

The University of Hull

**The Role of Education in Maintaining the Islamic Identity of Muslims in
Bradford.**

Being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D
in the University of Hull

By

Ahmad Muhammad Al- Shabaan

MA. { Al- Imam University, Saudi Arabia }

June 2000

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks be to Allah, for his continuous help and guidance, without which this thesis would not have been completed.

I am indebted to all those who helped and supported me in doing this study. Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr David Sibley, for his continuous help, support and efforts throughout the period of the study.

Special acknowledgements are due to those who assisted me in the work for this thesis. I thank Dr Moore for his continuous advice and help with developing the research instrument. Thanks also go to Dr Al-Othaim for his assistance with the statistical and analytical aspects of my study; also Mr. Alan Rees for his help in selecting some statistical techniques. Kathryn Spry deserves special thanks for her valuable and honorable efforts in editing my work. Thanks also to Mr. Basher and Mr. Ruhmt Aziz, for translating the interview schedule into Urdu.

I would like to thank my sponsor, Al- Imam University for offering the scholarship to enable me to continue my studies in Hull, especially Dr. Sulaiman Al-Odah, the former Dean of the Arabic and Social Sciences College in Saudi Arabia for his lasting help and support. Thanks should also be given to my close friends, especially Dr. Abu Khldoon, Mr. Eid Hassan, Mr. Al-Ajlan. Mr. Idris Rahman, Mr. Al-Jodi, Mr. Abduljawad and Mr. Atia Al-Sulamy, for valuable discussions.

I take this opportunity to thank those who agreed to be interviewed in the first stage of my study, whether in Mirpur or Bradford, and those who responded to my questionnaires in the second part of the study. I would also like to thank those who assisted in the administration of the research, especially Mr. Nabill Ramadhan, Ayyaz,M, Mr. Manzoor,B Mr. Muhammad Ali, Mr. Muhammad Cheema, Mr. Mostafa, Mr. Abud Al-Sallam, and the Secondary school head teachers, the *Imams* of the mosques and chairmen of the community centres which were visited.

Finally, my thanks to my wife and my four children for sacrificing their time in order for me to complete my study.

Abstract

This study is an investigation into the British Muslim communities in Bradford, to identify which types of problems might threaten their Islamic identity and suggest possible solutions to assist those people to maintain their identity.

The main aim of this study was to identify whether the educational setting in the school, mosque, home and society can challenge the Islamic identity and whether those factors could play a vital role in preserving such identity. To achieve these aims, two phases of research have been conducted. First, documentary evidence has been collected to see the background to the problem. Second, an empirical study has been carried out to ascertain the views of 160 Muslim pupils and 149 Muslim parents in Bradford. The empirical study was in two parts. The main study was in Bradford. This main survey was preceded by two preliminary field studies, one carried out in Mirpur, which is the place of origin of a large number of Muslim parents in Bradford, and the second in Bradford. Three types of interviews were carried out with different groups of people to obtain information that can help in investigating the factors which underlie the sense of threat to identity.

The documentary study, the exploratory interviews and findings from a questionnaire survey led to identification of four lists of requirements covering the four fields: school, mosque, home and society. The main findings reflected that British Muslims face challenges to their Islamic identity in all the fields mentioned above. Problems stem from both groups, Muslim and non Muslim. They also reflect a cultural gap between Muslim youths and their parents and between Muslims and non Muslims. Education could play a very important role to fill this gap.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	II
Abstract.....	III
Table of Contents.....	IV
List of Tables.....	VIII
List of Figures.....	IX
List of Appendices.....	X
Glossary.....	XI

Chapter One: Introduction 1

1.1 Definition of the Title.....	2
1.2 Identifying the Study Problems.....	2
1.3 The Central Aims of the Study.....	5
1.4 Features of the Study.....	5
1.5 Difficulties of Access to Research.....	7
1.6 Organisation of the Study.....	9

Chapter Two: Theoretical Study of Boundaries. 11

Introduction.....	12
2.1 The Meaning and Objectives of Boundaries.....	14
2.2 The Problem of Definition of the Term.....	15
2.3 The Islamic View.....	22
2.4 Form of Boundaries.....	24
2.5 Pluralism.	27
Summary.....	30

Chapter Three Challenges to Identity 32

Introduction.....	33
3.1 A Chronology of Migration.....	34
3.1.1 Bradford.....	35
3.2 Difficulties facing Muslims in Bradford.....	38
3.2.1The Family.....	38
3.2.2The Society.....	45
1. Racism.....	46
2. Employment.....	52
3. Housing.....	55
4. Media.....	60
5. Other Difficulties.....	67
Summary.....	68

Chapter Four
Education 70

Introduction.....	71
4.1 Education and Identity.....	71
4.2 English Education.....	73
4.3 Islamic Education.....	77
4.4 Multicultural Education.....	82
4.5 The problems which face Muslim pupils and their needs.....	89
4.6 Geography of Education in Bradford.....	98
4.7 Voluntary aided Muslim schools.....	113
Summary.....	119

Chapter Five:
The Methodology of the Study 123

Introduction.....	124
5.1 Selection of Education as a focus Study.....	125
5.2 Selecting the Research Methodology.....	128
5.3 Phase One: Qualitative Data:.....	130
5.3.1 Interview.....	131
5.3.1.1 Constructing the Interview schedule.....	134
5.2.1.2 Selecting the Sample.....	137
5.3.2 Ethnographic.....	145
5.4 Phase Two: Quantitative Data.....	152
5.4.1 Construction of Questionnaires for Main Study.....	152
1. Source of the Items.....	155
2. Setting up the Questionnaires.....	155
3. Validity of the Questionnaires.....	158
4. Reliability of the Questionnaires.....	160
5. Pilot Study.....	161
6. Choice and Description of Sample.....	163
7. Non- Response to Questionnaires.....	165
Summary.....	167

Chapter Six:
Preliminary Field Study 169

Introduction.....	170
6.1. Investigative Field work in Mirpur.....	170
6.1.1 Background of Migrants from Mirpur.....	171
6.1.2 Style of Life.....	173
6.1.3 Education in Mirpur.....	174
6.1.4 Image of Migration in Bradford.....	177
6.2. The Interviews in Bradford.....	180
6.2.1 The General Findings.....	181
6.2,1.1 : Formal education {state schools}.....	184
6.2.1.2: Informal education {home, society, mosque}.....	186
Summary.....	190

Chapter: Seven.
Analysis of Family Background Data 62

Introduction.....	194
7.1. Parents.....	194
7.1.1. The sex of parents who responded to the survey.....	195
7.1.2. The mother's and father's place of birth.....	196
7.1.3. Parents' education level.....	198
7.1.4. The chronology of migration.....	201
7.1.5. The reasons for coming to Britain.....	203
7.1.6. The size of the family.....	207
7.1.7. The permanent home in the future.....	208
7. 2. Pupils.....	210
7.2.1. The sex of the sample.....	210
7.2.2. The age of the sample.....	211
7.2.3. Pupils' place of birth.....	213
7.2.4. The language which pupils speak with their parents.....	213
7.2.5. The permanent home in the future.....	214
Summary.....	218

Chapter Eight.
Analysis of Data

The Challenges which Muslim Pupils can Face during their Daily Life.221

Introduction.....	222
8.1. Formal Education [state schools].....	225
8.1.1 Teachers.....	225
8.1.2 Curriculum.....	229
8.1.3 Facilities.....	234
8.1.4 Environment.....	237
8.2. Informal Education	245
8.2.1 Mosque.....	246
8.2.2 Home.....	254
8.2.3 Society	260
Summary.....	269

Chapter Nine.
Analysis of Data.

Suggested Solutions for Maintaining Muslim Identity 273

Introduction.....274
9-1 Formal Education {state schools}.....275
9.1.1 Teachers... ..275
9.1.2 Curriculum.....277
9.1.3 Facilities.....279
9.1.4 Environment.....282
9-2 Informal Education.....284
9.2.1 Mosque.....285
9.2.2 Home.....288
9.2.3 Society.....291

Summary.....294

Chapter Ten:
Conclusion 298-313

References.....314
Appendices.....325

List of Tables

Table 7.1.1	The Sex of Parents who Responded to the Survey.....	195
Table 7.1.2	Father's Place of Birth..	196
Table 7.1.3	Mother's Place of Birth.....	197
Table 7.1.4	Fathers' Educational Level.....	198
Table 7.1.5	Mothers' Educational Level.....	199
Table 7.1.6	The Date of Coming to Britain.....	201
Table 7.1.7	The Reasons for Coming to Britain.....	203
Table 7.1.8	Cross Table of Dates and Reasons for Coming to Bradford.....	206
Table 7.1.9	Family Size.....	207
Table 7.1.10	The Desired Permanent Home.....	209
Table 7.2.1	The Sex of the Sample.	210
Table 7.2.2	The Age of the Sample.....	211
Table 7.2.3	Pupils' Place of Birth.....	212
Table 7.2.4	Language which Pupils Normally Speak with their Parents.....	213
Table 7.2.5	The Desired Permanent Home.	214
Table 7.2.6	Cross Table of Parents' and Pupils' desired Permanent Home.....	216
Table 8.1.1	Teachers.....	226
Table 8.1.2	Curriculum.....	230
Table 8.1.3	Facilities.....	235
Table 8.1.4	Environment.....	238
Table 8.1.5	Influence of preferences for permanent home upon pupils' responses.....	243
Table 8.2.1	Mosque.....	248
Table 8.2.2	Home.....	255
Table 8.2.3	Influence of preferences for permanent home upon pupils.....	259
Table 8.2.3	Society.....	262
Table 8.2.4	Influence of Preferences for Permanent home upon Pupils' Responses....	267
Table 9.1.1	Teachers.....	276
Table 9.1.2	Curriculum.....	278
Table 9.1.3	Facilities.....	280
Table 9.1.4	Environment... ..	282
Table 9.2.1	Mosque.....	285
Table 9.2.2	Home.....	289
Table 9.2.3	Society.....	292

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Theoretical Religious Boundaries.....	24
Figure 3.1	South Asians: Major Population Areas In Bradford District.....	59
Figure 4.1	Comparison of Percentage of Free School Meals- Bradford with E.....	99
Figure 4.2	The Number of Pupils by Constituency.....	101
Figure 4.3	Distribution of Schools in Bradford Districts.....	103
Figure 5.1	The distribution of Upper schools in Bradford District.....	143
Figure 7.1.1	Father's Place of Birth.....	196
Figure 7.1.2	Mother's Place of Birth.	197
Figure 7.1.3	Fathers' Educational level.	199
Figure 7.1.4	Mothers' Educational level.....	200
Figure 7.1.5	The Date of Coming to Britain.....	202
Figure 7.1.6	The Reasons for Coming to Britain.....	204
Figure 7.1.7	Family Size.....	207
Figure 7.1.8	The Desired Permanent Home.....	209
Figure 7.2.1	Pupils' Place of Birth.....	212
Figure 7.2.2	Language which Pupils Normally Speak with their Parents.....	213
Figure 7.2.3	The Desired Permanent Home.....	215
Figure 7.2.4	Parents' and Pupils' Preferred Permanent Home.....	216

List of Appendices

Appendix First: In Mirpur.

Appendix 1: The English Version of the Interview Schedule. [Parents and Pupils].... 326

Appendix 2: The Urdu Version of the Interview Schedule. [Parents and Pupils]330

Appendix Second: In Bradford

Appendix 1: The letter sent to the head teachers of secondary schools asking schools to co-operate in administering the study in Bradford.....335

Appendix 2: The Interview Schedule336

Appendix 3 The English Version of the Questionnaires. [Pupils and Parents]..... 338

Glossary of Terms

Allah	God
Asr	Mid-afternoon prayer, being the third of the five daily prayers
Biraderi	A word derived from the word Birader, “brother,”.
Budah	Beliefs or practices introduced into Islam by some people.
Ei ad-Fitr	Festival held at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan.
Eid al- Adha.	Celebration of pilgrimage to Mecca .
Fatwa	A legal verdict given by an acknowledged authority on religious law.
Hadith	The recorded actions or sayings attributed to the prophet Muhammad.
Hajap	Covering, headscarf
Halal	Permitted
Imam	The parson who lead the prayers
Islam	The word in Arabic derives from the root SLM and denotes submission.
Izzet	Honour
Jumu’ah	Friday prayer
Kautba	Friday speeches.
Mudrassa	Religious or mosque school
Qur’an	Book revealed to Prophet Muhammad.
Ramadan	The month of fasting.
Sunnah	The deeds of Prophet Muhammad.
Umah	Islamic community
Wudu	Ablution before prayer.
Zuhr	Midday prayer, being the second of the five daily prayers.

Chapter One.

Introduction

1.1 Definition of the Title.

1.2 Identifying the Study Problems.

1.3 The Central Aims of the Study.

1.4 Features of the Study.

1.5 Difficulties of Access to Research.

1.6 Organisation of the Study.

1.1 Definition of the Title.

This study describes an investigation into the British Muslims in Bradford, by identifying problems which might threaten their identity and suggesting possible solutions to help them to maintain their Islamic identity. This type of study falls within research in identity studies which have an important place in cultural geography. Education {formal and informal} is the focus of this study because the researcher accepts that education is a vehicle to transfer ideas, values and behaviours. This study looks at how family, school, mosque and society all contribute in shaping Muslim identity.

Identity has to do with the way in which people define themselves. Immigrants come to their adopted country with labels such as Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian amongst others. Whether or not they want to be identified by their country of origin, these racial and ethnic identifiers stick to them and, even two or three generations later, their children are still identified by means of such labels [Basit 1998]. Therefore, the process of identity formation in Muslim minority may be a complex phenomenon. It is even more difficult for people who have experience of two cultures. Thus, Islamic identity is used here to identify those people, because they have come to Britain from many parts of the world, speak many different languages and have diverse cultures and traditions, yet as Muslims share one religion {Islam} and regard its tenets and observances as a fundamental part of their identity.

1.2 Identifying the Study Problem

Britain has a history of immigrant and refugee settlement over a long period, although Muslim migrants remained alien. Nonneman and others [1996] have pointed out, that it was only in the late 1950s and the 1960s that the situation began to change with the expansion of labour

migration, but even so, this whole phenomenon was still essentially regarded as foreign and temporary. These immigrant communities were still defined by the host society by their economic function, their colour, or their nationality, and only to a much lesser extent by their culture or religion. This reflected the migrants' own perception of their place in Britain surroundings.

However, from the 1970s, the religion-cultural dimension became an important social issue in the relations between Muslim communities and the host society. That happened with the arrival of Muslim women to Bradford. Although as Siddique [1990] reports, the 1971 Immigration Act closed the door to further immigration, there were certain exceptions, mainly for close relatives such as wives and children. Consequently a network of communication developed which made it possible to start building up the culture they brought with them.

Whereas the initial immigrants were single males, who intend to stay only for a limited period of time, later, more and more families emigrated together, and so large numbers of school-age children arrived. The emphasis was, as Reid and Reich [1992] stated, on second language teaching and cultural adjustment, with a view to assimilating these children within the cultural mainstream. This approach, however, was challenged by parents who wanted to bring up their children in the traditions of their countries of origin, both by training within the family at home and by teaching the children some aspects of religion in the Mosques. After that the children began to get the chance to continue their studies in state schools. Educational problems increased, especially when most of the migrant workers settled in Britain, so that schools had to deal with not only newly arrived children, but also more children who had been born in Britain. In the third stage, it became clear that the education of migrants' children could no longer be limited to special measures for special pupils, but had to become a matter for the

school as a whole. The question was, now, what role the school could play alongside the mosque, family and the society in threatening or supporting children's cultural identity.

The educational problems discussed in this thesis are not confined to formal education in state schools only, but include also the informal education which can appear in other fields in daily life, such as in the mosque, home and society.

Although the school plays a vital role in shaping the child's identity, it is very important to recognize that the home, as an example, plays a very sensitive role in educating the child. It is impossible to understand a child's problems without knowing his/her family background. Therefore, the pressures on a child do not come from only one source. Threats to identity could come from the school, home, society or mosque, and the solutions should come from some or all of them. So it is important to understand the relationships between them, rather than concentrate on one field.

The relatively large percentage of illiterate or low-educated parents suggests that there may be a large education gap between some parents and their children.[Geaves 1996]. This could be one reason for a tendency for some parents to try to force their children to practise a certain way of living which is contradictory to modern society and derived largely from customs and traditions rather than Islam.

It seems that although the parents' feelings toward the importance of the maintaining identity were stronger than those of their children [Basit 1997] , at the same time, they may impede the education of the new generation. Overall, the myth that they will one day return home [Barton 1986], may encourages the parents to put their children under pressure to see themselves as belonging to the parents' homeland. Children who were born and brought up in Britain tend to respond to the attractions of Western culture, often against their parents' wishes. Therefore, the gap between the parents and their children becomes bigger, as well as between the Muslim

community and non Muslims. This is contrary to the view of most researchers, for example Hendsick [1994] that in most cases there is conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims.

1.3 The Central Aims of the Study.

The main aim of this study was to investigate whether the educational setting in the school, mosque, home and society can challenge the Muslim identity and whether those factors can play a vital role in preserving such identity. The study also aimed to make an assessment of the attitudes of parents and pupils regarding what they considered to be the determining factor in their identity, to generalize this assessment for a whole population.

To achieve these aims, two phases of research have been conducted. First, documentary evidence has been collected to see the background of the problem. Second, an empirical study has been carried out to ascertain the views of Muslim pupils and parents in Bradford. The empirical study was in two parts. The main study was in Bradford and this main survey was preceded by a preliminary field work carried out in Mirpur and Bradford. [see Chapter 5 methodology of the study].

1.4 The Features of the Study.

Studies of the position of Muslims as a minority within a non-Muslim society have produced many books, articles and reports, most of which are historical or concentrate on problems of Muslims in different aspects of their everyday lives. However, the major issue appearing in these studies is the education in school .

This issue is regarded as vitally important by many researchers because, as they point out, it plays the main role in loss or preservation of Islamic identity in a non-Muslim society.

However, the educational problems which are discussed in this thesis are not confined to formal education in state schools only, as they are in most studies. The research also examined the informal education which takes place in other fields in daily life, such as in the mosque, home and society. The identity is shaped by more than one factor, place or time. The shaping of identity is one of the most important tasks facing Muslim youths. This is done through socialisation and contact with a variety of influences within the home, the school and the wider world.

In addition, most of the studies conducted relative to Muslim identity, such as Anwar [1994] take one segment of the population such as youths only, but this thesis takes account of the parents too, to see if there is a gap between their points of view regarding the issue. It is noted that a large number of researchers, particularly the Muslims, think that the Muslim community must seek to establish Islamic state schools; at the same time those researchers ignore the possibility of alleviating the position in the existing state schools. Therefore, this study, while acknowledging the importance of Islamic schools, at the same time, seeks to improve the position in English state schools to respond to the needs of British Muslims.

There is widespread discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of the free mixing and integrating of the Muslim minority into British society. This debate has produced different views. Some favour integration, based on the view that, since the Muslim minority came to the U.K. to settle here, they should live as non Muslims live. The other opposes this view, taking instead the line that British society has many characteristics that are not in line with Islam; Muslims are a distinct religious community with a way of life based on the Qur'an and should reject integration and remain segregated from the whole society. But this study agrees with the idea that Muslims need to find a balance between adapting to western life while still maintaining their identity.

Moreover, this thesis attempts to record as objectively as possible respondents' perceptions regarding identity and the main reasons for the challenge to their identity. Unfortunately most Muslim researchers consider only non Muslims to be responsible for what happens to the Muslim minority, believing that they consider the Muslim minority as aliens and are prejudiced against them because they are different in colour, culture, religion and so on. Admittedly this is part of the problem, as will be seen in Chapter Three. But there are other factors within the Muslim community, such as their clinging to the belief that they are only temporary sojourners in Britain, so they do not bother to improve their housing, health, education etc , which affects their children's behaviour. This thesis looks at the whole position and considers that the challenges could come from both sides. Consequently the solution, too, should come through cooperation between both groups, Muslims and non Muslims.

Finally, it has recently been suggested by some researchers such as Sibley [1995] that outsiders might not be able to represent the feelings and problems which exist within some groups, and a writer who shares those peoples' religion or culture might be more able to present a clear picture of the position, especially if this type of researcher has the ability to integrate with them, in addition to experience, as Byron[1994] did with Caribbean migrants in Britain or Basit [1998] with British Muslim girls. And in this study, since the researcher is a Muslim and shares with those Asian people some cultural affinities, it helped to overcome some of the difficulties during the survey.

1.5 Difficulties of Access to Research.

The data of this study, as explained earlier, were collected in two stages, through documentary sources and empirically. During the period of documentary study, the main problems were that most researchers have discussed Muslims within a broader context such as Asians, black or

migrants, so it was difficult to find information or comments applicable specifically to British Muslims. Moreover, population censuses count Muslims together with other Asians who are non-Muslim. Waqar [1999] noted that the 1991 census was confusing because two questions in the census related to ethnicity; the first {on country of birth} indirectly, the second {on ethnic group} directly. In a census of population for Bradford district 1998, the population was counted by ethnic group, such as Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian so on. This does not help to identify Muslims because an Indian, for example, may be non Muslim, such as Hindu.

For the empirical study, Bradford was chosen as a case study due to its multi-ethnic composition with sizeable minorities living within the area which are clearly, as Hendrick [1994] said, identified by culture and religion. The main problem that should be mentioned here is that despite extensive efforts to improve the questionnaire, to limit the response time by using closed questions and including a letter that explained the objectives of the study, a large number of the sample failed to return the questionnaire, perhaps due to low levels of education or a fear that responding would in some way create trouble for them.

Therefore, the researcher had to meet as many people as possible to encourage them to respond, by emphasising that this study would contribute to helping British Muslims. This entailed time-consuming visits to Bradford to the schools during the weekdays, the mosques in the evenings and the community centre at the weekends.

The other problem was that although it was easy to interview girls in the schools or in community centres, it was difficult to interview mothers; therefore telephone interviews were used as an alternative. It was also difficult to interview some fathers, because they worked long hours.

For a Saudi researcher, perhaps some aspects of Pakistani life style are unfamiliar. To observe these may be difficult in the west. Therefore, the visit to Muslims in Mirpur in Kashmir was a

good chance to observe family life openly and interview some males who spoke English or Arabic, such as the *imam* of the mosque.

1.6 Organisation of the Study.

To achieve the aims set earlier, after this chapter the study is presented in two parts, followed by a conclusion.

The first part will seek to achieve the first section of the main aim and will incorporate a theoretical / documentary investigation of state of Muslim identity in Bradford through the related literature. These aspects will be presented in chapters two, three and four.

Chapter Two contains a theoretical study of the concept of boundaries, as the erection of boundaries is one possible way to maintain Muslim identity. It is suggested that three zones can be identified, one for the Muslim community, the second for non Muslim people, while the third zone is the ambiguous zone, which is considered a source of anxiety. In Chapter Three the study traces some roots of the current problems which challenge the Muslim identity, whether the problems come from non Muslims or exist within Muslim communities. Chapter Four is concerned mainly with the current situation of the challenge to the Muslim identity in state schools, which is considered in this study as a main factor in the loss or maintenance of pupils' Islamic identity.

The first part of the study, i.e. the theoretical review, will help in identifying the background of the study, and setting the framework the study of challenge to the Islamic identity, in the second, empirical, part of the study.

The second part – the empirical study – presents up-to date evidence to support or contest the assumptions derived from theory and suggests some solutions to maintain Muslims'

identity. This part consists of five chapters; the fifth, the sixth and seventh, eighth and the ninth chapters.

The research methodology is explained in Chapter Five. It was decided to measure the sample's attitudes by using qualitative and quantitative methods to complement each other. This was done by means of interviews and a questionnaire survey. The sixth chapter present the outcome of preliminary field work which was carried out in two places. The first field study was carried out in Mirpur, which is the place of origin of a large number of Muslims in Bradford. The second field study was in Bradford. The main objective of this survey was to gain some preliminary insights to guide the construction of the questionnaires for the main study.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, present the study findings. Chapter Seven consists of general information about the characteristics of the sample { parents and pupils} while Chapter Eight reports their views on how school, together with the mosque, home and society, could contribute in the threat to the Muslim identity. Chapter Nine presents some solutions that were offered to improve the future of Muslim identity in Bradford.

Chapter Ten concludes the study, providing a summary of the results in the two parts of the study { theoretical and empirical}, an overall discussion and suggestions for further research.

Chapter Two.

Theoretical Study of Boundaries

Introduction.

2-1 The Meaning and Objectives of Boundaries.

2-2 The Problem of Definition of the Term.

2-3 The Islamic View.

2-4 Form of Boundaries.

2-5 Pluralism.

Summary.

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the many Muslim communities living as minorities within a non-Muslim society. Although these Muslims share common beliefs, the fact that they have come to Britain from many parts of the world, means that they speak many different languages and have diverse cultures and traditions. In spite of and as a result of their circumstances, their lives here are inter-related. The sense of difference between them and others is echoed in both social and spatial boundaries.

Muslims share one religion (Islam). They regard its tenets and observances as a fundamental part of their identity, as well as a matter of moral obligation, such that if they fail to keep them, they will lose their identity in this life, and their hope for the afterlife.

Although some Muslims, particularly youths, as a result of challenges to their identity in different aspects in their life, do not practise Islam regularly, nevertheless most of them still identify themselves as Muslims.

However, Cater and Jones[1996] argued that in Britain assimilation has been the commonly preferred alternative. But Muslims in Britain as Jeffery [1976] described them are often 'non assimilating'. Ashraf [1993] noted, that Muslims living in a multi-cultural society have to find ways and means to follow this code of life. They have to overcome several handicaps. How far they can do so depends on the strength of their unity.

In some countries, for example France, individuals from any small group are a cause of anxiety for the Government, which supports integration of any group, particularly religious groups, into French society. Britain, however, allows any religious groups to practise their activities without any hostility. Therefore, British Muslims can maintain a distinct Islamic cultural identity within plural cultures. Nonetheless, these groups face some problems, for example, rejection, or

educational difficulties. These problems arise as a result of existence in non-Muslim society, and desire to assimilate the Muslim community into the majority without assessing the beginning and end of their boundaries.

For these reasons, there arises a tendency to erect certain boundaries as one of many solutions to maintain Muslims' identity, i.e. their religion. The Muslim minority erects such boundaries, not as a result of hatred of the majority, but because they suffer or their lives are constrained as a result of their existence.

What is suggested here is not an impenetrable barrier around Muslim communities, like was the Great Wall of China. Instead, the suggestion is to encourage positive social interaction between the minority and majority, but subject to certain boundaries, so that the Muslim identity can be maintained.

However, the boundaries which are set for Muslim communities, as Chai [1996] stated, are taken for granted at some level rather than problematised. Those boundaries are malleable, rather than fixed. Some flexibility is necessary, both for understanding each other and to avoid prejudice. Hagendoorn [1993] noted many examples that illustrate that cultural misunderstanding can lead to ethnic prejudice and hostility. Also Chai [1996] added, many individuals migrate to large population centres in pursuit of work and education.

This chapter shows that one way to maintain identity, and a possible role of education, is through making Muslims and non-Muslims aware that there are boundaries that should be respected by both groups, to avoid any type of conflict that could occur through ignoring these boundaries. This chapter will discuss the definition of boundaries, and explain why they are necessary. In addition, it will present some general distinguishing characteristics of Muslim communities and describe some of the diverse ways of achieving boundaries, as well as clarify the aims of Muslim communities in seeking to do so from the Islamic point of view.

2.1 The Meaning and Objectives of Boundaries.

To use boundaries as a tool to clarify the extent of the relationships between the minority and the majority, it is very important to clarify what the boundaries mean and why they are necessary, to determine which type of boundaries will be used in this study.

A boundary, as Cohen[1985] stated, marks the beginning and end of a community. But why is such marking necessary ? The simple answer is that the boundary encapsulates the identity of the community and, like the identity of an individual, boundaries are marked because communities interact in some way or other with entities from which they are ,or wish to be, distinguished. Barth [1994] suggests that ethnic groups may be significant units if they imply marked difference in behaviour.

Cohen [1985] noted that the way in which people are marked depends upon the specific community. Some boundaries, like national or administrative boundaries, may be statutory and enshrined in law. Some may be physical, expressed, perhaps, by a mountain range or a sea. Some may be racial or linguistic or religious. But not all boundaries, and not all the components of any boundary, are so objectively apparent. They may be thought of, rather, as existing in the minds of their beholders.

The boundary may be perceived in different terms, not only by outsiders, but also by people on the same side. That means that boundaries define a community, and that the community can determine the nature of boundaries and the objective in erecting them. Sibley[1995] commented that there are some groups and individuals who erect boundaries, but there are those who suffer or whose lives are constrained as a result of their existence. I emphasise here that some minorities seek to erect such boundaries as a way to maintain their identity, and also there are weaker groups who are restricted by some boundaries which have been set by the dominant majority. As Cater and Jones [1989] stated, minority is commonly a state of exclusion or non-

membership, and a group so identified may be disqualified from sharing equally in society's resources.

Nevertheless, we might note that social policy is generally designed to pull surrounding groups higher up on the participation pivot, particularly through formal education that is concerned with the transmission of mainstream ideas [see Sibley 1981].

However, it is interesting to know what the boundary means to people. Cohen[1985] comments more exactly about the meanings which people give to it. This is the symbolic aspect of the community boundary, and it is the most crucial. To say that community boundaries are largely symbolic in character is, though, not merely to suggest that they imply different meanings for different people.

Finally, we should understand that boundaries do not exist only as a matter of mental perception while they are implemented in daily life. In this respect, Anthias and Davis [1992, p4] noted:

'Although the boundaries are ideological they involve material practices, and therefore material origins and effects. The boundary is a space for struggle and negotiation. Ethnic resources (such as language, culture, religion, gender relations) can be used in interplay with the class and political resources and positioning of the group.'

This discussion has, it is hoped, given some idea about the meaning of boundaries and objectives of setting them, but we still need to consider what sort of boundaries we are discussing, in relation to Muslims' identity.

2.2The Problem of Definition of the Term.

Before defining the boundaries which will be used in this study, we should clarify the name of the group this study aims to examine. because as researchers have indicated in many studies, there are many names that can be given to different groups and every name indicates a particular meaning that has been given by people, according to the aim which they seek to

achieve. Unfortunately, most of the terms or names which are given to the groups are confused by people for instance, Cater and Jones [1996] indicate that “the terms ‘race’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘minority’ are among the most confused in modern English vocabulary.”

Here, some examples will be given of a number of terms which are commonly used to identify minorities in sociological studies. Then, we will try to examine these terms, to see which one is more suitable for the group about which we are talking.

Race indicates a category of people who see themselves and are perceived by others as distinctive on the basis of certain biological inherited traits. But although people do differ physically, these differences do not neatly and automatically divide them into racial groups, because Race is a social and cultural category, not simply a biological one. A race exists primarily in the perceptions and beliefs of its beholders. Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent [1998] emphasised that race is a difficult concept to define. It has superficial biological associations with skin colour and even physique. It is also linked to area or origin. Anthias and Davis {1992, p 2) added:

‘Race is one way by which the boundary is to be constructed between those who can and those who cannot belong to a particular construction of population. In the case of race this is on the basis of an immutable biological or physiognomic difference which may not be seen to be expressed mainly in culture or life-style but is always grounded on the separation of human populations by some notion of stock or collective heredity of traits.’

Our position also entails distinguishing between race and ethnicity, to see which of them is more comprehensive, and whether ethnicity is a useful criterion for our group. Whereas race is based on the perception of physical differences, ethnicity is based on the perception of cultural differences. **An ethnic group** consists of people who perceive themselves and are perceived by others as sharing distinctive cultural traits such as language, religion, customs. The term ethnic group is usually used to describe subgroups within a country [see Calhoun et al, 1994]. **Ethnic minorities** are, as defined by Cater and Jones (1996) groups who are culturally differentiated

from the majority population. Barth (1994) referring to anthropological literature, maintains that **ethnic** groups are seen as sharing fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms.

Also, an **ethnic** group can be understood as making up a field of communication and interaction, as it has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

This view of the **ethnic** group as a number of people who share in one culture, appears in many studies. For example, Anthias and Yuval-Davis{1992 p5} argue that:

‘Ethnic positioning provides individuals with a mode of interpreting the world, based on shared cultural resources and a shared collective positioning vis-à-vis other groups, often within a structure of dominance.’

However, historically, ethnic or racial categories have been formed in various ways, and the distinction between them is not clear [Calhoun et al {1994}].

And for the purpose of this study, the two concepts cannot be used to define the Muslim communities, because they refer to a social group having a common national or cultural tradition, whereas Muslims come from different nations and cultures.

In addition, it is not accurate to name all Muslims in Britain by the term **Asian** people, because this term would include other Asians who follow other religions such as Hinduism and Sikhism.

Also among the Muslim community there are some English Muslims who recently converted to Islam, as well as Muslims who came from other parts of the world. such as Africa or the Caribbean.

Also, it not accurate to call all Muslims by the term **black**. Mason [1995] commented that the term **black** is used to refer to all those who are victims of the exclusionary practices of white racism. However, this term has been criticised on the ground that it refers to the historical experience of particular groups. Although, still, a large of number of researchers such as

Alexander[1996] refer to Muslims as **black**, this term can be seen as meaningless, since many South Asians do not define themselves as black. Modood and others[1997] indicated that only a fifth of South Asians think of themselves as black.

Indeed, Muslims may be of any colour, including white. Other researchers use the term black to mean those group of people who share one culture, such as Asian people.

This definition, however, raises the possibility of culture as a basis of differentiating members of a group. Let us try to examine culture as a term to use for our group.

Culture is defined in the dictionary as, “manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively” [Oxford 1993]. Barth [1994] claims that there is a premise among anthropologists that there are aggregates of people who essentially share a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all others; culture is nothing but a way to describe human behaviour.

There are assumptions in the British literature that give culture a greater significance than is indicated above. However, this view of culture is more general, in that it involves people’s behaviour and ideas, though not necessarily the origin of this behaviour and the ideas or religion. The term culture may be appropriate for us if we see Islam as a culture; but in other ways, Muslim communities have many cultures, though they have one religion. Another term, **custom**, is close to culture, in that it is defined as the usual way of behaving, a particular established way of behaving. In this case, the same can be said of custom as of culture, or any term close to them, such as **tradition**.

This discussion brings to mind the term **ethics**, which is related to behaviour and has its origins in religion. It is also called **morals**. Rhodes (1992) used the terms “ethics” and “morality” interchangeably to mean “the deepest beliefs and ideals about how to live”.

However, there are morals in both the Muslim community and non-Muslim society. That there are good morals in both, and also some bad behaviour, is inevitable for human beings. So I do not accept the argument that there are 'Pure' communities because the Muslim community in ethical or moral terms is not a small group of agrarians or hunters living in the mountains, it represents about one and half million people, living in non-Muslim society and is inevitably affected by the values of the large society.

On the other hand, the idea of pure communities is not an imperative in all small groups, although it may seem easy in theory.

Thus, the terms mentioned above are not suitable to use here, nor are, for example, such terms as colour or language. But let us try to examine the term minority, which is the most popular term used by a large number of researchers. A **minority** as defined by

Calhoun et al [1994), p241],

'Is a category of people who, because of their physical appearance or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in their society, held in low esteem, and subject to unequal treatment.'

Specifically, a **minority** is a relatively small group of people differing from others in the society of which they are part in race, religion, language, political persuasion, etc. [Oxford Dictionary 1993].

Therefore, it can be seen that the common term, minority, is perhaps not specific enough to refer to the Muslim group, as 'minority' can imply all sorts of distinguishing features, whereas Muslims have different races, languages, etc. and share only religion as a common characteristic. So I will use the term religion to identify the Muslim community. First, I will explain my justification for selecting this term.

Calhoun, et al [1994, p 370] stated,

‘Religion is according to Durkheim, a set of beliefs and practices pertaining to sacred things that unite people into a moral community.’

In this definition, religion can be a source of popular unity. Johnson [1985] made the same point when he said: ‘It is a sociological truism to state that the roots of religion are the very fabric of society.’ He noted that it is among the most definitive contributors to structural pluralism, and added that as ethnicity declines, religion increases as a mechanism for satisfying the need for communal identity.

But what does religion mean to Muslims? Is religion an appropriate term to denote their identity? The answer to this question could be found by presenting the explanations of many researchers. For example, Sarah [1988 p8] said:

‘ The whole notion of “religion” as understood by Muslims is not restricted to rituals and religious observances, but it is an all encompassing concept which includes the social, economic and political: thus it is a way of life. There is no compartmentalisation between secular and religious life. Secular life is governed by religious tenets of Islam. Hence the Muslims prefer to refer to Islam as Deen, which means way of Life, rather than ‘millat’ which means religion.’

To confirm the importance of religion as a factor more crucial in determining the identity than other factors, Scantlebury [1995 p 425] commented:

‘There is evidence of an emergent British Muslim identity that is effectively crossing racial and ethnic barriers, in some circumstances within a localised setting.’‘The Muslim’s religion is the thing that defines him and makes him different from others.’

Muslims in Britain are definitely not an ‘ethnic’ minority as some researchers represent, but they are, as Bari (1993, p 62) describes them:

‘A multi-linguistic and multi-cultural community originating from all over the world including the indigenous British Muslims. The various racial and linguistic cultures are subordinate to an overall Islamic culture.... Islam being the central point in their life.’

Most Muslims are not willing to assimilate entirely. So it is very important to be aware of what affiliation to the religion requires and to encourage them to seek to achieve it perfectly, while

keeping a good relationship with the host society. Muslim communities should be aware of the fact that is expressed by Calhoun et al. [1994, p 351] when they said:

‘Religious communities are not just groups of people who happen to share beliefs and engage in rituals. They have an organized, and usually enduring, social structure.’

Finally, to conclude this argument, it may be suggested that we can locate some terms which could be applied to Muslims in Britain without being misleading such as “British Muslims”, “Muslim communities” or “Muslim minority”. All these terms mean that the first loyalty among Muslims is religion.

Therefore, the boundaries which are of concern in this study are **religious boundaries**, as an effort to maintain British Muslim identity which is threatened as Gans [1994] stated, for some religious observances and affiliations are declining rapidly from the first to the third generation.

Also, boundaries play a role in establishing markers between Muslim and non Muslim to avoid conflicts. Kakar [1995] stated, religion brings to conflict between groups a greater emotional strength and a deeper motivation than language, region or other markers or ethnic identity.

Also Johnson [1985] added, religion is the most definitive contributor to structural pluralism.

As emphasised in this study, and as Davis[1993] emphasised, religious specificity has proved to be more durable and resistant to assimilation than any other part of culture, because the cultural features that signal the boundary may change. As Barth [1994] noted, the form and the content of culture accept change.

In addition, as Gans [1994] emphasised, religious groups are usually dominated by formally organised denominations in which informal groups play interstitial roles. So as Levine [1993] noted, Jewish identity appears as diverse as that of other groups. This may be because the structural forces of modernity are stronger than those of cultural tradition. Therefore, Muslim communities should modernise the method of their organisation to improve the understanding

of Islam; not stay segregated within their boundaries and deal with their members according to their homeland traditions and use their mother language to communicate. They should deal with non Muslims too, as will be seen in the next section.

2.3 The Islamic View

One objective of erecting boundaries is as Sibley (1995) suggested: “Boundaries in some circumstances provide security and comfort.” The concern here is to erect a theoretical framework around Muslim communities to maintain and safeguard their identity in the face of other cultures which do not accord with Islam. However, the minority can be very open to the majority in other fields which are considered part of the life of all, as otherwise, life would be impossible.

The possibility of erecting theoretical religious boundaries around Muslim communities to preserve the Muslim identity, has not been investigated by researchers up to now, to the best of my knowledge. Research has focused on the idea of ethnicity more than other themes. Furthermore, Muslim researchers have avoided this issue in many studies.

Before showing how such a boundary would seem, it is necessary to know the Islamic view toward such a position. Before that, it would be useful to give brief information about what Islam means.

The word Islam is derived from the Arabic root “SLM” which means, peace, purity, submission and obedience. In the religious sense the word Islam means submission to the Will of God and obedience to his law. Islam is not a new religion, but the same truth that God revealed through all His prophets to every people. Islam is both a religion and a complete way of life. Muslims follow a religion of peace [see Abdalati 1987].

Islam, Christianity and Judaism have one origin. Philips[1999] explained, Islam is the religion which was given to Adam, the first man and the first prophet of God, and it was the religion of all the prophets sent by Allah to mankind.

In Britain, the monotheistic religions can find and adopt a common core of values. Islam is the epitome of all religions and has enshrined within itself the basic human values. In the Qur'an the general rule is that Muslims should extend cordiality to any one who lives peaceably with them, as mentioned in interpretation of verse 8 in ch 28:

'Even with unbelievers, unless they are rampant and out to destroy us and our faith, we should deal kindly and equitably, as is shown by our holy Prophet's own example.'

Sarah [1988 p 40] gave some evidence of the Islamic practical encouragement of peaceful co-existence with Jews and Christians.

'The dietary laws of Islam permit Muslims to eat the meat slaughtered by Jews and Christians, even though the meat killed by other types of non-Muslims is prohibited to Muslims. Also a Muslim man may marry a woman from among the Jews and Christians.'

Islam is a religion of peace. Therefore, Muslims as adherents of this religion, have to carry peace to other people and must look to live in peace with other people, anywhere in this world, just as the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) maintained good relations with the people who kept peace with him, particularly if they were neighbours. So Islam allows Muslims to mix with people of other religions, to eat their food and deal with them in business and other activities in many aspects of life, while avoiding some activities which are prohibited in Islam, such as participating in the observations of another religion, drinking alcohol and eating pork.

However, Islam does not encourage Muslims to live in a non-Muslim society as a small group, except where there is a justified reason, such as economics or under any difficult crisis, since this might lead to their integrating with non-Muslims and losing their identity. In this case, they should do what they can to preserve their faith while keeping a good relationship with

non-Muslims and the Muslims should respect the host community's laws and reach an accommodation with them. Even in some situations that are not consistent with Islam they can do so, but should try to improve the situation as much as possible.

Islam is very clear for its members. Every person can understand the Islamic constraints and it is easy to practise in daily life. There are many sources to clarify some issues for ordinary Muslims, because Islam is not just a set of rituals, it covers the whole of life. But the existence of Muslims in non Islamic environment could be considered as a source of worry about their identity.

2-4 Form of boundaries

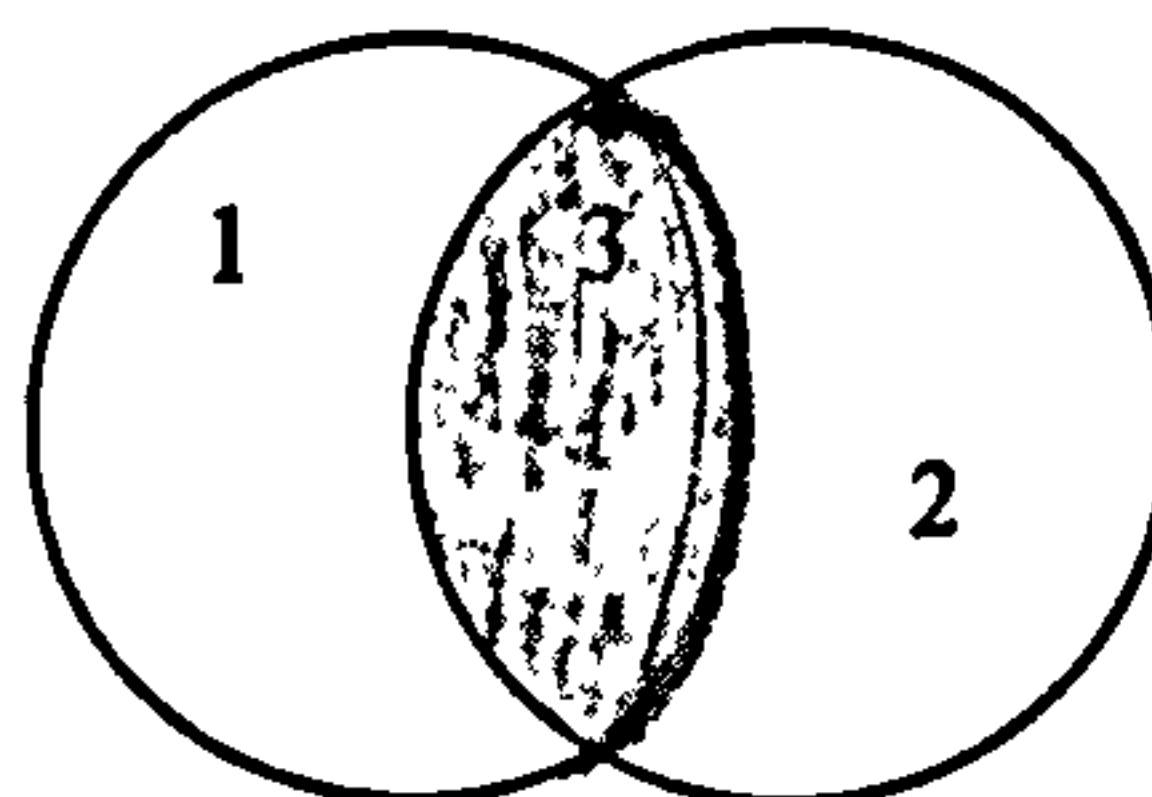
The aim here is to present some aspects of the importance of erecting theoretical religious boundaries as an attempt to remove some ambiguity in some areas which may be not very clear to a large number of people on both sides in the society, and to give the boundaries an important role in these circumstances to provide security and comfort for group members.

We will start by describing the way in which boundaries are constructed and then examine some general characteristics of boundary zones. Figure 2.1 introduces some of the boundary issues which are characteristic of spatial relations between small groups and the wider society.

Figure 2-1.

Theoretical Religious Boundaries.

1. Muslim communities' zone.
2. Non- Muslim society zone.
3. Ambiguity zone {liminal}



As seen from the diagram, there are three zones as follows.

1. Muslim communities zone

The theory is that individuals seek to achieve positive social identity, typically by evaluating the in-group more favourably than the out group [Jackson 1996].

Muslims, particularly those of the second and third generations, are increasingly demanding to be recognised as a religious, not racial group; one nation of one religious community cannot be an unattainable ideal. There is evidence of an emergent British Muslim identity that is effectively crossing racial and ethnic barriers in some circumstances within a localised setting [Scantlebury 1995].

The Arabic word *ummah* conveys this idea of an Islamic community which is unified and to which loyalty is due. Hulmes [1989 p32] explained:

'A clear line of division exists between those who are members of the community and those who are not. But this exclusiveness is not necessarily permanent. No one is excluded from the Islamic community on grounds of race or colour. Individuals exclude themselves by not accepting the claims of Islam.'

The preservation and health of the *ummah* is considered an important aspect of the faith and as Jenkins [1995] added, it depends upon the success which Muslims have in protecting the community from alien elements. Kattani [1995] argues that while the ideal is simple, the practice is more complicated. The solidarity of the *Ummah* has also its limitation. Also Geaves [1996] noted, if the community forms around kin networks and place of origin they may use religion to reinforce ethnic identity. In the case of Muslims, this may conflict with the religious definition of the *Ummah* which insists upon universal Islamic identity being primary.

Therefore, the idea that has been suggested is community organization as the universal brotherhood of believers. The mosque in Islam plays a crucial role in helping to maintain the boundary, as Churches do in the Christian community; Whyte [1986] considers that Churches are remarkably all- embracing institutions in Northern Ireland, for example. In addition,

separate education could play a vital role in maintaining the religious boundaries by improving the level of knowledge among Muslims within the Muslim communities.

2. Non-Muslim society zone

This zone means the whole society which involves the majority of non-Muslim people, whether Christian or adhering to some other religion, such as Jewish. It includes those Asian people who share with Asian Muslims some parts of their culture such as language or some customs, but who are non Muslims, for example Hindus. It also includes people who are living without religion. The matter for all those sorts of people is, if they are not Muslims, they should avoid crossing Muslim boundaries, because this may cause embarrassment for all. The Islamic zone should be private, for Muslim members to adhere to their Islamic practice in complete freedom. And at the same time, Muslims should avoid crossing into the non Muslim area.

3. Ambiguity zone (liminal)

The third zone, as described by Sibley [1995] is one of 'ambiguity and discontinuity' as a result of the blending of the edge of 1 category into the edge of category 2, or vice versa. This creates the liminal zone, which is considered a source of anxiety and abjection.

