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Tariq Modood, **Essays on Secularism and Multiculturalism**, ECPR Press/ Rowman & Littlefield International, London, 2019, pp. 263, £42.00 (eBook), ISBN: 9781785523175

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Since the post-war period, the Western European demand for labor and shifts in populace flows in the post-colonial era have created a multicultural challenge for secularism, which has been an earnest political issue for a long time (p. 165). In recent years, several debates on multiculturalism and the viability of the multiculturalist approach have been ongoing, particularly in Western Europe (p. 97). The necessity to rethink political secularism and classical liberalism are also included in these debates. Recently, due to the strong position of various far-right political parties and nationalist movements, anti-immigration discourse and anti-Muslim hatred are at their peak. In these circumstances, Tariq Modood, a renowned political philosopher, published his essay collection entitled, *Essays on Secularism and Multiculturalism* in May 2019. This book is mainly concerned with the post-immigration pluralistic integration process and equality formatting in Western Europe, particularly in Britain (p. 127).

Though the theoretical debate on multiculturalism is a very recent trend, Modood has been one of the remarkable thinkers and authors on this topic. Since the 1990s, he has been working on racism, ethnicities, Muslims in Britain, multicultural citizenship, multiculturalism in Europe, and religious diversity. This book is a collection of writings and thoughts he published from 2005 to 2018 on color-racism, Muslim minorities - primarily in Britain, political secularism, and multiculturalism (p. 2).

In this collection, the author emphasizes that the discussion on "re-thinking secularism," which is sometimes referred to as post-secular or a crisis of secularism, is linked to the actuality of multiculturalism in Western Europe (p. 1). He argues that not only is ethno-religious diversity new, but also for the creation of a multicultural approach to this diversity (p. 1). He underscores that the concept of equal treatment must be extended invariably to respect differences (p. 1).

Throughout this publication, Modood also highlights topics, such as the recogni-

tion of public/private interconnection instead of separation - as seen in classical liberalism, public recognition and institutional accommodation for minorities, reversing marginalization, and the restoration of national citizenship to give everyone a sense of belonging (p. 1).

The author argues that this multiculturalist challenge was, at one point, viewed as a liberalist flow of human rights, racial equality, and collectivities. It requires not only the reform and expansion of liberal democratic institutions, but also a rethinking of liberalism (p. 1-2).

Modood claims that this encounter with Western European political secularism is not to hinder secularism but to acknowledge the presence of Muslims (p. 164). Western European nations are highly capable of answering the question posed by ethno-religious post-immigration diversity, where new Muslim settlements over the last 50 years are at the core of discussion (p. 1). According to Modood's assessment, these contexts call for a review, of not only social integration issues, but also of the role of religion in government and citizenship (p. 1).

This book consists of two parts. The first part contains five chapters that explore the racialization of Muslims in Western Europe, discrimination, free speech and incitement to hatred, identity assertiveness, institutional accommodation, and the re-making of national identity (p. 2). In this part the author's emphasis is on racism, anti-racism, and the multiculturalism debate. He defines Muslims as an ethno-religious group similar to Jews, thereby identifying Islamophobia as a form of cultural racism (p. 7, 23, 76).

According to the author, the on-going challenge for secularism in Western Europe is debated not only over broad issues such as integration and multiculturalism, but also about hostility towards Islam and Muslims based on stereotypes and fear inducing media stories that are mostly understood as a particular form of cultural racism or Islamophobia (p. 172). He highlights the "identity recognition" concept, which was mainly borrowed from multiculturalist, Charles Taylor (1994) (p. 7, 43). Taylor's recognition concept is linked to an assessment of a person's culture, while Modood's is not only linked to individuals but it also linked to collective or group identities (p.11). As Modood points out, Muslims are not only recognized as abstract individuals or as abstract citizens but also as identity groups. Recognizing them as citizens means recognizing the identities of their groups that are opposed to liberal and civic individualism (p. 11). Additionally, the book argues that Muslims, others, and certain forms of racial identity should not only be privatized or tolerated, rather that they should be included in public space (p. 123). This is therefore an agreement for co-affiliation, not an agreement with beliefs or practices, including the identities of those groups who are accepted as members (p. 11). However, Modood stresses that civic recognition must go

beyond non-discrimination. Equal citizenship requires positive inclusiveness through identity recognition and accommodation (p. 12).

