouraged by his research [1]. The primary mode of impact in relation to law and policies was the take-up of Modood's research and ideas [1] [2] by Muslim and multiculturalist proponents of change. These included the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) [c], who effectively lobbied for action with their allies in the New Labour government, and the Commission on Multi-Ethnic Britain (1998-2000), chaired by Lord Bhikhu Parekh, to which Modood was the adviser [d]. Modood's data and arguments [1] were one of the key sources that led to the outlawing of religious discrimination. Initially this related only to employment (2003), but the provisions were extended in 2007 and scaled up to match all other equality strands in the Equalities Act of 2010 [i]. In addition, Modood's work [1] helped in the creation of the offence of incitement to religious hatred in 2006, the ongoing significance of which is reflected in the statistics: the number of claims accepted by employment tribunals in relation to religious belief discrimination is currently averaging over 1,000 a year. The fact that opinion on matters such as incitement to religious hatred has swung in Modood's direction is evident from British newspapers' decision in 2005 not to reproduce the Danish Muhammad cartoons, in contrast to their counterparts in France and Germany (and to their own earlier lack of sympathy for Muslim protests against *The Satanic Verses*). In public discourse and government policy, Muslims have remained the most prominent minority group. The Secretary General of the MCB attests that Modood's work [1] on the incitement to hatred and religious discrimination debate 'shaped the Muslim community's discourse and campaigning efforts eventually leading to changes in legislation and greater equity in society'. He also notes that Modood's research [1, 2] has "introduced a rich

set of concepts and notions that has enabled community organisations to participate in national conversations in an informed and effective way” [c]. The Census data on religion is being used not just to analyse diversity and inequality but more widely to discuss the place of religion in British society.

Operation of racial equality policies in higher education

Modood’s report with Carter and Fenton [5] on ethnicity and employment in higher education was widely reported at the time in 2000, including two pages in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* and was explicitly adopted as the basis for action by the Department for Education, Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals, Association of University Teachers (AUT), National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE) and others. Hence it was foundational in the introduction and development of racial equality employment policies. The policies initiated in the sector as a result of this publication continue to be significant post-2008 with the HEFCE Equality Challenge Unit having created new ‘Race Charter Marks’ in 2013 and Operation Black Vote – a collaboration between Charter 88 and the 1990 Trust - referring directly in April 2013 to Modood’s research [5] on racial inequality in Higher Education (www.obv.org.uk/news-blogs/black-british-academics) [g]. The work (with M. Shiner) [4] on ethnic differentials in student admission rates was picked up by the 2004 Schwartz Review on *Fair Admissions to Higher Education: Recommendations for Good Practice* (2004) and in 2005 HEFCE replicated the Shiner and Modood analysis. The debate is being continued by a new analysis by Shiner and Modood currently under review with a journal. Modood’s research [1] [4] (with that of Khattab) was fed into the ten-member National Equality Panel, on which he served. The panel’s report in January 2010 received extensive publicity and has been welcomed by policymakers and practitioners at all levels of government and civil society across many policy areas. Deputy Prime Minister Harriet Harman described the National Equality Panel report as ‘important work done to the highest standard of professionalism ... [which] will underpin the response by all strategic authorities to Clause One of the Equality Bill which places a new legal duty on key public bodies to consider, in all the important decisions they make and all important actions they take, how they can tackle socio-economic inequality’ [a]. Modood had laid some of the groundwork on these issues at the Prime Ministerial Seminar on Equality, Fairness and Responsibility in the Post-Crisis Society at Chequers in October 2009 [j].

Acceptance of moderate secularism as a resource for the accommodation of Muslims

Many Muslims and others have been persuaded since 2008 by Modood’s view that the moderate secularism of Britain should be seen as a valuable resource for the accommodation of Muslims [3]. On the need to rethink secularism, Modood contributed to a seminar organised by the Islamic Foundation’s Policy Research Centre and a related book [e]. His chapter of the book published in 2010 is responded to by the key social policy advisers Ted Cantele (a leading proponent of the policy concept of ‘community cohesion’ in the New Labour government) and Sunder Katwala (Director, Fabian Society), to whom he replies. The book - *British Secularism and Religion* - endorses Modood’s idea that the moderate secularism of Britain has been misunderstood by its critics and proponents and is a resource for the accommodation of Muslims in a multicultural way as well as a key vehicle for discussion amongst Muslims and between Muslims and others. Modood is a Commissioner and Steering Group member of the new Commission on Multi-Faith Britain, chaired by Baroness Elisabeth Butler-Schloss, established in September 2013, with a brief to report in two years on the policy and national identity implications of the evolving place of religion and religious diversity in Britain [i].