This zone represents areas where distinctions between Muslim and non-Muslim are not clear. It includes for example, Muslims who do not stick to Islamic values under the challenge to their identity in daily life. Also the third zone is not clear for most non Muslims because most of them have not enough knowledge about Islam. Therefore, the erection of religious boundaries could help both groups to understand each other and avoid conflict, by clarifying in the minds of both sides, that there are certain red lines which should be respected and there are areas for

interaction. If this can be achieved it will be a step to maintaining Muslim identity and avoiding any acts which could cause hostility between the minority and majority.

The western culture has some behaviours not in line with Islam, such as drinking alcohol or eating pig meat, etc. Muslims are not allowed to join in anything which is contrary to Islamic principles. So the Muslims must maintain their religion by practising it in daily life. Also, Muslims avoid any kind of activities which are contrary to Islam.

Non Muslims, too, should respect Muslim boundaries. because many examples illustrate that misunderstanding of religion can lead to hostility. As Hagendoom [1993 p27] noted;

‘The explanation of prejudice is that behaviour of out group members is not evaluated on the basis of its own cultural meaning, but on the basis of in group values.’

Therefore, the next section explains how plural culture could be the best alternative for Muslims and non Muslims to understand each other in a peaceful society.

2.5 Pluralism.

Conflicts between societies, and within a society, are due to differences of ideas that are exchanged peacefully. A society is bound to be made up of people promoting and receiving different ideas. Kettani[1995] commented, Islam recognises this fact, promotes the peaceful exchange of ideas and respects the plurality of thinking within an overall boundary that ensures minimum solidarity for Muslim community.

British society is one of diverse cultures, faiths, ethnic groups and ideologies which are frequently in conflict with each other. So as to strengthen the fundamental unity of the society it is important that there be common commitment to an agreed form of pluralism. In such pluralism, minority groups must be granted equal rights with the majority in all aspects of public life, and be allowed to preserve their distinct identities. This common core embraces the

fundamental elements shared, at least in principle, by all the major cultural groups in British society. It includes a commitment to such basic values as truth, justice, liberty, respect and compassion for other persons and all living beings, respect for cultural and religious beliefs and practices of different groups [see Ashraf 1993 p9].

Pluralism is a form of society in which the members of minority groups try to maintain their independent culture. More specifically, as described by Calhoun et al (1994p25):

‘Another pattern of intergroup relations is pluralism; in which different racial and ethnic groups within a society maintain their own cultural identities and social networks, yet participate in shared political and economic systems. In plural societies, each group has its own language, religion, and so on, and members interact socially (date, marry, form close friend-ships) primarily among themselves. Yet all are part of a functionally integrated society.’

Pluralism is an active factor in maintaining identity. Therefore, the development of multiculturalism denotes an important stage in the ideological shift away from the cultural imperatives of assimilation and integration to one of cultural pluralism. This, it is generally acknowledged, started as Jenkins [195] said:

‘in 1966 as a result of a speech by the then Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins. The government called for the ideology of assimilation to be replaced by a policy of equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity. Multiculturalism was expressed in terms of creating tolerance for minority groups, dispelling ignorance, and reducing prejudice to create a harmonious society.’

This position gives a good opportunity for an atmosphere of mutual tolerance in society. Muslims have an Islamic culture; therefore, they can practise their religion in a democratic atmosphere and they can express their desires. Calhoun et al. [1994] said, in a multicultural society, people should be free to make choices about cultural identities, rather than being forced into them by labels applied by others.

Pluralism has been affirmed successfully in many places in the world. For example, in Switzerland there are different cultures such as German, French and Italian who live as separate communities, and maintain their distinctive cultures, but live in harmony in one society.

In this respect, many researchers emphasise the importance of the role of education in maintaining identity and keeping it separate from assimilation. For example, Jenkins (1995 p17) discussed how some education authorities such as Bradford respond to the needs of Muslim children. He said:

‘Government initiatives and documents endorsed this shift in ideology from assimilation to cultural pluralism thus: our society is a multicultural, multiracial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society.’

Thus, as several theorists such as Kalmijn[1991] have argued, education is the site of production of identity. Therefore this study focuses on education {formal and informal} which is considered the main factor in forming the image people have regarding the religion in any society and keeping the boundaries more secure. Therefore, the boundaries which have been suggested in this chapter will not be valid if Muslim pupils are not taught about their religion and if they continue to face challenges either in the school, at home, in society or in the mosque, as will be discussed in the next chapter, where it will be shown that applying these boundaries will be impossible without awareness of Muslims and non-Muslims of the importance of respecting each other’s private zones.

Summary.

This chapter is concerned with Muslim minorities who are living within a non-Muslim society.

Although those Muslims share common beliefs, they speak many different languages and have diverse cultures and traditions, because they are of many races and have different ethnicities.

The sense of difference between them and others is echoed in both social and spatial boundaries.

Muslims share one religion {Islam}. They regard its tenets as a fundamental part of their identity.

Therefore, it is more accurate to define them with regard to what they share and try to

maintain, e.g. British Muslim, Muslim community or Muslim minority. These terms mean that

the first loyalty among them is religion. Therefore, the boundaries which are suggested in this

study are religious boundaries.

In regard to primary and secondary education, assimilation of British Muslims has been the

commonly preferred alternative in Britain, but Muslims reject assimilation and demand to live in

a pluralist society. For this reason it is suggested that the erection of certain boundaries is one

of many solutions to maintain Muslim identity. i.e. their religion. Those boundaries are taken

for granted at some level rather than problematised and would constitute a theoretical image of

Muslim and non Muslim, rather than a geographical divide.

Those boundaries are established to act as a marker between Muslims and non Muslims to

avoid conflicts and improve the understanding between the different groups by interaction in

social relations without harm or challenge to each group's beliefs.

To achieve that, it is suggested that three zones can be identified. One is for the Muslim

community. Muslims, particularly those of the second and third generations, are increasingly

demanding to be recognised as a religious, not racial group. The Arabic word *ummah* conveys

this idea of an Islamic community which is united and to which loyalty is due. Therefore, the idea that has been suggested is community organisation as the universal brotherhood.

The second is for non Muslim people who represent the majority in the society. The issue for all those people is that, if they are not Muslims, they should avoid crossing Muslim boundaries, because this may cause embarrassment for all. The third zone is the ambiguous liminal zone, which is considered a source of anxiety. This zone represents areas where distinctions between Muslim and non-Muslim are not clear.

Finally, it is emphasised that identity could be secured and conflict between the minority and majority avoided by pluralism, by development of multiculturalism, in which education could play an active role in maintenance of identity, because several studies have argued that education is the site of production of identity. Improving education in relation to many aspects of living in a non Muslim society, as a factor to maintain the Islamic identity, will indirectly help to erect the boundaries by teaching the young generation that some activities are for non-Muslims only, and Muslims should avoid them. because they are not in line with Islam. Moreover, education should also show non Muslims how to be more understanding towards Muslim culture.

The next chapter will show the difficulties faced by Muslims in different fields in Britain, to see how far they need to establish this type of boundaries to maintain their identity.

Challenges to Identity

Introduction

3.1. A Chronology of Migration.

3.1.1. Bradford.

3.2. Difficulties facing Muslims in Bradford.

3.2.1. The Family.

3.2.2. The Society.

1. Racism.

2. Employment.

3. Housing.

4. Media.

5. Other Difficulties.

Summary.

Introduction.

As indicated in the previous chapter, British Muslims are suffering from some challenges to their identity. Therefore, it was suggested that some religious boundaries be erected to help them to maintain their identity. This chapter will be discuss some of those challenges, to see how far British Muslims need to make their new generation aware about the importance of maintaining their identity within non-Muslim society.

However, identity to most researchers is based on factors such as race, language, culture and religion, alone or in combination. In this study however, the identity of the Muslim minority means Islam, which should always be the key to the understanding the Muslims' way of life, their culture, customs and practices, as well as the problems that arise at the level of cross-cultural contacts. As McDermott and Ahsan [1993] noted, Islam is not merely a religion, but a way of life for the totality of human existence – spiritual or physical, religious or political, individual or societal, and has been the most important factor in shaping the Muslim community.

Muslims in Britain however, are subject to a number of other forces which may challenge the influence of their Muslim heritage.

Most Muslim migrants came from rural areas in search of work. Many were uneducated and had only minimal knowledge about Islam. Some of these Muslims, faced with culture shock, found integration into Western culture an effective solution to the conflict between the two cultures. Others, however, chose to retain their values, despite the difficulties they face.

There is a growing interest among researchers concerning the position of Muslims in western Europe, consequent upon the large-scale immigration of labourers from Muslim countries nearly four decades ago. Although Muslims are free to practise their faith, they may find themselves in a hostile environment, and suffer from a sense of alienation.

It is common for any group which migrates to a new country to have difficulties adjusting to a new way of life. The Muslim community is strongly attached to its own identity, so they may feel that western culture is, by nature a threat to their identity. The problem is compounded by racial discrimination and hostility from some people of the white community.

Also, the efforts of Muslims to preserve their religion and culture, mark them out as “different” and make it harder for them to be accepted as British, which increases the tendency of Muslims to form closed communities within the large society.

On the whole it appears that there is willingness among Muslims in Britain to adjust to the institutions of this country and become a part of the society, but as Anwar [1994] points out ‘this does not mean that they are not facing any problems. There have been several recent examples which made Muslims feel that they are not being treated equally’.

To understand better the challenges to identity and before showing some of the problems which can threaten Muslim identity, it is appropriate here to give some brief background to the Muslim community in Bradford. Knowing how and why early Muslim settlers came to work and live in Bradford and adjust to a new life, will help us to appreciate the pressures that they faced in preserving their Islamic identity in the beginning of the flux of migrations and later when they became citizens.

3.1. A Chronology of Migration.

Britain has a long history of receiving large numbers of people from abroad. With the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the subsequent labour shortages, Britain underwent a process of large-scale labour migration during the nineteenth century

Muslims first started settling in the middle of the 19th century, and there were particular periods of growth after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and after the two world wars when a number of demobilized soldiers who had served in the British Army chose to stay in Britain rather than return home. In addition, some of the native elites came from

various parts of the empire as students and traders. In the mid-late 1950s a much higher level of immigration took place, mainly from the Indian sub-continent but also from Cyprus. This was followed by an influx of East African Asians.

By the end of the 1980s the number of Muslims in the United Kingdom could be estimated at around one million. One third of these had originated in Pakistan and another third from other parts of the northern Indian subcontinent, either directly, especially from Bangladesh, or via East Africa or the Caribbean. The remaining third had its origins in diverse other parts of the Muslim world [Nielsen 1992].

According to the best estimate, as of the 1991 census, there are around 1.5 million Muslims in Britain, half of whom were born here. In general, the Muslim population is much younger than the white population of Britain. Around 17% of white people are aged over 65 years, compared with only about 1.5% of Muslims. Almost a third of the Muslim population are children aged 5 to 16, compared to 13% in the white population {Hewer 1994}.

Ally {1997} commented that settlements of Muslims can be found in all of Britain's major industrial cities and seaports. The earliest settlements date back to the middle of the 19th century and are located in such ports as Cardiff, Liverpool and London. But in more recent times, large industrial cities like Manchester and Bradford and others have gained increasing Muslim populations.

A city noted for its large Muslim community is Bradford, the location of this research. It will be interesting, therefore, to identify the context of the migrations to the city.

3.1.1. Bradford

Muslims from the Indian subcontinent entered Bradford in the First and Second World Wars, when many joined the British army and navy. Siddique {1990} explained that during the colonial era, in times both of war and of peace, Mirpur, Jhelum and some parts of the Punjab provided a high percentage of recruits to the British Army. He added that the

Partition of India in 1947 and the subsequent events also paved the way for emigration.

After 1945, many ex-servicemen decided to settle in Bradford and very soon, their relatives joined them.

Bradford was the centre for the production of the best wool in the world, and the textile mills were running overtime. The textile industry was the single most important employer in Bradford, providing about a third of all employment in the city.

These industries, however, suffered from old machinery, and unhappy local workers wanted work with better pay and working conditions which the textile industry could not provide. Afro-Caribbeans and Asians were invited into Bradford to provide cheap labour.

This move was supported by Queen Elizabeth when she visited the Commonwealth countries, and discussed with the President of Pakistan the possibility of work for Pakistanis in Britain [Siddique 1993].

However, it should not be forgotten that there were also local factors which pushed migrants to come to Bradford. For example, Punjab was an agricultural state. Siddique{1990} noted that Punjab had more than 15,000 villages and only 130 towns. The pressure on the land led to the subdivision of holdings and instability was created by the partition.

Another local reason, in Mirpur{now part of Pakistan} was the construction of the Mangla Dam during the early 1960s. Khane{1977 p66-67} said:

'In 1950 {U.K, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Germany and U.S.A.} started to build the world's largest earth dam here. At the beginning of the 1960s the population near the dam itself was moved. In 1967 the water started to fill up behind the dam. About 100,000 people {18,000 families} were moved, a large number of whom came to Bradford'.

However, when Muslims first came into Bradford, they faced a strange situation. There were no facilities for their religion. A group of several individuals living in the same household would share food, and everyone would contribute towards the shopping. Between three to four people would sleep in a small room of a terraced house, paying rent of ten shillings{50p}per week. They worked overtime on night shifts to send money to

their families back home.. Furthermore, the first migrants found it difficult to get work because they were unskilled. They also had difficulty in how to deal with English people, especially as they could not speak English well. Siddique [1993] noted that the position got better after 1960 with the arrival of Muslim women groups to Bradford. This developed into a network of communication which made it possible to start building up the culture they brought with them. It should be borne in mind that many had hoped to return home with money so that they could purchase land and build better houses in their countries; they did not intend to stay in Bradford any longer than was necessary and so were not anxious to assimilate.

But after the development of a community structure, most Muslims settled, and started to apply for British citizenship. The influx of Muslims continued, as Siddique [1990] reports, until restrictions were imposed by the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962, followed by the 1971 Immigration, Act which closed the door to further immigration, with certain exceptions such as close relatives.

In Bradford there are now about 70,000 Muslims, based on the census of {1991}. Thus, they constitute 14% of the total population in Bradford .Muslims have different cultural and social backgrounds, although they share the same religion.

The religious needs of different communities in Bradford are very important and sensitive, particularly those of the second and third generations, who were born and brought up in a different cultural environment from that of the first generation of immigrations.

In my view, part of the problem of tensions between the minority and majority culture comes from inside the Muslim community. They brought their customs with them from their country of origin and tried to force the new generation to accept them as way of life in the new culture. This has led to tensions, strongly influencing attitudes towards religion and other values of their community and extending to the society as a whole. It is not a big matter for the new Muslim generation to eat western food or wear western clothes or speak English, because all of these things are part of adjustment, but it is a bigger problem if the

new Muslim generation refuse to practise Islam and feel shy to say, “I am Muslim first and British second”.

The following sections examine some of the difficulties that Muslims face in Bradford, in various aspects of their life within family and society, which can play a role in threatening Muslim identity. There are also problems in schools, but they will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

3.2. Difficulties facing Muslims in Bradford.

3.2.1 The family.

The family, in one form or another, is a very important part of the social organization in all societies, because it responds to the most fundamental human needs, for both individuals and groups. According to Calhoun et al [1994] ‘one function of the family is to meet the individual members’ need for love and emotional security’. It offers warmth, loyalty and willingness to care for the others. It is a basic part of human nature.

The family in Islam.

The family is considered the central point of the Islamic social system. It is central to the whole of social life. McDermott and Ahsan [1993] said: “Family must be preserved and strengthened at all costs”. Alsaif [1991] added, “Islam perceives the family as the first and basic unit in human society, and the strength and goodness of society depend on the strength and goodness of the family”.

Abdulati [1977] noted that the family in Islam is viewed as “a human social group whose members are bound together by the bond of blood ties and/ or marital relationships”. The family bond entails mutual expectations of right and obligations among its members that are prescribed by Islam. Accordingly, the family members share certain mutual commitments, regarding to identity, inheritance, and counsel, affection for the young and security for the aged, and maximization of effort to ensure family harmony. Islam also recognizes the religious virtue, the social necessity, and the moral advantage of

marriage. Muslims are generally family oriented and usually have a desire to have their own.

Concerning the relations between a man and a women, Alkhuli [1982] explained, 'The only relation allowed by Islam is the marriage relation. Marriage is almost the duty of every Muslim unless prevented by special health reasons. Islam encourages and urges people to marry; Muhammad, peace be upon him, says that the man who marries perfects half his religion.'

There are many objectives of marriage in Islam. For example, Hajaltom[1982 p76] mentioned that

'for marriage has a double function. It is the means of the multiplication of the human race and it is the means of the moral uplift of man. What brings about the moral uplift of men and women is the fact that Islam encourages people to get married'.

According to Islam, marriage is not only a way of meeting sexual needs, but it also has spiritual and social functions. For that reason, Islam insists that a man should choose a good wife and that women should not be forced into marriage, but should be consulted before any marriage arrangement is made.

Further, as we know, all psychologists and sociologists agree that the best environment for the growth of the children is their family. As Alkhuli [1982] emphasises, "that is why Islam encourages marriage and protects the family against all forms of corruption in order to develop the psychological health of men, women and their children. Without the family, there would be no psychologically- balanced human life for adults or children."

Islam also recognizes parents' duty to provide for their child's welfare and the child's duties to his or her parents. Children are responsible for the support and maintenance of their parents in their old age. It is an absolute religious duty to provide for one's parents in case of need and to help make their lives as comfortable as possible. Parents have the right to expect obedience and respect from their children {Alsaif,1991}.

The family in Islam has many functions: {a} to contribute to the economic life of the nation; {b} to bring up and educate children in Islamic values; {c}to develop in its members harmonious mutual relations;{d}to strengthen society; {e}to ensure the well-being, mental health and happiness of individuals within the family unit.

Ibid [1991].

In conclusion, the aim of the family in Islam is to ensure the welfare of society by taking care of individuals and groups in the social structure.

Forms of the family in Islam.

The term family is used to indicate a special kind of structure whose principals are related to one another through blood ties and /or marital relationships. This definition of family makes no reference to the residential factor, because the family members may or may not occupy the same residential unit. According to Abdalati [1977] it makes no fundamental difference how or where they reside. The residential confines may be shared by all members included, or they may be separate and independent. But it does not necessarily follow that, since the family in Islam is not fully of the nuclear type, it must be “extended”. The Muslim family may be extended, or not. There is no specific provision in Islam that it must be of one type or the other.

Regarding the “extended” family, McDermott and Ahsan[1993] claim that “it is common in Muslim societies for several families to live together as one single and harmonious household, though this may not be prevalent in Britain”. In fact, Islam itself does not encourage people to live in one house, as this may be lead to attack of the privacy of Muslim women. Rather, Islam urges members of the nuclear family to maintain relations with fulfil obligations to their relatives, whether or not they live with them in the same place. Therefore, extended household composition reflects Asian customs, rather than Islam itself. For example, as Anwar [1985 p 52] notes:

'the traditional family in the Pakistani society is the extended and joint type of family; a group of people living together in one house. The composition differs from one family to the other, due to different stages of life cycle, i.e. parents with their children, parents living with married sons and their children, parents, children and their children, and so on.'

Regarding the position of old people, it is true that as Blakemore and Boneham [1994] comment 'A large proportion of older Asian people continue to live with their relatives in large households. This is not just a matter of custom, but of strongly valued attachment to family unity, and reflects the Muslim obligation to support old people, especially one's parents.'

Anwar also commented in another book [1981] that 'the traditional family system in the Asian sub-continent is the joint/extended family'. But he explained that this does not necessarily mean all the people are living in one house, as a household, but that they have obligations that go beyond the obligations among the residents of one house. For example, this group consists usually of three or more generations, with a complex set of mutual obligations. They usually pool their income and share some business. The extended family plays an important role in the life of an individual in the community. Decisions are made jointly and authority depends on age and sex; that is, older males are usually the dominant members of the family.

The third type or form of relation between the Muslim family that can be mentioned here is *Biraderi*. Anwar [1985] explained: 'the word *Biraderi* is derived from the word *Biradar*, brother. Beyond the joint-extended family it is the *Biraderi* which structures kinship networks. [This sometimes includes non-kin, as well, in Punjabi society]. *Biraderi* includes all the men who can trace their descent from a common forefather, no matter how remote. It also, in some cases, includes not only blood relatives, but other people as well. So it is difficult to draw the line where the *Biraderi* ends. In practice the members meet to take decisions or participate in ritual ceremonies and provide each other with a whole range of services.'

Although these types of family are traditional rather than religious, most Muslim families think regard them as part of Islam. Whatever the form of the household, joint/extended family or *Biraderi*, if it can play a role in maintaining the Muslim identity, there seems to be no reason why it should not be used to help the Muslim minority in Bradford to perceive their identity, though Muslims should be educated to recognize it as a matter of tradition, rather than part of their religion.

In fact the factor which must override all the types of relations among the Muslim families is the natural result of the fact that the mutual expectations of the family members are not established only by familial relationship, but also by the membership in a larger social system which derives from a common religious brotherhood. As described by Abdalati [1977] 'this brotherhood has its own implications. It is so conceived as to reinforce the family ties, complement them, or prevent their abuse.' Brotherhood includes all Muslims. Even if they have different cultures, races and languages all of them share one religion, Islam. They are expected to help and love each other and deal justly with their non-Muslim neighbours, because the Muslim family is based on good relations with other people.

Muslim families in Bradford.

Most commentators recognize that the family is still highly valued in all classes and ethnic groups in Britain. Though Basit [1997], quoting Leonard & Speakman [1986] said: 'certain parts of the country{Yorkshire} and certain ethnic groups{including South Asians} stress family relationships and recognize obligations to kin, beyond the nuclear family, more than others. The literature shows that families of South Asian origin are mainly close-knit, family loyalties are very strong. Great emphasis is placed on respect for elders. Blakemore and Boneham [1994] emphasised that 'despite a degree of conflict to be expected in any domestic group, family life in most Asian homes is warm'. They gave evidence from various research surveys that support this claim.

According to Modood and others [1997] 'In the population as a whole, marital partnerships have been changing rapidly. The pattern in the 1950s was that men and women married early and remained together for life. While that model still describes a large number of couples in the 1990s, both men and women have been marrying later than before. A high proportion of marriages end in separation or divorce, though many men and women remarried.' Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent [1998 p201] added,

'In many western countries the median age of marriage has increased. Later marriage, in itself, has been one of the reasons for fewer children. Couples are cohabiting more, instead of marrying or preliminary to marriage.'

But South Asians, on the other hand, are more often officially married than the white group.

Western lifestyles are perceived as not conducive to the welfare of the family. English family life, as described by Basit [1997], is perceived by many South Asians, particularly Muslim families, to be highly insecure and threatening. They see non-Muslim English people to have weak relationships, with little concept of family solidarity. Elderly people appear to live alone or they are often sent into residential homes, instead of being looked after by the younger generation. It is, however, admitted that this is a generalisation which cannot be applied to everyone ;families differ, depending on their background or nature of their life style. Nevertheless, it would seem that modern industrial society favours nuclear or independent families rather than other types of family. Therefore, urbanization such as has occurred in Britain is believed to result in loss of function for the family. As Anwar [1985] put it, a small size of family is ideal for meeting an industrial society's requirements for a mobile work force. This small-size family replaced the large rural one.

Consequently, the Muslim family in Britain has changed. For example, among Pakistanis in Britain, extended families do not exist in such great numbers as in Pakistan. Households are usually of two generations, compared to the three or more found in the place of origin.

Muslim families in Bradford try to maintain kin relationships, though they do not maintain co-residence to the same degree as in their country of origin, because it is difficult with

small houses and the requirements of the western life. Instead, they look for other solutions. For example, in the survey of this study, it was observed that some families try to maintain an extended structure by living in the same street. The men see each other in the Mosque daily and the females visit each other, just across the road, while their children see each other in the sub-school in the mosque and play together within one district.

Such change may seem to be a matter of custom, and of less importance compared with challenges to religion. Nevertheless, because of the particular nature of Islam as a total way of life and the role of the family, the younger generation of Muslims in Bradford are often confused and experience a conflict between meeting religious and family obligations on the one hand, and gaining total acceptance within the host community on the other. At the same time, the parents have difficulty educating their children to follow their ways.

However, young Muslims are taught that in Islam, the younger have to respect the older, especially their parents, and Muslims have to maintain good relationships with their relatives, even if they are not living with them in the same house. Also a Muslim is encouraged to visit his/her relatives, even if they live in another city.

My point here is that with the changes that have happened to Muslims in Bradford, there has been a shift from the extended to the nuclear family and with the difficulty of western life, a large number of Muslims have less contact with their relatives, and have become more independent. Therefore, they have less mutual support than in their own countries, or than when they first came to Bradford. This adds to the difficulty of preserving Muslim identity.

In Britain, it is normal now for couples to live together in long-term relationships without being married; indeed, such relationships are taking the place of marriage in many cases, although they are contrary to the commandments of all religions, including Islam, Christianity and Judaism. In some cases such behaviour represents submission to sexual desire. Young Muslims are looking at a society where there is free mingling between the

sexes in schools, clubs, and everywhere. So there is a huge gap between their educational experience and their parents' culture. Muslim youths can face difficulty in this situation, especially as the tradition of early marriage conflicts with life style in Britain, where young people are encouraged to pursue education or build a career before marriage. Also, problems can arise, particularly when parents try to force young people to follow their customs, rather than the religion, for example trying to arrange a marriage with someone of the same race, or forcing their sons to stay with them after they get married.

Finally, I agree that most Muslims families are smaller than before, although I disagree with the pessimistic hopeless view offered by some researchers for example Reid & Reich [1992], who said: 'since the beginning of the industrial era the nuclear family has replaced the extended family of traditional society, so that 'family' is no longer a dense network of rights and duties. It should be remembered that at a cultural level the immigrant family is itself breaking up. Where there was continuity between father and mother, between home and school, there is now disruption'.

On the contrary, Muslims can adapt to western culture while continuing as Muslims, by trying to overcome any problem that faces them. Undoubtedly, there are some Muslims who have become integrated to the extent of forgetting their identity, but that does not mean that all Muslims should follow them, to be accepted as part of the whole society.

3.2.2 The Society.

Although integration of minorities within the majority is the commonly preferred alternative in many societies as a major solution for minority problems, this is not the case in Britain, because the Muslim minority are trying to challenge assimilation. Muslim communities are bound together by bonds of loyalty within the community.

Many studies emphasise that Muslim communities are suffering because they refuse to integrate into western culture, although they are attempting to adapt to the new

environment. However, Muslims, meet many problems such as racism, difficulties in employment, housing etc, which it seems may be a result of discrimination in many cases. All these problems could challenge the Muslim identity.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that there are other reasons for their problems, which exist within the Muslim community itself. For example, some of them do not try improve their social and economic position and stay in old, small properties because they expect to live in Britain only temporarily.

Whatever the source of these difficulties, they can be a hindrance to Muslim minorities in western society and challenge their identity.

1. Racism.

Before presenting the arguments of researchers about the racism issue in Britain, we should understand the concepts “racism” and “black people” and the relationship between them.

Racism is probably the central concept in the sociology of race relations. Taylor and others [1996] said: “there are certain practices, customs and procedures in our society whose consequence is that black people have poorer jobs, health, housing and life chances than do the white majority.... Racism is a shorthand term for this combination of discriminatory practices, unequal relations and negative beliefs and attitudes”. Calhoun and others [1994] described racism as one of the most common forms of prejudice. It is based on view that certain physical attributes are related to moral and intellectual inferiority. One of the main results of prejudice against a racial or ethnic group is discrimination, which refers to social decisions about and action toward, people that are based on their ethnic identities.

Generally, researchers define racism as a reaction by the majority towards ethnic minorities who are practising some opinions or ideas which reflect their own culture. A point which may be added here is that researchers tend to ignore the role of religious

practice, based on revelation from God {*Allah*}, which can be a source of difference between the minority and society as whole.

Another term which is in common usage among researchers is **Black people**. Over the past few years, this term has been used to refer to people of African-Caribbean and South Asian origin in Britain, but it has been the subject of considerable argument.

Donald and Rattansi [1995] explained that “the African-Caribbean and South Asian people who migrated to Britain in the post-war period found themselves occupying a broadly similar structural position within British society as workers performing predominantly unskilled or semi-skilled jobs on the lowest rungs of the economy. These groups were then commonly described in popular, political and academic discourses as ‘coloured people’”

Although some members of ethnic minorities in Britain still call themselves ‘Black’ as a self-ascription, British usage of the term “black” has been criticised, on the ground that it refers, strictly, to the historical experience referred to above. Also, this term can be seen as meaningless, since many South Asians do not define themselves as black. Nor is it appropriate to Muslims, who define themselves not on the basis of colour [indeed, Muslims may be of any colour, including white] but on the basis of religion.

Background of racism.

The life of people from the South Asian sub-continent in Britain reflects different social norms, values, customs and lifestyles, with regard to different castes and religious groups, although these groups share some aspects of their history, so that there are some cultural styles which are common to them all. Similarly, British society includes many cultures among white people themselves. Brah [1996] emphasizes, however, that cultural differences are rarely the outcome of a simple process of differentiation. As he explained, the esteemed values and modes of behaviour in society are most likely to be those which are associated with the dominant groups in society. The dominant culture of a complex society is never a homogenous structure. It reflects different interests within the dominant

class. Subordinate cultures will not always be in open conflict with it. They may, for long periods, coexist with it, negotiate the spaces and gaps in it, make inroads into it.'

Discussions about racism must therefore, be understood within the context of the power relations among different groups.

Richardson and Lambert[1986] comment that the reason for racism may be traced back to the major structure and social process of the dominant society. So the main source of racism is located not in the heart and minds of people, nor in abstract cultural allegiances, but firmly in the principal structural arrangements of the society. If the social structure systematically generates sharp conflicts, whites blame blacks for what, in fact, are created problems of unemployment, housing shortages, and so on. Moreover, racial minorities in Britain generally have insufficient power to compete successfully in the economic and political struggle for scarce resources. Therefore, they constitute a disadvantaged section of the population.

The Muslims who came to Bradford during the 1950s were, as indicated in the previous section, part of a movement of labour migration in Bradford. Most of the jobs available to them were those which the white workers did not like. In the main, these were unskilled jobs. Brah [1996 p21] made an essential point when he said:

'as ex-colonial subjects, they belonged to a group whose country was once ruled by Britain. From the beginning, therefore, the encounter between Asians and the white population was circumscribed by colonial precedents.'

Additionally, the Muslims as Asians came with the idea that their stay would be only temporary. Consequently, they resided in cheap housing and tended to settle in the working class areas. Inadequate social services and poor educational facilities were common in these areas. Brah [1996] commented: "In the minds of the local residents, however, these problems gradually became associated with the presence of immigrants. However, it was Asian cultural practices which first came under attack. According to the stereotype, the

Asian was an undesirable who 'smelled of curry' was 'dirty' wore 'funny clothes' lived 'packed like sardines in a room' practiced 'strange religions' and so forth."

Racism as Practice.

The term 'racism' is also used to refer to behaviour, policies or types of treatment which are informed by racial disagreement. This includes individual acts, for example a white employer refusing a job to a black applicant simply because he/she is black, and institutional policies, such as a local authority refusing to make reasonable housing provisions for ethnic minorities.

Unfortunately, the use of the term 'racism,' then, refers not only to ideas and beliefs rooted in culture, but also to 'behaviour' influenced by these beliefs. [Brah, 1996].

There are several indicators that both white people and minorities believe to an increasing extent that there is racial prejudice and discrimination in British society.

Modood et al.[1997] noted in their study survey that "most people think that employers discriminate, and many members of minority groups think that they personally have been discriminated against". Increases in these beliefs since 1982 have been greatest among South Asians, and despite the rising level of consciousness, discrimination is still common.

The Muslim community in Bradford face racism in many fields in daily life, but the more important is against their religion, according to Modood et al [1997 p352], who claimed that

'This survey is the first of its kind to indicate a religious component of racial discrimination.More than 40 per cent of South Asians who felt that they had been discriminated against believed that the refusal of a job was due to their religion, usually in combination with their race.'

This could be because the daily observances of Muslim religion require the provision of certain facilities. and most Muslims refuse to give up these observances in return for a good job.

A number of studies conducted recently have demonstrated that direct discrimination occurs in employment selection decisions. Mason [1995] repeated studies such as that of Brown and Gay which revealed continuing systematic discrimination. Overall, the researchers found that while 90 per cent of white applicants were successful, only 63 per cent of Asians received positive responses.

The media also play a role in shaping public opinion, so any biases in their presentation are a serious cause of racism. For example, Muslims are often represented as terrorists or accused of crimes {see British Muslims Monthly survey, June 1996}. The media often portray British Muslims as alien 'outsiders'. They predominately reflect only western culture and ignore other cultures; when they do make concessions to Asian cultures, they focus on Hindus and Sikhs rather than the Muslim community {Ibid, May 1998}.

Although it would be difficult to give full details and examples in every field of activity of how Muslims can face racism in Britain, some general statistics may serve to indicate the size of the problem.

Anwar [1998] mentioned that 'In 1994, it was reported that there were a huge number of incidents of crime and threats against Asian and Afro-Caribbean people. { Guardian, 11 February 1994}. However, as a result of increased publicity of such incidents, more ethnic people from minorities are coming forward to report racial incidents. Two further points are worth making: {1} that racial attacks on individuals affect not one person but whole families and their friends: {2} it is estimated that, between 1970 and 1989, 74 people died as a result of racially motivated attacks {Gordon 1994}.'

Anwar [1998] added that 'a British Crime Survey in 1991 showed that 56 per cent of racially motivated incidents involving Asians were assaults and 66 per cent were seen as threats {Home Office 1992}'.

In Bradford for example, in June 1995, clashes occurred in streets between Asian youths and the police. It appears, generally, that in some areas the police are unfair in their

dealing with the local community. Almost of a third of respondents in Anwar's [1994] survey described relations between the police and local community as 'bad' or 'very bad'. In recent years, the rise of specifically anti-Muslim forms of racism has led to calls for new or extended legislation. As several newspapers {Dudley Chronicle, 13.03.98, Jewish Chronicle, 27.03.98, Muslim News, 28.03.98 Q- News, 01.04,98 Muslim News, 01.04.98} report {see British Muslims Monthly Survey. April, 1998}

It was doubtless the 'Rushdie Affair' which fuelled these forms and propelled into the public sphere numerous examples, issues and questions surrounding Muslim, anti-Muslim and facets of law. At present, Muslims are not protected from discrimination by law [Nonneman, Niblock and Szajkowski 1997].

It seems reasonable to conclude that the British government must accept the reality that British society is a multi-religious rather than a secular society. Therefore in the schemes of housing, health, economy, education and so on the political decision should consider the minorities, by enacting special laws.

Also, more attention should be paid to educating both whites and non whites, through the media and in formal education, to give them a broad understanding of other cultures. Consequently Muslims will adapt to western culture while preserving their identity; at the same time, non-Muslims will be aware that Muslim British represent part of British society, not migrants, and will deal with them more justly. But the continued hostility between different groups can only lead to more conflict.

Also the Muslim community must know that they can reduce racism by accepting that they have become British Muslim, not Asian migrants. Unfortunately, a large number of Muslims are still living in small houses with limited education, while building a nice house in their country of origin and dreaming of returning home .

2. Employment.

Most studies focus on unemployment among the Muslim minority as the major problem facing Muslims, in British society in the employment field, while ignoring the other problems which Muslims can face in employment and which can threaten Muslim identity, such as difficulty in observing religious duties.

Unemployment was not seen as a problem for the first 15 or so years of Muslim presence within Bradford. By the end of the 1970s, and into the 1980s, however, there was increased unemployment in Bradford which began seriously to affect the Muslim population, as those with jobs began to lose them, as a result of the decline in traditional industries such as textiles [the Bradford Commission Report, 1996].

The absence of work encouraged a trend using a distinctive religious faith as an open expression of personal identity within the community, because the Muslim minority felt that they faced a challenge from outside.

Communication difficulties can play a role in high rates of unemployment or low job levels, among those who have poorer English language skills, especially Muslim women. However, there is evidence that discrimination, direct or indirect, plays the main role in the high of rate unemployment among the Muslim minority in Britain, as emphasised by Modood et al. [1997], Basit [1997], Brah [1996] and Richmond [1988].

Mason [1995] commented that the 1991 Census provides evidence that self-employment is generally more common among minority ethnic groups than among the white population. He added; [p57]

‘These limitations of {self employment} must be borne in mind in considering the argument that self-employment is a way for members of minority groups to avoid the effects of discrimination in the labour market.’

Unfortunately, this discrimination applies even to those born and brought up in Britain. There is extensive discrimination against them, such that even when they have equivalent or better qualification than indigenous applicants, their search for jobs is less successful. The Labour Force Survey of 1991 {Department of Employment ,1991} shows that

unemployment rates for ethnic minorities are higher than for the majority group. The highest unemployment rates are among the Pakistani, Bangladeshi and West Indian communities and among 16-24 year olds in each of the main ethnic minority groups. This situation does not seem to have changed in the last five years [Basit1997].

In the case of young women, the rate of unemployment is even higher than among young men as Brah [1996] notes. The same point is made by Basit [1997], who comments that “discrimination is compounded by the dual effect of race and gender inequality”.

In this situation, some parents encourage their children to achieve a good education which will help them to avoid prejudice in the labour market. Therefore the children concentrate on their study, rather than wasting time on other things which could threaten their identity, such as gambling etc.

Nevertheless, there are fears that the threat of unemployment may lead some Muslims especially women, to deny their religious belief in order to get a good job. Such was the view of some of the Muslims who were interviewed for this thesis.

On the other hand, those Muslims who are employed face threats to their identity at work. In discussing these, we will consider here not the first generation who migrated to Britain, because most of them have retired or are self-employed; moreover they mostly come from rural backgrounds and it is difficult to change their convictions. Rather, the concern here is with the new generation who are entering the labour market.

The Muslim worker is usually Islamically adjusted, family centered and economically active. Muslims are concerned to provide the best possible standard of living to meet their social and economic duties. At the same time, Muslims seek to practise Islam in an environment which offers a wide range of temptations, e. g usury, alcohol, gambling etc, which are more easily accessible to them than at home.

For example, Islam forbids Muslims to drink alcohol, to eat anything produced from the pig, to gamble, or to engage in any form of usury. To a British worker, brought up in Western society, these religious laws may appear a harsh limitation on the freedom of the

person. As McDermott and Ahsan [1993] comment, "A non-Muslim may quite lightheartedly and without any malice invite a Muslim worker to have a pint of beer and so on. The first time a Muslim may refuse but eventually, out of embarrassment or desire, may accept."

Another challenge is extra-marital sexual relations, which are forbidden in Islam. A Muslim worker who is sexually harassed or is tempted by close daily contact with members of the opposite sex may suffer strain and confusion, and may decide to leave the job as the final solution.

The main area where the Muslim employee finds difficulty is the lack of facilities for daily prayers, such as a small break and a place for ablution and prayer. The other difficulty which can face the Muslim employee is that Muslims at work will be fasting during the month of *Ramadan*. The fast { no food or drink during the day } may make it difficult for Muslims to do their best, particularly in work which is physically demanding. It is also difficult for Muslims to watch their colleagues { non-Muslims } eating and drinking during the breaks..

Further, Muslim workers draw attention to another difficulty, which concerns their food. Although it is known that Muslims must keep away from any food including bacon or any other foods produced from the pig, there are some who would not worry about other meat such as chicken or lamb, if it is slaughtered by Jews or Christians. However, if provision of *Halal* meat would make Muslims more comfortable, it would be better to do it.

According to McDermott and Ahsan [1993] that is in the interest of industrial establishments and the community as a whole to encourage Muslims to follow their religion. This can be done by providing adequate good facilities for Muslim workers to observe their religious duties.

3- Disadvantage in Housing

Explanations of the pattern of disadvantage in housing have rested on three main variables, cultural difference between the incoming and indigenous groups, class and race. Although there is, now, as Sarre et al, [1989] pointed out, a significant body of literature in this field from geographers, sociologists and social anthropologists, the picture of the underlying processes remains one of confusion.

Most authors would agree that several factors contribute to Muslim minority concentration and segregation from the local white British population. The most important of these have been identified as socio-economic and cultural factors which appear to have influenced the minorities' decision to take cheap housing as well as to encourage them to live close to their compatriots. For example Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent [1998] noted the tendency for people of a similar culture to congregate together to maintain their culture, enabling access to religious buildings and to supplies of particular foods and clothes.

Many commentators would agree that the desire to maximise remittance to the homeland and minimise expenditure in the host society has been an important determinant of Asian minority housing aspirations in the past.

Jackson [1987] shows some evidences reflecting racial inequality against ethnic minorities which may have contributed to segregating them from the society in the past. For example, surveys of racial discrimination published in the mid-1960s found that black people often failed to register for council housing because they believed they would be unlikely to qualify.

There is now a significant body of research into the operation of both public and private housing market institutions, for example, the role of local authorities. As Sarre et al, [1989] note, outcomes from these studies have suggested that such public institutions are more than passive intermediaries in the allocation of housing resources. Most significantly,

assessments of competitor suitability for resource allocation depend not only upon their housing need but also upon a range of social criteria, which provide cues to an individual's background and lifestyle.. Also private housing institutions, such as estate agents, have played a role in steering ethnic minority into specific types of housing in particular areas of the city.

Various studies have documented the ways in which migrants to Bradford formed concentrations within particular areas, and the reasons for their doing so. Modood and others [1997 p185] argue that:

'that ethnic minorities may prefer to reside within concentrations of their own group, for reasons of social support, shared linguistic, cultural and religious traditions.'

A large number of the Muslim minority in Bradford are living inside the city, and close to each other, because when the first groups arrived in Bradford, they settled around the industrial area and they built facilities such as mosques. They then tended to remain in the same place, especially as they felt more secure living close to each other. Currently this position leads them to suffer two disadvantages: {a} the type of property, e.g. housing which is old, small and does not have good facilities; {b} racial disadvantage in both the public and private sectors.

However, the 1991 Census showed that the owner- occupation rate in all Britain for Asian households was greater {77 per cent} than for whites {66.6 per cent}.and there were differences between Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi households. Owner- occupation among Indians was higher than the others. It appears that the improvement is partly due to the introduction of the Conservative government's policies in the 1980s when local authority tenants were given encouragement to buy their houses from their local councils.

But we must remember that higher ownership among unskilled Asians with low incomes means that they are often less able to maintain and improve their houses, which leads to further problems, especially as the high of the size of Asian households {4.2} was almost double that of white households {2.4}.[Anwar1998].

According to him[1998 {P76}]

‘A higher ownership among unskilled Asians with low income means that they are often less able to maintain and improve their houses, which lead to further problems.’

Generally, we can say that the condition of many Muslim houses is determined not only by their incomes but also by the type and age of the property which is related to many factors. Some of these come from the minority themselves, as mentioned above, while others come from the majority, such as discrimination.

The housing conditions of Muslims in Bradford have been the subject of several studies, which provide evidence that they are disadvantaged.

For example Taimuri [1996] mentioned that overcrowding is a problem in the Bradford West area, where 2,500 houses have been found to be overcrowded {more than one person per room}, the areas which are tenanted by Muslims such as Whetley Lane and Manningham, having the worst overcrowding in Bradford.

Moreover, according to the Bradford Commission Report {1995} a large percentage of the housing in the Asian settlements is not just overcrowded, but is physically in a poor state. The report emphasizes that the majority of the housing in Manningham is Victorian and Edwardian terraced property.

The 1993 House Condition Survey showed that well over half of the city's pre-1919 properties were in disrepair, compared to only 13 per cent of those built during the past 30 years. The majority of Bradford's Muslims live in this sector of the private housing stock.

Ratcliffe [1996] reported that a detailed analysis of 1991 census indicators and 1992 council records was used to paint a clear picture of areas of stress within Bradford District. Stress was seen to derive from economic factors {unemployment, households lacking a care, and families with no earner}, social factors {only dependants in a household, lone parents, and large families without a car}, and housing factors {crowded households, households lacking use of the basic amenities of a bath/shower or inside toilet, and households without central heating}.

Figure number 3.1 shows the distribution of the major South Asian populations in the Bradford district. The apparent segregation of communities { particularly on the part of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis } is viewed by Ratcliffe [1996] as likely to have been a function of the complex interplay over time between various factors: lack of capital, 'racial steering' by housing market professionals, individual acts of discrimination and so on.

Anwar [1998 {p82}] notes:

'Racial discrimination in housing takes the form of white people being housed by local authorities in preference to Asians and other ethnic minorities, or discriminatory attitudes and behaviour by landlords, estate agents and/or accommodation agencies'.

I would added here that a small proportion of Muslims in the present survey claimed that they were given the worst areas, and some of them had experienced personal discrimination in housing. In addition to what has been indicated above, another reason why many Muslims are living in council houses and in small and old properties, is that a large number of them refuse to deal in certain transactions which are forbidden in Islam but are normal practice in the culture of the non- Muslim country, such buying a property on a mortgage. This can make it difficult for Muslims to get a good property.

It may be suggested that this disadvantage in relation to housing, particularly when reinforced by negative media images of Muslims, can cause dissatisfaction among some young Muslims and cause them to renounce their identity.

Figure 3.1 South Asians: Major Population Areas In Bradford District



- South Asian Population >65<70%
- ▨ South Asian Population >45<50%
- ▧ South Asian Population >25<30%
- ▩ South Asian Population >20<25%
- South Asian Population >10<15%

Finally, it should be noted that the Local Government and Housing Act 1989 sets out the conditions under which specific areas can be designated as renewal areas for replacement or improvement. In 1993, Bradford launched research aimed at assessing the eligibility for status of certain of those areas which its census based analysis had suggested were areas of multiple stress. This process led in due course to the formal designation of three Renewal Areas; Manningham, West Bowling and Lawkholme. [Ratcliffe{1996}].

Furthermore there is presently a trend among Muslims, especially wealthier people or young Muslims who are educated and have a good job, to move to other areas such as Bingley. Most of these families were planning to set up as separate households. Most of them are in a good position to buy good quality housing and maintain a comfortable life style. That means that there are likely to be significant changes in the patterns of household sizes/structures among Muslim people over the coming years. Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent [1998] note that some of those people were socially mobile and moved to the suburbs of cities.

4- The Media.

The forms of communication that reach large numbers of people in the world are television, radio, videos, records, tapes, books, magazines, and newspapers. While all the mass media are important agents of socialization, the most influential is probably television, as emphasized by Calhoun et al,[1994]. Overall, children in the West spend more time watching television than they spend in school or, very likely, in direct communication with their parents. Therefore, the media are a major influence on young people. For this reason, this section will focus on Muslim teenagers, more than the Muslim adults.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims in the West are unhappy with the content of many shows, especially the amount of violence. Many studies claim that watching television can encourage aggression in children. Other studies suggest that watching television can threaten identity. For example, Skelton and Valentine [1998] suggested that the media are

an important cultural space for the production of 'new ethnicities', however, there has been little work considering how these ideas are received and transformed by young people.

Studies of the production of identity remind us that identity is never a stable product.

Among the most important agents of cultural change in today's world are the mass media, especially television. Television and other electronic media are the latest step in a long line of innovations aimed at helping people communicate. Calhoun et al [1994] argue that language was the first distinctly human medium of communication. Language dramatically changed the nature of society. It enabled people to create complex cultures, to share a variety of beliefs, values, knowledge, and symbols, and to pass those cultural elements on to the next generations.

This view can lead us to interpret why Muslims who can speak English tend to change more than other Muslims who have more difficulty with the language. This becomes more clear if we compare the older and younger generations.

An important recent note is the work of Marie Gillespie [1995] which examines the role of TV talk among young people in Southall in the construction and negotiation of cultural identities. Gillespie's detailed analysis of conversation about the viewing of soap operas, adverts and local and national news provides considerable insight into the ways in which the media is used productively by consumers both to produce new spaces of identity and to maintain and strengthen boundaries.

In Bradford the video cassette recorder {VCR} for example, has been appropriated by many parents and grandparents as a means of recreating cultural traditions in Britain; but most of their efforts are rejected by young people. Although there were as many as 900 Indian films in circulation in 1985, including some Punjabi and Urdu films, as Gillespie mentioned in her book, Hindi films predominated. Hindi films have achieved a remarkable following in India and in Britain among immigrants. The point here is that, although most Hindi films reflect the Hindu religion, rather than Islam, at least they reflect Asian culture. Moreover, Indian cinema has adopted various languages which makes it accessible to

speakers of Punjabi, Urdu and other South Asian languages. This leads us to say that such films can help to maintain the home languages.

Indian films are further improved by the prominence of music and songs, reflecting popular culture in South Asia. Gillespie [1995 p79] said:

'During the 1960 and 1970s, the cinema was the principal weekend leisure activity and represented an occasion for families and friends to get together; the social event of the week. When VCRs came on the market, many families were quick to seize the opportunity to extend their choice and control over viewing in the home.'