The second part of the book includes seven chapters, specifically focusing on multiculturalism and secularism. Throughout these chapters, Modood sheds light on the relationship between post-secularism or the crisis of secularism (as cited by others) and multiculturalism. After an elaborate discussion on secularism types, moderate secularism, various multicultural approaches, the crisis of political secularism, and multicultural citizenship, the author reintegrates the pluralist multiculturalism approach and moderate secularism into a relationship that he calls, "Multiculturalist Moderate Secularism." He uses this term to diagnosis the current crisis or dilemma of political secularism and multiculturalism that is focused on positive recognition and institutional accommodation for religious minorities (p. 14).

According to the author, the crisis of secularism is best understood in the framework of multiculturalism (p. 172). Needless to say, these days there are few advocates for multiculturalism and the term is highly debated. However, regional leaders' notion that "multiculturalism is dead," is a reaction to the ongoing power of multiculturalism and it makes old-fashioned liberal assimilation and integration ideals that consider new forms of public gender and ethnicity, now consider public religion as well (p. 172).

The author criticizes the mode of political secularism that is dominant in Western Europe (p. 9, 127, 128). He elaborates its norms by using the Weberian ideal type or a contextualized political theory called, "moderate secularism" (p. 2, 17, 19). He illustrates that moderate secularism does not consist of the separation of religion and the state, rather includes state recognition, and state support for religion (p. 2, 200). Additionally, he blends the concept of religious freedom with the assumption that religion can be a public good and that the state needs to help achieve this good by giving primacy to liberal-democratic constitutionalism (p. 2, 10). Modood claims that Muslims can accommodate within the framework of moderate secularism and they should. This can be achieved through multicultural secularism for inclusive integration (p. 3). Also, he stresses that the multicultural challenge for secularism is not that Western countries should be de-Christianized, but that newly arrived faiths should be included parallel with existing belief systems (p. 209).

The author suggests that we should be going the other way and implementing legal and political measures to accommodate Muslims in European politics as equal citizens (p. 131). These would include measures to counter discrimination in areas such as, employment, positive action towards a full and fair political representation of Muslims in various fields of public life, incorporation of Muslim history into the curricula of schools and universities, along with European history, etc. (p. 131). The author em-


phasizes that to integrate Muslims and promote religious equality, it is necessary to include Islam as organized religion and Muslim identity as a public identity (p. 131). This inclusion might seem antithetical to certain interpretations of secularism, but in reality, it does not contradict what secularism in Europe means (p. 131). According to the author, we must allow this evolving, modest secularism and the spirit of compromise to be our guiding principle (p. 131).

Modood makes a bridge between social science and normative inquiry with these essays (p. 19). The author uses a hybrid methodology from different normative theories and empirical political sociology in this book that make the context a bit complex reading (p. 17). He not only theorizes and deconstructs his research problems, but also points out that workable solutions are contextually sensitive (p. 17-18). Modood strengthens his ideas by explaining the key arguments he sets out in this book through various recent and historical examples. In general, the book is very well organized with all concepts and methods well explained through examples.

Despite that, there are some things lacking in the book. First of all, the author arranges this book primarily based on British Muslim minorities perspective and Britain's past 50-year history with multiculturalism experiences. However, Muslim minorities' experiences and multicultural approaches in different ethno-religious groups could vary from country to country. Specifically, Modood addresses Islamophobia as a form of cultural racism that is not related to traditional biological race relations, but instead related to ethnicity and religion. This argument does not shed light on the complexity of the definition of anti-Muslim hatred or Islamophobia that still continues. When we observe different Islamophobic or anti-muslim incidents that have happened in last ten years, all around the world, it's easy to see that Islamophobia is not only a Western issue any more, instead it can be observed any place in the world. So defining Islamophobia only as cultural racism cannot be appropriate in all multi-cultural societies, because it is related to prejudices and misperceptions about any ethno-religious group. Though in the context of cultural racism, which accepts the superiority of a dominant culture or ethnicity, Muslims are generally less familiar in European society. It is also important to consider examples, such as Indian society or other Muslim countries, where Muslims were once the dominant ethno-religious group, but now Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hatred prevail and is increasing day-by-day.

This book provides a distinct point of view to evaluate post-immigrant ethno-religious diversity and its multiculturalist challenges in Western European countries, specifically the recognition of Muslim minority identities and the need to review political secularism to cope with this challenge. This book can be beneficial to students and scholars in the fields of multiculturalism, ethnicity, race, religion, secularism, diaspora, migration, Islamophobia, law, citizenship, ideology, and politics.

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