Creation and enhancement of mechanisms of Muslim participation in governance

The primary focus of Modood’s current research-based impact interventions has been on enhancing online and face to face mechanisms of Muslim participation in contemporary governance. The assessors of the proposal for Modood’s AHRC-funded work (with O’Toole, Sociology, Bristol) on this topic [9] awarded it the highest score of ‘6’ and judged it to be ‘outstanding’ and ‘world-leading’. The project was awarded AHRC Follow-on Funding [10] to create an online knowledge exchange forum, Public Spirit (<http://www.publicspirit.org.uk/>), on the subject of religion and public policy, for researchers, policymakers, politicians and practitioners. Launched in June 2013, participants include personnel from the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Faith and Society and FaithAction, the national network of faith-based organisations. Modood and O’Toole run a related ESRC-funded Connected Communities project on Muslim political participation in Bristol, Building the Bridge (<http://www.allmosquestogether.org/building-the-bridge/>) which in August 2013 [11] extended work

begun in 2009. The focus is on preventing violent extremism: it responds to the Government's Prevent Strategy through Muslim participation in local governance. Its activities include regular meetings between stakeholder such as the Council of Bristol Mosques and the Muslim Women's Network.

Awareness raising and agenda setting through public engagement

During 2008-2013, Modood has presented his views on Muslims and multiculturalism in a number of fora and through the national media, including BBC2 Newsnight and BBC Radio 4's The World Tonight, Start The Week, Thinking Allowed and The Moral Maze. He averages six presentations at policy/public events, plus five radio and two television interviews, each year. He also blogs and engages through Twitter and Facebook. Modood was described in 2011 as 'One of the most prominent voices [in the debate]. [He] has greatly influenced the way multiculturalism is understood both normatively and practically in contemporary Europe' [f]. In 2013 another scholar cited him as an example of how 'political theorists generate impact [on] our thinking about politics', specifically, 'helping to clarify and reconfigure our understanding about ... the foundations of our multiple identities and issues pertaining to ... religious toleration as well as reasonable difference' [h].

Continuing adherence to multiculturalism among Muslim and government actors

Lord Bhikhu Parekh summarised the impact since 2008 of Modood's research on the debate on secularism, the widespread discussion of Britishness, and the development of a sophisticated and politically meaningful form of multiculturalism, as follows:

In all three areas his writings represent decisive interventions in the ongoing debate. They have questioned the traditional ways of formulating the debate, problematized what has often been taken for granted, offered a new conceptual language, and put novel questions on the agenda. In so doing they have subtly altered the nature and content of much of the dominant discourse in these areas, a truly remarkable achievement ... Many liberal Muslims have also been influenced by his way of thinking and have found in his writings powerful ammunition to counter their militant fellow Muslims. Modood's impact thus has been both on those who make policies and those who demand and are affected by it. [d]

See also [c]. A recent example of Modood's contribution to policy and national thinking on these issues was through the Labour Party 'One Nation' Policy Review of late 2012 to January 2013 [b].

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

- [a] National Equality Panel, *An Anatomy of Economic Inequalities in the UK*, Government Equalities Office, 2010, http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cr/CASEREport60_summary.pdf. Corroborates impact on racial equality policies.
- [b] The Labour Party, *One Nation Labour*, January 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/1nlabour>. Corroborates impact on continuing adherence to multiculturalism.
- [c] Letter from the Secretary-General of the Muslim Council of Britain. Corroborates impact on legislation and continuing adherence to multiculturalism.
- [d] Letter from life peer 2000-; Chairman of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain 1998-2000; Deputy Chair, Commission for Racial Equality 1985-90. Corroborates impact on legislation and continued adherence to multiculturalism.
- [e] Letter from the Head of the Policy Research Centre, Islamic Foundation. Corroborates impact on acceptance of moderate secularism.
- [f] Yanasmayan, Z. 'Concepts of Multiculturalism and Assimilation' in M. Emmerson (ed.) *Interculturalism: Europe and its Muslims in Search of Sound Societal Models*, Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2011, http://aei.pitt.edu/32656/1/79_Interculturalism.pdf. Corroborates impact on awareness and agenda-setting.
- [g] Letter from Head of Policy, HEFCE Equality Challenge Unit. Corroborates impact on racial equality policies.
- [h] Brooks, T. 'In Defence of Political Theory: Impact and Opportunities', *Political Studies Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2013, 209-215. Corroborates impact on awareness and agenda-setting.
- [i] Letter from Senior Adviser on Race, Religion and Cohesion to three Ministers of State for Communities and Local Government (Ruth Kelly, Hazel Blears and John Denham) 2006-2010; Commissioner at the Commission for Racial Equality 2003-07. Corroborates impact on legislation, racial equality policies and acceptance of moderate secularism.
- [j] Triandafllidou, A. *EMILIE Project Final Report*, 10 November 2009, p. 209, <http://tinyurl.com/emilie2009>. Corroborates participation in Prime Ministerial seminar 2009.