Although the public cinema was played a very important role in maintaining culture of Asian people outside the home, the arrival of video, whereby the romance and drama of the Bombay film industry became available to people at home. Family members were encouraged to stay to gather at home to watch the film rather than go out to the cinema. This both helped the Asians to preserve their language and culture and reinforced the segregation of the Muslim community.

Whether or not the contents of the Indian films are consist with Islamic values may be of less importance among older people, compared with the opportunity to feel comfortable hearing and watching something reflecting aspects of their culture or indeed, anything from the east, especially in view of the domination of western culture in all the media.

Although some researchers have produced evidence and arguments suggesting that watching these films can serve to further isolate Asian people from mainstream British society, others highlight their advantages for instance as a source of recreation for women who spend most of their time at home. The weekend family gathering around the set is a social leisure activity. Some families weave conversation around the film, which provides opportunities for the discussion of issues raised by members of the family in response to the film. On the other hand, fathers generally control access to the TV screen at home.

Since, as indicated earlier, films serve the purpose of language preservation, it is not surprising that some parents use these films to encourage their children to learn their mother tongue. Also, many older Hindus use the VCR to transfer religious values to their

children. In contrast, Muslim parents in general do not use Asian films for this purpose, and in the survey conducted in this study, observations during visits to many Muslim community centre in Bradford revealed that the popular Indian films, songs and music were not related to Islam. So although this kind of film has the ability to impart languages and traditions, it is still unable to show Islam and Muslim are unable to use it for this purpose. Where cultural identity is construed as being based not only on language and traditions but also on religion, this may be seen as a factor which conflicts with or at least fails to support the Muslim identity.

Media and young Muslims' life styles.

It is very important to indicate here that in spite of all the ways which mentioned above in which Indian cinema can help to preserve national identity, there are disadvantages, For example some young Asians claim that the more recent Hindi films are challenging 'traditional' values, and that in the last decade, the content of such films has become similar to that of western films.

This brings us to the show of what young Muslims see on T.V , and the possible impact of their viewers upon young Muslims' self image and their life style. The most popular categories of ads advertisements among both boys and girls concern products which aim at satisfying the body physically, or have social significance. It is not surprising that advertisements for soft drinks and snack food feature highly in their discussions of advertising. Thereafter, gender differences in advertisement preferences appear. While boys are attracted to humour and advertisements for beer, girls tend to prefer those which feature male characters and the latest fashions in clothes.

Style is self-defining and culturally defining. Clothes are part of the social and symbolic construction of a self which can be seen, classified and judged. The cultural importance attached to clothes, and the social and symbolic meaning they articulate and express, raises important questions about social identity and the criteria of group membership. Clothes are

markers of religious distinction: for example Muslim women tend to wear *salwaar kameez and chunni* { baggy pajama trousers, tunic and chiffon scarf} [Gillespie 1995].

American 'street culture' is a major force in popular youth cultures throughout Britain today, in terms of rap music and dance crazes as well as street fashion and style {Ibid}. Cross-media advertising plays a crucial role in shaping teenage consumer culture, and transmits this kind of fashion among some Muslim youth, particularly boys. One of the disadvantages of this style is that some fashionable clothes are very expensive, and young Muslims may pressures their parents to buy them the same clothes as their friends. When families have low income, they are unable to meet these demands, and some boys turn to drug dealing to get money.

Another aspect of media influence is that some films encourage youth to think that they should be independent from their parents, that they are men and should have greater freedom. In contrast, other young people resist all such modification. Indeed, some of them, under pressure from their parents, refuse to eat English food such as fish and chips because they view it as a challenge to their identity!

My own observations during visits to secondary schools in Bradford to collect the data and in many places in the city such as shops, and in the street, etc, were that the majority of young Muslim girls still wear traditional Asian clothes, and in some cases cover the whole body, even their faces, as Islamic dress, *hajib*, while for boys it seems more acceptable for them to wear western clothes. Indeed Asian boys rarely wear traditional clothes except in the mosque or at feasts such as weddings. It is of interest to explore the significance of dress.

Much of the early writing on youth cultures emphasised the significance of fashion and style in the creation of sub-cultural identities. And the role of dress as a contested boundary marker between different group identities. Some argue that for Muslim women, different styles of dress have been used as highly significant markers of difference and their bodies have become contested sites of cultural representation. For example Skelton and Valentine

[1998] in their study explore of process of the construction of 'new ethnicities' at the level of the everyday lives of some young Muslim women.

For the young women interviewed in Skelton and Valentine's study, dress and style were important topics for discussion. The authors concluded their study that most of the girls interviewed were well aware how these meanings shifted in different places. In their reflections on the meanings of different dress styles, the participants showed how they sought to define their own identities by redefining codes associated with different styles of dress. This process of negotiation is complex, since individuals are positioned within a variety of discourses which produce a constellation of different meanings around dress. On the one hand they seek to challenge the traditional/ 'Western' dichotomy which structures dominant representations. At the same time they also challenge the expectations of a local Asian community which places a high premium on female sexual purity and morality.

'Some have challenged them through the creation of new Muslim identities which are expressed through particular dress styles, while others sought to challenge the meanings associated with this dichotomy. Thus, many agreed that they might wear different clothes at school from those that they wore at home though they denied that wearing different clothes in different places had any special significance.' [Ibid. p55]

However, in spite of all of the images presented in the mass media, some of which may threaten Muslim women's identity in the west, some recent studies like the above appear to show that Muslim women are not only aware of the traditional life style of their parents but they are going beyond it to establish a new Muslim identity.

Muslim community and the Media.

It is sad to say that there is dissatisfaction among Muslim people about the representation of Islam and Muslims in some programmes in the non-Muslim media. Many British Muslims complain of ignorance of their culture or that Asian culture is presented as old fashioned. For example, the debate continues over the showing of the film, "Border", which is a story based on the 1971 war between India and Pakistan. The film is being used by the media and some individuals to create divisions, and may offend certain nationalist sympathies. Siddiqui of the Muslim Parliament has now seen the film and has condemned

the scene which shows the Qur'an being burned. He has written to the distributors, suggesting that the scene be cut. [British Muslims Monthly Survey for July 1997].

In another muddle, a film shown in the Warner West End cinema in Leicester Square was picketed by Muslims on 9 May, protesting at the depiction of Muslims in the film as terrorists [British Muslims Monthly Survey for May 1996]. The newspapers provide other examples. Q-News 15.1.98, reports on how it contacted The Times {*Times Weekend Supplement*, 3.1.98}, to complain about a photograph of a dog eating from a plate decorated with the name 'Allah'. [British Muslims Monthly Survey for January, 1998]. Several newspapers {Independent on Sunday, 8.2.98, ISM, Birmingham Post 14.2.98, Daily Jang, Western Daily Press, 17.2.98} have published articles occasioned by Salman Rushdie entering the tenth year since the *fatwa* against him [British Muslims Monthly Survey for February, 1998]. Many Muslims consider such films and articles to be a challenge to their identity and insensitive to Muslim feeling.

The desire for minorities to be fairly represented in the media is reflected in the growth of ethnic minority newspapers {West Indian Gazette, in 1958} and an increasing number of groups are taking the first steps towards establishing alternative radio stations for minorities' needs and news. On television, Channel 4 has opened the door to minorities with *Eastern Eye*, Indian films, and so forth. There have also been comedy programmes such as *No Problem* and eastern cookery classes aimed at teaching the masses how to cook a curry. [Bhat and others {1988}].

Nevertheless, it is rare for the analysis or the voices of minority to be heard in the white mass media. So the Muslim community in Bradford seeks to establish alternative radio stations in Urdu and English to teach the Muslim minority their religion, especially in *Ramadan* month, and they have established some newspapers to reflect some of the needs and news of Asian people. Some Muslims have established a satellite channel which can now be received across the world. All these alternatives are considered as a result of the

feeling among Muslims in Bradford that although they represent a high number of the population, they are still ignored by the white media.

5. Other difficulties.

In addition to the threats mentioned above, Muslims face problems relating to facilities and identity in other aspects of life. For example in medical care there are difficulties related to medical examination in the surgery or in the hospital, women and childbirth, hospitalization and the death of Muslim relatives, for example, the need to fly the corpse home in some cases.

Another area of difficulty is political activity. It is interesting to note the gap between white and Asian registrations for the vote. Anwar [1998], discussing reasons for non-registration, suggested that in addition to doubts about eligibility criteria, some Muslims face language difficulty, general alienation from politics, and fear of racial harassment and racial attacks from extreme right-wing groups.

Finally, it will be made clear by showing the above points in the various sections of this chapter that the Islamic identity is challenged by various types of difficulties as a result of the Muslim minority living in a non-Muslim society. But it is noted that some challenges exist within the Muslim community itself, e.g. through their clinging to the belief that their stay will be only temporary. This leads them to settle for cheap housing in poor areas, where inadequate social services and poor educational facilities are common. Consequently the local residents gradually come to associate these problems with the immigrants, which fuels racism. It is also noted that the media play a sensitive role in widening the gap between Muslims and non-Muslims.

This situation is discussed to show that this gap cannot be filled without using education as a vehicle to raise awareness of both Muslims and non-Muslims of each other and to give them opportunity to interact without conflict.

However, it is impossible to recount all the other difficulties and threats which Muslims can face in a non-Muslim society and one chapter alone would not suffice for this purpose.

Therefore, the next chapter will focus in more detail on the most serious issue in preservation or loss of Muslim identity, namely, education.

Summary.

There is a growing interest among researchers concerning the position of Muslims in western Europe, consequent upon the large-scale immigration of labourers from Muslim countries nearly four decades ago. Although Muslims are free to practise their faith, they may find themselves in a hostile environment, and suffer from a sense of alienation.

It is common for any group which migrates to a new country to have difficulties adjusting to a new way of life. The Muslim community is strongly attached to its own identity, so they may view feel that western culture, is by nature, a threat to their identity. The problem is compounded by racial discrimination and hostility from some people of the white community.

Also, the efforts of Muslims to preserve their religion and culture mark them out as “different” and make it harder for them to be accepted as British, which increases the tendency of Muslims to form closed communities within the larger society.

On the whole, it appears that there is willingness among Muslims in Britain to adjust to the institutions of this country and become a part of the society, but this does not mean that they are not facing any problems. There have been several recent examples which made Muslims feel that they are not being treated equally.

To understand better the challenges to identity, some brief background was given about the Muslim community in Bradford. Knowing how and why early Muslim settlers came to work and live in Bradford and adjust to a new life, will help us to appreciate the pressures that they faced in preserving their Islamic identity in the beginning of the flux of migrations and later when they became citizens.

This chapter showed that the challenge to the identity could come from both sides, Muslim and non- Muslim. For example, most Muslim workers came from rural areas and most of them had migrated to Britain for work. A large number of them had minimal education, so

some of them failed to cope with culture shock. Some found integration into Western culture an effective solution, but others chose to retain their values, despite the difficulties they can face. Some of them brought their customs and tried to force the new generation to accept them as a way of life in the new culture, and they teach their children that they will be living in Britain for only a limited time, so they do not need to improve their position in different aspects of life. So, for example, they settle in cheap housing in relatively deprived areas, where social problems become identified in people's minds with immigration, leading to racist discrimination against them, particularly in the media.

However, Muslims face other challenges to their identity. For example the challenge to the family could be explained by the large number of Muslims who have less contact with their relatives, and have become more independent. The position is made more difficult with increased unemployment among Muslims and the bad condition of the property that they live in. Moreover, Muslim parents feel sad when they notice that their children have become victims of the western media which poses a challenge to their identity by neglecting their culture and at the same time attracting them by showing and promoting activities which conflict with Islam, such as alcohol, or which represent Muslims as terrorists etc. Therefore Muslims, particularly some youths who grew up in Britain, because they suffer from discrimination in many fields, do not see Islam as so central to their identity.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the British government must accept the reality that British society can be multi-cultural and secular at the same time. Therefore, in housing, health, economic and education programmes should take account of minorities such as Muslims by special regulations to protect them from discrimination. However, a major role in overcoming problems that threaten Muslim identity, could be played by education. Thus, the next chapter will consider how Muslims are catered for within the British education system, to overcome some of the challenges which have been mentioned in this chapter.

Education

Introduction.

4.1 Education and Identity.

4.2 English Education.

4.3 Islamic Education.

4.4 Multicultural Education.

4.5 The Problems which face Muslim Pupils and their Needs.

4.6 Geography of Education in Bradford.

4.7 Voluntary Aided Muslim Schools.

Summary.

Introduction.

As explained in the last chapter, the challenges to Islamic identity in different aspects of Muslim life in Bradford, lead us to assert the importunate of education {formal and informal} in maintaining Muslim identity. In this chapter, therefore, the focus will be on formal education in state schools, to show the effect on Muslims of the lack of Islamic education.

Although there are studies which show that a large number of the younger generation, especially those born in Britain, find the idea of separate Islamic education in Britain unacceptable, such findings could support the view that the Muslim minority face the challenge of loss of identity. Rather than suggesting that there is no need for separate Muslim schools, such findings can be interpreted as reflecting a lack of teaching about the importance of Islamic education.

This chapter will try to show the importance of education in transmitting cultural values, implying that education is an important factor in preserving identity. To achieve this, it will be necessary to clarify what education is and what it means for non-Muslims and Muslims. Then, the problem of concern in this study will be highlighted.

4.1. Education and Identity.

Education is shaped by many factors: historical, political, economic, legal, social, religious, etc. In sum, it is a complex issue, which deserves study.

The main purpose here is to clarify the role of education in maintaining Islamic identity, with reference to previous studies.

It is accepted that **education** transmits the values of one generation to the next. Education as described by Murad [1986], is the key to the future. He explained that the term education was used not in the narrow sense of school and curriculum, but in the wider sense of changing hearts, minds and lives. Therefore, education is not just a way of transferring information. It is a resource for making the culture and a tool for its transfer. This meaning is emphasised by Calhoun and others [1994] who see education as the formal, deliberate,

systematic transmission of a cultures' skills, knowledge, and values from one generation to the next.

Education is a multi-purpose activity. The importance of its social purposes are undeniable.

At the very minimum, as described by Mitchell [1997 p5],

'It can impart those basic skills and knowledge necessary for human survival. But it can go much further than this. By the way it shapes the aspirations of young people it can help sustain and develop a sense of community and national identity.'

Thus, the school plays a vital role in keeping alive many ideas and values of the culture by passing them to next generation.

Education, as expressed by Azim [1985], helps each new generation to prepare for adult social life. Its aim is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and mental states. According to Alsadan [1995],it also contributes to the development of humanity in cultural terms.

Every person has the ability of learning to think and to adjust to society. Thus, as

Azim [1985 p5] asserts:

'Education is not the transfer of total products of earlier generations to newcomers, nor is it an imitating performance for a new generation.'

Rather it is, as Azim [1985] says, a cycle of learning that every generation tries to accept and modify according to the circumstances of their own society. He asserts that education has the ability to change the trends of the new generation and to support development of the individual, whatever his society.

Since education has the ability to do all this, its purpose may be more than has been mentioned above. Let us look at some aims related to the issue of function of education in maintaining identity.

It can be used to develop people individually, by teaching them good values, the ability to think and to modify their society according to acceptable standards. In this way the younger generation can be made to realize their responsibilities, according to the desires and needs of society.

However, there are different aims for education, such the idea that education is a continuous process of learning which prepares individuals for the membership of a particular society or social group. That means education can play a role in learning to live with others.

For example it teaches children to adjust themselves so that they can grow to live happily as useful members of their own family, group, school, neighbourhood, country and the world

Therefore, this type of learning encourages people to live in peace and co-operate in forming a stable society as good citizens. According to Azim [1985], education trains people so they may achieve skills necessary for life and also may obtain a proper position in society. In this society, the members learn to become more independent and able to think, to express their thoughts clearly and to solve problems.

4.2. English Education.

Although government grants for education were first made in 1833, it was the 1870 Education Act in England and Wales which originally enshrined the idea of compulsory elementary education with government aid. There were two types of elementary school, church voluntary schools and state schools provided by school boards. Attendance at school became compulsory in the 1888 for children aged between five and ten, and the school leaving age was progressively raised to 14 by 1918.

The national system of education was introduced for the first time by the 1902 Education Act, under which local government became responsible for state education and for helping to finance the voluntary schools. The system was supervised by the Board of Education.

In 1944 a new Education Act raised the school leaving age to 15, and schools were divided into primary and secondary. All children were given a secondary education, and the newly created Ministry of Education was empowered to develop a national education policy.

Local government remained responsible for administering the system.

Children were allocated to different secondary schools { grammar, secondary technical or secondary modern } on the basis of selection tests taken at the age of 11. Fee paying in grammar schools was abolished. Local education authorities were required to prepare and submit to the Minister of Education, education development plans covering the whole process of primary and secondary education and at the same time to proceed with the planned development of technical and adult education through schemes of further education.

In the 1960s and 1970s the selective system was gradually replaced by comprehensive schools, which take pupils of all abilities. The school leaving age was raised to 16 in 1972-73 [Aspects of Britain { Education } 1996].

When this study began, schools run by Bradford LEA were organised, after some Nursery provision, in three levels: First Schools for children aged 5-9, Middle Schools for children aged 9-13 and Upper Schools for those aged 13-18 [the Bradford Commission report, June 1995]. This position is changing starting in September 1999, however, when Bradford reverted to the two-tier system followed by most other LEAs: Primary schools for children ages 5-11 and Secondary schools for children aged 11-16.

In recent years the Government has emphasised the need to improve the standards of education. This led to the 1988 Education Reform Act creating the National Curriculum, which is being introduced into state schools in England and Wales with the aim of achieving consistently high education standards. The National Curriculum is a framework and not a detailed syllabus [aspects of Britain { Education Reforms in Schools, 1994 }.]

Among the aims of this curriculum are promotion of the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school.

Simmons & Simmons [1994 p17] said:

'The National Curriculum consists of ten foundation subjects which state maintained schools are required by law to teach. Three of the foundation subjects—English, Mathematics and Science are designated as core subjects. The remaining foundation subjects are art, geography, history, music, physical education and technology, with a modern foreign language for pupils from the age of 11. Religious education is not part of the National Curriculum but all schools are required to teach it and since

September 1994, sex education has become a statutory requirement in Key stages 3 and 4.

The National Curriculum is structured in four Key Stages or phases of learning:

**Key Stage 1 Pupils aged 5-7 ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,, Key Stage 2 Pupils aged 7-11
Key Stage 3 Pupils aged 11-14,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,, Key Stage 4 Students aged 14-16.'**

Although religious education is not part of the National Curriculum, all school are required to teach it. Syllabuses may be locally agreed syllabuses, but should emphasise Christianity, while taking account of the teaching and practices of other principal religions. Parents can withdraw their children from religious education classes. Further, parents are entitled to withdraw their children from all or part of sex education classes other than certain elements in the National Curriculum Science.

Regarding finance of state schools, according to Simmons&Simmons [1994]:

other reforms in the education Reform act relate to Financial Delegation to Schools and Grant-maintained Schools. All Secondary schools and most primary schools have now been given responsibility for their own budgets with school governors being responsible for expenditure on staff salaries, books and equipment. Governors are also responsible for the selection of new staff including the head-teacher.

At first there was considerable consensus between politicians and educationalists concerning the purpose of the National Curriculum but this fell apart when it was perceived that the control of the curriculum had passed into the hands of ministers. Finally in 1993 there was refusal by teachers and parents to accept the imposed testing regime. This led the government to review the curriculum and assessment system. The review brought recommendations to slim down the National Curriculum, give more chance for professional judgement and reduce teachers' administrative and assessment workload. This had implications for teacher training.

In 1993, the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority was established under Section 244 of the education Act 1993 The members of SCAA include teachers, educationalists and industrialists, and are appointed by the Secretary of State. SCAA exists to promote

higher standards of achievement in schools by developing the curriculum and its assessment, and improving consistency and quality in public examinations.

Teaching of new GCSE {Short Course} syllabuses started in September 1996, when the revised National Curriculum came into effect at Key Stage 4 {see page 74}. A range of short course options is available at GCSE, including art, history, music, design & technology, information technology, physical education, geography, modern foreign languages and religious education. The option of using Short Course GCSE will give schools more freedom and flexibility [School Curriculum and Assessment Authority. SCAA and its work, 1996].

Although recently some concessions have been made to Muslims, such as school uniform, school dinners etc, especially in schools which have a majority of Muslim pupils, the National Curriculum presents some obstacles to meeting the needs of Muslim pupils. Although parents can withdraw their children from Religious Education and sex education, this is not a final solution because most parents are unaware of this right and even if they exercise it, this may only serve to isolate their children further, marking them out as “different”.

Moreover, the National Curriculum is generally unconcerned with religion because the education system in England and Wales is secular, but in Islam, all aspects of education must serve the religion. Islam must be presented as the path of life, not as historical information. Other problems arise with regard to the minority language. Urdu is taught as a *lingua franca* for some Muslim communities, but most of them speak their local language with their parents at home in daily life and learn it in the Mosque. They also need Arabic as a medium for learning about Islam. Thus, even though schools in this system may be able to select good quality Muslim teachers, their role will be weak under the National Curriculums.

4.3. Islamic Education.

4.3.1. The concept.

Islamic Education, as a concept, combines two elements, Islam and Education. In order to understand and define this concept, it is necessary to know what is meant by Education and what is meant by Islam. It was explained at the outset of this chapter what education means. It remains here to describe clearly what Islam means. Abdalati [1987] explains that the word Islam is derived from the Arabic root "SLM" which means, among other things, peace, purity, submission and obedience. Thus, in the religious sense, the word Islam means submission to the will of Allah. As Falaturi and Tworuschka [1991] note, it also implies peace {Arabic: *Salam*, Hebrew: *shalom*}.

Perhaps some educators, see a wide gulf between religion and education, especially those who make a distinction between religion and secular life, although they might have within their curriculum a subject called Religious Education, as pointed out by Sharaf [1992].

Some writers distinguish between Islamic Education and Islamic Religious Education. For example, Al-Mfda distinguished between general Islamic Education, defined as "the teaching of Islamic principles and way of the life in the home, the school, and the society" and Islamic Religious Education described as "the teaching of religion in the school, in the classroom, and in classroom activities as a part of the formal educational curriculum [Al-Saddan 1995].

To distinguish further between Islamic Religious Education and Islamic Education, the following definitions are useful. Swanna [1989p5] described Religious Education as follows:

'Religious education is an aspect of school life which involves far more than the imparting of a particular body of knowledge to pupils, since it raises complex questions relating to the spiritual and aesthetic development of the individual young person as well as impinging very directly on the essential beliefs and values of his or her family and community.'

Islamic Education is defined by Al-Sharaf [1992 p162] thus:

‘Islamic Education = Education derived from Islam, so education as a system, knowledge or theories coming from Islam, involving a Muslim’s life not only as worship but also directing the way of life in the shadow of religion, providing many examples and methods to follow.’

Thus, Religious Education is part of Islamic Education. Both seek to achieve the main aim of ‘reform and orientation of the person’; but Islamic Education is more general, because it extends to all aspects of life; it is not confined to the school.

In other words, the concept of education in the Islamic model is quite different from that in other models, as emphasised by Bari [1993]. He explained some other models such as the secular liberal and materialistic education of some modern countries like Britain. He added that the concept of education in the Islamic framework is that man, according to the Qur’an, has been created by Allah as his vicegerent on earth. Mankind, according to Islam, is the best of God’s creation. Thus, the primary purpose of Islamic education is to produce a good and righteous man, who, through the process of education, tries to reach the stage of perfection as demanded by Islam.

4.3.2. The Significance.

The significance of Islamic Education has two aspects :

first, it is a system which is very important for the development of the nation. Al-Saddan [1995] argued that education is the key to the new world, and supported his idea by saying that the basic function of education is building the future of a society. Matthews [1989 p69] said:

‘Success in this process will depend on the way in which the education is carried out. Scrutiny of the way in which this is done is widely agreed to be of fundamental importance, and in the modern world many believe that the problems of society can only be solved through better education.’

The second significance of Islamic Education is that it leads mankind, through good knowledge, to submission to the will of Allah.

Since modern educational systems are often secularist, the spiritual significance of education is still absent, but in the Islamic framework, the spiritual aspect of education is very important. The philosophy of Islamic Education is based on a balance between man's material and spiritual needs.

4.3.3. The aims and objectives.

Education plays a vital role in the life of many people. Every nation uses education to pursue its objectives. Therefore, they shape education to suit their philosophy, in the belief that education can develop the nation, build the future society, and solve society's problems. In simple terms, education is viewed as the key to the new world. As Donado [1988] put it, it helps people to make sense of the world about them.

Muslim communities in Britain seek to develop good people and a peaceful society, with respect to relationships with other, non-Muslim people who live alongside them in Britain. Islamic Education is seen as a main factor in fulfilling this wish.

It is important in this context to note the Islamic view of life, which influences its educational approach. Sarwar[1996] explains that the Islamic view of life is holistic, and rejects any separation between this life, which ends with death, and the eternal life that begins after death. In Islam, mundane and spiritual matters are interconnected. Thus, an Islamic education system prepares human beings for both life on this earth and life after death.

The balanced growth of the total personality of mankind cannot be ensured by any system other than the Islamic Education system. The aim of Islamic education is to initiate total change in a person – beliefs, actions, potential, faculties, thoughts, expressions, aspirations, energies and everything relating to that person; in other words, the balanced development of the personality of a human being- the agent of Allah.

Many other Muslim writers have said similar things. As Al-Sharaf [1992] points out, the goals cited for Islamic Education are similar, from one account to another, but people interpret them differently according to their own purposes and understanding. Al Tumi [1988] in Al sharaf [1992] categories the aims of Islamic Education under several principles, which include:

1 Comprehensiveness.

2 Balance.

3 Clarity.

The comprehensive character of Islamic education means that its aims cover every need of human beings. It also means that religion must be taken as a whole and applied as a whole, i.e. morality, treatment, worship and so on.

The second principle is that Islamic education balances between both sides of development, the individual and the society, in order to fulfil different needs and to maintain the heritage of the past while meeting the requirements of present and future. The third principle of Islamic religious education is clarity in its aims and its philosophy, as all should know that Islamic education is derived from Islamic religious principles and comments.

In general, most of these aims focus upon the individual more than the society. Since building up the individual can be regarded as the basis for establishing a good society, it would seem appropriate now to present the objectives of Islamic education as described by Al Tumi [1988 p295,335,342] and quoted in Al-Sharaf [1988 p178,179].

Al Tumi [1988] describes the social objectives of Islamic education as being to:

- 1- Reinforce the religious and spiritual life in society;**
- 2- Achieve the setting up of science, culture and arts in the society within Islamic principles;**
- 3- Support the Arabic language and maintain it from decline;**
- 4-Build up Islamic society so that it remains solidly based on the Islamic religion;**
- 5- Build up a strong economically developed society;**
- 6- Build up a strong societal unity and co-operate within freedom of thought and religion;**

7- Contribute in reaching international peace based upon justice and rightness and respectability;

8- Participate in raising the educational process and improve the educational service in order to achieve a single set of aims and social objectives.

The question is how can Muslim communities achieve these objectives without proper Islamic education in state schools supported by an Education Act ?

This is what Muslims are still seeking to achieve. Some Muslims have been able to achieve part of education's aims, but for a limited time and a small number of pupils, but this level of provision does not satisfy a large number of Muslims in Britain.

4.3.4. The value of Knowledge

Islam attaches great value and esteem to the seeking of knowledge, as a means to achieve worship and the building up of individuals and society.

For example, in the Quran{20,4} *Allah* asks people to say, "My lord, increase me in Knowledge" while in the second source of Islam, the *Sunnah*, within the *Hadith* the Prophet said: Seeking knowledge is a duty for every Muslim man and woman.

A key feature of the Islamic theory of knowledge is that all knowledge is of Allah in every sense. Jenkins [1995] explains that the importance and value of education from an Islamic perspective is that it brings successive generations to knowledge of their relationship with, and dependence on *Allah*. Hulmes [1989 p34] explained the value of knowledge to Muslim thus:

'No part of life, no way of thinking can be considered rightful if it presumes to be independent of the Islamic revelation. For Muslims, education is the means of initiating the young and immature into their full cultural heritage as Muslims. Education begins and ends with the revealed will of God. Muslim education is normative in quite specific ways. Education is ideologically oriented, a means to an end, not an end in itself.'

Ideally, secular and religious knowledge should complement each other rather than conflict. So knowledge within the context of Quranic interpretation is a means to seek to worship *Allah* {god} while at the same time the Muslim should contribute in building the world.

Abdul Rahim [1997p65] clarified the balance in Muslims' life when he explained how this theory is put into practice. He said :

'Therefore, they proposed the idea of combining religious and secular education together. They were confident that a combined religious and secular education would enable its graduates to participate in the development of the country as well as to maintain their religious beliefs and practice.'

As Jenkins [1995] notes, knowledge of science and technology from non-Muslim sources is permitted, but not the behaviour of people who are not ruled by a strict sense of accountability to *Allah*. Hulmes [1989] comments: "The Muslim concludes that it is prudent to protect the Islamic community from the effects of western, non-Islamic values because western culture is based upon non-religious, materialistic values, which are in direct conflict with the teachings of Islam."

This raises the question, whether it is possible for Islamic Education to be part of multicultural education. The answer is given in the next section.

4.4. Multicultural education.

Britain, like many other modern industrial societies, is now a multicultural society. It is usually accepted that even if children live in an area where there are no ethnic minorities, schools still have a duty to include in the curriculum topics which will help pupils to understand the concept of culture and to appreciate the variety of cultures which now exist in the U K.[Lawton and Gordon 1993].

But confusion and contradiction permeate multicultural education. Although the idea of multicultural education has gained considerable currency in Britain during the last ten years, it has become, as expressed by Parekh [1985],a subject of acute controversy. As Modgil and others [1986] comment, the debate and activities concerning multicultural education have become much more openly acknowledged since 1981.

The ethnic minority child is not a new phenomenon in British schooling. In post-war Britain, the numbers of such children increased due to an influx of immigrants. For many of these children, provision began with teaching them English. A few years later the focus began to shift away from pure survival to the structures of the education system. { Ibid}.

The Muslim minority is aware that their children will become assimilated into the mainstream of western culture through education. So the Muslim minority, like other minorities demanded cultural pluralism in British society.

The issue of multi-cultural education is strongly related to the main purpose of this dissertation. Therefore, it is appropriate here to consider the implications of multicultural education for the preservation or loss of identity.

4.4.1 The concept.

The development of multiculturalism denotes an important stage in the ideological shift away from the cultural imperatives of assimilation to cultural pluralism. It is generally acknowledged as originating in 1966 as a result of a speech by the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins. The government called for the ideology of assimilation to be replaced by a policy of equal opportunity by cultural diversity. Multiculturalism was expressed in terms of creating tolerance for minority groups, dispelling ignorance, and reducing prejudice to create a harmonious society [Jenkins 1995].

According to Modgil and others [1986p1]

‘Multiculturalists have sought to establish a new educational consensus. Rejecting the assimilationist and ethnocentric philosophies of the 1960s, many have argued for a form of education that is pluralist in orientation and positively embraces a multiethnic perspective.’

As expressed by Parekh [1986], multicultural education represents an attempt to politicize education in order to {satisfy} minority demands. However, he gave a more specific and optimistic view of multicultural education when he said: multicultural education has been seen as ‘teaching’ children about other cultures, thereby instilling respect for such cultures by white indigenous children, to generate tolerance and understanding between minorities.

4.4.2. The aims.

There is a general agreement that it is the purpose of education to develop individuals in terms of intellectual growth, the formulation of their beliefs, attitudes and values, respect for others, and the acquisition of skills. The demands of the present and the future of the child as an individual and as a member of society, must be kept in balance. As mentioned in a report by the Directorate of Education Services, City of Bradford Metropolitan Council [1987] we live in a multi-cultural society. Through the advances of technology and communication, we are more aware of living in 'one world'. It is our duty as educationalists to enable young people to live and participate in our society, both as it is at present and in its future developments. We have a duty to educate them in such a way that they will be constructive members of a multi-ethnic society. This will be true whether the immediate classroom context is multi-ethnic or not. The report [Ibid p5] clarified:

'Multi-cultural education' is not so much a matter of new aims, but rather of the interpretation of long-established aims within new contexts, national and global. The development of self-esteem for every child and the fostering of mutual respect and understanding between individuals and groups are long established aims.'

Various ethnic groups living in British society have expressed similar desires in this respect, irrespective of their religion. For example Ghuman [1993] found that the majority of Asian respondents would like their community languages to be part of the school curriculum, because most of them think that their language will maintain their culture.

Other minorities have demanded that their history, or any information relative to their ethnicity, be included in the curriculum of English state schools.

In multi cultural education, even 'Christian endogenous people are demanding that religious education be given more importance in the curriculum [Donado 1988].

In this study, the focus is on the aim of the Muslim minority in their demand that English state schools promote knowledge of Islam, facilitate its practice by people in the schools, and help to make non-Muslims aware of Islam in the interest of respect between the different groups.

The views of ethnic minority communities, put forward to the Swan Committee, attached particular importance to religion, in the demand for multi cultural education. Much of the evidence which the 'Committee of inquiry' received from ethnic minority communities related to the provision of religious education in schools. Many community representatives emphasised the importance which their communities attach to their religious beliefs as a key element in their cultural identity, and it was strongly felt that all the religious communities in this country had the right to expect the education system to respect and to reflect their faiths, as valid belief systems in their own right.

Muslim organisations submitted evidence regarding the importance attached to their religious beliefs as a key element in their cultural identity, and the 'Committee of Inquiry' fully supported this right of the Muslim community.

['Swann' report 1989].

4.4.3. The history of the issue

In most member States of the European Community the education systems face the challenge of responding effectively to the problems presented by the diversity of school populations: for more than 30 years now, the democratisation of education has been accompanied by increasing cultural and linguistic differences derived from the growing presence in schools of children of migrants [Reid and Reich 1992].

In the nineteen sixties, race relations in Britain were on the whole good and at that time, the newcomers tried to become accepted into the community. The general view was that the newcomers just needed to learn and to speak English correctly in order to be integrated into the mainstream of the education system. The Directorate of Educational Services [1987] reports that the curriculum at that time sought to promote the British traditions, history, customs and culture. I think this position may have been acceptable, while the number of immigrants was still small.

But since 1966 as mentioned by Bhogal [1990], the Department of Education and Science had collected ethnic data, which was subsequently stopped. These data, together with reports, highlighted the continual underachievement of South Asian pupils.

During the late 1970s there was growing pressure from the South Asian communities towards establishing a greater understanding and respect for minority ethnic communities and cultures.

Increasing criticism and the demands of Asian communities led to a National Committee of Inquiry and the publication of the Rampton Report [DES, 1981b]. The committee continued to investigate the situation under chairmanship of Lord Michael Swann and produced a report, "Education for All" in 1985. In addition, there was a series of research reports and papers from the Schools Council, and many articles on this subject.

The Muslim communities rejected this position of multicultural education and began to make demands for single-sex schools, and also for separate schools.

4.4.4. The criticism.

Multicultural education has met with criticism from a large number of people from all the groups.

In this study it is not possible to discuss in depth all the arguments put forward by researchers regarding the failure of multicultural education. That is beyond the scope of this study. Some criticisms which are relevant to the issue of the identity of the Muslim minority are, however, noted here.

For example a non-Muslim writer, Parekh [1987,p20&21]argued that:

'The English educational system has a deep mono-cultural orientation,.....The mono-cultural orientation is evident also in what the schools teach and the way they teach. Our curriculum on religious studies largely concentrates on Christianity, and either ignores other religions or goes over them in a confused and cursory manner.'

He added that the history curriculum is little better. It concentrates on the history of Britain and some parts of Europe and America, and ignores the great non-Western civilizations.

Like history, the geography curriculum also heavily concentrates on Britain and some parts of Europe and America, ignoring most of the world. The curriculum in social studies rarely steps outside Britain. Home economics includes little more than British and, to some extent, European styles of food. English literature does not generally include literary works in English by non-Western writers. The importance of learning foreign languages has yet to be fully appreciated in British schools [Parekh 1987].

Moreover, the dominance of mono cultural education provides a fertile ground for racism. Because pupils do not know about other cultures, they cannot understand and be fair to pupils from other cultures. Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent [1998] added that multi-cultural education has been rejected by some people because it does not tackle racism head-on.

On the other hand, multicultural education faces strong criticism from Muslim communities, due to the feeling that their children will lose their religion through integration with Western culture. Most Muslim researchers have given the religious aspect more attention than other aspects, because loss of religion means loss of identity. For example, Ibrahim [1996] argued that in state schools, there are principally three motives for teaching religious education: the political, the religious and the educational. The political motive is largely concerned with maintaining the 'status quo', trying to revive the 'good old days'; the religious attempts to inculcate a particular faith, and the educational tries to ensure pupils are provided with the skills to make the most of their adult life as law abiding citizens. It is clear that the two former motives are missing the real target of education, which is to educate.

He suggests that it is possible to present religion positively; encouraging people to think about religion favourably will help to make a more harmonious society. He warns that devising a curriculum in which Christianity predominates, with only token lessons covering the other world faiths, rather than educating, reinforces stereotypes [Ibrahim 1996].

It is natural for any society to give its own culture more attention, but it should respect and maintain the rights of any minority living within it, especially when we talking about a democratic country such as Britain, which is considered a pluralist society.

4.4.5. The solution.

According to Anwar [1994], many Muslims surveyed in his study felt that there should be facilities within the school system for religious instruction. His survey provides important evidence that multicultural education is perceived as a vital factor in the loss of Muslim identity. For example, half of the Muslim parents and 40 percent of young Muslims felt that if children are not taught Islam in school, they may be influenced by Christianity.

Thus, his study implies that a large number of young Muslims may be assimilated into Western culture, by application of multicultural education.

Anwar noted that this worry has been increasing since the Education Reform Act 1988, which brought fundamental changes in the education system, including religious education. The changes include the introduction of a national curriculum, assessment and testing of children at the ages of 7,11,14 and16. Provisions are made regarding Christian Worship {Assembly} and Christian Religious Education {RE} under sections 6 {1} and 7{1} and several other regulations for the control, running and financing of schools. All these changes are relevant to Muslims. However, the two which concern them most are Christian Assembly and Religious Education. What this means is that unless Muslim parents write to the head teacher of the relevant school, stating that they do not wish their children to attend Christian Collective Worship and Christian RE they will be required to participate. As a result of these new developments several Muslim organizations have sought to make Muslim parents aware of the implications of the new Act and to encourage their involvement in the education of their children to influence the control, policy and direction of schools. Therefore, the new Act presents both challenges and opportunities for the Muslim community [Anwar 1994].

I suggest here that if a school has a majority of children who are Muslim, it should try to get exemption from these provisions, as it would be inappropriate to inculcate the Christian faith if the majority of pupils in the school are non-Christian. I consider this step would be part of the solution to the problem. In addition, the state schools could be asked to provide lessons about Islam, taught by Muslim teachers. Also it should be possible for Muslim parents to send their children to single-sex schools.

I consider these as preliminary solutions, while asserting importance of obtain aided Muslim schools. In the next section some of the problems which Muslim pupils face in British state schools in order to highlight the need of Muslim pupils for an environment in which they can preserve their identity.

4.5. The Problems which face Muslim Pupils and their Needs.

Muslim pupils face many problems and challenges when attending state schools in non-Muslim countries over the world. Many studies have discussed this issue and most of them have concluded that the best solution is to establish Muslim schools, especially as there are many needs of the pupils, which cannot be secured without state Muslim schools.

In the previous chapter {3}, some consideration was given to challenges which threaten Muslim identity in non-Muslim countries, but the problems were presented in general, covering aspects of Muslims' lives outside school.

Here, however, the focus is especially on the problems Muslim pupils face in school, which threaten their identity, together with their needs in school.

The problems and needs.

1. The permissive society.

Western society in general is liberal, in other words permissive and materialistic. It often seems to Muslims that people are allowed to do whatever they like, regardless of responsibility and moral controls. Muslim pupils spend many hours in the school, and through the broadcast stories they watch or through studying in a co-educational context,

they will come into contact with behaviour and values which are not acceptable in Islam, but which are part of Western culture. Sarwar[983]noted that Muslim children living in the West are susceptible to negative influences which conflict with Islam and the limits set on their lives by the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*'.

So it is not surprising that some Muslim pupils start to do as non-Muslim pupils do, unmindful whether or not it is consistent with Islam or not .

2. Living within two cultures.

At home and in the Mosque lessons, Muslim children are taught and encouraged to live according to their Islamic culture, which places certain restrictions on a people's behaviour, to makes them a righteous ; for example the restrictions on the free-mixing of the sexes and on drinking alcohol. But in school, the pupils face a different culture. As Bari [1993] put it, 'In contrast, the British education system is based on secularism with the place of religion as an outsider'.

As a result, Muslim pupils face a conflict within themselves, which they need to resolve.

3. Teaching of Islam.

It is almost impossible to teach a religion other than one's own with objectivity. Sarwar [1983]admitted that some religious education teachers have been trying their greatest to do this in the course of multi-faith religion lessons, but he warned that the dangers of subjectivity and incorrect information cannot be ignored. It is necessary to provide Muslim teachers to teach Islam. Recently, some efforts have been made to provide qualified Muslim teachers, in places like Bradford, by giving them a course in the fundamentals of Islam and training them to teach Islam by modern methods, not as is done now in most Mosque lessons.

4. Curriculum.

The English education system is mono-cultural, so most of the curriculum reflects the Western culture and ignores the culture of immigrants. Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent [1998] added, that 'within schools certain ethnic groups, for cultural or language reasons,

might be faced with inappropriate curricula'. That means that Muslim pupils learn about a different religion, history and aspects of life which contradict the principles of Islam in many respects. Sarwar [1983] emphasis that there is poor information about Islamic in the school. Further, because pupils in the English education system do not need to pass a grade to proceed to the other next level, some Muslim pupils get lazy or complacent so later, they cannot continue at a high level and do the hard work needed to get to university.

5. Ignorance or Unconcern of Muslim parents.

Most studies think that the indifference of some parents is the root of many problems, and that if the parents are dutiful in carrying out their responsibilities, most of the problems will disappear.

Unfortunately, a great number of Muslim parents are either careless about their children's Islamic upbringing or fail to follow up what happens in the English schools. There are various reasons for that. The main reason, I think, is that fathers tend to be very busy in their business so they spend most of the day at work, then in the evenings go to visit friends and relatives. The result is that children get very little guidance from their fathers. Fathers are often not interested in contact with the school, even though they would normally be responsible for this kind of communication, rather than the mother, according to the custom in Muslim communities.

6- Islamic Teaching in Mosques.

In most of Britain's mosques, there are lessons in the evenings or at the weekends to teach Muslim children the Quran or any Islamic knowledge as alternative religious education, but the standard of teaching is not as good as that applied in the state schools in the teaching of other subjects. Some teachers simply seek to inculcate information, without making any effort to make the lesson more interesting. Therefore, when the children compare the mosque lessons with the styles of teaching in school, they may refuse to go to mosque lessons, and so they will lose their only other chance of receiving Islamic religious education.

7- Provisions under Education Acts.

A large number of Muslim children in state schools remain deprived of some rights legally available to them, because their parents are unaware of the provisions made for their children. For example, the 1944 Education Act, as a result of the demands of the Muslim minority, gave parents the right to withdraw their children from religious assembly. Subsequently, the 1988 Education Act gave the right to parents to withdraw their children from both Assembly and Christian religious education.

The Education Acts gave parents the chance to benefit themselves of this withdrawal, to provide alternative religious education for the children. In this case, the problem comes from the parents who ignore this chance, or who think it does not deserve care. Whatever the reason, 'something is better than nothing'.

8. Co-education

In the English education system there are still a few single-sex schools, which go some way to meeting the needs of Muslim girls, but still Muslim girls look for Muslim single-sex schools. This issue needs more explanation, because most studies consider it a very sensitive one.

Shaikh & Kelly [1989] emphasise that women represent the prestige or honour of a Muslim family and a girl's actions can bring a bad name to the family and jeopardize her chances of marriage. Muslims have consistently demanded single-sex education for their children, but they are much more insistent in this demand for girls than for boys.

Co-education is currently a matter of great debate. Single-sex schools are demanded by some feminists who think that they are a way of allowing girls to develop their full potential, free from the inhibiting influence of boys. They are viewed by some Muslims as a way of protecting girls from the corrupting influence of boys, and training them for their role in the family. It is thought girls should be taught their functions in society, especially the knowledge necessary for their future life as mothers. Most studies demonstrate that girls achieve better results in single-sex than in co-educational schools. Shaikh

& Kelly [1989] suggest this is because the curriculums are suitable for their mental equilibrium and physical health. Respondents to the empirical survey carried out for this study believed single-sex schools to be the best environment for Muslim pupils to practise Islam and be educated properly.

9- Christianity in education.

The education system commonly reflects the religion of the society, even if this society has adopted secularism, as is the case in British society.

It can be seen that many subjects which are compulsory for all the children such as history, English language and literature, etc ...reflect the Christian heritage.

At Christmas time, for example, the pupils practise some religious activities which do not conform with Islam. Muslim children should be made aware of this and keep away from such activities.

10. Language of the minority.

The relationship between language and identity has received much attention in recent times. Bhogal [1990] argued that language as part of culture is closely bound up with identity. He added: "A language indicates past affiliations and expresses present attitudes and future ambition".

Woodward [1993], in his survey of Muslim pupils in British school, noted that a number of parents interpreted the cultural value of a community language as helping to prevent their children from growing away from Islam as they grew up. Children who are surrounded at home and in school with Bengali, Punjabi, Urdu or Arabic are less likely to be influenced by Western values which are not in the line with Islam.

Further, Arabic is the language of Islam, which must be used in prayers and other religious rites. In contrast, as McDermott and Manazir [1993p44] argued:

' English is the essential tool by which the child learns to live in his new home, Britain and adjust to a second culture and communicate within the framework of its social, educational and economic institutions.'

Thus, Muslim children should be given the opportunity, both in and out of school, to learn three languages -Arabic, the mother tongue of their communities and English, adjust to the often conflicting value systems they communicate.

Efforts made by the Muslim minority, some of which have been accepted by LEA, have been made to teach the mother tongue as part of the curriculum, but this needs training of teachers and provision of resources; much more still needs to be done in this regard.

11. Halal {lawful} Food.

The Muslim minority gives this issue more attention than it deserves, since Islam permits Muslims to eat meat from animals slain by Christian people, except for pork which is forbidden.

Provision of *Halal* meat to Muslim pupils in schools would be easy as there are sources of supply within the Muslim community. In the absence of such provision, most Muslim pupils refuse to eat any meat, or any food containing lard or other animal fat which are not *Halal*. So I would support the demand for schools to provide *Halal* meat for Muslim pupils. This is done in some Bradford schools and schools in other cities, but it should be extended to any school with a number of Muslim pupils.

12. Sex Education

Islam encourages all purposeful human actions, provided they are directed to the right aim. This would include sex education as part of the curriculum. But Islam prohibits obscenity, irresponsibility and shameful acts which debase human beings.

In British schools, formal sex education has been part of the broad and balanced school curriculum for a long time, but Sarwar [1991] explains that in the 1986 Education {No.2} Act: school governors were required to decide whether or not it would be taught in their school. If sex education was to be taught it must be done so within the context of family life and morality.

Jenkins [1994] notes, however, that the Education Act {1993} removed the governors' option clause and sex education is now compulsory for all children at secondary level. In

primary schools, governors still have the option of deciding. Although the subject was reviewed in 1995, the issue remains outside the National Curriculum and therefore provide the possibility of withdrawal from what might be considered unacceptable.

However, withdrawal from sex education is not a final solution, because in the view of most Muslim parents, only a Muslim school can ensure the protection of their children.

13. School Uniform.

School uniform in state schools, especially for girls, is a sensitive issue, because Muslim parents feel very strongly that in some cases it does not conform to Islamic principles. Parents are not opposed to the idea of school uniform as such, but the style of uniforms means Muslim girls face a problem in the school. If the girl conforms to the school regulations she may be breaking Islamic law, so she faces a dilemma. McDermott and Ahsan [1993] note that total covering of the body is so basic to Islamic teaching and practice that Muslim parents rightly argue that their daughters should observe these principles from the beginning.

In Islam, it is permitted for small girls to go out without a head cover { veil } but for parents, to require veiling is part of training and tradition, and of their identity.

Head-teachers need to be aware of this issue. Muslim girls should be allowed to wear any kind of dress as long as covers the whole body apart from the face and hands. This could easily be in the school colours, as part of the uniform.

14. Prayer facility.

Every Muslim from puberty onwards must pray five times a day at fixed times. Some of these prayers { *Zuhr* and *Asr* }, for most of the year, fall within the school day, usually during the lunch- and afternoon breaks. But most schools have no arrangements to offer facilities for pupils to make ceremonial ablution and pray. I support a request that Head-teachers provide facilities such as a place for ritual ablution and a room for prayer and give the pupils about one hour's break on Fridays, to attend the Jumu'ah prayer in the mosque,

if possible with or co-operate parents to provide a qualified person {*Imam*} to visit the school.

15. Physical Education and sport.

The questions of dress and mixing of sexes raise particular problems with regard to physical training. Islam encourages Muslims to participate in physical exercise, but within the limits of the Islamic concept of decency. The main difficulty which Muslim pupils face and which contradict with Islam are {a} mixing of sexes in P.E lessons {b} standard P.E kit reveals parts of the body which Islam requires to be covered.

According to Islam; boys and girls must be separated when they become adolescent.

or at about the age of ten. What they wear should be in line with Islamic rules. McDermott and Ahsan [1993]described some rules that can be easily observed.

Boys should wear normal type shorts of about boxer length, over under-briefs. For girls, under no circumstances must any part of the body except the face and the hands be exposed. Track-suits or tight trousers could be worn. With regard to after sport baths and showers, Muslim boys should not be asked to take a communal shower without wearing appropriate covering of their private parts and also girls in the female shower rooms and in changing rooms must wear proper covering.

Legally the parent can make a written request to the Head-teacher of the school to make arrangements to apply the rules above, or for another alternative.

In addition to the above, there are other problems which I consider less important, but which still create difficulties for some pupils and which need a solution. For example, during the *Ramadan* fast, pupils need special attention when exercising or at lunchtimes.

Also, Music and Dance are prohibited in Islam {1}. In my view, Muslim pupils should be withdrawn from these lessons. Further, art classes should not require Muslims to draw the human image. Also, any Islamic Festivals should be given attention and pupils allowed to be absent for these occasions. Such problems could easily be addressed by direct agreement with the teacher concerned.

I believe that some LEAs respond to some of the demands of Muslim communities, but these efforts do not fully solve the problem. So it must not be forgotten that the majority of Muslim community demand Muslim schools as most effective solution.

One example of an LEA that has gone some way in trying to meet the needs of the Muslim minority is Bradford. Cheema [1994: p189,190] emphasized that, and gave some examples;

i) School Assembly. Parents have a right to withdraw children from non secular assemblies on written request and after consultation.

ii) Islamic Festivals. Muslim pupils are permitted to take days off on the occasions of *Eid-al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha* and School Governing Bodies are encouraged to consider taking occasional holidays on these days if possible.

iii) Friday Payers. Older Muslim children are allowed to attend Friday congregational prayers (*Jum'ah*) at the Mosque. Alternatively a room at the school being made available for this purpose and ablution facilities made available where possible, also in consultation.

Also an *Imam* is allowed to come and lead the prayers.

iv) Swimming. Single-sex provision is made with appropriate staffing and the girls are allowed to wear 'costumes' which conform with the Islam requirement. Shower and changing facilities are made available separately and in single cubicles.

v) School Uniform. Muslim girls are permitted to wear trousers and a headscarf provided they are chosen to be in accordance with normal school colours.

vi) Curriculum. Muslim parents, after consultation with head teachers, are allowed to withdraw their children from Music, Dance, Sex Education and any other activity which does not conform with the Islamic requirements.

viii) *Halal* meals in School.

In September 1983 Bradford Council became the first LEA to formally introduce the provision of '*Halal*' meat dishes twice weekly in some of its schools.

These concessions have been applauded by British Muslims, but there is still the fear that they may be abolished if there should be change of political control in the LEA. Further, these provisions do not cover all Bradford Schools.

However, Muslim pupils also face some problems which could challenge their identity indirectly by lead them to leave the schools and stay without jobs, which could lead them to involvement with crime, drugs etc. The most important issue in this argument is low achievement among Muslim pupils, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.6 The Geography of Education in Bradford.

4.6.1. Bradford.

Bradford Metropolitan District is located in West Yorkshire, Northern England, on the edge of the Pennine moors. [Fitzpatrick 1987]. Bradford is much like many other British cities and metropolitan districts, but it has its own distinct features stemming from its history and geography. It is very varied, ranging over villages and towns, moors and dales, superfluous industrial buildings, crowded inner city streets, and housing estates both public and private. Richardson [1977] added that the geology, relief, slope and soils of the Dales have played a major part in shaping the city, influencing in particular, the siting and spacing of the ancient agricultural settlements from which the modern urban complex has sprung.

Bradford's economy was for many decades dominated by the woolen textile industry, with some engineering and chemical plants, many of which supplied the needs of textile production. It was, by and large, a low wage economy and from the last quarter of the nineteenth century mainly a working-class city [The Bradford Commission Report 1995]. Another relevant feature of Bradford, as indicated in the beginning of this chapter is that, although it was once a very wealthy area, thanks to the wool trade, that is no longer the case. For example, on average, the proportion of children entitled to free school meals is around 32%, about the average for Metropolitan Districts and well above the English average of 25%. [Development Plan 1998-1999].

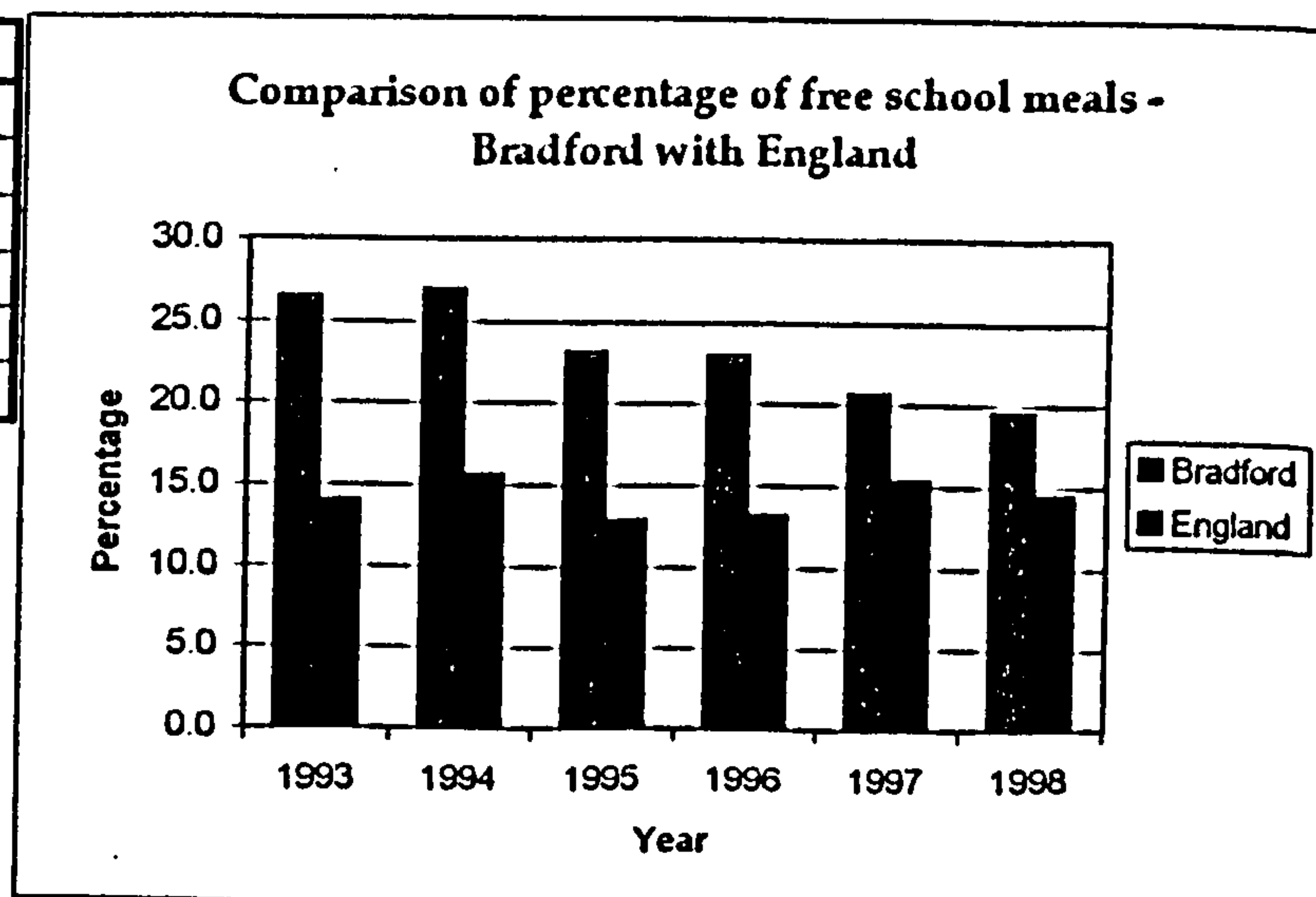
Bradford, the fourth largest of the Metropolitan Districts in England and Wales, has a population of about 450,000. The population is unusual in that it is ethnically diverse and it has a higher than average proportion of children and young people. About a quarter of the first school pupil population come from ethnic minority backgrounds, the great majority being of Pakistani origin. For example in 1999 the percentage of Pakistani pupils in primary schools was 21.6% and in secondary schools 25.9 %, while the percentage of Pakistani pupils in England as a whole was 2.3% in primary and 2.6 % in secondary schools. [Bradford Education at a Glance, 1999].

4.6.2. The challenge to Bradford.

Bradford District generally has levels of poverty slightly below the average level for Metropolitan Districts. Bradford stands out only on the related measures of large families without a car and overcrowded accommodation, for which it has the second highest level among metropolitan districts. It also has the eighth highest percentage of households without central heating, out of all Districts in England [Areas of Stress within Bradford District 1993]. Figure 4.1 shows one example {free School Meals} of an indicator which can be used to assess the poverty of families in Bradford, compared with the average for England. Although the position became better in 1999, income is still below the average for England.

Figure 4.1 Comparison of Percentage of Free School Meals - Bradford with England

	Bradford	England
1993	26.6	14.1
1994	27.0	15.7
1995	23.2	13.0
1996	23.0	13.3
1997	20.7	15.4
1998	19.6	14.5



Source: DfEE Form 7

It is not surprising that poverty affects the level of education. The GCSE attainment levels of Year 11 pupils and the A/AS level results of older pupils are improving over the long term but are still short of the national average. For example in 1994, the proportion of pupils obtaining 5 or more GCSEs {Grades A-C} was 26.7 % in Bradford compared with 43.3% for England as a whole, and in 1999 it became 32.2 %, compared with 47.9% for England.

Also in years 12,13 and 14 LEA maintained schools achieved an average A/AS point score of 15.7 in 1999 compared with 13.4 in 1994, but these results still fall short of the national average, which in 1999 was 18.2.

The proportion of pupils in year 11 obtaining 5 or more GCSEs Grade A-C, in 1999 was 26.4 % for Bangladeshi pupils and 21.8 % for Pakistanis, compared with 34.0% for white.

Bradford&District Economic Profile [1999]reported that 'lack of skills and low educational achievement are an acknowledged weakness of the Bradford economy. The new National Learning Targets provide a focus for doing something about this in the areas that matter most: from schools through to lifelong learning and business development.'

However, before giving a general idea about the position of Muslim pupils in state schools, it may be useful to give brief background about the geography of Bradford education.

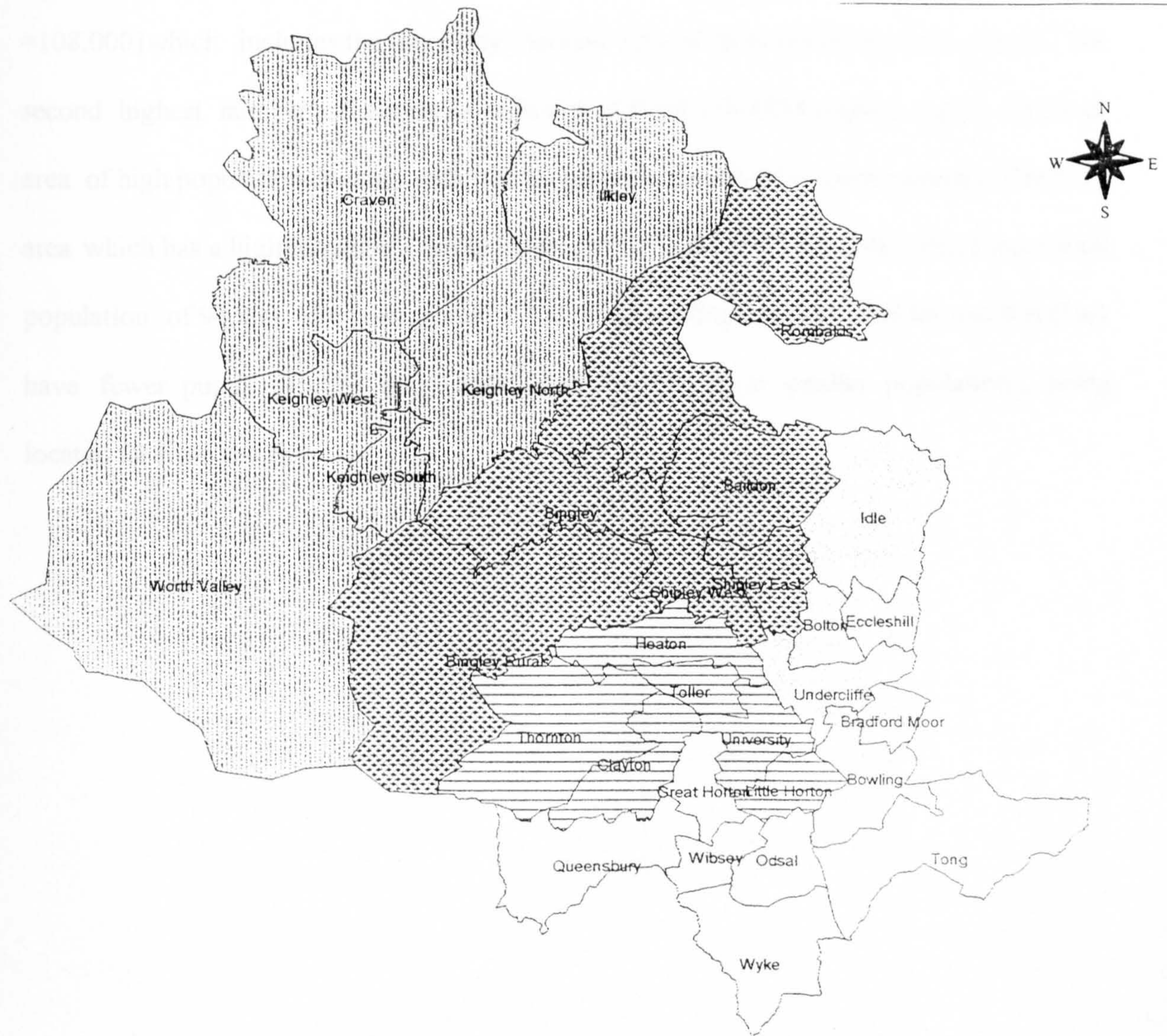
4.6.3. Profile of Bradford Education

Bradford's Local Education Authority{LEA}schools are organised, after some Nursery provision, as First Schools for children aged 5-9, Middle Schools for children aged 9-13, and Upper Schools for those aged 13-18. There is an upper school for Girls only, and one for Boys only. Applications by parents for a school place should be made 18 months in advance to the Headteacher of the school to which they wish to send their child.

In addition to the LEA schools, and Church of England Aided Schools, there are grant maintained schools, private schools, and a City Technology College. The Roman Catholic Church runs some primary schools. Altogether, there are 6 nursery schools, 13 special schools, 156+9GM first schools, 56+2GM Middle schools and 20+4GM Upper schools.[A

guide for parents{1999-2000}] However, in September 2000 there will be no transfers to Middle schools, which are to will be closed, under a plan to change to a two tier system.

Figure 4.2 shows the number of pupils by constituency.



CONSTITUENCIES

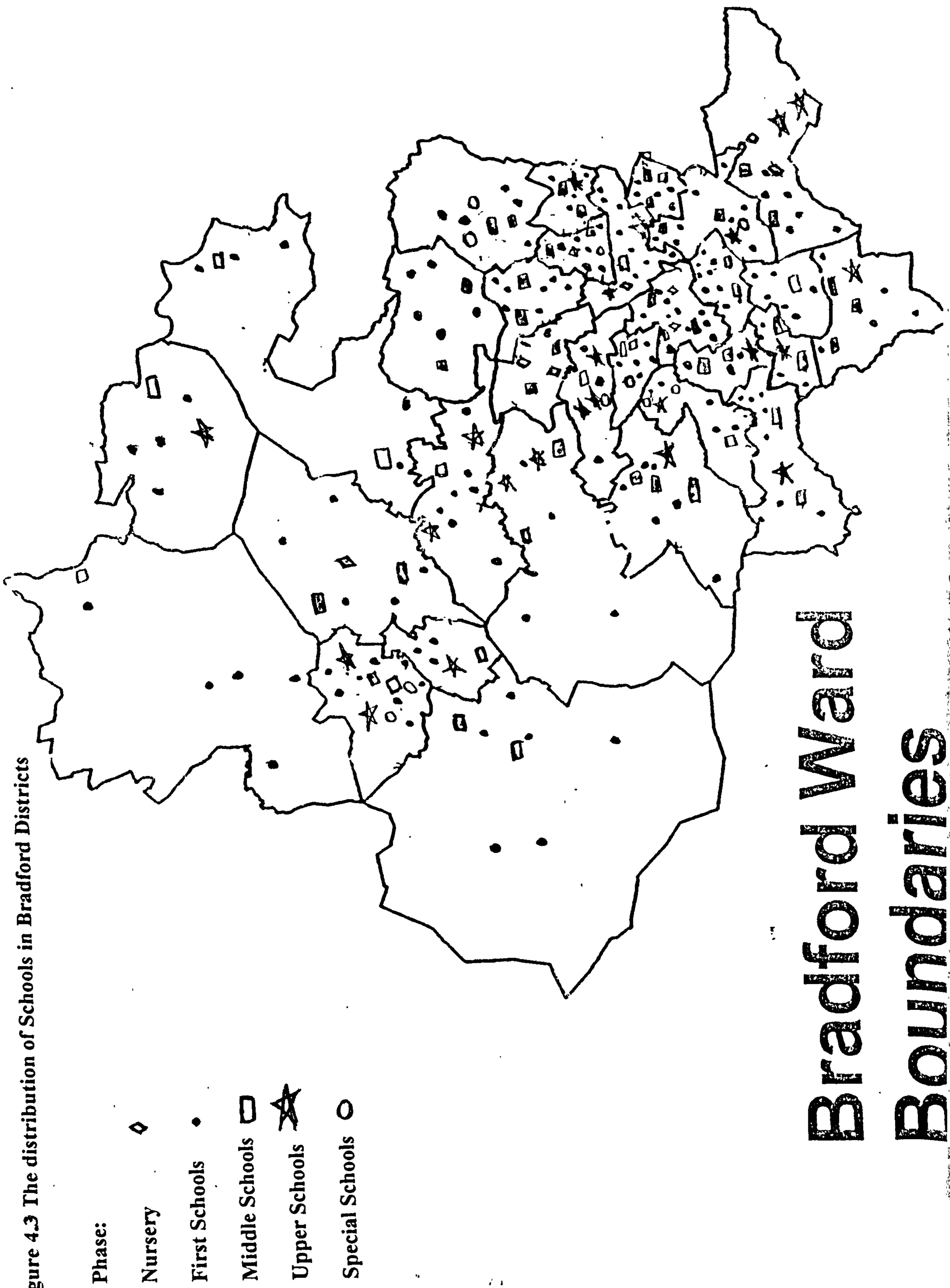
-  Bradford North - Wards - Bolton, Bowling, Bradford Moor, Eccleshill, Idle & Undercliffe.
-  Bradford South - Wards - Great Horton, Odsal, Queensbury, Tong, Wibsey & Wyke.
-  Bradford West - Wards - Clayton, Heaton, Little Horton, Thornton, Toller & University.
-  Keighley -Wards -Craven, Ilkley,Keighley North,Keighley South,Keighley West & Worth
-  Shipley - Wards - Baildon, Bingley, Bingley Rural, Rombalds, Shipley East & Shipley W

Number of pupils by Constituency:

Bradford North	-	18,884
Bradford South	-	18,755
Bradford West	-	21,427
Keighley	-	14,982
Shipley	-	15,183

Figure 4.2 shows that Bradford West has the highest number of pupils {21,427 pupils} which could be a result of the density of population in this area {total population =108,000} which includes the inner city. Around 32% of them are from ethnic groups. The second highest number of pupils is in Bradford North{18,884 pupils}. Again, this is an area of high population density, with 97,800 persons, -18.4% from ethnic groups. The third area which has a high number of pupils is Bradford South{18,755 pupils} which has a total population of 94,800, of whom around 7.3% are from ethnic groups. Shipley and Keighley have fewer pupils {15,183 and 14,982} because they have smaller populations, being located far from the city.

Figure 4.3 The Distribution of Schools in Bradford Districts.



Bradford Ward Boundaries

Figure 4.3 The distribution of Schools in Bradford Districts

Figure 4.3 shows the distribution of schools in Bradford districts. It is surprising that in all Bradford wards there are only six nurseries, serving 526 children. All these nurseries were established before 1980, and three of them are in the inner city, including one in University ward { Bradford Education Facts&Figures1999}.

There are 165 first/primary schools, serving {42,031 children} representing 47.10% of the total pupils in Bradford. 27% of them are Muslims. These types of schools cover all Bradford wards. From Figure 4.3 it can be seen that some wards such as Keighley, Toller, Undercliffe, University etc, have more than five schools. Each of these wards has more than three thousand children.

It is noted that University ward has the largest number of children in this age group. {3,672 children} and 11 primary schools. This ward covers an inner city area with a high number of Asian people. The same applies to the other wards which have a large number of children, such as Bowling, Little Horton and Toller; all of them are either in the inner city or close to it. Some of the other wards, such as Wibsey, Heaton, etc, have fewer than five primary schools, because of their lower population density.

In Bradford there are now 54 Middle schools, serving about 22,240 pupils, 24.9% of the total of pupils in Bradford district. Muslim pupils represent 28% of the total. The largest number of pupils are in University ward, while the other areas which have more than one thousand pupils are Bradford Moor, Clayton, Bingley rural, Bolton and Worth Valley. From Figure 4.3 it can be seen that more than half of the wards have two or more middle schools, but some wards, e.g. Craven, Ilkley, Idle etc, have just one middle school because they are located outside the city boundaries, where there are fewer of children of school age. The proportion of Muslims in those schools is also less, because most Muslim families live in the inner city or around it.

There are 24 Upper schools in Bradford, serving about 23,336 pupils. Those pupils represent 26.15% of total pupils in Bradford district and 28% of them are Muslim. The largest number of pupils is concentrated in Tong ward, because Tong upper school serves

many other wards which have no upper schools of their own, and it has a large number of Muslim pupils. The other wards which have more than two thousand pupils include Undercliffe, Heaton, Bingley Rural and Bingley. All of them are located round the inner city.

From Figure 4.3, it can be seen that some wards, such as Bingley, Bingley Rural, Heaton, Keighley, Tong and Undercliffe have two or three upper schools. All of them are located in the middle of Bradford district, so they can serve the north and the south. Also, the map shows that some wards such as Baildon, Bradford Moor, Odsal etc, have no upper schools, either because there is no suitable land for establishing a school, or because they are served by neighbouring wards which have upper schools.

There are other types of school at all levels which contain few or no Muslims because these schools are Church schools, or private schools {therefore, too expensive} or are located in areas where the population is predominantly white. Bradford Cathedral Community College is an example.

Since this thesis focuses on Muslim identity and the survey was carried out in Upper schools only, it may be useful to give more details about why Muslims tend to be concentrated in some upper schools rather than others.

As indicated above, in 1999, Muslim pupils represented 28% of all upper school pupils. In each of the 17 upper schools, Muslims account for 15 % of the pupils; in some, such as Belle Vue Girls' school, Muslims account for more than 90%.

From Figure 4.3 it is clear that in Heaton ward there are three upper schools, but Muslim pupils are concentrated in two of them, Belle Vue Boys' and Belle Vue Girls', because of the Muslim preference for single sex schools: more than 90% of the pupils are Muslims. The third school in this ward is for boys only, but it is a Christian school so it has not any Muslim pupils.

Undercliffe ward has two upper schools. St Joseph' College has no Muslim pupils because it is a church school, while in Carlton Bolling College, 70-80% of the pupils are

Muslim, because it is located in a district where 45-50 % of the residents are Asian {see also map, p59Chapter3}.

Great Horton has one upper school {Grange Upper School} where more than 70 % of pupils are Asian, because it is located in a district where 20-25% of the residents are Asian and it is close to the inner city. It also serves nearby wards which have no upper schools, and all those wards have large Asian populations. It is noted also that some white families withdrew their children when they noted that Asian pupils were in the majority, as they feared the quality of teaching would be adversely affected and examination results would be low, as some interviewees pointed out during the survey.

Bingley Rural ward has two upper schools, Beckfoot Grammar and Nab Wood Grammar. In Beckfoot Grammar, 15 % of pupils are Muslim while in Nab Wood Grammar, 60 % are Muslim pupils, although it is located in an area where only 10-15 of residents are Asian. The reason may be because the school has many facilities compared with others. Also, when the Asians started to come to it, many white pupils left, which gave more chance to Asians to move to this school because the school admits pupils from outside the catchment area if the school has vacancies, according to the regulations of the LEA in Bradford.

Keighley West ward has two upper schools. The first, The Holy Family RC is a very good school with a good GCSE record, but it has no Muslim pupils because it is a Roman Catholic school. In Greenhead Grammar, more than half of the pupils are Muslims, because it is located in Keighley district, in an area where about 20-25 % of the population are Asian. This area contains old textile factories which were the first sources of occupation for Asian immigrants.

Wibsey ward has one upper school {Buttershaw Upper} where about 70-80% of the pupils are Muslim. This may be because it is located in area where around 15-20% of the pupils are Muslims and three wards around it, and in the inner city have no upper school.

The last upper school which has a high percentage of Asian pupils is Tong upper school, where about 70% of the pupils are Muslims. Although this school is located in a ward where no Asian people live, it admits Asian people who live far from it because this school, being located in a council area, is unpopular with white families. But there is question may arise here, if the LEA draws geographical catchment areas, how were those white pupils allowed to move to other wards? During the survey, some Asian parents claims that it is a kind of bias by those white people who control the catchment areas, or because most of these families are able to pay for private schooling in other wards.

This concentration of Muslim pupils in some schools rather than others, together with other factors, may cause disadvantage and challenge to Muslim identity, which will be explained in the next section.

4.6.4 Disadvantage in education and challenges to Muslim identity.

Education should be accessible, worthwhile and should meet the needs of all pupils. All members of the school community should have an understanding of the ethical issues behind equal opportunities legislation, and of Bradford Council policies which cover issues of disability, gender and ethnicity and which oppose discrimination on the grounds of age or class. 'Schools should be rigorous in their consideration of the curriculum and structures to ensure that all pupils have full access to and involvement in high quality education'. {A Guide for Parents, 2000/2001}.

Education has always been a favoured tool of immigrant groups, anywhere in the world, in the attempts to establish and improve their position in their new host society.

Equally it is a resource often used by governments in the efforts to redress the imbalances and disadvantages that occur with increase in the numbers of ethnic groups number. For 'Muslim communities of Bradford, however, education as a mechanism to achieve equality is currently failing'. {Bradford Commission report, 1995}.

Bradford and Kent [1998] noted that, throughout recent history, the principle of equality of educational opportunity has pervaded education in the UK. At first sight, access to schools

may appear to be equal for all pupils, but this is far from the case in reality. From area to area there is a differential availability of types of schools. For example, in some areas there are relatively many private schools which have access to them limited by ability to pay{financial access}, examination and/ or interview.

There is no doubt that Bradford district faces several disadvantages, especially in education, and there are many reasons for this, some of which may be interrelated. For example, the poverty of families may cause underachievement in the school and that could lead to unemployment.

The main disadvantage that Muslims are suffering and which may be a cause of other disadvantages such as underachievement, is living in the inner city.

Living in inner city.

As indicated in the last chapter, a large number of the Muslim minority in Bradford are living inside the city, because when the first groups arrived, they settled around the industrial area and they built facilities such as mosques. They then tended to remain in the same place, especially as they felt more secure living close to each other.

Some official publications classify the inner city in Bradford as composed of five electoral wards{Bowling, Toller, University, Bradford Moor and Little Horton}. These areas have large Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations. Also, the last decade has shown an overall decline in the inner city white population and an increase among Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and others. The settlement pattern of Asians in Bradford, for example, shows that nearly two thirds of the total population of Asian origin are living in four wards of the inner-city area. For instance, 71.2% of University and half of Bradford Moor populations are of Asian origin. { 1991 Census}.

Although the concentrated settlement pattern has given the Asian community some benefits, there are also many disadvantages. Firstly, using the ethnic categories the distribution shows 81% of Bangladeshis, 25 of Indians, 53% of Pakistanis are living in areas of stress. Secondly, the unemployment rates in areas of multiple stress average 32%,

compared to 12.7% for the District as a whole. The rates are considerably higher, both for total unemployment and for youth unemployment. A quarter of those under pensionable age with a long-term illness, health problem, or handicap, are residents in the area of multiple stress [The Bradford Commission Report 1995].

Thirdly, the area is noted for having the worst overcrowding in Bradford, with 36% of all overcrowded households, and 44% of all severe overcrowding. Taimuri [1996] mentioned that the Manningham area was seen as having the most severe problem, with 19% of households suffering overcrowding and with 40% of those households suffering severe overcrowding. Manningham is an area where 4 bedroom local authority accommodation has a waiting list of 10 years.

Poverty levels can be assessed by the number of people on low income and in receipt of benefits. For instance in the inner city, over 50% of adults are registered as receiving either community charge or housing benefit, and Bradford West contains the highest proportion of first school children receiving free meals [Ibid].

Bradford and Kent [1998] mentioned that inner-city areas have particular problems because the local area and pupils are often socially disadvantaged. Their choice of schools is constrained in comparison with parents in higher socio-economic groups who can exert greater pressure to gain entry for their children to popular schools, or purchase a place in a private school, or move house to a particular district where a neighbourhood school has the characteristics they want for their children.

Looking at figure 4.3, it is evident that in consequence of the factors mentioned above, Asian pupils are concentrated in some schools within the inner city boundaries or in the wards close to it, which have a high Asian population. The Bradford Commission Report of 1995 noted that pre-1974, 60% of Bradford city area's school population were white, and 37% were Asian. Just over 30% were Pakistani, with Indian and Bangladeshi pupils making up the largest other groups in the standard OPCS classification structure. It predicted that for this geographical area, half of the schools leavers would be from

minority ethnic origins within 4 years. It also found that some Asian pupils were accepted in some schools which were unpopular among whites, such as Tong Upper school, to complete the number of the pupils.

Unfortunately, this segregation may refer to how the LEA drew geographical catchment areas. For example, if a parent applies for place in a school outside their area of residence, they will be refused unless the school is under-subscribed. Therefore, it should not be surprising that in March 1996, of the pupils in the group of 15 schools in Manningham {part of the inner city} 94.9% were Asian and 92% had an Asian mother tongue.

Because Muslim children grow up within the Asian community and suffer from the disadvantages mentioned above, a significant proportion of children enter school with inadequate language skills. The fundamental years of learning acquisition are within the family at home, while language use outside the school plays a major role in pupils' learning in class later. Taimuri [1996] added, that 'in Britain, the language of the school, English, is not {identical} with the language spoken by ethnic minorities'. Muslim children are living in areas where most of the residents are Asian; therefore they speak their mother language with their families, the teachers in the mosque schools, the Asian children who play with them in the street or in the community centre. They speak their mother language even in the state schools, because they are located in Asian areas, and the majority of pupils are Asian. This results in poor English which contributes significantly to the low achievement of Muslim pupils.

Achievement is also affected by other factors such as overcrowding. Many children do not have a private room for study or money to buy books etc. They have no time to study because most of them go to mosque schools in the evenings and some are required to work to help their parents. Moreover, parents from ethnic backgrounds are unable to relate confidently to the educational processes affecting their children, for reasons such as those indicated in the last chapter.

Other reasons could be added here that Reid [1992] mentioned in his study. For example 'some of the teachers in Bradford were non-graduates and many of them from working-class backgrounds.' I would add here that even if the teachers are talented and well-qualified, their ability to do job will be constrained by the disappointment of the Asian pupils, unhelpful parents and inadequate resources.

Taimuri[1996] mentioned that low achievement has sparked off criticism from some Muslim parents. They highlighted the flaws in the educational system and questioned whether it catered for the needs of the ethnic minorities in the inner city. Parents felt that their children were confined to inner city schools. In 1993, Muslim parents in Bradford took legal action against the Bradford Local Educational Authority, claiming that their 'allocation policy' for schools was racist [see British Muslims: Monthly Survey July 1993 and September1996]. Taimuri[1996] added, Muslim parents felt that they were being systematically excluded from high achievement school, and dumped in under-subscribed schools with poor academic performance.

I emphasise here that in spite of all the factors mentioned above that may contribute to the low achievement of Muslim pupils, it should be remembered that family background plays the most important role. It is noticeable that Indian pupils perform better than Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, because they tend to live in better economic and social conditions than the other nationalities.

Finally, although Muslim pupils who are living in the inner city of Bradford suffer more than those in other parts of the city, various resources show that Muslim pupils in the rest of Bradford are suffering too.

The disadvantages caused by low achievement in schools which have a large number of Muslims may be increased by other factors such as the number of pupils who leave school for self employment or stay without a job, which increases unemployment among Muslim youth in Bradford.

Bradford Education Facts & Figures [1999] notes that in 1999, more than half {54%} of the pupils dropped out of the schools, among them around 4000 Muslim pupils, although self employment is an important source of jobs and the figures show that ethnic groups are most likely to be self employed, accounting for between 10-15 % of their total [Economic Profile 1997].

Unemployment for all ethnic minority groups is around 2.5 times higher than the white rate of unemployment. There are differences between ethnic minority groups; for example, rates for Pakistani and Bangladeshi people may be around four times higher than for their white counterparts [see Bradford & District Economic Profile 1999].

Thus, family poverty may cause low achievement in education, which in turn leads to unemployment and poverty in the future. Another concern is that poverty and unemployment often may cause higher crime rates. Some Muslims may think because they are Muslim, they cannot do as well as the non Muslims in the school and so they have lower expectations. Moreover, some Muslim parents who are able to buy or rent a house may try to move from the Muslim community to live in a white area in order to send their children to a good school, but this may cut these people off from Islamic activities in the mosque, which may be too far away.

So in conclusion, I would argue that there are connections between poverty, poor housing and overcrowding which contribute to the difficulties in studying at home. This case is made worse by language problems and inadequately resource's schools {from which most white children have departed}, in addition, to low expectations of teachers who teach in the schools which have a majority of Asian pupils. All these factors may play a role in the low achievement of Muslim pupils and may challenge Muslim identity.

Consequently, Muslims still seek voluntary-aided Muslim schools as the most effective way to ensure their children's culture identity, as we will see in the next section.

4.7. Voluntary Aided Muslim Schools.

There are no definitive statistics on Muslims living Britain. Jenkins [1995] explained that this is because the official surveys do not ask questions regarding religious affiliation. Estimates are drawn from questions relating to ethnicity. Taking into account recent demographic trends, Anwar estimates that as of 1993, the Muslim population in Britain was approximately 1.5 million, and Sarwar [1994] calculated that around half a million are children of compulsory school age. [Jenkins 1995].

Therefore, according to Hulmes [1989] Muslims are the largest religious minority community today in the United Kingdom, and yet they feel they have not been able to secure education for the moral and spiritual development of their children. Their major worry is that county and denominational schools which their children mostly attend fail to provide them with an enough understanding and knowledge of their religion and culture. The only committed Islamic education which their children receive is given at the supplementary evening and week-end mosque schools where the *Imams* who are employed by the {Islamic} community to lead prayers and also improvise in the teaching of fundamentals of Islam. As these *Imams* are not trained to teach, they follow archaic and rule of thumb methods, and thus teach Islam in a lifeless and stereotyped fashion. He added that the best results in religious education of the Muslim children could only be achieved in schools which an Islamic environment just like in the voluntary-aided Catholic, Anglican, and Jewish schools. and recently Sikh school.

Some Muslims are aware of the importance of Islamic schools and have started to establish some schools such as "Muslim Association of Bradford" in 1959 by the Muslim Community [Bahadeur 1986]. But they face some obstacles such as finance. So far Muslim communities have established 59 Muslim schools in Britain [Cheema 1997], but have received no funding from government, except for two schools, recently although the Muslim community claims that they have right to that.

4.7.1. The justifications.

I have indicated the importance of Islamic education, noted the rejection of multicultural education by both sides and presented some of the pupils' problems and needs. All this can be seen as justification for establishing Muslim schools. Further, we can clarify the main justification for establishing Islamic schools, as explained by Jenkins [1995 p10]:

'Legislation enacted in 1902 and 1906 established the concept of voluntary denominational school maintained by government funding existing alongside newly created board schools, the forerunner of local authority schools. Categories of denominational schools were designated in the Education Act {1944} with various levels of government control but generally referred to as voluntary-aided schools. Most importantly for this discussion, the 1944 Act did not specify religious affiliation.'

That means Muslim schools can be established according to existing legislation which allows the formation of any denominational voluntary aided schools. The 1988 Education Reform Act gave this right to the Muslim minority [Cheema,1990], and the 1993 Education Act allows the new possibility of voluntary groups approaching government for funds for establishing and developing their schools[Jenkins,1995]

Department of Education and Science figures {January1988} state that 32 per cent of schools in England and Wales are voluntary-aided. The majority of these are Church of England schools and there are also 2,284 Roman Catholic Schools and 23 Jewish schools.[Dwyer 1993].

The Muslim minority want to gain their rights, like the other denominations in Britain, to secure their identity, in a free country.

4.7.2. The argument

Most of the Muslim minority remain unhappy with the position of state schools, despite attempts to reform the system of education in schools which have a number of Muslim pupils. Muslim parents look for modern education for their children, but only as long as it conforms to their Islamic identity.

The main target of Islamic education is to lead the pupil to please *Allah* through his obedience. In contrast, the British education system is based on secularism, which means the religion is not considered.

The Muslim minority have offered some evidences to support their campaigns. For example, Jackson & Penrose [1993] note that the original attempts to establish state-aided Muslim schools have their roots in dissatisfaction among Muslim parents about the capacity for state schools to accommodate their cultural and religious needs. This has led local councils to produce multicultural education policies which attempted to provide some facilities for the specific needs of Muslim pupils. But the continuing experience of racism led some Muslim parents to argue that these policies had not gone far enough.

Multicultural education has failed to meet Muslim needs. Western culture continues to dominate, ignoring the others. Other criticisms were raised in an earlier section.

In response to this failure, there are calls for Muslim development of separate institutions where a Muslim identity can be protected.

Dwyer [1993] noted parallels with the experiences of the British Jewish population, who established separate schools in the 1930s.

In 1988, Muslim concerns increased when the new Education Reform Act made it compulsory for all county schools to provide Christian worship and religious education in the schools. Halstead & Cheema [1987] added that the presence of Muslims and other non-Christians is used as major argument against that. Bari [1993] said that although parents have a right to withdraw their children from worship and religious education, Muslim parents were apparently unprepared to face the new situation, because this regulation added more risk to the identity of their children.

These concerns of parents encouraged Muslim leaders to seek to obtain their own schools. Bari [1993] noted their attempt is backed by the provisions of the 1944 Education Act. Sections 13 to 16 of the act deal with the procedure for this category of schools. Under section 114(2), as amended, the Local Education Authority (LEA) is responsible for paying the

teachers' salaries and the cost of maintaining the school premises. Central Government will pay 85% of the cost of a new school building or purchase price of an existing one. The ERA, 1988 gives an additional right to individual schools to 'opt-out' from the LEA and come under central government authority; and the 1993 Education Act allows for the new possibility, as mentioned in the previous section.

Despite these provisions, the Muslim minority have not succeeded in gaining a single voluntary aided school. This raises the question why Muslims have not attained their right, when there are thousands of voluntary aided religious schools receiving government funding.

The campaigners for state funded Muslim schools argue that they are entitled as citizens, to gain the same rights as other religious groups. Regarding the concept of citizenship, all must have equality under the law.

Dwyer [1993] discussed the position on Muslim schools of the political parties. The Labour Party, divided on the issue of Muslim schools, acknowledged that "The right to such status already exists in law and it has been exercised and enjoyed in practice by Anglicans and Roman Catholics. In equity, that right cannot be denied to others". The same arguments were used by the Conservative peer, Baroness Cox, when she introduced her Education Bill which, if passed, would have extended state support to Muslim schools. Cox admitted: "I believe that, as Christians, we should have enough confidence in our faith to give our fellow citizens the democratic rights which we have given ourselves."

The campaigners for Muslim schools also gained support from the pressure group Parents Alliance for Choice in Education {PACE}. This group used the rhetoric of the Prime Minister, John Major, who established a Citizens' Charter giving increased rights to the individual, including the "right" of parents to choose schools for their children.

In contrast, some government ministers have opposed Muslim schools, This emerged during the "Rushdie Affair" when various Home Office ministers visited the Muslim community. In February 1989, the Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, addressed Muslim

leaders reminding them of their responsibilities, as citizens, to obey the laws of the land.

He argued that the Muslims, as a minority, should be part of the mainstream'. [Dwyer 1993].

However, the right to establish voluntary-aided schools is enshrined in the law of the land.

Cheema [1994p192]says:

'A strong, mostly secular lobby has convinced the Government that they should not allow Islamic voluntary-aided schools, thus denying Muslims the rights that they have in law.'

He added that the other arguments raised in opposition to Muslim schools can be summarised as follows:

1} Voluntary separation might go against the interest of the Muslim community, thus facilitating discrimination against Muslims in the Labour Market.

2} It is a threat to 'the stability of society as a whole'. It might provoke a racist backlash. It might exacerbate the very feelings of rejection and of not being accepted as full members of society which they seek to overcome [SWAN 1985].

3} The presence of Muslims in multi-racial schools is needed to help the majority ethnic community to shed their racist tendencies [SWAN 1985].

4} Inflexibility in conforming to the norms and values of the dream world of a multicultural pluralist Great Britain which may or may not be realised in the next century.

5} If Muslim and other voluntary-aided schools were established, this would deny many of our children the opportunity to share their schooling, which is an excellent way to increase mutual respect and understanding.

6} Voluntary-aided Muslim schools would deny Muslim children the opportunities of a broad and balanced curriculum, and so diminish their life chances [Cheema, 1994].

These arguments are hypothetical but seemingly convincing. They also reflect the concerns felt by a large number of British people. Bari [1993] notes that the same points were raised when other denominations first sought to establish their own schools, but now that they

have confidently overcome their problem, the question does not even arise with their demand.

I think that misunderstanding of Islam gives a bad picture of Islam in the media. For example, to say that Muslim schools would not provide their children with a basic knowledge of British values and culture is to say they will provide a separate culture irrelevant to the British life-style.

The Muslims reply that if they succeed in establishing their own schools, they know they have to provide an education which is acceptable to the framework of British education; but this will be done with emphasis on Islam.

Regarding the argument of those who oppose Muslim schools, that such will cause a racist backlash and discrimination, and deny the mutual respect between Muslim children and others, Muslims argue that these problems already prevail in the society and have very little to do with the establishment of separate Muslim schools. On the contrary, they argue Muslim schools can provide children with better education, supported by moral and religious values, and so would contribute more to the society and enhance a positive and healthy environment.

It may be noted that the Muslim pupils in those Muslim schools already established, feel happier and are obtaining satisfactory results. Further, they maintain good relationships with non-Muslim pupils in other aspects of society.

In particular, the girls welcome what they see as a chance to obtain a good education while feeling more comfortable in an Islamic environment, and their parents feel more confident about sending their daughters to Muslim girls' schools.

Finally, it emerges that Muslim pupils suffer from various challenges to their identity in state schools and those schools are unable to maintain Islamic identity, either through a multicultural ethos or by provision of some concessions. However, this theoretical picture will be made more clear by examining the attitudes of pupils and their parents regarding

these issues, through the empirical study which will be discussed in the second part of this thesis.

Summary.

This chapter has reviewed the importance of education in maintaining or challenging identity. It is accepted that education transmits the values of one generation to the next. It is the key to the future. The term education is used not in the narrow sense of schooling, but in the wider sense of changing hearts, minds and lives. Education is a resource for making and transmitting culture. In that sense, it can be regarded as potentially playing an important role in preserving or challenging Muslim identity.

In the discussion of this chapter, a distinction has been drawn between Islamic education and English education, specifically that an Islamic education system prepares human beings for both life on this earth and life after death. Muslims believe that balanced growth of the total personality of man and women cannot be ensured by any system other than Islamic education.

The Muslim minority in Britain is concerned that their children will become assimilated into the mainstream of western culture, through education, so they demand cultural pluralism in British society. Multicultural education represents an attempt to politicize education in order to accommodate minority demands. However, it faces challenges and criticisms from both sides. It has failed to meet the needs of Muslim communities.

Despite efforts by local educational authorities to provide some facilities in some state schools, and to make concessions on such matters such as school uniform, especially in schools which have a majority of Muslim pupils, Muslim pupils face many challenges. For instance, the National Curriculum presents some obstacles to meeting the needs of Muslim pupils. Although parents can withdraw their children from Religious Education and sex education, this is not a final solution, because most parents are unaware of this right and even if they exercise it, this may only serve to isolate their children further, marking them out as "different".

The other challenge to Muslim pupils' identity in state schools is their low achievement.

Equally education is a resource often used by governments in the efforts to redress the imbalances and disadvantages that occur with increase in the numbers of ethnic groups.

For Muslim communities of Bradford, however, education as a mechanism to achieve equality is currently failing.

There is no doubt that Bradford district faces several disadvantages, especially in education, and there are many reasons for this, some of which may be interrelated. For example, the poverty of families may cause underachievement in the school and that could lead to unemployment. The main disadvantage that Muslims are suffering and which may be a cause of other disadvantages such as underachievement, is living in the inner city.

Because Muslim children grow up within the Asian community and suffer from the disadvantages mentioned above, a significant proportion of children enter school with inadequate language skills. This poor English contributes significantly to the low achievement of Muslim pupils. Achievement is also affected by other factors such as overcrowding. Many children do not have a private room for study or money to buy books etc. They have no time to study because most of them go to mosque schools in the evenings and some are required to work to help their parents. Moreover, parents from ethnic backgrounds are unable to relate confidently to the educational processes affecting their children, as a result of many reasons, such as those indicated in the last chapter. Most of them feel that they are living in Britain for a limited time so they are not concerned whether their children achieve or not. Also, they may lack knowledge of how to gain access to schools.

I emphasise here that in spite of all the factors mentioned above that may contribute to the low achievement of Muslim pupils, it should be remembered that family background plays the most important role. The disadvantages caused by low achievement in schools which face a large number of Muslims may be increased by other factors such as the number of

pupils who leave school to self employment or stay without a job, which increases unemployment among Muslim youth in Bradford.

Thus, family poverty may cause low achievement in education, which in turn leads to unemployment and poverty in the future. Another concern is that poverty is often associated with higher crime rates. Some Muslims may think because they are Muslim, they cannot do as well in school as the other, non Muslim children and so they will not achieve such a high position in the class economy as the others. Moreover, some Muslim parents who are able to buy or rent a house may try to move from the Muslim community to live in a white area in order to send their children to a good school, but this may cut these people off from Islamic activities in the mosque, which may be too far away.

This chapter concluded by emphasising that many studies have discussed all the difficulties that Muslims face in state schools and most of them, particularly Muslim studies, concluded that the best solution is to establish Muslim schools, though others continue to assert the importance of Muslim presence in English state schools.

However, Muslim communities have already started to establish their own Islamic schools but have so far, with the exception of two schools, been unable to get funds from the British government, although other religious groups have been allowed to establish grant aided schools.

In concluding the theoretical part of the thesis, attention may be drawn to the connections between the topics covered. For instance, the theoretical study of boundaries reflects the need to use education {formal and informal} to educate Muslims and non-Muslims to realise that there are boundaries for each group which should be should respected, to avoid conflict between them. A chapter was than devoted to discussing such conflicts and challenges, to assess how far Islamic education is necessary in this society to reduce some of these challenges to identity. The last of the theoretical chapters focused on the education field, to investigate its particular role in relation to these challenges and suggest some solutions, such as establishing voluntary aided Muslim schools.

However, the information collected from the literature is not sufficient evidence of these challenges or their solutions. An empirical study was therefore carried out to clarify the position of identity of Muslim as perceived by Muslims themselves. This empirical study is the focus of the second part of the thesis, beginning in the next chapter with a discussion of the research strategies and tools.

Note.

1. To dance with music is prohibited in Islam, except during weddings or on Muslim festivals, or when a victorious army returns from the war. Al-Oadah [1994] stated, it is permissible for each sex to sing separately, using a drum only. Sarwar{1990} mentioned that according to the majority of Islamic jurists, the use of musical instruments generally is not allowed.

But views and habits that Muslims have acquired from their national culture do not necessarily coincide with what Islam requires. Also it is note able that the Black Muslims who come from Africa naturally love to dance and sing, so it is difficult for them to stop it, especially when they have lived in Britain for a long time and they consider it as part of their culture.

Also, there may be Muslims who listen to some types of music because they consider it only a small sin in Islam, so they do not care about it; or as a kind of adaptation to western life. Other people might feel that they are trying to understand Islam in a modern way.

The Methodology of the Study

Introduction.

5.1 Selection of Education as a Focus Study.

5.2 Selecting the Research Methodology.

5.3 Phase One: Qualitative Data:

5.3.1 Interview.

5.3.1.1 Constructing the Interview schedule:

5.3.1.2 Selecting the Sample.

5.3.2 Ethnography.

5.4 Phase Two: Quantitative Data.

5.4.1 Construction of Questionnaires for Main Study

1. Source of the Items

2. Setting up the Questionnaires.

3. Validity of the Questionnaires.

4. Reliability of the Questionnaires.

5. Pilot Study.

6. Choice and Description of Sample.

7. Non- Response to Questionnaires.

Summary.

Introduction.

This chapter describes the research strategies and argues their appropriateness for a study which aims to identify the challenges to identity and how we solve those challenges to maintain the Islamic identity. This chapter comes after the first part of the study to describe the tools used in the second part of the study {empirical study} to assess the attitude regarding the position of the identity, of a sample of population drawn from the field, to support the evidences which the researcher has obtained from the literature.

To a geographer, 'fieldwork' deals with real life and it is a way to assess whether a proposed project is feasible and will inform the researcher about the background and nature of the subject. It is necessary to look for local sources of information in particular places and to apply appropriate methods to obtain a clear picture of the subject, especially as this study is concerned with attitudes which cannot be observed without entering the field.

A variety of research methods were used to collect the required information: firstly, the reviewing of previous literature on the subject, to set the present work in context and identify themes for investigation; secondly, the use of interviewing with different groups of people; and thirdly, the use of questionnaires which were distributed to two groups of population. Field observation was conducted wherever possible. This use of multiple methods is consistent with the opinion of Van Dalen [1979p127] who stated:

'One does not master a single method of obtaining data, such as the questionnaire, and apply it to every problem that arises. Each tool is appropriate for acquiring particular data, and sometimes several instruments must be employed to obtain the information required to solve a problem. Researchers, therefore, must possess considerable knowledge about a wide variety of techniques and instruments.'

This chapter will discuss, first, the choice of education as a focus for the empirical study. Second, the research methods chosen for this study are presented and justified. In the third and fourth sections, the selected techniques are defined and explained and it is indicated which data were obtained by each of them. The final section summarises the methods.

5.1 Selection of Education as a Focus study

It is accepted that **education** transmits the values of one generation to the next. Education, as described by Murad [1986], is the key to the future. He explained that the term education was used not in the narrow sense of school and curriculum, but in the wider sense of changing hearts, minds and lives. Therefore, education is not just a way of transferring information. It is a resource for making the culture and a tool for its transfer. This meaning is emphasised by Calhoun and others [1994] who see 'education as the formal, deliberate, systematic transmission of a cultures' skills, knowledge, and values from one generation to the next', so education is a multi-purpose activity. The importance of its social purposes is undeniable. As described by Mitchell [1997], it can help sustain and develop a sense of community and national identity.

It is, as Azim [1985] says, a cycle of learning that every generation tries to accept and modify according to the circumstances of their own society. He asserts that education has the ability to change the trends of the new generation and to support development of the individual, whatever his society.

It can be used to develop people individually, by teaching them good values, the ability to think and to modify their society according to acceptable standards. In this way the younger generation can be made to realize their responsibilities, according to the desires and needs of society.

However, there are different aims for education, such as the idea that education is a continuous process of learning which prepares individuals for the membership of a particular society or social group. That means education can play a role in learning to live with others. For example, it teaches children to adjust themselves so that they can grow to live happily as useful members of their own family, group, school, neighbourhood, country and the world. Therefore, this type of learning encourages people to live in peace. Education trains people so they may achieve skills necessary for life and also may obtain a

proper position in society. In this society, the members learn to become more independent and able to think, to express their thoughts clearly and to solve problems. {also see Chapter four}.

This study falls within research in identity, which has an important place in cultural geography. The main purpose in this study is to clarify the role of education in maintaining Islamic identity, with reference to how education also could play another role, to challenge Islamic identity. Education is the focus in this study because the researcher accepts that education plays a vital role in keeping alive many ideas and values of the culture by passing them to next generation.

Also, a major problem which poses a challenge to Muslim identity in Bradford is that a large number of parents have minimal education, because most of them came from rural backgrounds, and they force their children to preserve some traditions of their countries of origin. Also, those parents put their children under pressure to identify with the parents' homeland. As result, Muslim parents and their children may neglect the importance of education in state schools, for example, so the importance of education here is to change this view and encourage those Asian people to see themselves as British Muslims.

Education emerges as an important factor with the increased number of Muslim pupils, especially in view of the failure to assimilate Muslim children within the cultural mainstream.

In addition, education plays other roles outside the school, mosque and at home. It plays a very important role as a way to find a good job for Muslim youth. Under achievement may cause unemployment and hence poverty, this in turn, may contribute to crime and racist perception of Muslims. Such problems may all challenge the Islamic identity.

So, a focus an education will give a clearer picture of the state of identity of the Muslim minority in Britain than other factors. The state of education of the pupils reflects the background of the family and the position of pupils in the school may reflect also the

economic position of Muslim family, and give clues as to the future prospects of the Muslim minority in a non-Muslim society.

However, the study of education in this thesis is from a geographical perspective, it is not restricted to discussing the issues of curriculum or teachers, as educational researchers do. For example, the study of the geography of education in Bradford gives us a clear picture about the distribution of the schools in Bradford wards, and discusses the difference in capability and quality in schools. It shows how the location of the school could affect the type of school and which kinds of pupils it contains, and how far this school serves pupils from outside its catchment area.

The section on the geography of education in Bradford, in Chapter Four, has discussed how the first wave of Muslim immigrants were concentrated in the inner city, which later affected the Asian pupils, who do have access to many private schools, because they are unable to pay. They also do not have access to religious schools, or even some schools located in the suburbs of the city, which are usually better than the schools within the inner city. So it was found that nearly two thirds of the total population of Asian origin are living in four wards of the inner-city area, and this area has particular problems, because pupils are often socially disadvantaged.

Thus, the study of the geography of education could yield a mixture of information that could reflect the economic and social position of Muslims, help us to assess the state of their identity, and give indicators to predict the future for the minority in the host society.

Other reasons which encouraged the selection of education for empirical study were that youth face more challenge to their identity than their parents, from exposure to conflicting cultures. Also they tend to be better able to speak English. They could therefore not only understand the research aims, but also provide a means of access to their parents. Schools were a convenient place to collect data, because it was easy to meet a large number of pupils and to arrange the time of meeting, and control the age and sex

distribution of the sample. In addition, school was an environment in which it was possible to meet Muslim girls, who would be difficult to interview outside school.

5.2 Selecting the Research Methodology

From the early days of geography's "Quantitative Revolution" in the 1950 and 1960s the discipline has had an ample number of texts covering the basic forms of statistical analysis. But during the 1970s and 1980s Robinson [1998] stated that much more attention was devoted by geographers to ideological, theoretical and philosophical concerns than had previously been the case. But the qualitative methods are not new as Eyles claimed in [1986] and in [1988] that such methods have been employed in human geography for well over ten years, particularly in humanistic geography. Robinson[1998] presented strong arguments for reducing the empirical content of geographical studies and focusing on theoretical concerns and he added that some researchers criticised the used of quantitative methods because of their close association with positivism. On the other hand, other geographers maintained that quantitative methods are a perfectly appropriate set of techniques to employ for the investigation of certain problems involving particular types of information, and provided adequate attention is paid to the contextual setting and the theory upon which the research draws.

The result of four decades of great change within human geography has been the establishment of two new geographies, one belonging to the early and mid-1960s, the other to the mid- and late 1980s. The contrast between these two new geographies is great: the first representing the widespread adoption of statistical methods and the use of a methodology that owed much to the philosophy of logical positivism; and the second bringing human geography much closer to other social sciences via the use of critical social theory, and recently, an engagement with postmodernist thinking that has been part of a so-called "cultural turn" [see the argument, Robinson 1998 p2].

What, then, is being suggested by Eyles[1986] is that different philosophically grounded methodologies are required to enhance the study of human geography and its understandings and explanations of its subject-matter. And he emphasised that qualitative methods add significantly to our knowledge from quantitative approaches. Thus, he advocated the use of both approaches.

Therefore, Robinson [1998] indicated some links with the earlier “new” geography. Quantitative methods, used both within new methodological contexts and as part of positivistic work, have not been abandoned and a number of texts on statistical techniques in geography have continued to appear.

However, there can be multiple sets of data, requiring different methods. It is possible to obtain different data relating to different phases of the research process, or different information and settings. Eyles[1988p5] mentioned that Malinowski [1922] for example, noted

‘The need for statistical coverage of the organization of the people under investigation; observation to discover the behaviour and conduct of individuals and collectivity; and ethnographic description based on conversation and interview to elicit the ‘mentality’ of the people.’

Thus, statistical surveys and quantitative analysis remain relevant for interpretative research, and it may be useful to correct some ideas which can be gained from conversation in the field research.

Finally, quantitative techniques are seen as one way of organising one type of information, so they, need necessarily to be complemented by more understanding and theoretical development which can be obtained by using the qualitative approach.

In this study, which aims to investigate the state of the Muslim identity from the point of view of Muslims either in Kashmir or in Bradford, and tries to understand the challenges which can face Muslim identity, data obtained by qualitative methods are complemented by quantitative data, to generalise the results.

It should be noted that the subject of this thesis is educational in nature. Borg and Gall {1996} stated: that interviews and questionnaires are used extensively in educational research to collect information that is not directly observable, such as feelings, motivations, attitudes, accomplishments, and experiences of individuals. A wide range of educational problems and others can be investigated by interviews and questionnaires.

Moreover, to assess whether Muslims face loss of identity or not needs in-depth investigation in the field. It is not enough only to look at what others have said, because the solution for the problem, if any, is like a doctor's prescription; it cannot be given without examining the case, and this is what the researcher has to do.

5.3 Phase One: Qualitative Data:

At the start of the study, it was indicated that this study aims to identify the nature of Muslim identity and investigate whether there are any problems that may challenge this identity and if so, how those people solve these problems, from their perspective. The researcher believed that the information he had collected from the literature was not a sufficient basis to obtain this sort of information or to construct a valid questionnaire for quantitative survey. As de Vaus [1986] recommended, although questionnaires are widely used, other techniques such as in-depth interviews and observation are also appropriate. Additionally, as Al-Othaim[1999] stated, fresh ideas from current specialists were needed which would add validity to the questionnaire.

It was believed, therefore, that, for both purposes, understanding of the on-going situation, and having information to construct a valid questionnaire, qualitative data were necessary.

Qualitative techniques have formed a central part of geographical investigations, as interpretive methods are used to uncover to the knowledge and understanding of individuals and groups. This experience can be drawn upon by researchers through various forms of interaction and observation. Robinson[1998] argued that the researcher seeks to

identify meaning not only by using standard scientific constructs but by using words and images as sources of meaning.

Qualitative techniques are essentially descriptions of people's representations and constructions of what is happening in their society. Therefore, they may be used in conjunction with quantitative analysis for seeking an understanding of society. Qualitative methods are best used for problems requiring depth of insight and understanding [Ibid p409] The qualitative data in this study were yielded by two types of methods, interviews and ethnography.

5.3.1 Interview.

Interviews are widely used for investigating problems requiring depth. They are useful for collecting information that is not directly observable, such as feelings and attitudes. Bell [1996] stated, "A major advantage of the interview is its adaptability. A skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate responses and investigate motives and feelings, the way in which a response is made {the tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation, etc.} All this can provide information, which the questionnaire can never do".

Borg and Gall[1996] note that interviewing involves the collection of data through direct verbal interaction between individuals. It permits much greater depth than other methods.

Cohen and Manion [1996] further, added that the interview may serve three purposes. First, it may be used as the principal means of gathering information, having direct bearing on the research objectives. Secondly, it may be used to test hypotheses or to suggest new ones, or as an explanatory device to help identify variables and relationships; and thirdly, the interview may be used in conjunction with other methods in a research undertaking.

Another advantage of interviewing is that the interviewer can explain more explicitly the investigation's purpose and what information he/she wants. Best and Kahn [1993] emphasise, that if the interviewee misinterprets the question, the interviewer may follow it with a clarifying question. At the same time, he or she may evaluate the sincerity and

insight of the interviewee. It is also possible to seek the same information in several ways at various stages of the interview, thus checking the truthfulness of the responses.

The interview is also particularly appropriate when one is dealing with young children. To study what school pupils like and dislike in teachers, a written schedule would probably not be satisfactory. The interview is also well suited for illiterates and those with language difficulties.

It is necessary to be aware, however, that there are some disadvantages and limitations with using this kind of method. As Oppenheim[1992] noted, interviews are much more expensive than postal questionnaires. The larger or the more dispersed the sample, the greater the total cost of the interviewing operation. Travel costs and call-backs add to this.

The aim of interviewing is to find out what is in or on someone else's mind. The purpose of open-ended interviewing, for example, is not to put some idea in someone's mind, but to access the viewpoint of the person being interviewed. Interview data can easily become biased and misleading if the person being interviewed is aware of the perspective of the interviewer. Accordingly, Best and Kahn [1993] emphasise, that, too often, interviewees provide information based upon what they think the interviewer wants to hear. Therefore, it is critical for the interviewer to make sure the person being interviewed understands that the researcher does not hold any preconceived notions regarding the outcome of the study.

In the present study, for example, the researcher was very careful to leave interviewees to talk about what they liked or disliked in school or in society, the mosque and at home.

However, Fielding[1996] emphasised that we cannot simply ignore the matter of interviewer bias. She mentioned several sources of errors which can lead to bias, such as ignoring the effects of the interviewers' characteristics and behaviour, neglecting the cultural context in which the researcher is located, and problems with question wording.

Valentine [1999 p111-112] added,

'Positivists often criticize in-depth interviews, claiming that interviewers bias the respondents' answers or that interviewers are not or cannot be objective or detached. Those who take a humanist or post-structuralist approach to research argue, however, that there is no such thing as objectivity in social science research.'

Therefore researchers should take care when designing the schedule or dealing with participants, to reduce bias as far as possible.

It is impossible to eliminate the researcher's own presence, personality and prejudice from a group situation. In any group-based work, the researcher and the group members interact and such interaction may significantly affect the nature of group discussion. This may be regarded as a weakness or limitation of this type of research method [Robinson{1998}].

The other limitation that we should expect in the interviews, as Valentine[1999] note, is that they may raise sensitive issues which dismiss the responders for example, 'talking to people about crime, racism etc, may prompt interviewees to recall distressing experiences of violence and discrimination.' In the present survey, it was difficult to discuss pupils' relationships with boy or girl friends, as such relationships are prohibited in Islam and the interviewees would find it difficult to admit to other people that they had broken this rule.

Another limitation of the interview is that not everyone likes to be taped. Some people may just be shy, some have cultural objections to having their voice recorded; and others, particularly elites, may not want their comments on the record. It is important, therefore, to be sensitive to the interviewees' wishes and always to carry a notebook in case taping is refused [Valentine1999]. In the present survey, some Muslim women refused to have their voices recorded. Some were shy, while others had cultural objections. Fielding [1996 p150] added another limitation to interviews which relates to culture, when he said:

'Cross-cultural research is especially susceptible to problems in interpreting interview response. It is often difficult to establish equivalence of meaning in work involving translation, especially if the material is attitudinal.'

With groups created by the researcher there is a need for careful thought about the group's role, its dynamics and its management. Robinson [1999] emphasised that 'homogenous groups are generally regarded as giving the best results as subgroups may not contribute fully to discussion or may inhibit exchange of views on certain topics. Against this, variety of views may occur if there are ethnic, age or gender differences in the group'. For

example in this study, it was noted that some parents avoided discussing why they came to Britain. Most of them said, “to get a job” and only a few gave details about the political reasons, perhaps because some people still fear that expressing political dissent may place themselves or their families in danger.

Finally, the interview is based on the assumption that language is generally a good indicator of thought and action. Attitudes and thoughts are assumed to be a direct influence on behaviour and, in turn, language is presumed to be an accurate reflection of both. However, most studies show that expressed attitude is a problematic indicator of what people have done, or will do. The relationship between attitude and action has to be empirically tested in all cases, so that collecting information about people’s attitude is only one part of any study concerned with explaining or predicting behaviour [Fielding{1996}]. The researcher was aware of that and sought to overcome this limitation by using complementary ethnographic methods, which will be discussed later, in section 5.2.2.

5. 3.1.1 Constructing the Interview schedule:

Interviews can take various forms so a decision must be made as to which is suitable to the research. Three types of interview were used specifically in this research which Cohen [1996] called the structured interview, the unstructured interview, and the focused interview.

Structured interviews are those in which the content and procedures are organised in advance. More explicitly Borg and Gall[1996p310] explained,

‘The structured interview involves a series of closed-form questions that either have yes-no answers or can be answered by selecting from among a set of short-answer choices. The responses are not followed up to obtain greater depth, and thus are similar to those obtained from a questionnaire. The advantage of an interview over a questionnaire in this case, however, is that the response rate can be increased because the interviewer can interact with individuals to reduce the number of unusable or “don’t know” responses.’

In the exploratory study in Kashmir, as will be seen in the next section, this type of interview was used because it was appropriate where a large number of people were unable to speak English, and so more detailed interview responses could not be obtained by

conversation with the sample. Also, part of the schedule was translated into Urdu and the researcher found it easy to collect the results by comparing the schedules [see Appendix First p 326, {Interview form}], Kane [1987] added that 'the standardised interview schedule is best used when you are interviewing a large number of people who are homogeneous and tend to share the same characteristics and outlooks'.

Although this type of interview was applied in the exploratory study and obtained rich information from the people, it should be remembered that in this kind of interview, people have little opportunity to introduce significant variations on choice of answers.

Unstructured interviews involve an open situation which offers greater flexibility and freedom. Borg and Gall[1996]explain that this type does not involve a detailed interview guide. Instead, the interviewer asks questions that gradually lead the respondent to give the desired information. Usually, the type of this information is difficult for the respondent to express or is sensitive. For this reason the interviewer must adapt continuously to the respondent's state of mind.

This kind of interview was very suitable to elicit the type of information required for this study as applied in the preliminary study in Kashmir and Bradford. In Kashmir, for example, the main question was the historical reasons which pushed immigrants to go to Bradford and why some people returned to Kashmir. In Bradford, the first section in the schedule attempted to investigate whether there were any problems in the school that could threaten the Muslim identity, and find out any suggestions to solve these problems, from the viewpoints of some educationists, teachers, parents and pupils. Similar questions were repeated in the second section of the schedule, but about home, while the third section was about the society. The fourth section was to assess the position of the mosque { see Appendices 2: p 236}. These were open questions calling for free response. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the respondent and in some cases notes only taken. This sort of interview is time consuming. To reduce this problem, the time allowed for each interview was limited.

The reason for this design was, as Cohen and Manion [1996] indicate, to provide more flexibility for the interviewee, to go into more depth if he/she so chose on any topic and allow the interviewer to clear up any misunderstanding which might arise.

Direct verbal interaction between the researcher and responder allows the researcher to see inside the head of the interviewee, to identify what the person thinks, dislikes or likes during the information he/she presents. This type of interaction gave the researcher chance to distinguish how the interviewee viewed his/her identity.

The third type of interview used in this study is **focus group interview**. This provides a link with a group of 5 people or more, who engage with the researcher to discuss an issue in order to generate data. Cohen[1996] said: 'In the focused interview, the interviewer can play a more active role; he can introduce more explicit verbal cues to the stimulus pattern or even represent it. This usually activates a concrete response by the informants'.

Some researchers prefer to use group interviews as instead of spending time with individual respondents, the researcher can conduct a single session with a group of respondents. May[1993] points out that this tool can provide qualitative depth by allowing interviewees to talk about the subject according to their own frames of reference, and so provides a greater understanding.

This kind of tool is often used in cross cultural research and with ethnic minorities. Therefore, it was thought to be a suitable method to be for collecting some of the field work data in the preliminary study in Kashmir and Bradford. Focus group interviews were, for example, held in Kashmir with some people to raise the issue of the maintenance of identity. In Bradford, focus groups were held with some groups of pupils to discuss with them the problems that they faced in the school, mosque, home and society, and their ideas about solutions to these types of problems.

In addition to the above kinds of interview, in some cases, telephone interviews were used when it was not possible to meet some people, such as some parents, especially mothers.

They were also used for contacting English teachers or the head teachers of Muslim girls' schools, which a male researcher could not enter.

5.3.1.2 Selecting the Sample

The choice of sample was guided by the need to get different views toward the issues under investigation. Therefore, the sample were selected carefully as groups of people who represented the population and who had the ability to understand the actual situation and detect various problems that might occur in many aspects of life. This would give the researcher an outline from which to formulate the questionnaires items.

The samples that were interviewed were in two fields, Kashmir and Bradford. Each of them involved different types of interviews and different arrangements, according to circumstances, as will be made clear in the following explanation.

A. Kashmir.

This field work covered one month, beginning on May 16 of 1997. During this period, three sorts of interview were carried out to serve different purposes. Some problems were encountered. For example some interviewees were unable to speak English or Arabic. This block was overcome by my guide who could speak Urdu, Punjabi and Arabic, so he translated responses into Arabic, and I reported them then in English.

Further, I found all the schools had closed for the summer holiday, except the girls' school. To overcome this problem, I managed to arrange some interviews with some girls in the summer school. Fortunately all 15 girls who were chosen could speak English, but it was difficult to stay with them because they were wore the veil and were extremely shy about speaking to a strange man. Also, it was difficult to talk with them without permission from their parents, which would have taken a long time to arrange and may well have been refused.

The solution was to enlist the help of two teachers who conducted the interviews on my behalf, in accordance with my instructions. I stayed in a separate office in the school. In this way I was on hand to give the teachers any further information they needed.

With male pupils, it was possible to arrange to interview 15 pupils, but since they only spoke Urdu or Punjabi, again, it was necessary to train two people to do the interviews on my behalf. In addition, 30 parents were met by the interviewers, for the same reason.

To facilitate the interviews, the schedule was translated into Urdu by Basher, the dean of the Open University in Mirpur.

Three types of interviews were carried in Kashmir. For example, focus group interviews were held with two groups.

1- Eight people living in a village {Bniam} in Mirpur. All these people were able to speak English because all of them had returned home from England to live in the village. The main subject of discussion was why they had come back home.

2- Six pupils {males} all of whom spoke Urdu and Punjabi only. To understand the argument I had to ask the guide at each point. Although, I spent a long time and tried to obtain accurate information, I felt that this method was unsatisfactory, so I trained two people to meet these pupils using a structured interview schedule .

The second type of interview used the most formal, structured, type of interview schedule, whereby the same information was required of each person; each was asked the same questions. So it was possible to train two female teachers and two men to conduct the interviews on my behalf, for the reasons explained above.

I agree with Kammen and Loeber [1998 p382] that

‘training a group of interviewers is time-consuming and expensive..... Successful training means that interviewers are fully capable of doing their job before they start to interview.’

The researcher was aware of the need to help to develop the skills of the interviewers as stated by Khan [1987], such as presenting an interested and friendly but impartial attitude.

To ensure that, practice interviews were carried out, after which three groups of people were interviewed.

The third type of interview used to collect the data was the unstructured interview. This type of interview was conducted with eight people, individually, all of whom were able to speak English. It was easy to use open questions and let them express themselves freely.

Four respondents were officials in Mirpur {a lawyer, the dean of the Open University, a religious leader and head teacher of the boys' college}. The other four were ordinary people {a student at the university, a taxi driver, a farmer and a businessman}.

The main question was the historical reasons which pushed immigrants to go to Britain and why some people had returned to Mirpur.

This preliminary study improved the understanding of the issue of what identity means to Kashmiri people and how the people in Kashmir look at life. These insights gave the researcher more experience to deal with the large sample in Bradford later, and it was helpful to ensure that issues that Asian people feel embarrassed to talk about were avoided. Since the researcher came from Saudi Arabia, which to Muslims is the holy land, people accorded him respect and were keen to help. This facilitated access and it was possible to enter people houses, observe their daily life and discuss with them freely.

B. Bradford.

Four main types of location were visited to conduct the interviews: mosques, schools, community centres and the offices of some key personnel . To prepare and carry out the interviews took two months{ June and July } in 1998.

1. The Mosque.

The first interviews were carried out in the mosque in Bradford, as a pre-study to make sure that the questions were reliable. Mosques were chosen as being easy places in which to contact people, and because pupils in the mosque came from all the secondary schools in Bradford, so I would have access to different sources and different experiences.

In the mosque, pupils were more prepared to talk about the issue than in other places, probably because the pupils in the mosque are more aware about Islam than in other places.

The large Muslim community in Bradford is made up of Pakistani and Bengali communities. Two mosques were selected to represent those communities. The first was *Tapluge* mosque, the oldest Mosque in Bradford{1959}. It is in the centre of the city. Most of the worshippers are from the Pakistani community.

The oldest pupils were eight from the *Mudrsa*{ *Quranic* school} who were interviewed as a focus group. Another four were met individually.

The second mosque was {*Dar Allaolom*} in the Mangnem area. Most of the people who live there are Muslims, most of them Bengali.

Ten pupils of the *Mudrsa* were selected, all of them between 16-14 years old, so I held a focus group with them, although I observed that all of them were very keen to talk about Islam.

Further, eight parents were interviewed, four from each mosque. Parents were interviewed individually.

2- The Schools

The aim here was to look for some pupils up to 15 years old who were willing and able to express their opinions, It was thought pupils in upper schools would be more suitable than those in other schools.

In Bradford, there are about 17 upper schools, each of them have more than 15% of Muslim pupils. Also those schools have a unique position in the educational system. According to the plan of the Education Authority, this system started to be changing in September 1999, to become primary, secondary and upper, instead of only primary and upper, but at the time of the survey, the system was stable [see Chapter 4].

In order to have access to the schools, prior permission had to be sought from the head teachers. A letter was therefore sent to the heads of all 17 schools, explaining the study objectives. Three weeks passed without any reply, despite a telephone reminder, so I visited each school in person. Finally, access was arranged to five of them after giving assurances that neither the name of the school nor of the respondents would be revealed in connection with the findings and that the information would be used only for the purpose of the study.

Thus, the sample was from five schools only {Nab Wood Grammar, Greenhead Grammar, Belle Vue Boys' Upper, Carlton Bolling College and Grange school}but Grange school was replaced by Petershaw school in order to carry out the questionnaire survey {see phase two in this chapter.

However, although Muslim pupils represent 30 % of the all pupils in Upper schools in Bradford, by looking in figure 5.1 p143 which shows the distribution of those schools, and figure 4.3 in Chapter 4, it is clear that Muslims tend to be concentrated in particular schools, rather than dispersed in all the schools. For example, in Carlton Bolling College, 70-80 % of all the pupils are Muslims, because it is located in a district where 20-25 of the residents are Asian and it is close to the inner area of Bradford city, where 65-70 % of population are also Asian. The percentage is larger in Grange school, where 95 % of the

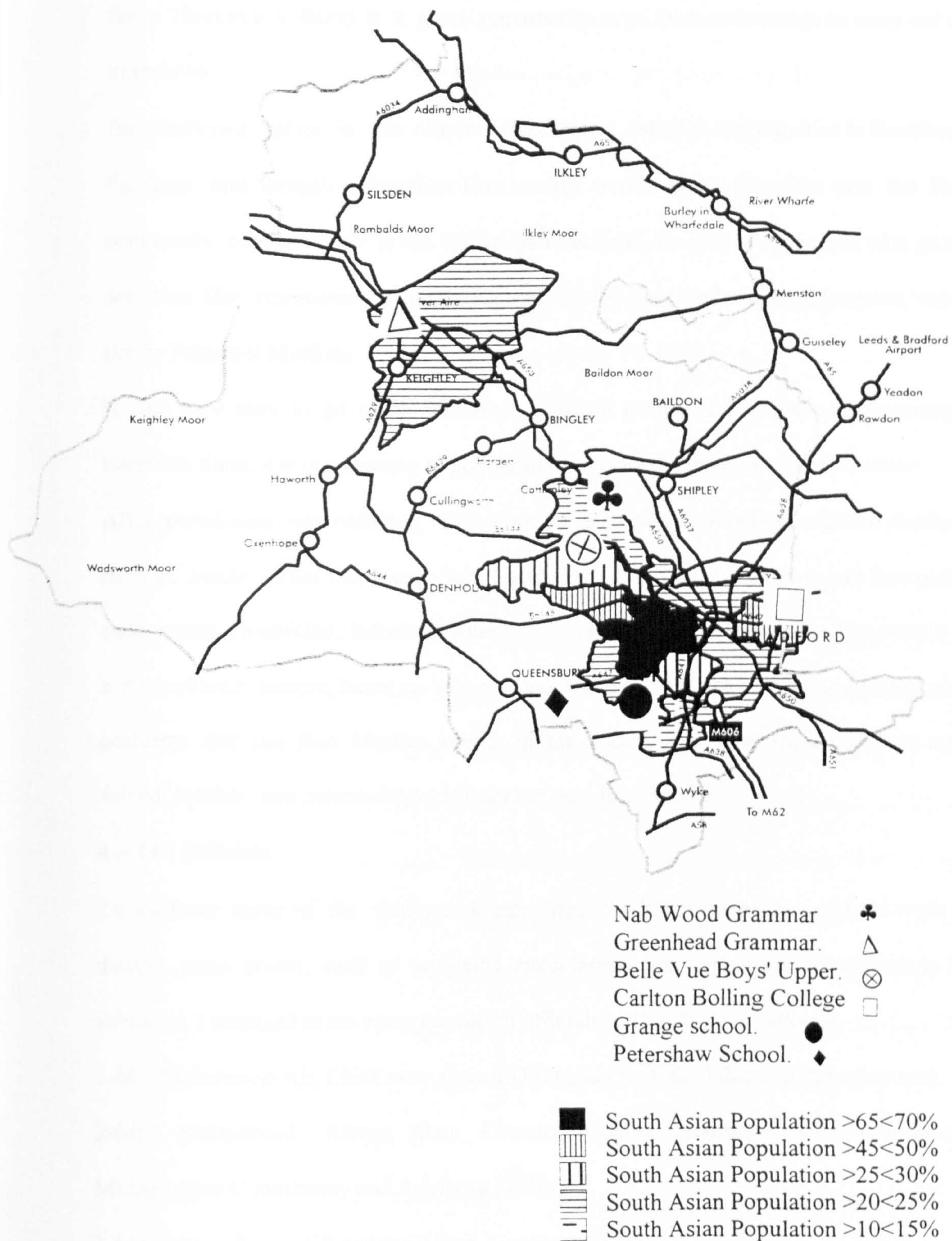
pupils are Muslims. This school is located in a district where 20-25 % of the population are Asian and it is close to the inner area of Bradford city.

Among the schools involved in the survey, Nab Wood Grammar and Greenhead Grammar, although all of them are quite far from the inner area of Bradford city, have more than half of the pupils who are Muslims. Asian pupils have noted that Nab Wood Grammar has many facilities which are not found in other schools, so a large number moved to this school. Greenhad Grammar is located in Keighley district, in an area where about 20-25 % of the population are Asian. The extremely high percentage of Muslim pupils in Belle Vue Boys' Upper is a special case, because all the pupils are boys, so Muslim parents prefer it. The last school which was involved in the survey was Petershaw school, where around 15-20 % of the pupils are Muslims. It is in the suburbs of the city and in the area around the school, the majority of the population are non-Muslim.

Random samples were taken, of 12 pupils from each school. In each case, four were met individually, the other eight as a focus group. Two teachers from each school, one Muslim and one non-Muslim, were also interviewed.

Thus, altogether, 60 pupils and 10 teachers were interviewed in the schools. Most of the discussion was about the position of Muslim pupils in the school.

Figure 5.1 The distribution of Upper schools in Bradford District.....



Adapted from Source: 1991 Census, Local Base Statistics

3- Community centre.

Outside the school, mosque and home, some pupils spend part of their time in a community centre to meet their friends and engage in various activities such as some kinds of sport. Also, in such places some parents meet each other to talk and spend their spare time. Therefore I found it a good opportunity to go there and arrange to carry out some interviews.

As mentioned before in this chapter, the biggest Muslim communities in Bradford are Pakistani and Bengali. Therefore two centres were visited. The first was the *Toachy* community centre, which is run by Bengali Muslims, so most of the people who go there are from that community, while the second was the *Karmand* community centre, which is run by Pakistani Muslims.

It was very easy to go there and meet a lot of youths and parents, but to arrange to interview them, it was necessary to get permission from the director of each centre.

After permission was obtained, two types of interviews were held with the youths and parents. Focus group interviews were held with eight youths, four boys and four girls, in each centre. In addition, individual interviews were held with four youths. The sample was a convenience sample, based on who was available. Most of the discussion focused on the problems that can face Muslim youths in the society and how these problems can be solved. Further, two parents from each centre were interviewed.

4 – The Officials.

To evaluate some of the findings obtained from the literature review and field work and discuss some points, such as problems encountered and any efforts being made to find solutions, I arranged to see some education officials in Bradford, as follows:

1-Mr. Muhammad Ali, Chief executive of QED and Quest for Education Development.

2-Mr. Muhammad Akram Khan Cheema, Quality Assurance in Education and Management Consultancy and Advisory Service.

3-Mr. Ayyaz, Senior Education Officer, Bradford Council.

4-Mr Manzoor Bahadur, Principal manager, Bradford Council.

In addition, telephone interviews were conducted with some Muslim scholars to clarify the Islamic viewpoint on some issues, such as the relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims in a non Muslim society.

Generally, at the beginning of each interview, each interviewee was told the purpose of the interview and of the study. They were then asked if they would mind being tape-recorded. or if they objected to this, notes were taken instead. However, tape-recording was preferred as it saved time and avoided stopping the interviewees in order to complete some notes. It enables the researcher to listen several times in order to make full understanding which helps in analysing the interviews, especially the arguments in focus groups when it could be difficult to follow all the comments during the discussion.

Finally, it remains to mention the second method used in the qualitative phase, to collect data in an informal way, namely 'ethnographic' research. The characteristics and limitations of this method, and reasons for its use are discussed below.

5.3.2 Ethnographic

Historically, ethnographic research has developed out of a concern to understand the world views and ways of life of actual people from the 'inside', in the contexts of their everyday, lived experiences. The method of participant observation is the means by which researchers have often done this. As its name suggests, it involves researchers participating in a community by, after mature consideration, immersing themselves in its everyday rhythms and routines, developing relationships with people who can show and tell them what is 'going on' there, and writing accounts of how these relationships developed and what was learned from them-and observing a community by sitting back and watching activities which unfold in front of their eyes, recording their impressions of these activities in field notes, tallies, photographs and other forms of material evidence [see Cook{1999}]. Ethnography is, as Best and Kahn [1993] explained, sometimes known as cultural anthropology or more recently as naturalistic inquiry. It is a method of field study

observation that became popular in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It has continued to show significant development, suggesting promising techniques for the study of behaviour in an educational situation, for example.

It consists of participant observation, conversation, and the use of informants to study the cultural characteristics of some distinct group of people; such cultural features as language, family life and religious beliefs. The researcher usually gathers the data through three processes: first, gaining access to a particular community; second, living among the people in order to take on their world views and understand their way of life by participating in their lives and sharing some of their experiences; and third, writing up an account of that community's culture, by representing it in terms as close as possible to their own interpretation.

In addition, although ethnography was originally developed by anthropologists, it has since been used, with adaptations, by researchers in other disciplines, including sociology and psychology. In the 1960s and 1970s, many educational researchers who had become disenchanted with positivism turned to ethnography as an alternative approach [Borg and Gall {1996}].

This approach has now become a familiar type of geographical method, Robinson[1998 p421] said that,

'In utilising an ethnographic approach in the 1970s and 1980s geographers were following in the tradition established by the Chicago sociologists in the 1920s who developed urban ethnographies of the ethnic and cultural groups in their city.'

The major motive for the use of qualitative methods in human geography has been the impact of cultural studies upon the discipline from the early 1980s. A focus upon the interaction between the cultural, the political and economic has given an added impetus to ethnographic techniques [see Robinson 1998].

Since this method has been used in surveys carried out in the educational field and for social geography, this method was used as a third way to collect data which could be obtained through the interviews and questionnaires. Ethnography has three characteristics

which encouraged the researcher to use it in this survey. These are explained by Borg and Gall [1996] as: first, its focus on discovering cultural patterns in human behaviour. Thus, ethnographers study members of a culture in order to determine how their behaviour reflects the values, beliefs, customs, and other aspects of their culture. The second characteristic of ethnographic research is its focus on the emic perspective of members of the culture. Emic perspective involves the study of individuals to determine how they themselves define reality and experience events. The emphasis, then, is on describing a culture as its members see it. The third characteristic of ethnographic research is its focus on studying the natural settings in which culture is manifested. Ethnographers generally avoid introducing any type of contrived situation into a setting. Also, in studying the setting, they pay attention to all aspects of it that may reveal cultural patterns.

Despite the advantages that ethnography has, as seen above, many early studies were subsequently criticized on the grounds that the anthropologists spent too little time among the people of the tribe or ethnic group etc, to get more than a superficial view, did not learn the native language and had to depend too much on the reports of poorly trained informants, and relied too much on their own cultural perspective. Best and Kahn [1993] comment, that later investigators realized that studies of this type would be invalid unless the observer lived for a much more extensive period of time among the people and integrated with them; also learned the native language, enabling them to interpret their observations.

In this regard the researcher was able to speak English with those pupils are living in Bradford. Conversation was held in Arabic, with some people who were able to speak Arabic, such as some *Imams*. In Mirpur, most conversations were in Arabic, though in some cases they were in English, particularly with officials, who were able to speak English. However, most data collected by this method was obtained through the observation, rather than conversations.

The culture also needs more understanding before being reported, but the researcher shares with Asian people some aspects of their culture, which enabled him to understand other aspects, especially in the light of his previous experience.

The other disadvantage of the ethnographic method according to Robinson [1999] is that ethnographic accounts must be recognised as being partial and biased accounts, because they are written from a particular perspective. Also Robinson [1999] quoted from Jackson [1989] who indicated that this method represents a movement without direction, a programme troubled by inconsistency. Moreover, some researchers claim that the interaction between the researcher and the subjects of the survey may lead to the researcher withholding information damaging to the people observed, since he has become one of them. However, the researcher took care to avoid this type of attitude which could lead to bias; care was taken to show the information objectively.

In this study, there were multiple sets of data, which required different collection methods. These data related to different phases of the research process, and different settings. {see the discussion in section 5.1 of this chapter}. Thus, there was a need for both statistical coverage of the organization of the people under investigation; and ethnographic description based on conversation and interview, to elicit the mentality of the people and complement the information gained from the questionnaire survey.

In this study, which aims to investigate the state of Muslim identity, it would be impossible to understand the point view of Muslims on this issue, without integrating with Muslim communities, to encourage their open expression of values and concerns.

Although the researcher succeeded in gaining access to Muslim communities in Mirpur and Bradford and carried out different types of interviews, in addition to a questionnaire survey, there was a feeling that there were ideas and feelings which the interviews and questionnaire were unable to cover. Using ethnographic methods by spending more time in informal conversations and observations, which were recorded and reported, helped to overcome these difficulties.

In Mirpur, for instance, the field work covered one month. In addition to the different types of interviews carried out {see section 5.2.2 in this chapter} ethnographic research was carried out, by visiting the place of origin of a large number of Muslims in Bradford, because it seemed that an understanding of Muslim life in Bradford would be aided by knowledge of the life from which the families had come and to which they still related. Indeed, it was noted that the culture of origin affected Muslims' attitudes expressed in the interviews and questionnaire responses. In addition, some practices of Muslim life in Bradford were shaped by some ideas brought from Mirpur.

An outsider might not be able to represent the feelings and some problems which exist within some groups, while the researcher was able to integrate successfully with those people because he shares their religion and some aspects of Asian culture. This common understanding might enable the researcher to show more clearly and accurately how respondents' behaviour reflects their values, beliefs and customs.

In Mirpur, although the researcher is unable to speak Urdu, which limited the conversation to those who had lived in Britain before, or with some pupils who could speak Arabic, most of the data collected by ethnographic means was in the form of the observations of the researcher upon education and family life. As Best and Kahn [1993] described it, 'the data gathered consisted of observation of patterns of action, verbal and nonverbal interaction between members of the group as well as between the subjects and the researcher and his or her information'.

This study singled out a particular aspect of the culture for intensive analysis, taking into account those elements that were relevant to the problem. For example, the visits to some schools gave a chance to observe how strongly the teachers and pupils supported single-sex education, and the researcher noted the deficiency of Islamic knowledge in state schools, which gives the mosque the most important role in teaching children about their religion; it has also promoted the establishment of private religious schools in Pakistan.

The situation observed leads us to say that the state schools are unable to perform their role in maintaining Muslim identity there.

The greatest opportunity gained from the visit Mirpur, was the chance to visit Muslim families in their homes and take meals with them in different villages. These visits revealed family structure and how all the members of the family were extremely respectful of the oldest male in the family. In addition, households were bound by kinship which structured relations among Mirpuri people, whether in Mirpur town or in the villages. Also, the traditions of marriage and other issues were discussed with some families, and some notes written during the visits or in some cases, a report written at the end of the day while impressions were still fresh in the researcher's mind.

Generally, the impression was that, because Mirpuri people live close together, they are more likely to form social and emotional ties. For example, each individual creates a 'mental map' of the community's membership and core values. So a settler who has lived in among them for many years might feel part of the community. The process of imaging, therefore, is like an agreement in the mind to maintain the same culture in everyday social life. These practices and images of home shape of Mirpuri people's identity in their new land{Bradford}.

In Bradford the social life of Muslims is more complex than in Mirpur, so it was difficult to observe family life openly, although many of aspects of behaviour in the mosques, schools and community centres were observed. In the mosque, for instance, attending Friday speeches gave the researcher impressions about the quality of the speech and the type of people who attend, e.g. whether they are old people or youths, their gender, and their behaviour in the mosque and outside. Similarly attending the Quran lessons at weekends enabled the researcher to observe the style of teaching and to interact with the teachers and the pupils during breaks, in a friendly atmosphere, which elicited much information. In cases where the Imam did not to speak English, the conversation was in

Arabic, because most of Imams had learned Arabic in religious schools in their original countries.

In the state schools, at lunch times, many conversations were held with teachers about, for example, pupils' behaviour and some difficulties that face the teachers. Also, during the discussion, the researcher tried to raise some Islamic issues, to assess the religious background of some Muslim teachers. With pupils, the focus was to note whether they prayed in the schools or not, what type of clothes they wore, and what language they spoke amongst themselves.

Thus, integration with the people in Mirpur and Bradford enabled the researcher to understand and find some explanation of some ambiguous aspects of Asian peoples' life, which underlay most of the problems which Muslims suffering from in Bradford, such as the dream to go back to their old land.

5.4 Phase Two: Quantitative Data:

Quantitative research is concerned with data which can be presented in the form of single units. Cohen and Manion [1996] considered it a major problem in the investigation of social behaviour. However, the chief purpose of such research is to accumulate information that can be quantified and compared by using statistical techniques. Bell [1993] suggested that research should use scientific techniques to produce quantified and generaliseable conclusions.

Robinson [1998] commented that interacting with and talking to people who are the object of study can take many forms, but perhaps the most common in which geographers have obtained information from individuals has been via formal questionnaire surveys.

The use of such surveys has been part of many geographical investigations, employing the survey as one stage in a process of data generation and analysis.

The questionnaire enables the researcher to gather and provide both quantitative and qualitative information from a large number of different categories.

Bryman [1995] added that measurement is a key step in the quantitative research process.

It is the procedure that links theoretical categories and philosophy with empirical research and is therefore the means by which such categories are rendered researchable. A questionnaire is a good tool for collecting data, though care must be taken in its construction and administration, as will be explained further in the following sections.

5.4.1 Construction of Questionnaires for Main Study.

The main aim of the field study in Bradford was to investigate whether there are any challenges to Muslim identity and whether the educational setting in school, mosque, home and society can play a vital role in preserving such identity, in the views of parents and pupils. The function of the instrument which was used in the main fieldwork, was to achieve this aim.

The study was intended to make an assessment of the attitudes of parents and pupils. To generalize this assessment for a whole population required a large sample of both sides. It was decided, therefore, to measure these samples' attitudes by using a questionnaire survey.

Al-Mohaissin[1993] comments that 'The most popular form of attitude measurement is by means of a questionnaire consisting of attitude items, each item belonging to one scale which provides a means of quantifying respondents' views. The items often contain a choice from a range of numerical values for each statement {item} about which people express their views'.

Moreover, questionnaires, as Borg and Gall[1996] stated, have two advantages over interviews for collecting research data: the cost of sampling respondents over a wide geographic area is lower, and the time required to collect the data is much less.

Newell [1996] noted, in addition, that questionnaires facilitate surveying a large population. Pre-coding and computerisation speeds up analysis. It is also possible for respondents to fill in questionnaires at a time convenient to them.

But we should remember that the researcher must also have information about the target population in advance of the study, as well as a very clear idea of what questions will elicit answers to the research problem. As many of the questions will list pre-coded answers, exploration to obtain these categories will have to be done before developing the questionnaire.

The main arguments against using postal questionnaires have generally been that the response rate is low {see Bryman1995} for instance, many postal surveys do not achieve more than a 50 per cent rate of return}; and that even when respondents do complete questionnaires, their answers may be incomplete, illegible or incomplete, especially with older, less educated and migrant respondents {see section on non response to questionnaires in this chapter}.

Also Bryman [1992] added, if an interviewer visits any place to carry out a large number of interviews, he or she can collect additional data through making observations or requesting documents. This possibility is removed if questionnaires are posted.

De Vaus [1991 p86] added, that

'a major problem of forced –choice questions is that on some issues they can create false opinions either by giving an insufficient range of alternatives from which to choose or by prompting people with 'acceptable' answers. Further, the forced-choice approach is not very good at taking into account people's qualifiers to the answers they tick.'

But despite this disadvantage of this kind of questions, this type is suitable when the questionnaire is long or people's motivation to answer is not high, as in the case of this study. Forced-choice questions are useful since they are quick to answer, particularly if the respondents have problems with the language, this is especially important where the questionnaire is self-administered rather than administered by an interviewer who can increase motivation and help the respondent if a question is not understood. So the format of the questionnaire has to be especially easy to follow.

Although we must accept that this kind of question, as Valentine [1999] claimed is not tailored to individuals' circumstances, the aim of using a questionnaire is often to survey a representative sample of the population, in order to make generalizations from responses.

A disadvantage is that questionnaires cannot probe deeply into respondents' feelings, but this can be overcome by using the other tool, interviews to yield in-depth information of this kind. Borg and Gall [1996] explain that the questionnaire is more commonly used in quantitative research, because its standardized, highly structured design is compatible with this approach, while interview is more commonly used in qualitative research, because it permits open ended exploration of topics. Taylor and others [1996 p632] note that

'in practice most researchers use both kinds of data, recognising their strengths and weaknesses and seeing them as suited to different purposes.'

For example, the findings from interviews can form the basis for a questionnaire. As we shall see shortly, quantitative and qualitative data can be used together in this study to give a clear picture of the Muslim minority in Bradford.

1- Source of the Items:

In the preliminary field work reported in the next chapter, interviews were carried out with samples of parents, pupils, teachers and some official people in Bradford. The findings of the survey were used to develop two questionnaires for the main field work: one for parents and one for pupils.

Items were drawn up from the findings of each sort of interview. Some items came from statements by respondents. In other cases, a question that had generated interesting responses was expanded into two or more items.

Care was taken to avoid the use of words unlikely to be understood by pupils, in particular. Items were designed to be clear and unambiguous. Also, some points which had been expressed by some pupils individually in the interviews, such as feeling that teachers had behaved badly towards pupils, were avoided as being too sensitive. Inclusion of such items might have caused teachers to refuse to distribute questionnaires. Instead, items were created that were more general in tone and would achieve the same purpose indirectly.

2- Setting up the Questionnaires:

There is disagreement among researchers about which style of questions is preferable, closed or open-ended. Both types have disadvantage and advantages, but it was decided to use closed questions. These were thought to be more suitable for the study sample, as some of the sample, particular by parents, might have difficulty giving detailed answers in English, in response to open questions. De Vaus [1991 p74] said:

‘There are, however, a number of advantages to *well-developed*. forced-choice questions. Where the questionnaire is long or people’s motivation to answer is not high, forced-choice questions are useful since they are quick to answer.’

He added; ‘A further advantage of closed questions is that they do not discriminate against the less talkative and inarticulate respondents and can serve as useful prompts for

respondents.’ Further, closed questions give specific information about the issue, such as how strongly the opinion is held, that will help to assess the attitude. Also, closed questions give a good opportunity to compare answers; for example, in this study, to compare the parents’ and pupils opinions.

The questionnaires devised for this study were divided into three sections [see Chapters 7,8 and 9]. **The first section** in the questionnaires was about respondents’ personal profiles.

This was included to understand the background of the sample, in order to investigate if there was any relationship between their responses and their background. The respondents in this section were given several alternatives, and asked to tick the appropriate box to reflect their position.

The second section was to identify the challenges and problems which may face Muslims in their daily life, particularly educational problems. In developing this section, note was taken of Al-Mohaisin’s [1993] claim that it is worthwhile to generate scales comprised of groups of related items. This is consistent with Youngman’s [1979] view that “Where opinion or attitude items are included they tend to appear in relatively large numbers and to analyse them individually becomes a laborious way of building up their overall impression”.

The use of groups of items is found to be more reliable than the use of each item separately, because it is more suitable to analyse them together.

A Likert scale was used to measure the attitude of the sample to assess the extent of the challenge to Muslim identity.

The Likert scale is explained by de Vaus [1991 p88] thus:

‘This general approach involves providing people with statements and asking to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree.’

In using this kind of scale, Oppenheim [1996] warned that the researcher must make sure that all the items measure the same thing. Elsewhere in the same book, he emphasises that the best available measure of the attitude concerned is the total item pool. By refining this,

the items will at least be consistent and homogeneous. They will all be measuring the same thing .

In addition, Chi- square tests were used. This is one of the most widely used statistical tests. Robinson [1998] commented on its popularity within geographical research. Lindsay [1997] stated, that it can applied to single samples or for comparison.' and it is widely suitable to use when the data are categorical or nominal. Norusis[1991] added, that chi-square is used when we want to evaluate the discrepancy between a set of observed frequencies and a set of expected frequencies. Therefore, the chi-square in these circumstances tells the researcher two samples are different from each other. [see Howitt and Cramer 1997].

Thus chi square was used to see if there is any significant differences between the parents' and pupils' responses, to identify the difference in their views regarding challenges or solutions.

The third section in the questionnaire was to suggest possible improvements. The aim of including this section was to measure the opinions of the sample regarding the suggestions, to generate findings from the field instead of getting them from previous studies. In this section, a multiple choice- format was used. Respondents were given a list of alternative answers, and asked to select among them by ticking the appropriate items to indicate their personal opinion.

This type of response was chosen, to be easy for the children and some parents who might be unable to rank a long list of items in order. This difficulty was expressed by de Vaus[1991] who said that when using *Ranking formats* which means respondents can be given a list of alternative answers, but rather than selecting between them they are asked to rank their importance, it is too difficult for respondents to keep these long lists in their mind and supply reliable answers.

3- Validity of the Questionnaires:

At this stage, there are several points that should be made. As May [1993] said: "First, the final questionnaire is designed only after the researcher has conducted the necessary reading of literature around the subject; second, its aims have been decided; third, the group to whom it will be administered chosen, and finally, pilot work has been undertaken". He mentioned also that a questionnaire is an instrument for measuring the ideas which go into its design. So the questions must not only reflect the survey's aims but also must be understood by respondents in a clear and unambiguous way.

Before applying any test, it is necessary to ensure that it is a valid measurement tool. Therefore there is a need to check its validity.

Validity refers to the truth and accuracy of a measurement. Oppenheim [1992] stated: validity tells us whether the question, item or score measures what it is supposed to measure. Neuman[1994 p130] added:

'At its core, measurement validity is the degree of fit between a construct and indicators of it. It refers to how well the conceptual and operational definitions mesh with each other.'

Although it is not possible to have absolute confidence about measurement of validity, some measures are more valid than others

He also mentioned four types of validity. The easiest type of validity to achieve and the most basic kind is face validity. This is a judgment by the scientific community that the indicator really measures the intended construct.

In an attempt to establish the validity of the questionnaires used in this study and confirm clarity of the items and their relevance to their scales and section, the following steps were undertaken:

1. Copies of both questionnaires were distributed to five members of the teaching staff in Hull university, three of them at the Department of Education, another in statistics and one in the psychology department.
2. Five Ph.D. students in the Education department also agreed to give their comments on the questionnaires.
3. A letter was given to the jurors indicating the nature and aims of the questionnaires and study, and telling them that they were not asked to respond to the items, but to judge whether or not the items belong to their scales.

All questionnaires were collected personally. All the five teaching staff were interviewed after they had reviewed the questionnaires. At last one hour was spent with each individual, face to face, to discuss all their notes and opinions. The five postgraduate students sent their comments by post.

A number of items of the questionnaire were changed according to the judges' recommendations. Several items from both questionnaires were removed. In addition, the following changes were made.

1- In section two most of the items were positively worded, which could lead to bias, so several items were changed to become negatively worded, to avoid leading the respondents, and increase the likelihood that they would give real views.

2- In section two, informal education [Mosque] two items were removed because they had to be answered 'yes' or 'no' which meant they would not fit with the *Likert scale*.

3- Some words which may be ambiguous were changed. For example, in section two, informal education in part three [society] item number 2 : "Bad friends teach youth bad ways such as drugs, prostitution" was replaced by "Badly behaved youth can teach Muslims about drugs, prostitution, etc"

The word bad was ambiguous because it is general and could refer to bad morals, background, religion or behaviours, etc.

4-In section three the first response option was 'most important'. It was expected that most respondents would tick that column and leave the other column blank, because all the items had already been suggested by them as important, in the exploratory study. This would make it impossible to measure their opinions and assess which items were most important. The reliability of the scale would also be compromised. Therefore, it was decided to ask respondents tick no more than two items as most important among the items in two columns, to force respondents to think more deeply.

5- At the end of each part of each section, there was an item saying "other, please add". This was removed and replaced by an item saying; 'any comments or suggestions', at the end of the questionnaires. This was done, partly to make the questionnaire shorter, and also because, since all the items in the questionnaire had been generated from the field, it was unlikely that there would be much to add.

4- Reliability of Questionnaire.

The second primary prerequisite for a measurement procedure to generate high quality data is reliability. Ary and others [19972] point out that

'the reliability of a measuring instrument is the degree of consistency with which it measures whatever it is measuring. This quality is essential in any kind of measurement.'

As Neuman [1994] said, reliability deals with an indicator's dependability. A reliable indicator gives the same result each time it is used. Oppenheim[1996] explained that reliability refers to the purity and consistency of a measure. The same results would be obtained again if the measure were to be duplicated. Similarly de Vaus[1991] said: "a reliable measurement is one where we obtain the same result on repeated occasions."

Youngman[1979] explained that a popular approach is to compare results obtained from applications of a test on two different occasions.

The data obtained were analysed to determine whether the questionnaire has this type of reliability. It was found that there was a high level of similarity in the answers of the sub-samples that were tested.

5- Pilot Study:

Before carrying out the main study, a pilot study is of the utmost importance. It is a vital step for several reasons, such as to make sure that the instruments are suitable for the sample; if a tool is found to be not suitable the researcher can try out alternatives before the main study. Bell [1993] added: 'the purpose of a pilot exercise is to ensure that there are no difficulties in completing the questionnaires and so that you can carry out a preliminary analysis to see where the wording and format of questions present any difficulties when the main data are analysed.'

A pilot study is also used to practise administering the test, in order to discover any weakness in this process. Al Ghamdi [1991 p307] added:

'a pilot study, carried out by the researcher himself, is also intended to provide some new ideas about the research hypotheses and questions. It could test the way in which the questionnaire would be conducted and how appropriate it would be.'

The pilot study was done before the real procedure of data collection started. May [1993] argues that states; even if preliminary fieldwork is possible, the questionnaire stills need to be piloted on a sub-sample before it reaches the full sample.

This pilot study was carried out in September 1998, with a sample of 13 pupils and 13 parents chosen randomly at Nab Wood school.

In addition, the respondents were invited to give their comments at the end of the questionnaires. The teacher who distributed the questionnaires was asked to check if there was any ambiguity and inform the researcher, so that if necessary, further changes could be made to the layout or wording, to take account of any criticisms or problems.

As a result of this stage of the pilot study, a few modifications were made. In section three, the explanation at the top of the schedule was deleted and replaced by instructions at the top of the response columns, to make it easier for pupils and some parents who did not bother to read the explanation.

From the pilot study there appeared some evidence that there was misunderstanding of the last section in the questionnaire, which asked the sample to give some suggestions for the

future. Most of the respondents did not follow the instructions given at the top of the schedule. In the chart the responder had given a list of choices and asked respondents to evaluate each item by ticking the appropriate choice {Most important and less important} The result showed that most of the sample ticked the first column only {Most important} and left the other choice {see the next instruction and table}.

Please tick the appropriate column to indicate your personal opinion about the following items.

Each column indicates the Maximum number to be ticked. Please do not exceed or reduce it.

The items are either Most important or Less important should be ticked (✓).

The items that have some importance (which are in the middle of the importance) should be left without ticking.

Formal education.[state schools].

No	Items	Most Important Choose2	Less Important Choose2
1	Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture.	✓	
2	Increase the number of Muslim teachers.	✓	
3	Give high importance to teaching teachers of Islam.	✓	
4	Make teachers aware of the importance of treating all pupils equally.	✓	

However, this section was modified to become one column instead two and respondents were asked to select two items only, to avoid the misunderstanding that happened in the first pilot study[see the next instruction and table].

For each group, please tick the two items you think are the most important.

Formal education.[state schools].

Do not tick more than two

No	Items	Most Important
1	Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture.	
2	Increase the number of Muslim teachers.	
3	Give high importance to teaching teachers of Islam.	
4	Make teachers aware of the importance of treating all students equally.	

The new version was tested on a different sample. 15 pupils and 15 parents were chosen randomly at Carlton College school. This revised format proved satisfactory.

6 - Choice and Description of Sample:

In order to facilitate the administration of the questionnaire, it was necessary to select a sample. Calhoun and others[1994] mention that most surveys are designed to collect information from a small number of people that can be used to make generalizations about the attitudes, behaviour, or other characteristics of a much larger population. A sample is a limited subset of the population being studied. De Vaus[1991] emphasises: “one way of finding out about a group of people is to collect information from everyone in the group, but from large groups this is expensive and impractical so the alternative is only some people in the group. Their responses reflect those of the group from which they are drawn”. As Kane [1985] said, a sample reflects with reasonable accuracy the opinions, attitudes or behaviour of the entire group.

Since a sample is designed to be representative of the population, as Calhoun and others [1994] explained, relevant social characteristics such as age, race, social class, appear in the sample as they do in the larger population.

Therefore it seemed appropriate to choose the sample in this study to be representative of Muslims in Bradford. One hundred and sixty pupils and one hundred and forty nine parents should reflect some of Muslim life and provide a clear picture about Muslim identity.

One hundred and sixty pupils aged 16-17 were chosen from state schools. In GCSE and A level. This age was selected because the pupils have ability to answer the questions and they have more experience than those at lower levels would do. Therefore they can give their opinions. One hundred and forty nine parents were chosen to know their opinions, to see how much diversity or correspondence there was between their opinions and their children's opinions.

A letter was written to the Local Education Authority, explaining the project. Also, other letters were written to the head teachers of seventeen of the upper schools in Bradford, explaining the project and asking their permission to use their school for data collection.

After many attempts, and travelling to contact the schools by meeting some officials in each school, in the end only five schools gave permission. In addition, five community centres and five mosques were visited.

The schools.

As indicated in the discussion of the interview samples, Grange school was one of the five schools from which the sample had been selected. But the deputy of the school did not wish his school to be involved in the questionnaire sample, so it was replaced by Petershaw school. [see figure 5.1 p]Therefore the schools were as follows.

1. Belle Vue Boys' Upper, which was a single-sex school, boys only.
2. Greenhead Grammar.
3. Nab Wood Grammar.
4. Petershaw school.
5. Carlton school.

Cluster sampling was used here because it is more feasible to select groups of individuals, as emphasised by Gall and others [1996]. Cohen and Manion [1996] added, stage sampling is an extension of cluster sampling. It involves selecting the sample in stages., One type of stage sampling is to select a number of schools at random, and from within each of these schools, select a number of classes at random, and from within these classes select a number of pupils. The researcher had hoped to cover more than five schools to gather more different experiences from a large number of schools, but it was difficult because the other schools refused to participate. Therefore, the alternative was to select randomly, by cluster sampling, five mosques and five community centres, which served pupils and parents from different districts in Bradford.

7-Non-response to Questionnaires.

For a variety of reasons, people selected in a sample may finally fail to be included. Some will refuse, others will be uncontactable. Often non-responders are different in crucial respects to responders {e.g. older, lower education, migrant background} and increasing the sample size does nothing to produce the correct proportions of various groups if some types do not respond [de Vaus 1986]. The researcher was aware of that, especially as the teachers who were interviewed emphasised this tendency and they commented that most of the pupils and their parents do not bother to respond to the schools' letters, whatever the language of the letters, or the issue.

Nevertheless, efforts were made to maximize response. One strategy was to limit the response time by using closed questions, so it would not take more than 10-15 minutes. The questionnaire was presented on one coloured page. In addition, it was administered over four months [September-December 1998], with mail surveys in some cases and telephone reminders { also see construction of questionnaires}.

It is important to bear in mind that the samples originally consisted of two main groups: parents and pupils. The number of questionnaires distributed was 730 while the number of questionnaires collected was 448 which was satisfactory, as it represented more than 60% of the original sample. But not all questionnaires returned were useable. As the questionnaires were collected, they were classified into three categories according to their suitability to be used. Around 29 of pupils' questionnaires and 41 of the parents' questionnaires had part left blank. Some pupils had left blank the section on the mosque or family relationships, while some parents had failed to answer the background section. Nine parents' questionnaires and 60 pupils' questionnaires were completed but with faults; either completed carelessly or exceeding the stated maximum number of responses in the column.

Therefore only 309 of the questionnaires were analysed while the others were dropped with the aim of maintaining the quality of the data being analysed. 309 represented 42.3 %

of the questionnaires administered. Al -Othaim [1999] used in his study only 39.3% of the questionnaires that he distributed, and he indicated that in the United Kingdom Rosen and White in their study of 1995 could analyse only 25 % of the questionnaires they distributed. To sum up the second part of this study {empirical survey} was carried out by using qualitative and quantitative approaches to complement each other and yield data which helped the researcher to obtain a clear picture about the challenge to identity by investigating its causes in order to show how identity can be maintained. To achieve that, the researcher did not rely solely on the review of related literature presented as the first part of this study, but investigated the attitudes of parents and pupils through use of interviews and ethnography to establish basic information for farther exploration through the questionnaire survey.

It was decided to use multi-methods as discussed above, to overcome any weakness in a given research method, and to help the researcher to understand the issues better by drawing a broader picture of the subject. This will be seen in the analysis of this data in the next chapters, starting with the preliminary study which was the guide to construction of the questionnaires analysed in the later chapters.

Summary:

This chapter has focused on the main methodological issues arising from the research for the empirical part of the study. This chapter started by giving justification for the selection of the education field, rather than other fields, for empirical study. There followed a discussion of the views of geography researchers towards different data collection methods. It was shown that geography researchers see the quantitative techniques as one way of organising one type of information, but they still need to be complemented by more understanding and theoretical development which can be obtained by using the qualitative approach.

The research strategies employed have been outlined and consideration has been given to the way in which the first phase of the study influenced the following phase. Within each phase a discussion was presented of the advantage and disadvantage of using the appropriate technique, how the research techniques were constructed, and then, how the data were analysed.

In the first phase of the chapter, interviews and ethnographic research were conducted. Through a review of related literature the researcher felt that Islamic identity is challenged and needs to be maintained. This pointed to a need to make sure of the seriousness of this problem, investigate its causes and identify how it can be solved.

The study was intended to make an assessment of the attitudes of parents and pupils with regard to identity. To generalise this assessment required a sample of both sides to represent the population. It was decided, therefore, to measure these samples' attitudes by using qualitative and quantitative methods to complement each other. This was done by means of interviews, ethnography and a questionnaire survey.

In the preliminary study, the interview was used as the main tool. Three types were used: structured interviews and focus group interviews in the exploratory study in Kashmir, and unstructured interviews and focus group interviews in Bradford. Also, some conversations and observations were recorded in the preliminary study. In addition, telephone interviews

were used in some cases. The information obtained from the interviews and ethnography was used to develop a questionnaire for use in the main study in Bradford.

The questionnaires were distributed to two groups of population, parents and pupils.

The questionnaire was selected to be the most appropriate technique for the second phase of the empirical study. The rationale for selecting this instrument was the need for quantitative data from a large number of population.

Items were designed to be clear and unambiguous. The items were expressed as closed questions to facilitate analysis. Also, the questionnaires were in three sections. The first asked about the respondents' personal profile, the second was about the challenge to the identity, the third asked for possible improvements for the future.

The questionnaires were found to be valid and reliable, and distributed to fulfil the purpose for which the questionnaire was constructed.

The following chapter reports and analyses the results of the interviews and ethnography which were conducted in the preliminary study in Mirpur and Bradford, while in the subsequent ones, Chapters Eight and Nine, the questionnaire survey data will be presented and discussed.

Preliminary Field Study

Introduction.

6.1 Investigative Field work in Mirpur.

6.1.1 Background of Migrants from Mirpur.

6.1.2 Style of Life.

6.1.3 Education in Mirpur.

6.1.4 Image of Migration in Bradford.

6.2 The Interviews in Bradford.

6.2.1 The General Findings.

6,2,1,1 : Formal education {state schools}.

6.2.1.2: Informal education {home, society, mosque}

Summary.

Introduction.

Before the main study which was conducted by questionnaires, preliminary field work was carried out in two places. The first field study was carried out in Mirpur, which is the place of origin of a large number of Muslims in Bradford. The second field study was in Bradford. The main objective of this survey was to gain some preliminary insights to guide the construction of the questionnaires for the main study.

A descriptive approach is used here to present some of the findings which were gained by entering the field and observing the life of Muslim communities at first hand.

6.1. Investigative fieldwork in Mirpur.

Bradford at present has more than 70,000 Muslims, a large number of whom [65,650 Muslims] originated in Pakistan {Bradford in Brief 1998}. Kane [1984] stated that about 60 to 70 per cent originated from the Mirpur District of the Pakistani part of Kashmir.

Therefore it seemed that an understanding of Muslim life in Bradford would be aided by knowledge of the life from which the families had come and to which they still related.

Research in Mirpur would give a general picture about the life-style in the country of origin, which would help in identifying the extent of the changes in Muslims' life in Britain. It is recognized that Mirpur migrants do not represent all Muslims in Bradford, but they constitute a reasonable sample.

This approach is similar to that of Barton [1986], who estimated that ninety-five percent of Bengalis in Bradford come from the District of Sylhet in Bangladesh, so he stayed there for three weeks. He said:

'A visit to {Sylhet} had been envisaged as an essential part of the research from the beginning, for this was the only way of gaining an understanding at first-hand of the origins of the Bengalis in Bradford and so of the other milieu of their lives. [p14].'

The reason for the visit was to evaluate the community of the area in terms of their religion, traditions and education, in order to develop an understanding of the heritage of the Mirpur population. This, in turn, might give the researcher some insight into why many

Muslims are unable or unwilling to assimilate into British society. Thus, the objectives of the visit could be summarised as follows:

- Collecting historical information from some respondents and relatives of immigrants, especially about the historical reasons which push immigrants to come to Britain;
- Interviewing people who have returned home, to ask them about the position in Britain and Mirpur regarding their sense of identity;
- Visiting some families in their homes to observe their life-style, in order to see how Islam affects it;
- Visiting some schools in Mirpur to interview some pupils and observe the educational environment, in order to be able to compare the educational provision for Muslims in Mirpur, with that for residents in Bradford;

This field work covered one month, beginning on May 16 1997. During this period, three types of interview were carried out to serve different purposes {see the previous chapter, methodology}. The sample was 82 persons, of whom 46 {36 males and 10 females} were parents, and 36 {21 boys and 15 girls} were pupils. Also, more than 85 individuals responded to structured schedules.

In addition, an ethnographic approach was adopted such as informal conversations in some mosques with the *Imam*. Most of the data collected by this method was through the observation of Mirpuri people's life.

6.1.1 Background of migrants from Mirpur.

The Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir lies in the North West of the Indian sub-continent. Azad or 'free' Kashmir is the term given by Pakistan to the Western portion of the old state of Jammu and Kashmir. The majority of Azad Kashmiris are Muslims but there are considerable variations in culture and language. Mirpuris are essentially Punjabi in culture and their language is a dialect of the Punjabi tongue.

Mirpur is a poor farming area in comparison to many regions of Pakistan. The lack of land has caused heavy fragmentation. Most farms are small and the land is rain fed. Moreover

the topography and climate of Mirpur has hindered the development of a good communication network [Kane 1984].

Basically, the poor quality of land in Mirpur, which made it hard to earn a living, and the pressure for land which led to the subdivision of holdings, were contributing factors which helped to push people to migrate.

During the first world war, British companies accepted a large number of Punjabis as labourers. After the war, some of them decided to stay in Britain. Also, during the second world war, some joined the British Army. Kane [1977] emphasised that Mirpur and Jhlum are particularly well known for their high percentage of men in the Pakistan Army. After the war a large number of them settled in Bradford, for example, to work in the textile factories.

Jeffery [1976], Kane[1977], Anwar [1979&1998] and Siddique [1990] emphasised that a large wave of immigration occurred in 1960 because most of their land was flooded as a result of a large dam being built. Anwar [1998] explained that it is estimated that about 10,000 people were moved from the area in the early 1960s when the Mangla Dam was constructed. At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s the villagers were given compensation. Some were given land in Pakistan, but some who had friends and relatives in Britain used the compensation money to come to live in Britain.

Most of the people interviewed in Mirpur confirmed the complex circumstances which changed the population map in Mirpur and created homeless people who came to Britain in search of work. One of them said, *“I left Mirpur forty years ago to gain a job in Britain, and now I have returned home to life in an Islamic environment because I have saved enough money as a taxi driver in Bradford for a long time”*. Another person said, *“When I left Mirpur when I lost my land because of the dam, I planned to come back later, but now my children are growing up in Bradford and refuse to come to Mirpur so I stay there to look after my family, while wishing to return home”*.

6.1.2.Style of Life.

Nearly half of the parents in the sample had a rural background. Most families were of the extended type with between 7 to 15 people living together. This was the case in 70 % of the families. Kane [1984] stated that the primary social unit in Mirpuri society is the household. It is frequently a three-generational unit comprising grand parents, married sons and their wives and children, unmarried sons and daughters, and sometimes an unmarried, divorced or widowed uncle or aunt. Belongings are held in common and resources are pooled. Decisions are made communally but the final authority rests with the head of the household, the eldest male. For example most respondents {parents and pupils} said that they discuss plans for marriage together.

I observed arrangements during my visits to some families that all the members of the family were extremely respectful of the oldest male in the family, and would ask his permission for various arrangements; even when they could start to have their meal. In addition, households were bound by kinship which regulated and structured relations among Mirpuri people, whether in Mirpur town or in the villages which surround it, though in Chapter 3 it was indicated that there are other types of relations between households, which sometime include non-kin.

The word *biradari*, as Anwar[1979] stated, is derived from the word brother. But one point which is made in the literature and should be noted here is that although *Biradari* structures kinship networks, the boundaries between the members and other people are not clear.

One advantage of the *biradari's* functions is that men and women generally find their friends, and also the spouses for their children, inside the *biradari*. It is here that the question of *izzet* comes in. Jeffery [1976] explained that *izzet* can be translated as 'prestige' or 'honour', and it is a quality possessed by individuals and *biradaris*. If a person endangers the *izzet* of his/her *biradari*, punitive actions will ensue.

All men and women are expected to marry and most marriages take place within the *biradari*. For example I met some youths living in Mirpur or in Bradford who planned to marry within the kin, even though they were geographically separated. As Kan [1984] emphasised, marriage within the kin group avoids suffering and worry about the status and character of the spouse's family, and ensures that land remains within the kin group.

However, relationships in the village are based on personal, face to face interaction and life outside the house is sociable and friendly. Most people know each other, as I observed when I attended the funeral of a person in Panial village.

All Mirpuri people are Muslims. Islam is evident in the society and it is a way of life. I think that the war with the Hindus in India at the border of Kashmir has given these people more motive to maintain their identity; this was the conclusion I derived through discussion with them. But it was noted that most of them still confused Islamic tenets with local traditions and the majority of them practised Islam daily but with some errors inherited from their forbears who introduced some superstitions, such as the custom of visiting graves to asked the dead for help, which is actually not Islamic practice.

6.1.3. Education in Mirpur.

Before the arrival of the British in north India, formal education for Muslims took place in the *mudrssa*, or mosque schools, which concentrated on enabling the pupils to read the major Islamic teachings. Pupils were mostly boys from the richest families; girls might be taught to read the Quran at home. Gradually this system became state schools and most of these schools have now been taken over by the Government. The formal organization of the education system is very similar to that in Britain: school entry age is about five, transfer to secondary school takes place at eleven and the public examinations are taken at about sixteen and eighteen respectively [Jeffery 1976].

However, there are some points which have crucial consequences for how the system actually works. The first point is that school is not compulsory. There are several types of people who tend to miss out; in particular, girls, the poor and those in rural areas. For a

large number of those people who did not attend school in Mirpur, lack of education may be a major reason for their acceptance of some traditions and superstitions and practices, which they confuse with Islam. People may bring such beliefs and practice with them to Bradford, which plays a vital role in dividing them into different groups. These conflicting images will naturally challenge their sense of identity in Mirpur or Bradford.

The second point which can be noted about education in Pakistan, which distinguishes it from the system of education in Britain is that the schools are single-sex.

From an Islamic point of view, male and female Muslims are not allowed to seek knowledge together, and it can create many problems. Therefore it may be useful to see some views of those parents and their children who have experienced this system, to identify some views which can help to justify this system for the schools in Bradford. Both groups of interviewees { parents and their children} supported segregation and justified their views as follows.

*The mixing of the sexes is forbidden in Islam.

*It promotes free education; each sex can discuss their ideas in a free environment.

*It avoids any problem such as bad morals.

*The pupils can concentrate on their study.

*It is a suitable atmosphere for learning.

* The different needs of each sex can be met.

* Single-sex education give better results.

* Each sex can do his or her duty in a free atmosphere.

* We feel happy because our teacher is of our sex.

For example, one father said, *“I feel comfortable to send my daughter to a girls’ school because she will stay with the same sex and she will learn some information that is very important to her. She will gain some experience that will help her in the future as a housewife.”*

One boy added, *“We feel comfortable and more protected because we can easily express our problems with our teachers, and it is a suitable environment for learning”*.

The point here is that all the parents and their children supported this position except for two pupils. This similarity of perspective between the two groups might mean that they are affected in their decisions by Islam, because all of them mentioned that mingling of the sexes in school is inconsistent with the Islamic tenets.

Despite these differences in the Pakistani education system, as mentioned above, it is claimed that British rule has influenced education in Pakistan in other respects. Azim [1984] said the education system was introduced by the British rulers.

When I travelled around various districts in Pakistan to visit some private colleges and a large number of schools, most of the head teachers in these institutes told me that the main reason for establishing those colleges or schools was to compensate for the shortage of Islamic knowledge in state schools. Moreover, the interviewees emphasised the weak role of the state schools in maintaining their identity, because of this lack of Islamic knowledge. More than half of the parents were not satisfied with the religious curriculum. One parent said, *“We are in a Muslim country, so we must give the pupils more details about their religion”*. Also, all the male pupils except one were dissatisfied with the religious curriculum. One pupil said, *“It is very poor”*. Moreover the female pupils emphasised that the religious teaching is only given for a limited time and the information is restricted to a small part in the curriculum, so they only learn the basic information about Islam. One girl said, *“This is not enough, because although the teachers give more explanation, still there is a need for more details.”*

The other criticism of education in Mirpur which can be added is that, as Azim [1984] stated, education is translated into academic knowledge, often stressing literary subjects rather than individual adjustment as an independent personality. The teaching can only be described as the mechanical communication of theoretical book-learning in an authoritarian style.

Most of the interviewees emphasised this point. For example, more than half of the parents were not satisfied with the curriculum, because it is old fashioned, long and difficult, so they thought it needs to be changed. At the same time, all the pupils except one were dissatisfied with the curriculum. They also thought it is very old fashioned, too long, and difficult. Further, all the information is theoretical, they want more practical skills and technology. They thought it needs up-dating.

The majority of them were not satisfied with the curriculum for the following reasons. One boy said: *“It does not prepare us for practical life. We should be taught computers and up-to date knowledge of all the subjects should also be included.”*

Another pupil stated, *“The science subjects should be better explained, with examples and the curriculum must include necessary books, because no additional books are provided.”*

In addition to the shortage of Islamic knowledge and the out-dated contents of the curriculum, some teachers may make the position worse, because some parents and pupils commented that some teachers were unfair and some were hard on the pupils.

My point here is that the state schools in Mirpur do not play an appropriate role in improving the level of technological and religious knowledge of the new generation, which may lead to risks to their the identity. I think in a Muslim society, supplementary schools in the mosques or private Islamic schools such as are run by some countries such as Saudi Arabia, may reduce the problems now, but I am not optimistic about the future of Mirpuris’ younger generation in a changeable world.

6.1.4 Image of migrants in Bradford.

A community is a group of people who are related in some socially significant way in their life. Members of the community have shared values and regular interaction. Taylor [1996] noted that when people live close together they are more likely to form social and emotional ties. Cohen [1985] suggests that community is best understood in terms of symbols, meaning and identities. People construct these meanings as they try to make

sense of the community's past, present and future. In this view, community is something that goes on mainly inside people's heads. For example, each individual creates a 'mental map' of the community's membership and core values. So a settler who has lived in a village for many years might feel part of the community but still be regarded as a 'newcomer' by people born there. Rapport and Dawson [1998 p139] added:

'the image is thus 'the result of an act of perception and construction which frames the world ', for the meaning of the image gains its resonance in the practices and way in which [an image] is viewed, in the discourses and ceremonial rituals which surround its use.'

The process of imaging, therefore, is like an agreement in the mind to maintain the same culture in everyday social life that gives shape and meaning to the members in the community.

This section addresses one particular set of these practices; the ways in which ideas of Mirpuri people's identity are shaped through images of home in their new land {Bradford}. I think that despite the challenges which threaten new generations either to their traditions or their religion, the first generation migrants are more able to challenge the threats in the new land and most of them, even if some do not practise Islam rigidly, truly still believe that they belong to their old home more than to their new land {Bradford}. For example, in Mirpur there are thousands of houses, most of them close together. The owners of all those houses are living in Bradford and have built them for the future, while still living in poor housing or in council housing in Britain. Also some parents have lived in Bradford for more than thirty years and yet are still unable to speak English satisfactorily . That is because they feel that part of their identity is to speak their mother tongue and live close to each other. Unfortunately, some parents do not care about the level of education that their children achieve because they believe that they will only be staying in Britain for a limited period and this may explain why some parents still send money back or ask their children to send their body to the homeland after they die.

Thus, some groups still remain bound to their nation or ethnic group and they refuse to integrate into the wider society. For example, study of Bosnian refugees in Denmark shows that a fair number of these refugees choose to identify themselves as Yugoslavian, rather than as nationals of Bosnia. Also in Nigel Rapport's study of North American 'Anglo-Saxon' Jews we find another example of an influential group of people who have succeeded in defining and sustaining a homeland for themselves [for more examples see Rapport and Dawson 1998 p139-142].

Old Muslim migrants seem more concerned to maintain their identity because it forms a complex of mixed traditions and religion. If some of them abandoned part of their traditions, most likely they would still believe that they are Muslim and would continue to feel ties of loyalty to their old home. But at the same time, they may fail to transfer it to their children, in most cases as result of the influence of Western culture.

However, it may be interesting to state here that there are certain similarities between the situation of the larger Mirpuri community in Bradford and that of the Bengalis who come from Sylhet, {see Barton, 1986} in that many people within both groups migrated in the early 1960s and Mirpuris, like Sylhetis, have been slow to reunite their families in Bradford, and old migrants still have attendance to go back to the old home.

Barton [1986 p63] in his study of the Bengalis Muslims in Bradford, discussing those who comes from Sylhet, stated that it is

'a very complex situation that is liable to be misrepresented if migrants are regarded as having a simple choice between settlement and return, but an examination of these alternatives may serve to clarify the changes that have occurred in Bengali perceptions of life in Britain and in Sylhet. It is also important to note that return to Sylhet is a real option for some people, as well as a distant prospect for many others.'

However, it seems that the intention to return has come to be seen as a myth which is used by some migrants to mean continued loyalty to the values of the old homeland to avoid integration into Western culture. Ibe [1986] mentioned that Sikhs and Hindus, also bring with them this myth, and went so far as to assert that the life or death of the myth of return depended upon the ability to maintain and apply their culture.

As Barton[1986] in his study cited above stated, some families do in fact return to Bangladesh, to re-settle. Elderly migrants are perhaps most likely to return permanently. The same trend was observed among the Mirpuris. Some of them frequently pay visits with their families; others return as pensioners or because of the challenge to their children's identity. However, others, as they explained to me, wished to return, but their sons and daughters refused to live in Mirpur.

Kane[1977] argued that by returning home for a visit, the migrant demonstrates to himself and his family that he/she is fulfilling their expectations. The returns are to strengthen the tie between them.

Finally, despite some changes in the life of the migrants in Bradford, the significant ways of village life remain as the fundamental principles which regulate daily life in Bradford. For example, *biradari* members tend to support and trust each other. Also the mosque plays a very important role in keeping the first arrivals close to each other and giving their children the opportunity to learn the Quran and mother language. But later, the children move into a whole new environment to study in the state schools which are monocultural. From this point, the gap between Mirpuri parents and children becomes ever larger with the change of life and the attraction of Western culture, which becomes a threat not only to traditions but also to the Islamic identity, which will be discussed in the next section through description of some interviews carried out in Bradford.

6.2 The Interviews in Bradford

Cohen and Manion [1996] note that "many open-ended questions are not reduced in this way for computer analysis". Borg and Gall [1996] add that the interview 'is a form of measurement that is very common in descriptive research, such as surveys, but can also be used to collect a variety of education data in other types of research. This method is unique in that it involves the collection of information that is not directly observable, such as feelings, attitudes and experiences of individuals.

Before showing the general findings obtained from the interviews, it is important to note here that the findings for each type of the sample will not be shown separately, because there was a high level of agreement among the groups on several points. Therefore, to categorize data under different groups of the sample would be repetitious. Further, the discussion of these findings is deferred to the discussion of the main study, which draws on a wider sample of the population, and also to avoid repetition.

The interviews contained four questions, each of which consisted of two parts. The first part asked the interviewees' opinions whether there are problems in the school or at home or in the society or in the Mosque; the second part asked for suggestions to solve the problems. Unstructured interview and focus interview techniques were used based on open-ended questions in the present study.

In addition, to the main survey carried out in Bradford, during the preliminary survey, informal conversations were held with some teachers and pupils, especially during the lunch time. Also, observations were recorded during visits to the schools, regarding the facilities or observed behaviour of the pupils.

6.2.1 The General Findings.

6.2.1.1 : Formal education {state schools}

Part 1. The problems.

In your opinion, are there any factors in the school that make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity? If so, what do you think are main ones?

Most of the problems indicated below were expressed by pupils, rather than teachers or parents, because they suffer from them more than anyone else. Moreover most of the answers came from the pupils interviewed in the schools, rather than those met in the other places.

1- Curriculum.

Nearly all 60 pupils interviewed indicated that a big part of the curriculum needs to be reviewed to be consistent with Islam. One boy said, "In some topics, they teach us, how to

dance to music or draw people etc. Also I feel embarrassed when they teach us about sex education."

A girl added, *"The examples that are given reflect only western culture and it is unusual to talk about our culture or about Islam, although the majority of the school's pupils are Asian"*.

Other pupils indicated that some children feel a conflict between family control and a curriculum which encourages individualism.

They thought that the curriculum does not teach enough about Islam, though they mentioned that some schools arrange an Islamic lecture weekly and one school had started to teach sex education from an Islamic viewpoint.

However, it was surprising that most pupils were satisfied with religious education, because they are learning about other religions as well as Islam.

2- Teachers.

Although all the five schools visited had a few Muslim teachers, nevertheless some of the pupils interviewed said that their school still needed more Muslim teachers. They justified their view by saying that Muslim teachers have greater ability to understand Muslims' problems than most non-Muslim teachers, who misunderstand Islam, so some of them do not care about Muslim pupils.

On the other hand, one of the pupils commented, *"If we could get Muslim teachers they should be chosen with care, because some Muslim teachers in the school are unable to teach Islam. In my view they need to be chosen more carefully."*

In confirmation of this view, I observed some Muslim teachers who certainly displayed inadequate knowledge.

3- Facilities and sport time.

Although most of the pupils in the five schools were Muslims, none of the schools had a regular prayer room, or a special place for washing before prayers. I observed during my visit that there was a short time after lunch and before the lesson but most children did not

bother to pray, because they were growing up without encouragement to pray, such as availability of facilities. One of the pupils said, *"I would like to go out of the school to pray on Friday, but there is no bus and not enough time to go."*

Another pupil indicated, *"In sport lessons we have to do some activities which take effort, which is too tiring in Ramadan, when I am fasting."*

Another added, *"We practise some kinds of sport together with girls."*

I observed that in some schools there was separation between the girls and boys in sport, but not in all schools.

4- School environment

I believe that it is impossible to provide an Islamic environment for a Muslim minority in the society generally, because it is a non-Muslim society. However, in schools where the majority of pupils are Muslims, effort should be made to establish at least an acceptable environment for Muslim pupils. Let us see what the pupils said and we can judge.

One pupil said: "We do not have a long holiday to enjoy the Islamic festival. In the school we don't get chance to feel happy by celebrating our festivals. In contrast too much attention is paid to the Christmas festival."

Four schools I visited were co-educational. No pupil admitted to having friends of the other sex. However, one of the pupils in an individual interview said, *"There are relationships between the different sexes but nobody can tell you because they know such relationships are forbidden in Islam, and they will be punished by their parents if they find out. And in other cases some pupils get sexual harassment from the others, but they do not like anyone to know that".*

During the discussion with the pupils, all of them indicated that as they are the majority in the school, they never face racism from the non-Muslim pupils, but they added it can happen away from schools in the street..

But other problems can exist in some schools. One pupil told me in an individual interview, *“Some pupils get into drugs because they meet pupils who teach them that they are men and can do what they like, away from their Muslim parents.”*

When I discussed this with some teachers however, they told me that such things happen only rarely in the school .

Formal education[state schools].

Part 2 – The Solution.

Have you any suggestions as to how these problems in the school can be solved?

Most of the suggestions came from the officials, teachers and some parents rather than the pupils.

1- Curriculum.

The parents can be divided into two groups. One group took a negative position about state schools for example, one of them said: *“we must establish our own Islamic schools to solve the problems”*. But the other group suggested some possible solutions in state school, while emphasising the importance of Islamic schools. This second view was supported by all teachers and some officials. For example, one non-Muslim senior teacher said, *“A school which has a majority of Muslim pupils should allocate more lessons to Islamic education and filter the curriculum content to remove any material which conflicts with Islam. For example, I teach Darwin’s theory, although it conflicts with all the religions.”*

A non-Muslim deputy head teacher said, *“We should teach Muslim pupils sex education in the Islamic way, because most of our pupils are Muslims.”*, and he showed me good books on this subject.

When teachers were asked about religious education, most of them were satisfied that children were taught about all religions, but the Muslims among them wanted more emphasis on Islam.

2- Teachers.

The individual interviews with some Muslim education officials yielded some useful insights into some possible steps for improvement of the position of both Muslim and non-Muslim teachers. For example Cheema said, *“Before we look to increase the number of Muslim teachers we have to give high importance to training Muslim teachers by giving them a course about how to teach Islam appropriately”*.

Other education officials emphasized that Islamic courses should be offered to non-Muslim teachers to help them to understand Islam.

I discussed this in depth with non-Muslim and Muslim teachers, all of whom teach about Islam in religious education, to eight hundred Muslim pupils in one school. The impression gained from the one hour interview was that all of them taught Islam as dead historical information, without any interest.

3- Facilities.

Most of the suggestions here reflect some parents' worry about the lack of some facilities in the school. One of them said: *“I realise that prayer time changes, especially in the summer. Nevertheless, the school should offer pupils enough time to pray and provide a place for ablution and a prayer room”*.

Other parents added that some older pupils suffer during sport because they are fasting in *Ramadan*, so they should be exempt from any sport activities in this month.

4- Educational Environment.

Some parents and education officials who were interviewed had the view that the educational environment in the school should involve assessment of factors to maintain Islamic identity, such as offering single sex education and putting a stop to any kind of racism, if it exists. Islamic festivals should be given more attention, especially if there is a high percentage of Muslim pupils, and posters about Islam displayed in the school.

One of the parents added, *“If possible, avoid giving the Christmas festival too much attention, especially if there is a high percentage of Muslim pupils”*. However, others took

the view that the Christmas festival has become part of tradition, rather than part of Christianity.

6.2.1.2 : Informal education { Home, Society, Mosque}

1- Home

Part 1- The problems.

In your opinion, are there any factors at home that make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity? If so, what do you think are the main ones?

It may seem very strange to say that Muslim families may contribute to the loss of Islamic identity of the children, but when I listened to the complaints of the most of the children, it was clear that the family can play a role in loss of the identity.

One girl said, *“Most parents bring up their children in accordance with the local culture rather than Islam, because many parents are illiterate”*.

However, it was noticeable that most children said, “some parents”, rather than “my parents”. One of the fathers said, *“It is difficult to educate the children properly because the number of the family is too big. Everything here is very expensive., Even Islamic school is expensive because they ask us to pay to teach our children ”*.

Other children emphasized that some parents deal harshly with their children, and some complained that they got no chance to spend time with their fathers, who spent most of their time at work.

Part2- The Solution.

Have you any suggestions as to how these problems at home can be solved?

Most parents took their children back home periodically, because some of them thought that this is the best way to teach them about Islam and remind them that they are Muslims first and British second. In addition, they encouraged their children to practise Islam.

One of the officials suggested: *“Parents should provide Videos or Satellite programmes to replace unsuitable T. V. programmes”*. I emphasize this view because non- Muslim

Asians can watch an Indian channel, but this channel is not suitable for Muslims because it is for Hindu people.

On the other hand, some Muslims do not want their daughters to go to university so the girls stay at home watching T.V.

2- Society.

Part.1- The Problems.

In your opinion, are there any factors in society that make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity? If so, what do you think are the main ones?

All the groups of people interviewed were very distressed by the society, and the majority of them blamed the society for their loss of identity. Some of them may have exaggerated or be looking to absolve themselves of responsibility, because it is easy to blame society.

Nevertheless it seems that society poses a danger of loss of identity.

Let us see what the youths in the community centre said about the society.

All of them said they suffered from racism because they were not white. Some parents added that the media can feed racism by presenting Muslims as terrorists, or reflecting western culture only and neglecting other cultures.

Society can also play a role by spreading bad behaviours such as drugs, prostitution, etc, when youths meet each other at leisure centres or other places.

One parent said, *“In the society many things are negative; T. V. and the leisure centre, and in the street there are advertisements involving nudity and alcohol, which offend my feelings.”*

Part2- The Solution.

Have you any suggestions as to how these problems in society can be solved ?

A large number of people interviewed thought that it is impossible to change society. But others were more optimistic, and they suggested some possible solutions such as devoting certain media programmes or a TV channel to Islamic culture.

Others in the community centre suggested that community centres could be used to make people aware of forbidden behaviours and organise various sport activities for Muslim youths.

Others suggested that conferences could be arranged by Islamic organizations to improve the position.

3- Mosque

Part.1 The Problems.

In your opinion, are there any factors in the mosque that can make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity? If so, what do you think are the main ones?

The mosque in Islam is not for prayer only, but it can serve many purposes, especially in non-Muslim society. It is used to educate Muslims to improve their knowledge. Unfortunately there are some old customs and traditions that may stop the mosque from playing its role.

For example, one of the pupils in a state school said, *“I left the Mudrassa {Quran lessons} because my teacher was too strict with me. Also, I left the Mudrassa when I reached 16 because most pupils leave at this age”*.

Other pupils added that the supplementary school in the mosque does not attract pupils, because the teaching style is old-fashioned.

Further, I attended some *Khautba* { Friday speeches} and noted that women do not get the chance to attend. Also, the *Khautba* does not deal with current issues.

Part 2- The Solution.

Have you any suggestions as to how these problems in the Mosque can be solved?

To make the mosque play its role properly, some suggestions were offered.

During the discussion with focus group of pupils in the two Mosques and with some parents as individuals, I got some suggestions which may improve the position of the Mosque, as follows:

One parent commented, *“The mosque lessons should concentrate on Arabic language to help pupils to understand Islamic principles, while giving some importance to other aspects of Islamic knowledge”*.

One parent said, *“My daughter is 15 years old and she wishes to attend to the Quran lessons but the problem is that there is no female teacher to teach her, so my daughter has left the lessons for this reason and I emphasise here that equal opportunities should be given to male and female pupils to learn in the mosque.”* On the other hand, one pupil said, *“I am so happy to learn in the mosque and it is a chance to know about Islam but my point is that some teachers deal with pupils harshly, like my teacher in the other mosque, so I wish that all teachers in the mosque would deal with the pupils in a flexible way.”*

The points apply particularly to the teachers in the supplementary school in the mosque. Other suggestions concerned the mosque committees, such as avoiding nationalism between the mosques, arranging Islamic courses and weekly lectures to develop the knowledge of Muslim people and encouraging them to practise Islam properly.

Thus, I can argue that these findings, obtained from the interviews and observations, could give a clearer picture about the position of identity in Mirpur and Bradford, and show that identity is challenged in Bradford as a result of the existence of a minority in a non-Muslim society which has a different religion and culture, etc. On the other hand, it seems from the findings that Muslim identity in Mirpur, also, faces challenges.

However, the researcher noted that there is similarity between those challenges, such as the poor knowledge about Islam in state schools. But in Mirpur, the challenge may be less dangerous because it is easy to compensate for this deficiency by the other resources which are available there, especially as those children are growing up in a Muslim society, while in Bradford, Muslim youths face many challenges such as the attraction through the media to some practices which are not in line with Islam {see section on media in Chapter Three}. Consequently, those youths may be encouraged to escape from their parents' control to do what they wish to do, freely.

However, there are some traditions and customs still practised in Bradford which were brought from Mirpur, such as extended family, *Biraderi* etc, {see section on family in Chapter Three}. This type of culture may form a tie to the homeland for those people, and give the community more unity in the new land. But at the same time, those people also brought some practices which may cause some challenge to the parents' relationships with their children, for instance, forcing girls to marry from the same tribe or prohibiting daughters from completing their higher education. Such customs are not accepted in western society, and may make the gap between the parents and their children wider, as we will see through the attitudes of both groups in their responses to the questionnaires, which will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Summary

This chapter summarised the most important findings related to the challenge to the Islamic identity and how to meet this challenge. Data were obtained through the preliminary survey in Mirpur and Bradford, through different types of interviews, and observations.

A preliminary study was conducted in Mirpur, the place of origin of a large number of Muslims in Bradford, in order to understand some of the background of the communities, and observe some aspects of the Mirpuri people's life, which can contribute to understanding of some attitudes of the Muslim community in Bradford.

Three types of interviews were carried out in Mirpur, which showed close similarity between the responses of the parents and their children, for example, the agreement between them regarding support for single sex schools, etc. The closeness in views between the parents and their children is in contrast with the huge gap in Bradford between the two groups. This may reflect that the identity and traditions of both were still very strong, as Islam governed their life.

In Mirpur, the Muslim family is warmer and close-knit. Three generations often live together in one house, and there is great respect for the oldest male in the family. Also, Islam is evident in the society and it is a way of life for people in Mirpur.

Although there are some challenges to identity, such as poor knowledge about Islam in the state schools, and some superstitions exist which conflict with Islam, supplementary schools in the mosques or private Islamic schools with an Islamic environment will reduce the problems.

However, some changes took place in the life of Mirpuri people when they migrated to Bradford. The first arrivals still maintain their identity as a result of their segregation as groups, but at the same time, in most cases they failed to transfer most of their culture to the new generation, who are influenced by Western culture.

The second field study was in Bradford. Respondents were interviewed either in groups or individually. Many problems and solutions were expressed by the interviewees, or through the observations. The respondents suggested that there are threats to Muslim identity in the school, at home, in society and even in the mosque. They emphasised that the problems came from both sides, Muslims and non-Muslims: the type of curriculum and teachers, the shortage of some facilities and unsuitable environment, on the one hand, and on the other, lack of awareness of some Muslim parents. It was felt that solutions should come through communication between school and parents.

It is noted that there is consistency between the problems highlighted in Chapter Four{education}and what the researcher observed or the interviewees expressed, for example, the shortage of Muslim teachers, the poor knowledge of Islam, and the lack of some facilities. Unfortunately, the findings showed that the home, society and mosque also increased this kind of challenge. For example, there is racism in society, and a neglect of Muslim cultures by the media. Also, at home, some parents may deal harshly with their children and the same is true in some mosques. The supplementary schools in Bradford do not seem able to make up for the lack in the state schools, as they do in Mirpur, because of

the old fashioned approach. That approach is accepted in Mirpur, because it is consistent with the people's way of life, but it is not accepted in Bradford, where young people are exposed to other ways.

However, the solution to those difficulties should come by the contribution of all these fields to help Muslims to maintain their identity and also Muslims and non-Muslims should help each other to improve their understanding of the position and bridge the gap.

The findings obtained by qualitative methods, as reported above, make us more able to understand the life of Mirpuri people which affected some aspects of the life of the Muslim people in Bradford. The researcher also used these findings as basic information to structure a questionnaire to be used to cover a large geographic area and reflect the attitudes of a wider sample of the population. The analysis of these attitudes will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Analysis of Family Background Data

Introduction

7.1. Parents

7.1.1. The sex of parents who responded to the survey

7.1.2. The mother's and father's place of birth

7.1.3. Parents' education level

7.1.4. The chronology of migration

7.1.5. Reasons for Coming to Britain

7.1.6. The size of the family

7.1.7. Preferred permanent home in the future

7. 2. Pupils

7.2.1. The sex of the sample.

7.2.2. The age of the sample.

7.2.3. Pupils' place of birth.

7.2.4. The language which pupils speak with their parents.

7.2.5. Preferred permanent home in the future.

Summary.

Introduction

The basic data collected from the field by qualitative methods {interviews and ethnography}, discussed in the previous chapter; were used not only to investigate the position of the Islamic identity in the field, but also to construct a questionnaire to examine the attitudes of a wider sample of the population. The findings from this questionnaire are presented in this and the next two chapters.

The information that is included in this chapter consists of general information about the respondents, in order to obtain an overview of the characteristics of the sample { parents and pupils}.

It was considered appropriate to obtain this information because in the first place it gives an idea about the conditions of the families, such as gender, age, educational level, etc. and secondly it will be interest to see if certain variables have any effect on respondents' attitudes. Moreover, the derivation of meaningful conclusions will be assisted by looking at the relationships of different variables such as the relationship between the date of coming to the Britain and the reasons for migrating.

The respondents who form the basis of this study consist of 149 parents and 160 pupils (see Chapter 5 section sample}. This chapter will be presented in two sections: parents and pupils.

7.1.Parents

This section will discuss the sex distribution of the sample, where parents were born, their educational level, the date of coming to Britain and the reasons for coming, the family size and where respondents would prefer to make their permanent home in the future, using descriptive statistics and in some cases using cross –tabulation to investigate if there is any relationship between a given pair of variables.

7.1.1.The sex of parents who responded to the survey.

The data which were collected by survey in this study show that the proportion of fathers who participated in answering the questionnaire was very high, 78.8 %, while the mothers'

percentage was very low, 21.2% of the 146 parents, 115 fathers and 31 mothers answered, while three respondents did not state their sex. The following table shows this clearly.

Table 7.1.1 The sex of parents who responded to the survey.

Respondents' Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	<i>115</i>	<i>77.2</i>	<i>78.8</i>	<i>78.8</i>
	Female	<i>31</i>	<i>20.8</i>	<i>21.2</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	Total	<i>146</i>	<i>98.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
Missing	Missing	<i>3</i>	<i>2.0</i>		
Total		<i>149</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

The high percentage of fathers among the sample of parents in this survey can be explained by several factors: {1} a large number of the questionnaires were distributed in some mosques and community centres rather than schools, as a solution to the problem of getting parents' questionnaires distributed and returned through the schools. {see chapter 5 section sample} and most parents who frequent mosques and community centres are males. {2} The male is regarded in Islam as the responsible person in the family, a view promoted by Asian customs which leave the final decision to the father, so he is accorded more respect than any other member of the family, as observed during the survey in Mirpur, as indicated in the last chapter. {3} Asian fathers are generally more aware about what is happening to the child in the schools than the mothers, because the latter spend most of their time at home; most contacts with the school is made by fathers. {4} Most fathers are more aware of what is happening in society and in the mosque, so they are more able to answer the questions than mothers, especially as fathers in the sample had higher educational levels than mothers, as shown by the data. [see section 7.1.3]. As indicated in the last chapter, under some old customs, some Asian families, particularly in the rural areas, refuse to allow their daughters to pursue higher level education, to protect them from contact with unrelated males. In this situation, it is common for men to have more education than their wives.

7.1.2. Mother's and father's place of birth.

The place where their mother and father were born is one of the questions which the pupils were asked but it is obviously more relevant to present this information in the section on parents' background. Although the survey took place in several secondary schools which had pupils of various ethnic origins, it appeared that most pupils recorded that their parents were born in Pakistan or Kashmir and relatively few in India or Bangladesh. This result is consistent with data from the official census 1998 which showed that Pakistanis were the largest minority in Bradford.

Table 7.1.2. Fathers' place of birth.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Azad Kashmir	30	18.8	18.9	18.9
	Pakistan	101	63.1	63.5	82.4
	Jammo Kashmir	1	.6	.6	83.0
	India	7	4.4	4.4	87.4
	Bangladesh	9	5.6	5.7	93.1
	Africa	5	3.1	3.1	96.2
	Britain	6	3.8	3.8	100.0
	Total	159	99.4	100.0	
Missing	Missing Values	1	.6		
Total		160	100.0		

Figure 7.1.1 Father's place of birth.

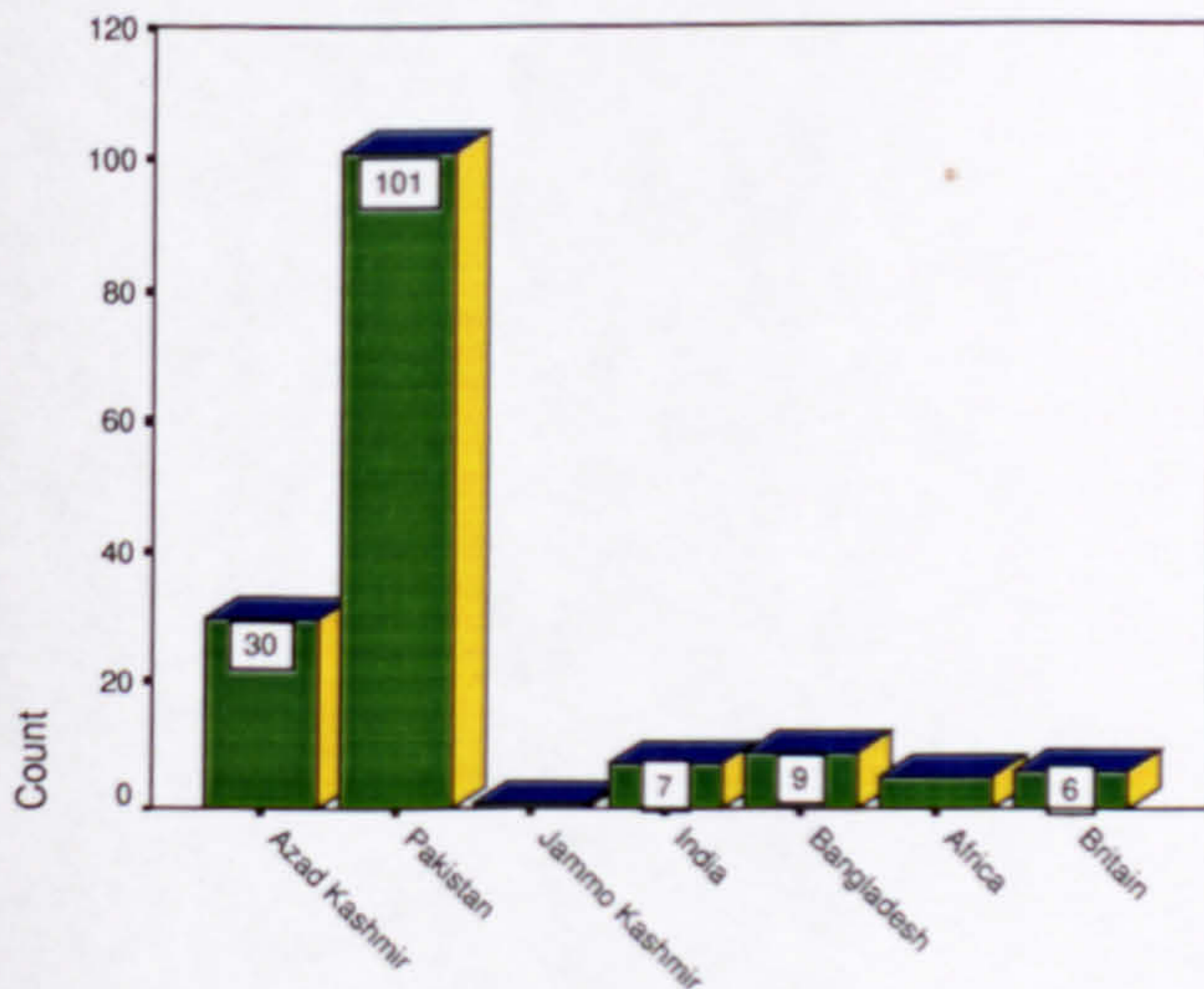
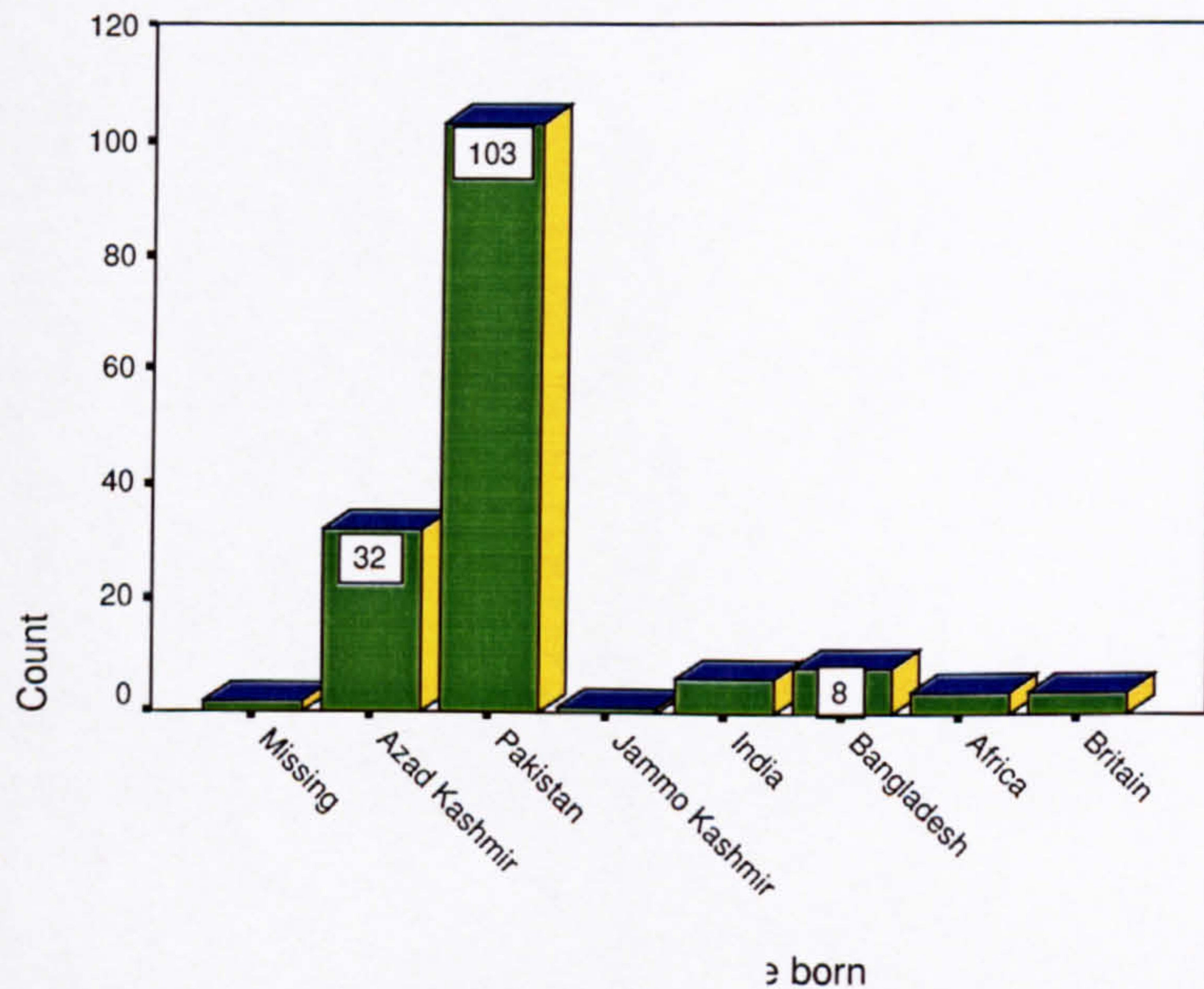


Table 7.1.3. Mother's place of Birth.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Azad Kashmir	32	20.0	20.3	20.3
	Pakistan	103	64.4	65.2	85.4
	Jammo Kashmir	1	.6	.6	86.1
	India	6	3.8	3.8	89.9
	Bangladesh	8	5.0	5.1	94.9
	Africa	4	2.5	2.5	97.5
	Britain	4	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	158	98.8	100.0	
Missing	Missing Values	2	1.3		
Total		160	100.0		

Figure 7.1.2 Mother's place of Birth.



It is clear from Tables 7.1.2 and 7.1.3 and Figures 7.1.1, 7.1.2 that most of the parents were born in Pakistan; 63.5 % of the fathers. 65.2 % of the mothers. The next largest group was those born in Azad Kashmir, 18.9 % and 20.3 % for fathers and mothers respectively. The close similarity in the distribution of fathers and mothers reflects the tendency to marry someone of the same ethnic group in accordance with tradition. As indicated in chapter three and the last chapter, some families insist on marriage within the same tribe, according to their customs. This factor plays a very important role in maintaining the Asian identity.

Smaller groups among the Muslim minority were Bangladeshis {5.7% of all the fathers and 5.1 % of mothers} and Indians {4.4 % of fathers and 3.8% of mothers}

A small number of fathers {3.1%} were born in Africa and 3.8% in Britain. Of mothers, 2.5% were born in Africa and 2.5% in Britain. In most of these cases, the parents were from one of the three main national groups [Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian] but a few were born in Africa because their families had moved from Asia to Africa and subsequently to Britain as migrants, or they came from north Africa in most cases. A small number were born in Britain. Usually these were young parents or white Muslims { English people who had converted to Islam}.

7.1.3. Parents' Educational level.

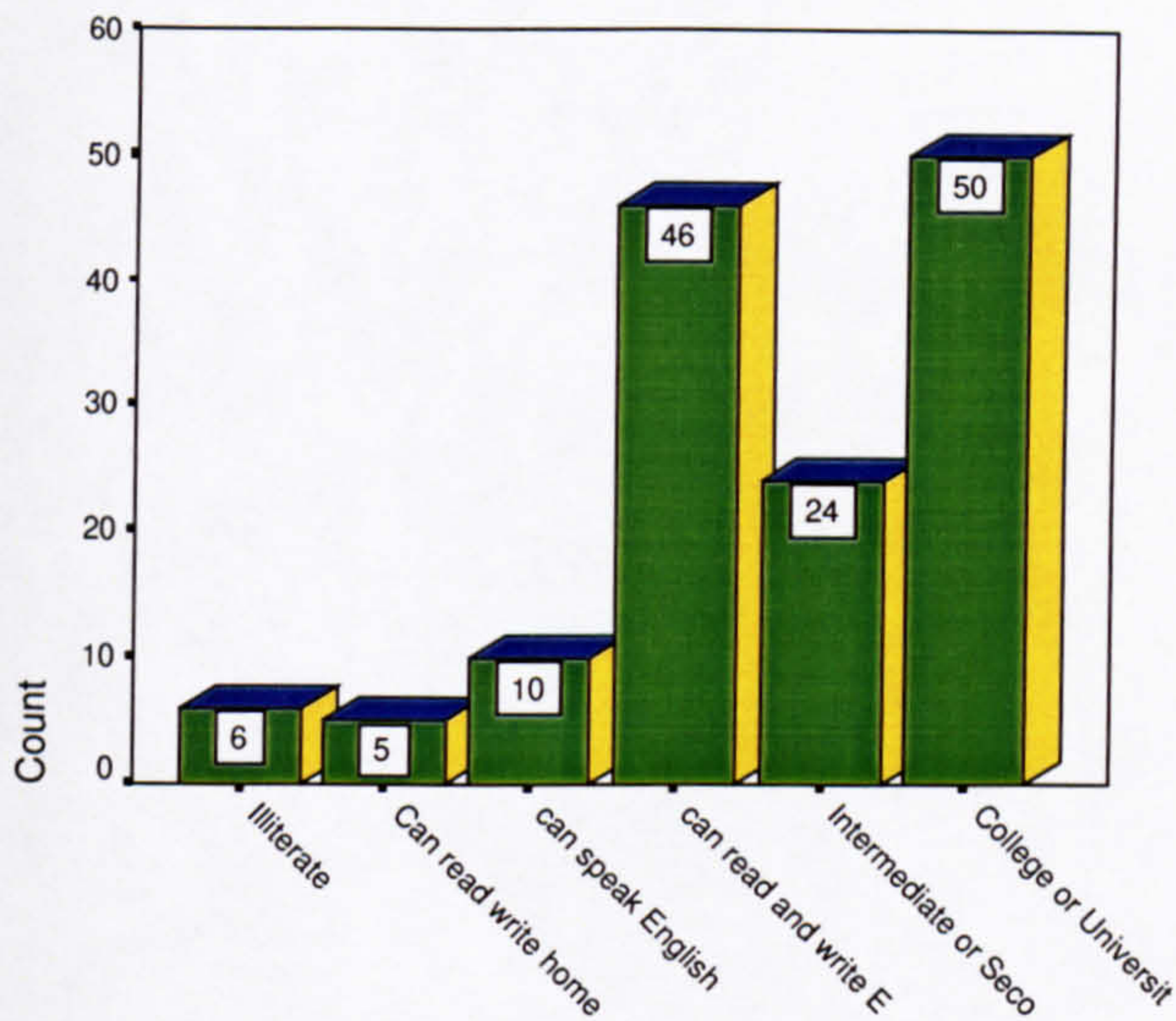
It is appropriate now to identify the educational level of the sample.

The following table and figure show the education level of the fathers.

Table 7.1.4 Fathers' educational level.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	6	4.0	4.3	4.3
	Can read and write home language	5	3.4	3.5	7.8
	Can speak English	10	6.7	7.1	14.9
	Can read and write English	46	30.9	32.6	47.5
	Intermediate or Secondary Level	24	16.1	17.0	64.5
	College or University Level	50	33.6	35.5	100.0
	Total	141	94.6	100.0	
Missing	Missing Values	8	5.4		
Total		149	100.0		

Figure 7.1.3. Fathers' educational level.



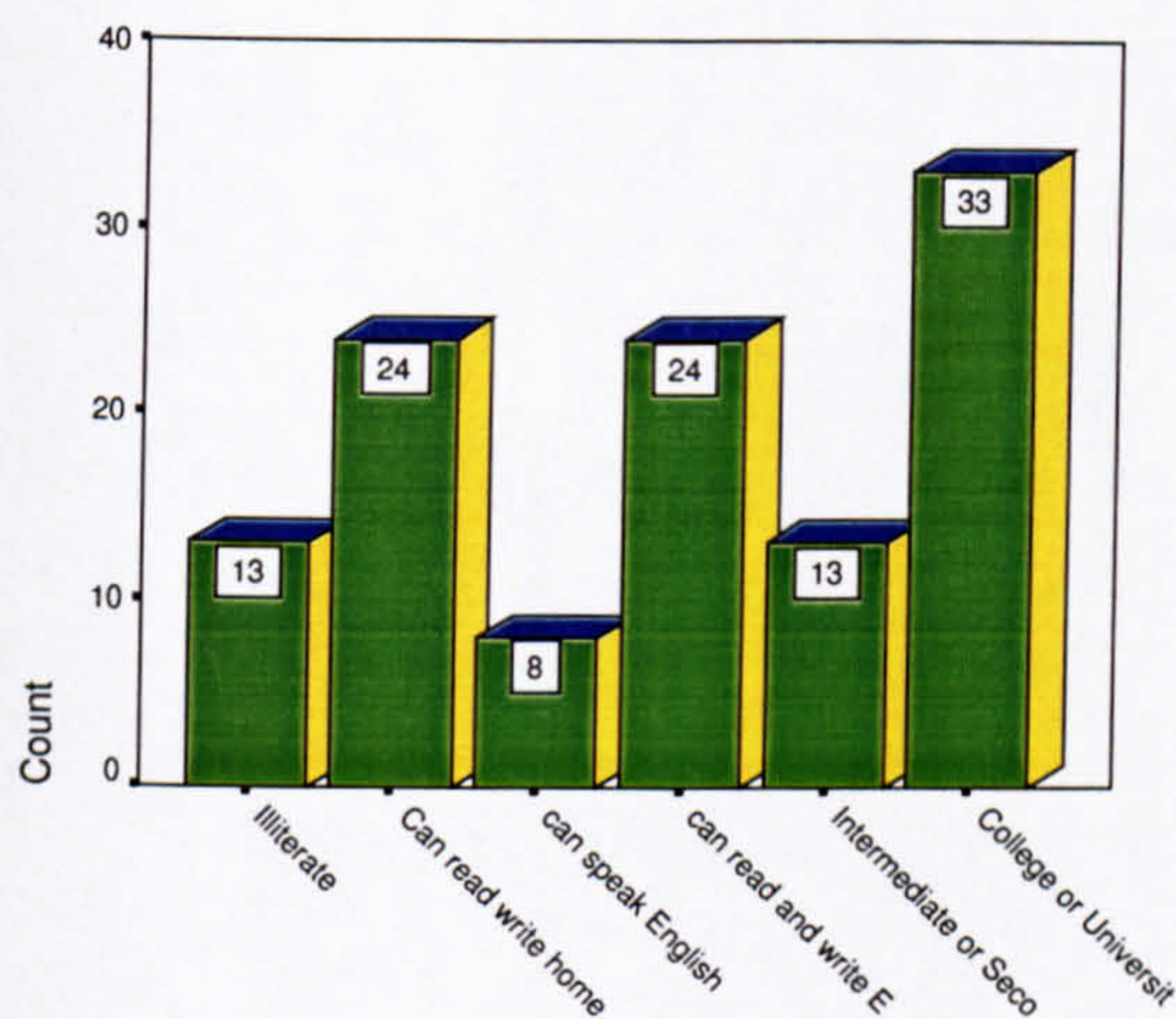
It is clear from the Table 7.1.4 and Figure 7.1.3 that the great majority of fathers might be considered as educated; for example 35.5% of them had College or university education and 17 % had completed intermediate or secondary school. Illiterate fathers represented only 4.3%. of the sample.

Mothers, however, were less educated. To enable more understanding of this issue, the following table and figure show the level of education of the mothers.

Table 7.1.5. Mothers' educational level.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	13	8.7	11.3	11.3
	Can read and write home language	24	16.1	20.9	32.2
	Can speak English	8	5.4	7.0	39.1
	Can read and write English	24	16.1	20.9	60.0
	Intermediate or Secondary Level	13	8.7	11.3	71.3
	College or University Level	33	22.1	28.7	100.0
	Total	115	77.2	100.0	
Missing	Missing Values	34	22.8		
Total		149	100.0		

Table 7.1.5. Figure.7.1.4. Mothers' educational level.



It is clear from Table 7.1.5 and Figure 7.1.4. that mothers' educational level was lower than that of fathers. The most importance reason for that , is that most of those mothers came from rural backgrounds and, as indicated in the last chapter family poverty or traditional values may preclude some girls from studying in state schools in Mirpur, while among some families in Bradford, some women had been prevented from completing higher education, as for fear that they would lose their identity.

Comparing the results of both tables and figures [for fathers and mothers] makes the picture more clear.

As the above tables and figures show, around 7,5 % of all parents were illiterate, meaning they had never been to school at all. The proportion amongst mothers was higher [11.3%] than among fathers [4.3%]. Other parents had sufficient education in their home country to be able to read and write their home language but had not completed formal education and could not speak English. Almost a quarter of mothers [20,9 %] and nearly 3,5% of the fathers were in this category. The proportion of fathers who had completed Intermediate or Secondary school was 17 %, while this proportion was reduced to just 11.3% among the mothers. Similarly, the incidence of further education was lower among mothers than among fathers.

The relatively large percentage of illiterate or low-educated parents suggests that there may be a large education gap between some parents and their children. This could be one reason for a tendency, mentioned in Chapter Three, for some parents to try to force their children to practise a certain way of living which is in conflict with modern society and derived largely from customs and traditions rather than Islam. Moreover, those parents who cannot speak English well will tend to be isolated from society and the schools, and may isolate their children also.

However, the discussion of chronology of migration of respondents in the next section might give more understanding of their education level.

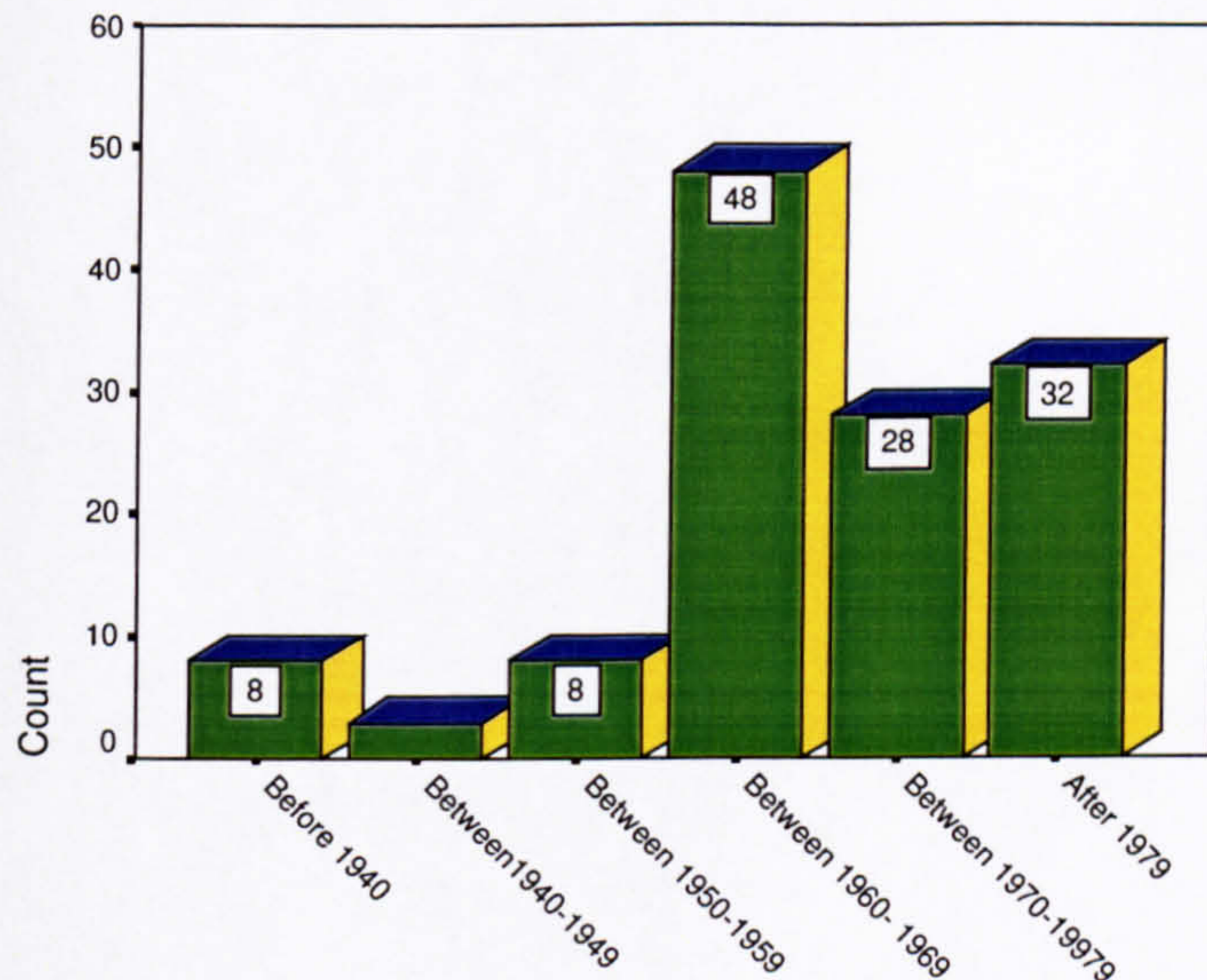
7.1.4. The chronology of migration.

The Muslim communities in Bradford represent several different periods of migration. It is therefore of interest to know when the respondents came to Britain.

Table 7.1.6. The date of coming to Britain.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before 1940	8	5.4	6.3	6.3
	Between 1940-1949	3	2.0	2.4	8.7
	Between 1950-1959	8	5.4	6.3	15.0
	Between 1960- 1969	48	32.2	37.8	52.8
	Between 1970-19979	28	18.8	22.0	74.8
	After 1979	32	21.5	25.2	100.0
	Total	127	85.2	100.0	
Missing	Missing Values	22	14.8		
Total		149	100.0		

Figure 7.1.5. The Date of Coming to Britain



The data in Table 7.1.6 and Figure 7.1.5 show that only 15 % of respondents came to Britain before 1960. During the pre-1960 period, most migrants came to get a job and they came, as mentioned in Chapter Three for many reasons, such as the First and Second World Wars, when many joined the British army and navy. The Partition of India in 1947 and the subsequent events also paved the way for emigration. After 1945, many ex-servicemen decided to settle in Bradford and very soon, their relatives joined them.

But the main flow of immigrants among the sample of this study was between 1960-1969. Looking at the percentages in Table 7.1.6 and Figure 7.1.5 it can be said that a significant percentage, more than a third [37.8%] came between 1960-1969. This large number of migrants reflects the fact, mentioned in Chapter Three, that Bradford received a large influx of migrants as a result of local factors which pushed migrants to come to Bradford. One reason was pressure on land, similar to the situation described by Siddique [1990] in relation to the Punjab, which had more than 15,000 villages and only 130 towns. The pressure on the land led to the subdivision of holdings and instability was created by the partition. Another local reason specific to Mirpur, mentioned by Kan {1977} was that at the beginning of the 1960s the population near the dam itself was moved. In 1967 the water

started to fill up behind the dam. About 100,000 people were moved, a large number of whom came to Bradford. As result many farms and houses were neglected there, as observed during the visit to Mirpur. {see Chapters 3 and 6}.

Although the door to migration was closed in 1971, it can be seen from the table above that approximately one quarter of respondents came between 1970-1979, reflecting the possibility under the 1971 Immigration Act for those already settled in Britain to be joined by their dependents. The arrival of their families made it possible to start building up the culture they brought with them, so most parents thought the time was right for their children to complete their study and have a better life in an Islamic atmosphere, inside the community at least. A similar percentage {25.2%} came after 1979. A large number of them came to study in the beginning, but they remained in Britain.

For more understanding of some of the reasons for the migration, these will be explained in the next section.

7.1.5 The Reasons for Coming to Bradford.

As the migration occurred at different periods, it may be expected that it was prompted by different circumstances. As Anwar [1994 p12] said:

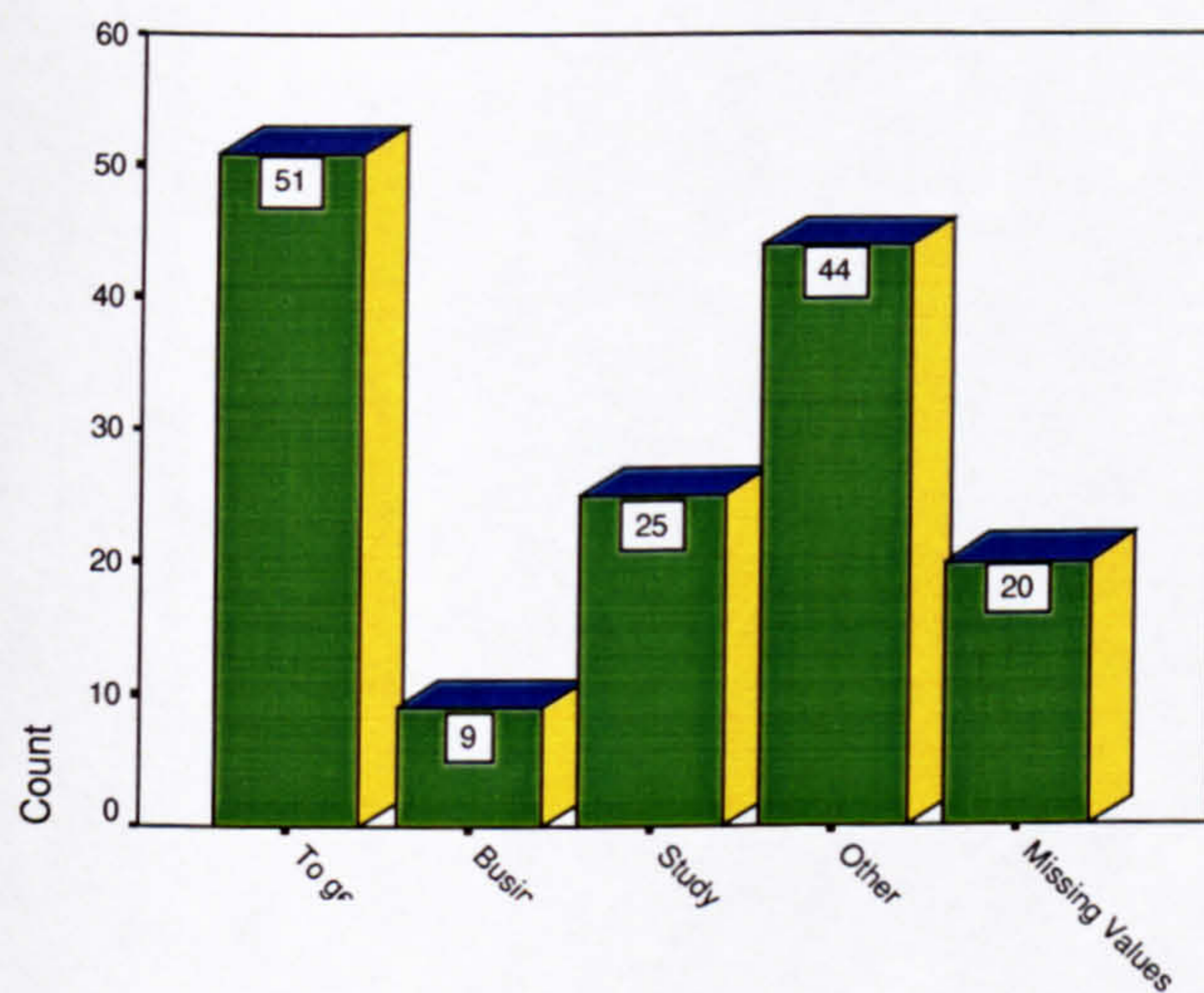
‘the recent migration of Muslims can be characterized in terms of the ‘pull’ factors which attracted them to Britain and the ‘push’ factors which forced them to leave their countries of origin’.

The next table and figure, will be reflect this fact.

Table 7.1.7 The reasons for coming to Britain.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	To get a job	<i>51</i>	<i>34.2</i>	<i>34.2</i>	<i>34.2</i>
	Business	<i>9</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>40.3</i>
	Study	<i>25</i>	<i>16.8</i>	<i>16.8</i>	<i>57.0</i>
	Other	<i>44</i>	<i>29.5</i>	<i>29.5</i>	<i>86.6</i>
	Missing Values	<i>20</i>	<i>13.4</i>	<i>13.4</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	Total	<i>149</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

Figure 7.1.6 The reasons for coming to Britain.



Taking into account the figures in Tables 7.1.7 and Figure 7.1.6 it can be said that the main reasons for migrants to come to Bradford was to get a job; more than third of the sample 34.2% responded that they came for work. This trend is consistent with Nielsen {1984} who said: “The first immigrants came for economic reasons, they wanted work. Their reasons for wanting work were rooted in their homes – they sought improved material and social conditions for themselves and their families.” This view was confirmed by most of the people met by the researcher in Mirpur. They commented that the main motive in coming to Britain was to get a job. One of them said, “*When I have saved enough money I will return home to live in an Islamic country*”. Similar views were expressed by some parents in Bradford who were interviewed for this study in the preliminary survey..

The next largest group [29.4%] stated that they came to Bradford for “other” reasons. Various reasons were given under this heading. Most of respondents who gave the response “other”, did not state a specific reason but others stated that they came to join their families in Bradford. For example, some wives came to join husbands who were already living in Bradford. Other respondents stated that they came as a result of the political situation in their home. Discussion with some responsible Muslim people in Mirpur and Bradford, revealed that changes of government often pushed migrants to leave

their homes. Examples of such situations include the change of government in Kinia, the fall of the Labour party in Bangladesh etc. This is consistent with Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent's [1998] comment, that over time the amount of immigration has varied, partly as a result of changing governmental controls.

In addition, it can be noted that 16.8% of the sample stated that they came to study. But in line with what is stated in the literature, it seems clear that most of them, after they finished their study, got good jobs with high salaries compared with those they could get at home and found it better to stay, especially in recent years when facilities for Muslims have been available in Bradford, and there has been a trend in local government to give educated Muslim some high positions, especially in education.

There are relationships between the last two variables, the date of coming to Britain and the reasons for coming, which appear in the following table, 7.1.8. It is widely accepted among researchers that economic factors play a very important role in causing migrants to leave their country and come to Britain [see Bradford and Kent 1998 p209] . But this is not to deny the impact of other factors such as politics. Although most researchers emphasise the importance of the economic factor, they also refer to political reasons. Brah[1996] argued that the South Asians who came during the 1950s were part of the movement of labour migrations in Europe. Asian workers came to occupy some of the lowest rungs of the British employment hierarchy. Additionally, as ex-colonial subjects, they belonged to a group whose country was once ruled by Britain. Anwar[1985 p21] noted,

“the migration of Pakistanis to Britain can be explained in terms of colonial links, political freedom of movement and an economic push and pull.”

In these circumstances, the migrants left home in order to return with money to buy land and build better houses and to raise their social status. It is surprising that although some people could to buy land and build a good house in Mirpur, they are still living in Bradford with the idea that they may return in the future to live there.

By comparing the dates and the reasons for coming of immigrants in this survey, it became clear that not only economic factors pushed or pulled the immigrants but other reasons were also involved in the decision to settle in Britain, as will appear in the following table.

Table 7.1.8. Cross tables of date and reasons of coming to Bradford.

		To get a job	Business	Study	Other	Missing Value	Total	
The date of coming to Britain	Before 1940	Count	6		1	1	8	
		%	75.0%		12.5%	12.5%	100.0%	
	Between 1940-1949	Count	2	1			3	
		%	66.7%	33.3%			100.0%	
	Between 1950-1959	Count	6	1		1	8	
		%	75.0%	12.5%		12.5%	100.0%	
	Between 1960-1969	Count	22	1	7	14	4	48
		%	45.8%	2.1%	14.6%	29.2%	8.3%	100.0%
	Between 1970-1979	Count	11	2	4	11		28
		%	39.3%	7.1%	14.3%	39.3%		100.0%
	After 1979	Count	3	4	12	13		32
		%	9.4%	12.5%	37.5%	40.6%		100.0%

The Chi-square test revealed a probability value of .003 which is statistically significant. This means there are significant differences in differences among the reasons for coming to Bradford, between respondents who came in different periods. For example, Table 7.1. 8. shows that economic reasons were the main reason for migrating before 1960, accounting for 75% of cases before 1940 and 66.7 % between 1940-1949, but after 1960 the economic factor became less influential and other reasons started to appear, such as study or to join relatives, because many families came as result of local factors which push migrants to come to Bradford.

Also, interestingly by 1970-1979, the importance of 'other' factors had increased to the extent that they were equal in importance with economic factors, 39.3 % in each case. After 1979, only 10% of immigrants came for work, but other factors increased in distinction. 'Study' accounted for 37.5 % and 'other' for 40.6 % of responses. This changing pattern can probably be attributed, at last in part, to the effect of the Immigration Act, as explained above. After that, those people started to stay and build up their culture, so it is suitable now to see some information about their families' structure.

7.1.6 The size of the family.

The family plays a very significant role in the life of the individual in the Muslim community and there is a strong emphasis on the joint family system. However, the migration process has brought a considerable change in the family structure and its size. In Chapter Three, a number of studies were reported which indicated a change in Muslim families. Here, it will be shown whether there has been change in the size of the Muslim family or not. Small sized families are in general more popular now, in developed countries. Nevertheless, the data presented below gives the average number of children as 4. It should be noted that the children of other members, such as parents or relatives, are not taken into account, so the average is for the couple and their children only.

Table 7.1.9. Family size.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 or 2	31	20.8	24.0	24.0
	3 or 4	50	33.6	38.8	62.8
	5 or 6	29	19.5	22.5	85.3
	Mor than 6	19	12.8	14.7	100.0
	Total	129	86.6	100.0	
Missing	Missing Values	20	13.4		
Total		149	100.0		

Figure 7.1.7. Family size.

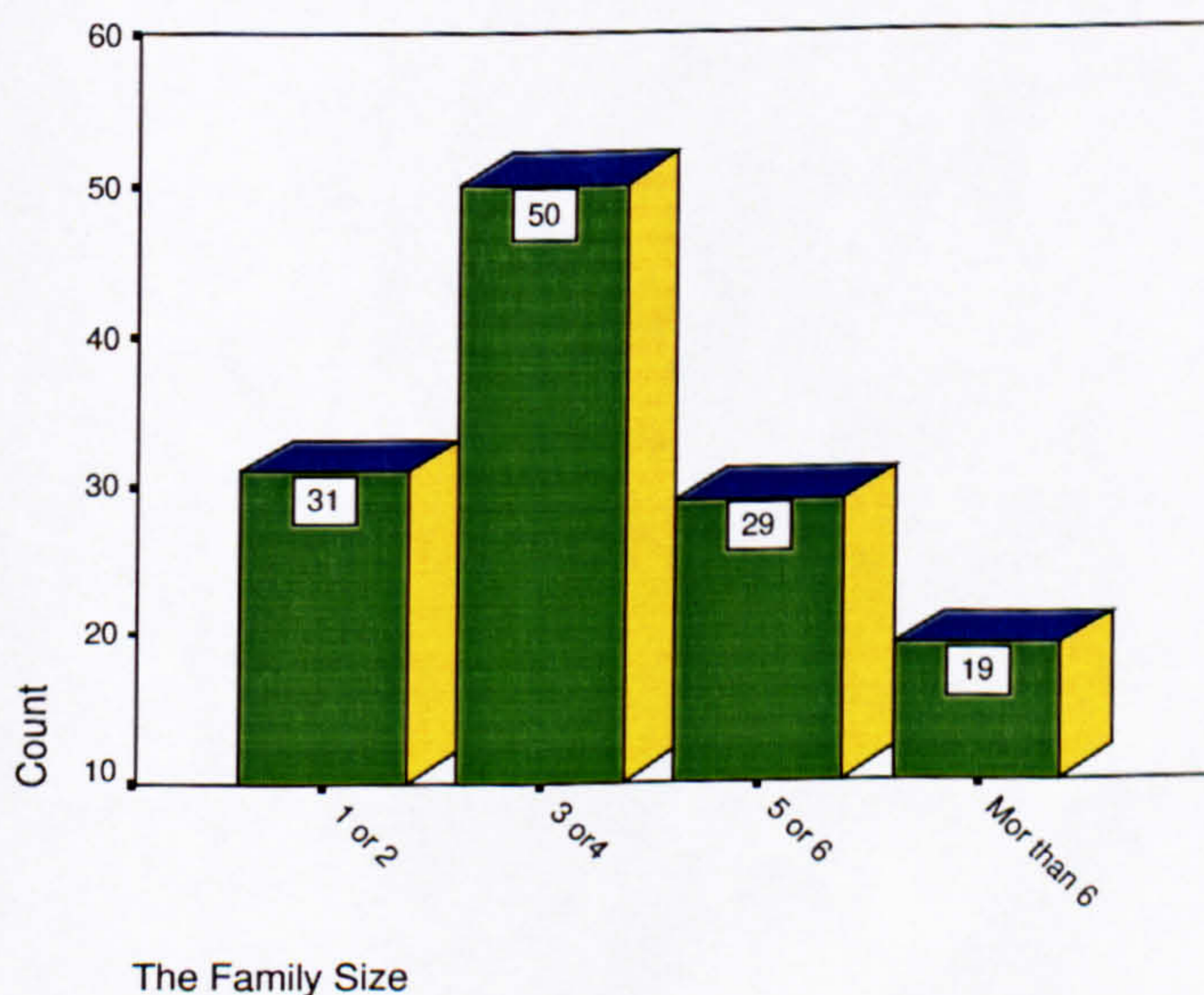


Table 7.1.9 and Figure 7.1.7 show that 38.8% of the sample had families of 3 or 4 children, which is more than the usual number in British families today, which is one or two per family [Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent, 1998]. Families with 5 or 6 children accounted for almost a quarter of the sample {22.5%}. Some families had even more than six children. Those families formed 14.7 % of the whole sample. The figures show that some families had no more than two children, which may reflect a new trend among Muslims to have smaller families. These represent 24% of the total sample. That means that families with more than three children represented 76% of all respondents.

This survey's results coincide with those of Modood's {1997} survey, when he found that while only 4 per cent of white families had more than three dependent children, Indian family sizes were slightly larger, but Pakistani and Bangladeshi families stood out as being far larger than others. 33 and 42 per cent of them respectively had four or more children, and many of them {7 and 9 per cent respectively} had six or more. Most of these children were born in Britain. [Modood {1997}]. Large family size is characteristic of Asian families; it is also consistent with Islamic values. However, in the west, the situation may be changing due to the difficulty, especially for poor parents, to meet their children's material needs and control their behaviour, as they would do in their country of origin.

7.1.7. The permanent home in the future.

Although the majority of parents were born outside Britain, nearly half of them hoped to stay in Britain permanently, because those people felt that Britain had become their home, more than their old home, especially with unstable political position in their countries and the difficulty to of getting a job there with a satisfactory salary.

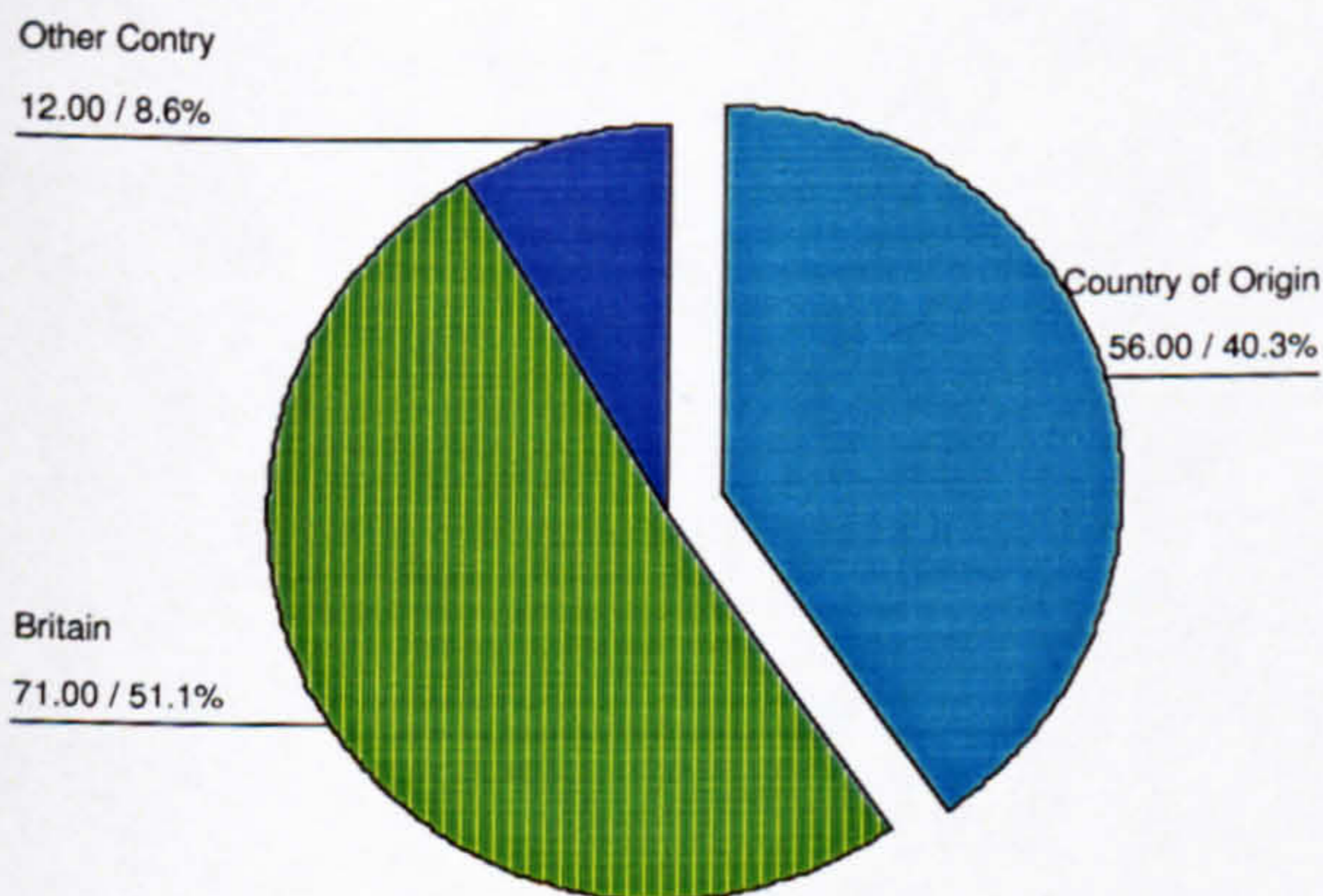
At the same the same time, it must be acknowledged that there are other desires which exist within the Muslim community itself. For example, some of them do not try improve their social and economic position and stay in old, small properties because they expect to live in Britain only temporarily. Whatever the source of these desires, they can be a

hindrance to Muslim minorities in western society and challenge their identity. The sample here will give some evidence of this fact.

Table 7.1.10 .The desired permanent home.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Country of Origin	56	37.6	37.6	37.6
	Britain	71	47.7	47.7	85.2
	Other Country	12	8.1	8.1	93.3
	Missing Values	10	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	149	100.0	100.0	

Figure 7.1.8. The desired permanent home.



From Table 7.1.10 and Figure 7.1.8 it is clear that nearly half of parents [47%] had chosen to stay all their life in Britain. At the same time we found that 37% of them hoped to go back home, as mentioned in Chapter Three. Therefore, most of them still lived in small properties in Bradford and were building a nice house in Mirpur, as was seen during the survey which was done in 1997. For example, one respondent said: *“I am in a good position in England as a taxi driver ,but I save money to help me to establish a business in Mirpur and I desire to live in a Muslim country to maintain my identity as a good Muslim”*. This view was common desire among most parents how interviewed in Mirpur and the main reason given for their desire to go back home was to maintain their children’s

identity. But must we remember that this desire may adversely affect the position of Muslims in Bradford, and be a source of many sufferings, as indicated in many places in this study.

Now, the next section will present the data from the second part of the sample, the pupils, to complete the picture of the background of the sample, with the note that some aspects of the pupils' lives are an extension of their parents' history and a result of their parents' culture.

7.2. Pupils.

This section will discuss pupils' age, sex and place of birth, the language they normally speak with their parents and their views as to their preferred future home. Data are presented, using descriptive statistics. and in some cases using cross –tabulation to investigate if there is any relationship between a given pair of variables.

7.2.1. The sex of the sample

The data collected in this study show that the proportion of males who participated in answering the questionnaire was very high [65.4%] while the female percentage was approximately half that [34.6 %]. 105 males and 55 females responded, from the 160 pupils surveyed. This can be seen in the following table.

Table 7.2.1. The sex of the sample.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	<i>104</i>	<i>65.0</i>	<i>65.4</i>	<i>65.4</i>
	Female	<i>55</i>	<i>34.4</i>	<i>34.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	Total	<i>159</i>	<i>99.4</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
Missing	Missing	<i>1</i>	<i>.6</i>		
Total		<i>160</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

Table 7.2.1 shows the high percentage of males among the sample of pupils in this survey. This is because many of the questionnaires were distributed in mosques and

community centres rather than schools, because few questionnaires were returned by pupils in the schools {see Chapter 5, section on sample } and most pupils who come to the mosque or community centre are males.

7.2.2. The age of the sample.

It seemed appropriate, as indicated in Chapter 5, to choose the sample in this study to be representative of Muslims in Bradford. Of the one hundred and sixty pupils, most were aged 14-17. This age range was selected because pupils in this age would be expected to be able to answer the questions suitably, and they usually have more experience than younger ones would do.

Table 7.2.2 The age of the Sample.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	14.00	<i>21</i>	<i>13.1</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>14.1</i>
	15.00	<i>16</i>	<i>10.0</i>	<i>10.7</i>	<i>24.8</i>
	16.00	<i>55</i>	<i>34.4</i>	<i>36.9</i>	<i>61.7</i>
	17.00	<i>43</i>	<i>26.9</i>	<i>28.9</i>	<i>90.6</i>
	18.00	<i>8</i>	<i>5.0</i>	<i>5.4</i>	<i>96.0</i>
	19.00	<i>4</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>2.7</i>	<i>98.7</i>
	20.00	<i>2</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	Total	<i>149</i>	<i>93.1</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
Missing		<i>11</i>	<i>6.9</i>		
Total		<i>160</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

It is clear from Table 7.2.2.that the majority of the pupils were aged 16 or 17. This age group formed 65.8 % of all the sample. Pupils aged 14 or 15 formed 24.8%, while the pupils over 17 {18-19-20}accounted for just 9.4%. Most of the respondents were in secondary schools {see Chapter 6 Methodology, the sample}

7.2.3. The place of pupils' birth.

From the background information given earlier, the Muslim minority have been settled in Bradford for a long time. Therefore, a new generation has been born in Bradford. Most studies indicate that more than half of Muslims in Bradford were born there. For example Anwar [1994] indicates that half of the ethnic minority population is British born. The sample here will give some evidence of this fact.

Table 7.2.3. Pupils' place of birth.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Britain	143	89.4	91.1	91.1
	outside Brit	14	8.8	8.9	100.0
	Total	157	98.1	100.0	
Missing	Missing Values	3	1.9		
Total		160	100.0		

Figure 7.2.1. Pupils' place of birth.

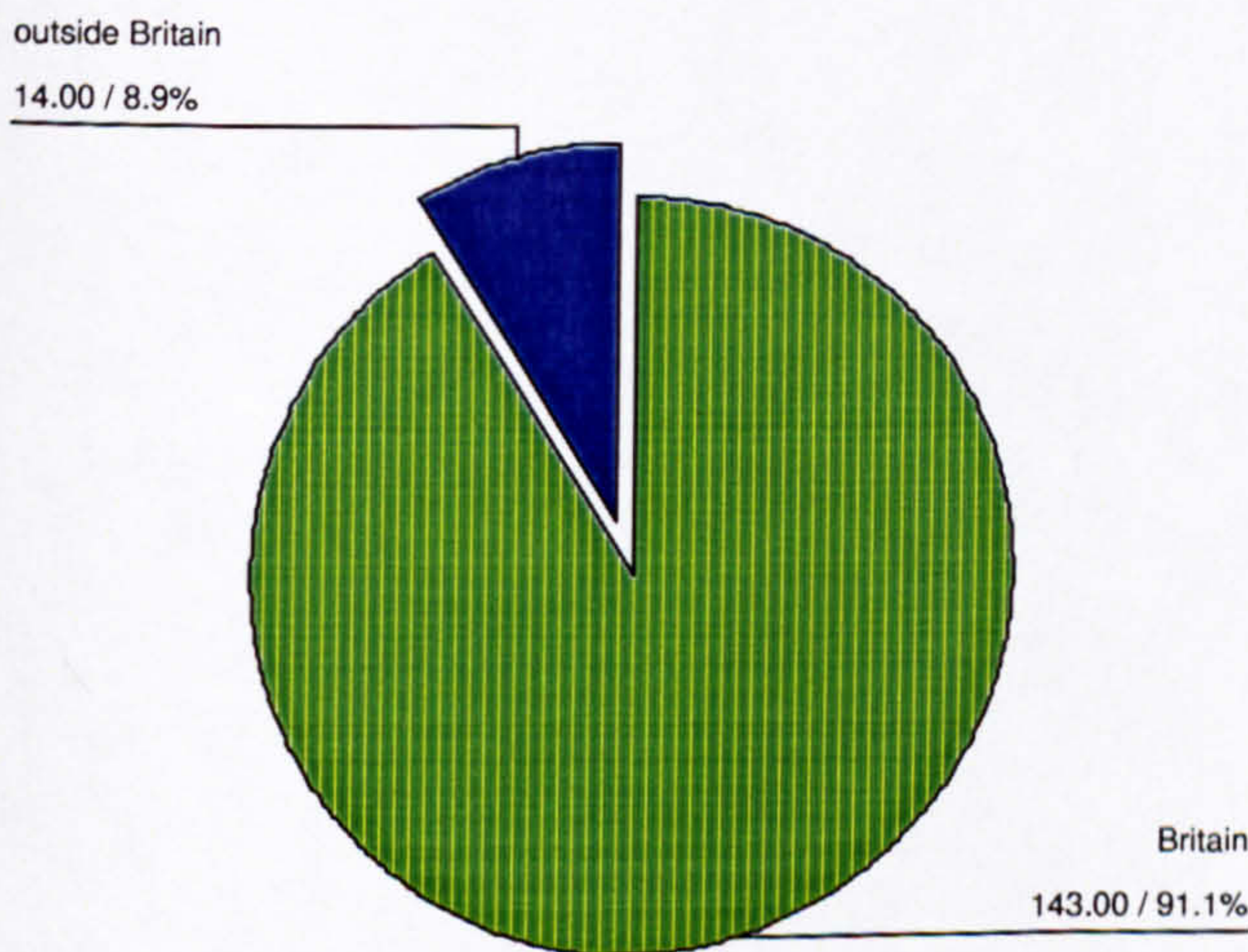


Table 7.2.3 and Figure 7.2.1 show that most of the pupils [89.4 %] were born in Britain, while less than ten percent were born outside Britain. Although these pupils' parents have lived in Britain for a long time, sometimes mothers feel more comfortable to have a baby in their country of origin, especially if their mothers are there. However, although a small number were born outside the U.K. it is not expected to make any difference to this study

of identity, since those children grew up in the West. Therefore, those children must be taught to see themselves as British Muslim, not Asian migrants.

7.2.4. The language which pupils normally speak with their parents.

There is no doubt that the mother language plays a vital role in maintaining Asian culture, as discussed in Chapter Three in relation to Asian films. In response to parental demands the Education Act includes the mother language in state schools' curriculums {see Chapter Four, Education}. Muslim parents prefer to speak their mother language with their children for many reasons such as [1]to maintain their identity; {2} because some parents think that the mother language is a religious requirement; {3}some parents find it difficult to speak English; as indicated earlier in this Chapter, a third of mothers and 10% of the fathers cannot speak English well.

Table 7.2.4. Language which pupils normally speak with their parents.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	9	5.6	5.7	5.7
	Mother Language	74	46.3	46.8	52.5
	Both or Mixed	75	46.9	47.5	100.0
	Total	158	98.8	100.0	
Missing	Missing values	2	1.3		
Total		160	100.0		

Figure 7.2.2. Language which pupils normally speak with their parents.

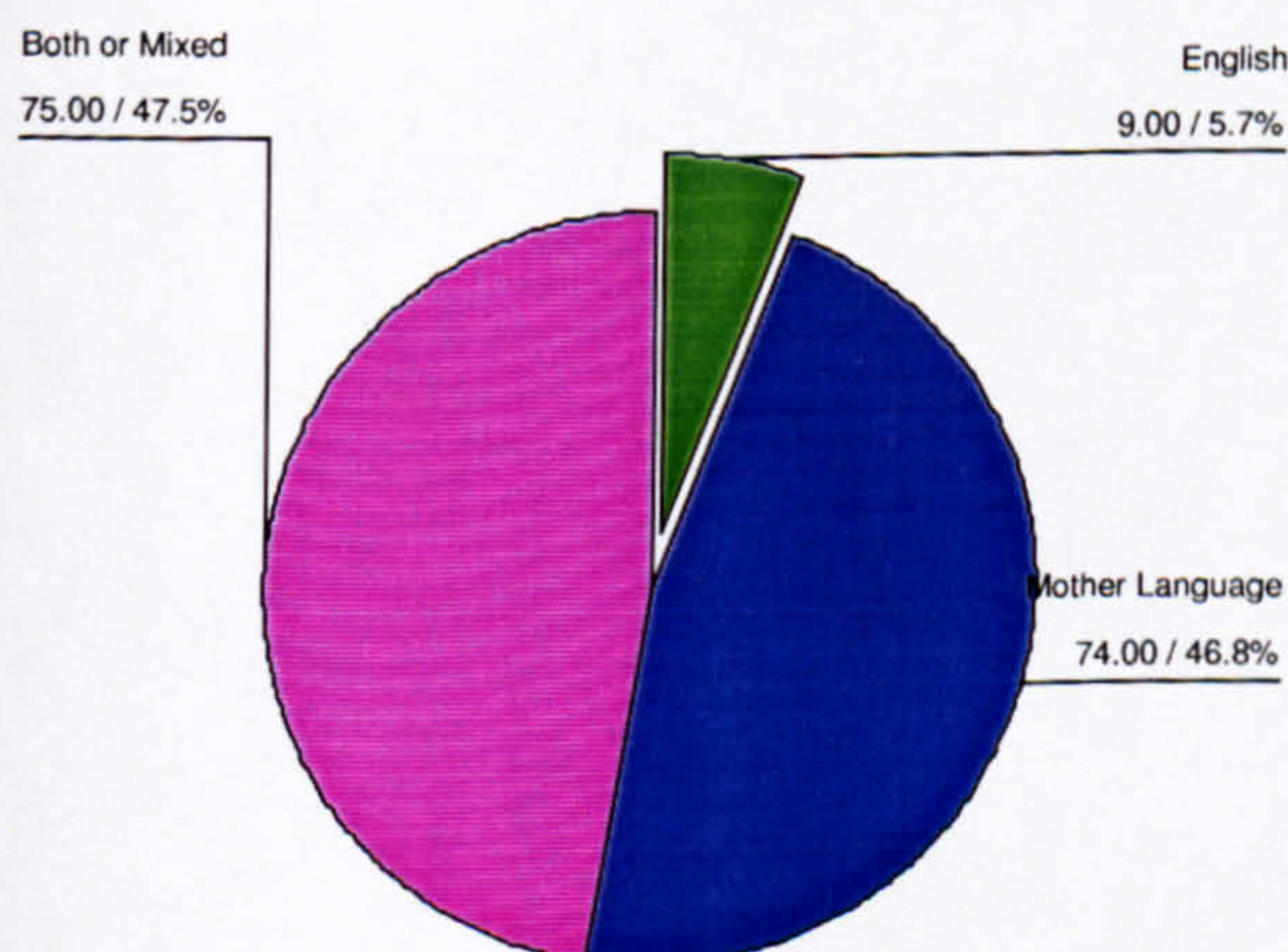


Table 7.2.4 and Figure 7.2.2 shows that there are two percentages close to each other; 47.5 % of the pupils speak both languages {English and the mother language} and 46.8 % of the pupils speak the mother language only. In the interviews with some pupils during the survey, some children explained why they used two languages at home; they spoke English with their brothers or sisters because they found it easy, while they spoke the mother language with their parents because it was easier for their parents to understand them.

Some of them commented that their parents pushed them to speak the mother language because their parents desired it or they found it easier, especially with parents who cannot speak English.

Just 5.7 % of the sample speak English only. The few families where only English was spoken may be ones where one parent is English or the family has lived in Britain for a long time or it may be some families consider it a way to improve their children's English, to ensure their achievement at school.

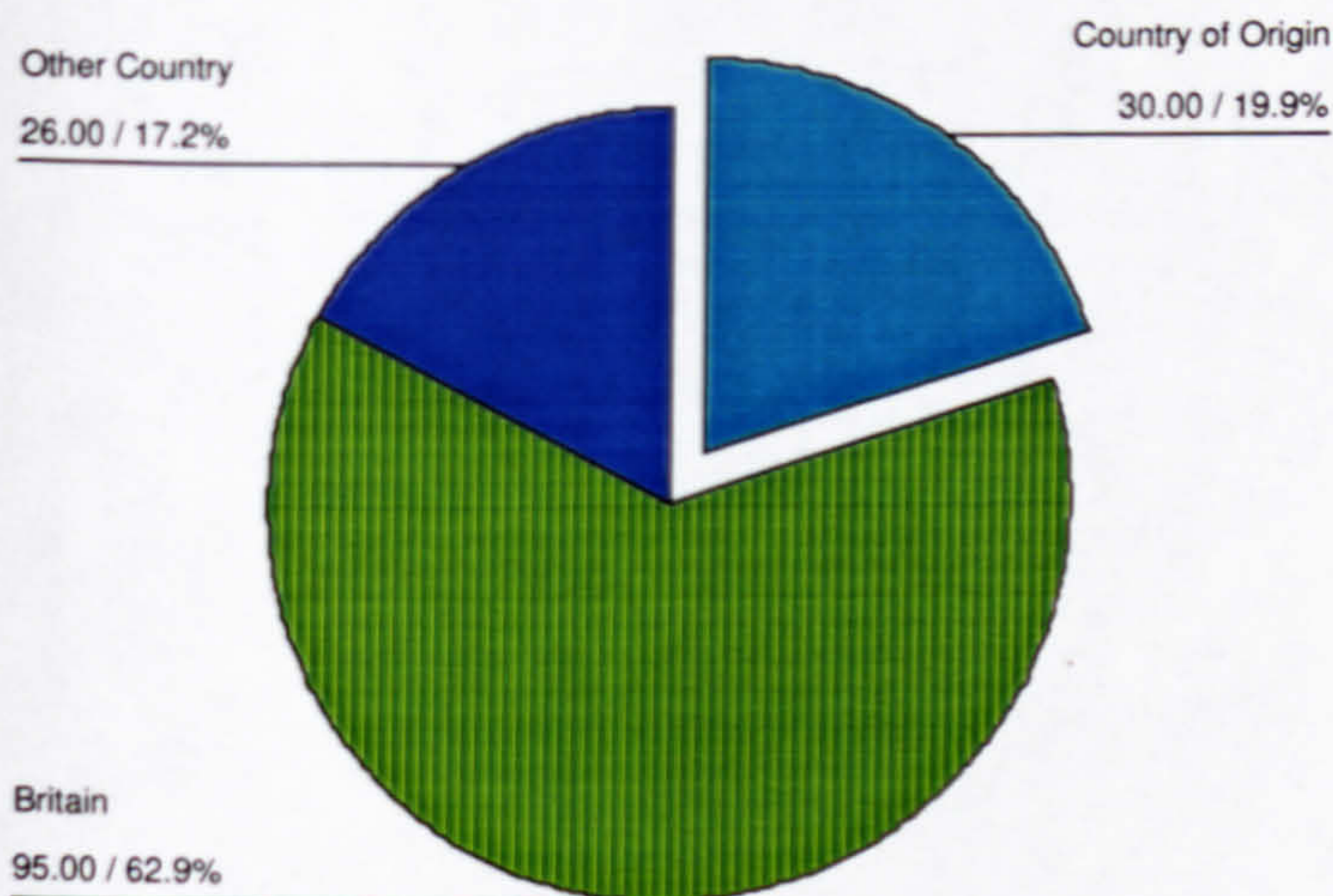
7.2.5. The permanent home in the future.

As indicated earlier, 90% of the pupils were born in Britain. Therefore, it might be expected that those pupils would want to live in Britain permanently. But some circumstances encourage some of them to think of leaving Britain in the future. The next table and figure will show us some of these views.

Table 7.2.5 The desired permanent home.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Country of Origin	<i>30</i>	<i>18.8</i>	<i>18.8</i>	<i>18.8</i>
	Britain	<i>95</i>	<i>59.4</i>	<i>59.4</i>	<i>78.1</i>
	Other Country	<i>26</i>	<i>16.3</i>	<i>16.3</i>	<i>94.4</i>
	Missing values	<i>9</i>	<i>5.6</i>	<i>5.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	Total	<i>160</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

Figure: 7.2.3. The desired permanent home.



From Table 7.2.5 and Figure 7.2.3 it is clear that more than half the pupils [59.4%], considered Britain their home and had no intention of going back to their parents' home, because most of them were born and grew up in Britain and a large number of them had never visited their parents' home at all. This fact emerged during the interviews with pupils in the survey in Bradford {from 1-6-1998 to 5-2-1999} When asked in the interview, "Are you Asian or English?" all of them replied, "we are *Muslim first and English second.*"

In contrast, 18.8% of pupils desired to live in their parents' home. May among this number were pupils born outside Britain, in the country of origin, or those who desired to live in a Muslim country, because their parents reinforce this desire by taking them regularly to visit the parents' old home; moreover, some parents teach their children that they belong to the parents' country, not Britain.

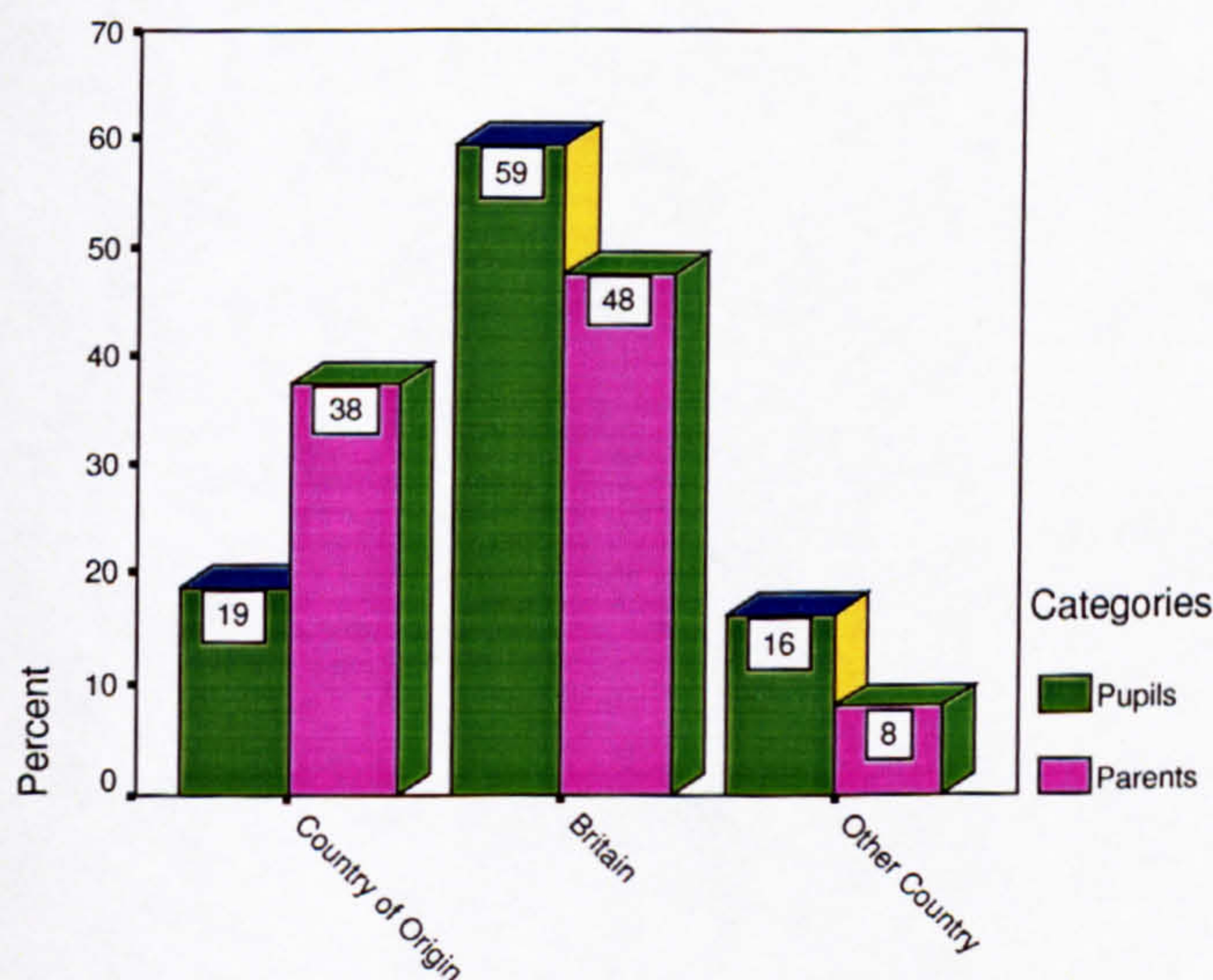
A small proportion of pupils [16.6 %] expressed a desire to live in another country such as Italy or the USA. They may have thought that it would give them more chance to get a good job, especially with the increased rate of unemployment among Asian youths, either in Britain or in their parents' country of origin.

Now it might be interesting to compare two variables by cross tables to see the relationships between them.

Table 7.2.6 Cross table of Parents' and Pupils' desired permanent home.

			Categories	
			Pupils	Parents
The Desired Permanent Home	Country of Origin	Count	30	56
		Col %	18.8%	37.6%
	Britain	Count	95	71
		Col %	59.4%	47.7%
	Other Country	Count	26	12
		Col %	16.3%	8.1%
	Missing Values	Count	9	10
		Col %	5.6%	6.7%
Total	Count	160	149	
	Col %	100.0%	100.0%	

Figure 7.2.4 Parents' and Pupils' Preferred Permanent home.



The differences between the parents' and the pupils' views regarding the permanent home in the future, can be seen in Table 7.2.6 and Figure 7.2.4

As appears above from Table 7.2.6 and Figure 7.2.4 and consistent with what was said in the last chapter on change of the migrants' image, it is clear that the pupils were more desirous of staying in Britain than were their parents. The percentage of pupils who wished to do so was 59.4% while it was 47% for parents. This can be explained thus: {1}As

mentioned above, most pupils were born and grew up in Britain. Therefore, they consider it their home. {2} Some of them have never visited their parents' home; they feel that it is very strange to them. {3} Most of them believe that it would be difficult to live in the home country because of lack of jobs, the old fashioned style of life and so on. Parents were more inclined to leave Britain than pupils, because {1} most parents were born in the country of origin and spent their childhood there; [2] parents worried about their identity and that of their children; [3] parents in general are less worried about the economic position in the country of origin because most of them did not have university education and most of them think that they have already saved enough money for the future; [4] most parents would prefer to die in a Muslim country.

Finally, the figures show that the pupils were more open to thinking about living in a different country such as the USA, 16.3% of pupils as against 8.1 % of parents. A major influence here is likely to be education, which encourages pupils to see other places. Moreover, young people are more likely to wish to see other countries without considering what will happen after that, while the parents are more concerned about what will happen in the future.

Thus, I can argue that many aspects of the background of British Muslims in Bradford reflect the culture of Mirpuri and Sylheti, which are the places of origin of a large number of Muslims in Bradford. This influence could be noted through significant indicators in their life in Bradford.

First, there was a noticeable absence of women from many places where one might expect them to be found, such as the mosques and parents' meetings in the schools etc. Because they spend most of their time at home, so they are not aware of what happens to their children outside the house. Second, although some changes are evident in Asian families in Bradford, they are still large compared with English families. The data presented in this chapter showed that the average number of children is 4 children per family, and the

extended family is more common. Also, Asian males tend to marry women from the same tribe.

Thirdly, the poverty of the family, parents' illiteracy and some old customs may play a role in the low level of education of the pupils in state schools. Also in Bradford, some families still refuse to send their daughters to university or college, based on traditional values they brought with them, or the fear of their daughters losing their Islamic identity.

This relation of values explains why nearly 40 % of the parents and 20 % of pupils hoped to return back to their countries of origin, because they feel that they have ties that hold them to the old home.

These background characteristics of the sample may give us some explanation of some attitudes which will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Summary.

This chapter was presented in two sections: parents and pupils. The main aim was to describe some aspects of the background of the sample in order to obtain some information which might assist in understanding the views of the respondents which will be presented in the next chapter.

The first section considered the parents' background, starting with the sex of the respondents. It noted that the proportion of fathers who answered the questionnaires was very high compared with a very low rate among mothers. This reflects the absence of mothers in many places such as mosques or community centres, because they spend most of their time at home. Also, it seems that Muslim mothers in Bradford are still unable to share in maintaining identity because they have less education, and a third of them cannot speak English. It was found in the preliminary study that under the customs of Mirpuri people, girls may be prevented even from being taught in the Mosque and they must stay at home. This was also reflected among the women in Bradford.

If we look at the parents' place of birth, we will note that there is similarity in the distribution of fathers and mothers, regarding the countries they were born in. The parents were from one of three main nationalities {Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian}. This tends to support what was observed in the preliminary survey, that males tend to marry someone from the same tribe in accordance with tradition. However, because the majority of the sample came from those three countries and some of them had a rural background, this affected their educational level; for example, around 7.5 % of the fathers were illiterate and the proportion among mothers was higher [11.3%]. Moreover, a third of the mothers could not speak English, which would isolate them from understanding what happens to their children outside the home.

The low educational level of some parents could also reflect the fact that they come to Britain at a time when education in their countries was less developed than it is now; many came between 1960-1969.

Moreover, the migrants in most cases were people who could not get a job at home, so they came to find a good job to save money, with the idea of returning home in the future. But after 1970-1979, interestingly, the importance of other factors such as study or the desire to join relatives, increased.

After the Muslim minority settled, they attempted maintain the culture that they had brought with them. One aspect of their culture which can distinguish them from English people, is the structure of the family. Despite some changes in Muslim families in Bradford, as indicated in Chapter Three, families were larger than the average British family. In some cases, families have relatives living with them. This reflects what found in the preliminary survey, that the families in Mirpur are of the extended type.

But the most significant indication of the influence of the Mirpuri lifestyle is the tie that people still feel to their place of origin, after settling in Britain. Half of the parents in the survey indicated that they desired to go back home. Also, those parents influence their children by taking them to visit their countries to teach them that this is their home, not

Britain. This may be reflected in the fact that a quarter of the pupils stated that they wished to live in their parents' homeland.

It should be noted that there are some traditional and Islamic influences, even among most youths born in Bradford. For example, most girls over 16 years do not attend the mosque or community centre. Also, half of the youths speak only the mother language at home and most of the remainder speak the mother language with English. Some of them, during the survey, commented that their parents pushed them to speak the mother language, either because they found it easier to understand, or as an aspect of their Asian identity.

Finally, we can say that the background of the pupils in most respects reflected their parents' view of life in Mirpur in particular, although when the question arose of the preferred place of residence in the future, differences in views emerged between the parents and their children .

Although family life may be controlled by the parents, a gap arises because of the wishes and the desires of the new generation in relation to other aspects of life which are outside the home, such as the state schools, mosque and community centre and aspects of consumer culture, Even their attitudes regarding what happens within the family change. In spite of the teaching of the parents. The attitudes of parents and pupils will be examined in the next two chapters, to see if there is any relationship between their background and their attitudes.

Chapter Eight.
Analysis of Data

The Challenges which Muslim Pupils can Face during their Daily Life.

Introduction

8.1. Formal Education [state schools]

- 8.1.1 Teachers
- 8.1.2 Curriculum
- 8.1.3 Facilities.
- 8.1.4 Environment.

8.2. Informal Education

- 8.2.1 Mosque
- 8.2.2 Home
- 8.2.3 Society

Summary

Introduction.

It seems from the review of family background in the previous chapter and the chronology of migration in Chapter Three, that the movements of refugees after 1945 did not have very far-reaching effects on education systems. However, the labour migration which started in the late 1950s and went on into the 1960s created a new situation, until in the 1970s all so-called 'host' countries introduced restrictions on immigration. Whereas initial immigrants were single males, who tended to stay only for a limited period of time, more and more families emigrated together, and so large numbers of school-age children arrived. Never before had the schools in Britain seen such a fast change in their intake. Reid and Reich[1992 p1] added;

'On top of this, there was a very large cultural and linguistic gap between these pupils and their teachers. The very possibility of teacher-pupil communication, that is say the basic means of functioning for the schools, seemed threatened. In view of this situation the first reaction of teachers and other educationists was to look for ways in which the newly arrived children could be given the linguistic and cultural means to participate in the lessons'.

The emphasis was on second language teaching and cultural adjustment, with a view to assimilating these children within the cultural mainstream. This approach, however, was challenged by parents who wanted to bring up their children in the traditions of their countries of origin, both by training within the family at home and by teaching the children some aspects of religion in the mosques. After that the children began to get the chance to continue their studies of the mother tongue and some aspects of their culture of origin in some schools, as a step towards a multicultural approach.

Educational problems increased, especially when most of the migrant workers settled in Britain, so that schools had to deal with not only newly arrived children, but also more children who had born in Britain. The educational policies of the first and second periods became obsolete. In the third step, it became clear that the education of migrants' children could no longer be limited to special measures for special pupils, but had to become a matter for the school as a whole. The question was now what role the school could play

alongside the mosque, family and the society in threatening children's cultural identity.

This chapter will answer this question.

The educational problems that will be discussed in this chapter are not confined to formal education in state schools, but include also the informal education which can appear in others fields in daily life, such as in the mosque, home and society.

Although the school plays a vital role in shaping the child identity, it is very important to recognize that the home, as an example, plays a very sensitive role in educating the child.

It is impossible to understand a child's problems without knowing his/her family background. Therefore, the pressures on a child do not come from only one source. Threats to identity could come from the school, home, society or mosque, and the solutions should come from some or all of them. So it is important to understand the relationships between them, rather than concentrate on one field. For example, the low achievement of some Asian pupils in English can be explained by the fact that those pupils speak their mother language at home and in the street and in their free time at the school, because the majority of pupils in the school are Asian. Therefore, they may have no chance to practise English except in class with the teachers.

In this chapter the aim is to present a picture of the Muslim identity of 160 pupils and 149 parents in the light of their experiences and aspirations.

The central concern of the following analysis is to discuss how the educational role affects identity formulations. The presentation here falls into two broad areas. The first relates to challenges to identity posed by the formal education system, while the second includes some informal educational challenges which may share with the state school in challenging Muslim identity.

The questionnaire was constructed to identify the position of the third generation who were born and grew up in Britain, while the role of parents here is to give their view in regard to the investigated problems, from their experience. The focus is on the new generation here, because their number is high compared with the first and second generations. In 1998

young Muslims aged under 18 accounted for more than half of the Muslim minority in Bradford, which amounts to more than 70,000 Muslims [see Bradford in Brief, 1998].

Moreover, the new generation is more likely to be influenced by western culture because of easy communication, unlike most of their parents, who are more likely to maintain their identity.

It might be appropriate, before presenting these challenges, to indicate that they are not the only difficulties that Muslims face, although they reflect most of the problems indicated by the sample in the preliminary field study. Also, some problems have been avoided by the Education Authority responding to the demands of Muslim community.

This chapter tries to achieve two of the main aims mentioned in Chapter Five, namely, to identify the problems which can face Muslim pupils in their daily lives, particularly educational problems in the four fields [school, mosque, home and society] and to assess the importance of preserving Islamic identity as perceived by pupils and parents.

The study was intended to make an assessment of the attitudes of pupils and parents, and to generalize this assessment for a whole population, as indicated in Chapter Five. Al-Mohaissin [1993] comments that the most popular form of attitude measurement is by means of a questionnaire consisting of attitude items, each item belonging to one scale which provides a means of quantifying respondents' views. The items often contain a choice from a range of numerical values for each statement.

In this chapter, it should be pointed out that after presenting each item alone, items were analysed by generating scales comprised of groups of items, to build up the overall impression. A *Likert-scale* was used to measure the attitude of the sample, and Chi-square tests were used to see if there are any significant relationships between the pupils' and parents' answers, or if their attitudes are significantly associated with their aspirations regarding place of residence in the future.

8.1. Formal Education[state schools]

Clearly, the place of the educational system is central. Outside the economic sphere, the school is where westerner and immigrants most critically meet. It becomes the focal point for Muslim immigrants in that it is directly related to their investment in their children's futures, while at the same time it affects the children's role as heirs to the parents' identity. The school also comes to be felt as crisis point for British parents, because their children's education is felt to be under threat by "foreigners" in the classroom and by the attempts that the educational system make to accommodate the immigrant child. For the immigrant, it is the place where, above all, identity authority structures and sex roles are most tangibly felt to be challenged. The school is seen to be the motivator of a growing generation and culture gap among settling minorities, for this is where some children find functional alternatives to their parents' way of life. [Lahnemann, Nielsen and Razvi. {1983}].

In the school, four aspects were investigated: teachers, curriculum, facilities and educational environment.

A. Teachers.

It is accepted that education transmits the values of one generation to the next. Therefore, education is not just a way of transferring information only. The question arises, therefore, which cultural values teachers transmit to children in particular, are they able to respect and support the child's cultural heritage ?

The following table shows the points of view of pupils and parents toward Muslim and non-Muslim teachers in state schools, in four items.

Table 8.1.1. Teachers.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
In the school there are enough Muslim teachers.	Strongly Disagree	52	32.7%	71	47.7%	.005*
	Disagree	48	30.2%	46	30.9%	
	Agree	47	29.6%	21	14.1%	
	Strongly Agree	12	7.5%	11	7.4%	
In the school Muslim teachers are unable to teach Islam	Strongly Disagree	29	18.7%	18	12.7%	.160
	Disagree	48	31.0%	37	26.1%	
	Agree	59	38.1%	59	41.5%	
	Strongly Agree	19	12.3%	28	19.7%	
In the school non-Muslim teachers do not understand Muslim pupils' problems.	Strongly Disagree	18	11.5%	14	9.6%	.024*
	Disagree	56	35.9%	33	22.6%	
	Agree	59	37.8%	62	42.5%	
	Strongly Agree	23	14.7%	37	25.3%	
In the school most non-Muslim teachers understand Islam	Strongly Disagree	22	14.2%	44	29.9%	.000*
	Disagree	53	34.2%	72	49.0%	
	Agree	59	38.1%	29	19.7%	
	Strongly Agree	21	13.5%	2	1.4%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

It is clear from Table 8.1.1.1 with regard to the first item, that most pupils and parents agree that there is a shortage of Muslim teachers in state schools. In response to the statement. “In the school there are enough Muslim teachers” 32.7 % of pupils strongly disagreed and 30.2 % disagreed, while 47.7 % of parents strongly disagreed and 30.9 % disagreed. A Chi-square test revealed that the difference in responses between the two groups is statistically significant at $p < .005$.

Although both groups tended to the view that there is a shortage of Muslim teachers, parents were more inclined to this opinion than the pupils. This may be because parents are more worried regarding identity than their children. Also, if the parents feel that there are some Muslim teachers in the school, they may feel that those teachers will help Muslim pupils to understand Islam. Moreover, some parents are unable to speak English as

indicated in the last chapter, so would find it more easy to communicate with Asian teachers through the mother language.

This result emphasizes the point mentioned in Chapter 6 that all the schools visited need more Muslim teachers. Some pupils who were interviewed thought that Muslim teachers can understand Muslims' problems better than non-Muslim teachers. Therefore, it is very important to increase their number.

However, a large number of pupils and parents doubted the capability of Muslim teachers currently in the schools, to teach Islam. In response to the second item, "Muslim teachers are unable to teach Islam" 38.1 % of pupils agreed and 12.3 % strongly agreed, while 41.5 % of parents agreed and 19.7 % strongly agreed. Chi-square showed no significant difference between the responses of pupils and parents. The view of parents and pupils that Muslim teachers are unable to teach Islam, supports the observation reported in Chapter Six that some Muslim teachers displayed inadequate knowledge about Islam, during the interview with them.

However, despite dissatisfaction of Muslim pupils and parents in regard to the ability of Muslim teachers, still they desire to increase their number, with the proviso that they should be chosen with care, and they commented that any Muslim teacher will be more able to teach Muslim pupils, especially about the religion. This view is supported by responses to the two items about non-Muslim teachers.

The first of these was "Non-Muslim teachers do not understand Muslim pupils' problems."

More than half of the sample agreed with this statement. Of pupils 37.8 % agreed and 14.7 % strongly agreed while 42.5 % of parents agreed and 25.3 % strongly agreed.

A Chi-square test revealed a statistically significant difference between the respondents. Although the two groups broadly agreed that non-Muslim teachers do not understand Muslim pupils' problems, parents tended more to this point of view, perhaps because some parents see the cultural gap between themselves and non-Muslim teachers as wide, while pupils do not, to the same extent. For example non-Muslim teacher may be unaware that

the reason why some pupils do not do well in class may be that they have to go in the afternoon to another school in the Mosque, and so on.

The trend of opinion among the sample was further indicated by their responses to the last item in this Table, “Most non-Muslim teachers understand Islam.”

About half of the pupils and most of the parents thought that most non-Muslim misunderstand Islam. To be exact, 14.2 % of pupils strongly disagreed and 34.2 % disagreed with the item. Parents’ disagreement was stronger, 29.9 % strongly disagreed and 49.0 % disagreed.

Chi-square revealed significant difference between the respondents. Parents were more negative in their position on non-Muslim teachers’ understanding of Islam. The table shows that 78.9 % of parents took this position. This may be because parents may be more knowledgeable about Islam, compared with the pupils, so they have ability to distinguish between the teachers, through the information that pupils transfer to their parents.

Generally, it is clear that most parents are unhappy with the role played by teachers, Muslim and non-Muslim, and parents are more worried than the pupils about the threat to Muslim identity because Muslim parents and pupils are aware that a suitable Muslim teacher is one of many ways to transfer Islamic values. Reid [1984] commented that teachers are part of the formal culture of the school, that they help to devise it, and that they maintain it. Also teachers can be seen to have an informal culture. Hulmes [1989] explained the role that teachers can play when he said: every teacher has a unique part to play in encouraging a continuing inquiry into the values which society seeks to protect and to transmit. He noted elsewhere in the same book, ‘Teachers are expected to use their professional skills to remove the injustice experienced.’

Therefore, teachers can do much as individuals to change the situation in multi-cultural schools.

However, the above responses show concerns about Muslim identity. It is easy to see that there is a perceived shortage of Muslim teachers and if the few available do not reflect

Muslim identity suitably, still less can non-Muslim teachers be expected to perform this role.

Reid [1992] found in his study that just over half of a sample of Bradford teachers [many of whom were non-graduates] were from working-class backgrounds and were the first in three generations of their families to have a middle-class occupation. Sarwar [1991] added, it is a strangely uncomfortable fact that even schools with over 90 % Muslims have just a few Muslim teachers. It is often said that this is due to shortage of suitably-qualified people or it may be due to conscious or unconscious institutional/individual racism within the selection procedures.

Finally it should be mentioned here that the poor quality of Islamic education may have played a role in the attitudes of some pupils among the sample who do not care about the maintenance or loss of identity. Therefore, it is important now to discuss the curriculum as a factor which may help or impede maintenance of identity.

B. Curriculum

The curriculum is commonly viewed as a neutral stock of knowledge and skill, identified on a timetable or syllabus, which is passed on to pupils. Like all things human, knowledge is socially constructed. Along with facts, children are taught, often, a whole series of views, attitudes and patterns of behaviour [Reid{1992}].

Curriculum is about more than what is written in textbooks. As Calhoun et al, [1994] explained, 'Pupils are taught in school to prepare them for academic success and social relations in the world outside.'

Therefore, the curriculum is a means to reform the knowledge and behaviour of pupils. But the English system is mono-cultural, so most of the curriculum reflects the Western culture and ignores other cultures. Reid [1992 p71] emphasises that

“despite the reality of our multi-cultural society, the curriculum typically represents only the majority culture”.

So it is very important to identify the position of the Muslim pupils and parents regarding the English curriculum as they responded to the questionnaires, as follows.

Table 8.1.2. Curriculum

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
In the school the curriculum teaches enough about Islam.	Strongly Disagree	48	30.6%	76	51.7%	.002*
	Disagree	58	36.9%	43	29.3%	
	Agree	36	22.9%	21	14.3%	
	Strongly Agree	15	9.6%	7	4.8%	
In the school some topics or activities, e.g. dance, conflict with Islam.	Strongly Disagree	23	14.9%	15	10.2%	.000*
	Disagree	50	32.5%	27	18.4%	
	Agree	52	33.8%	47	32.0%	
	Strongly Agree	29	18.8%	58	39.5%	
The examples that are given by teachers reflect both western and Islamic cultures.	Strongly Disagree	15	9.6%	24	16.6%	.001*
	Disagree	51	32.7%	69	47.6%	
	Agree	75	48.1%	38	26.2%	
	Strongly Agree	15	9.6%	14	9.7%	
In the school education encourages individualism.	Strongly Disagree	8	5.2%	14	9.4%	.148
	Disagree	29	18.7%	38	25.5%	
	Agree	80	51.6%	61	40.9%	
	Strongly Agree	38	24.5%	36	24.2%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

The first item in the table above is “In the school the curriculum teaches enough about Islam. Of the pupils, 30.6 % strongly disagreed and 36.9 % disagreed, while among the parents, 51.7 % strongly disagreed and 29.3 % disagreed. Therefore, more than half of the pupils and parents were dissatisfied with the curriculums’ coverage of Islam. The Chi-square test revealed significant differences { $P < .002$ } between the responses of pupils and parents. Although both of them feel teaching of Islam is inadequate, this view is strongest among parents; 81% of them tended to this view. This point of view is consistent with the comments above and in Chapter 4 that most of the curriculum is mono-cultural. Also, Sarwar [1983] admitted that there is little information about Islam but he warned of the dangers giving incorrect information, which is more dangerous than giving none at all.

Looking at the coverage of Islam in the curriculum, I found it showed Islam as a historic religion only, without any spirit within it, and some photos showed Islam as a religion that encourage revolutions, such as that led by Khomeini in Iran. The table also

shows the dissatisfaction of pupils and parents with regard to the curriculum, as shown in responses to the second item, “In the school some topics or activities, e.g. dance, conflict with Islam”. The table shows that more than half of the pupils agreed: 33.8 % agreed and 18.8 % strongly agreed. Among parents, 32.0 % agreed and 39.5 % strongly agreed. The Chi-square test revealed a significant difference in the opinions between the two groups, the probability value being .000. 71.5 % of parents thought that some topics and activities not in line with Islam. However, 47.4% of pupils did not see that any topics or activities conflict with Islam. In my view this opinion on the part of pupils reflects that they did not have the ability to recognize what is or is not consistent with Islam, as a result of their being born and raised in a non Muslim society, as indicated in the last chapter. In contrast, parents worry about what happens in school and most of them have the ability to see that some elements of curriculum conflict with Islam, as they have more knowledge about Islam than the pupils.

However, the general trend among the sample is to accept that some topics and activities could threaten the Muslim identity. This worry was expressed by one father who said: *“The serious things that can threaten my children’s identity, are what they learn during sex education and religious education. Really, I am very worried about it.”* And one boy said, *“In some topics, they teach us how to dance to music or draw people etc.”* [See Chapter 6, the interviews in Bradford]. Moreover, some researchers emphasise that there are some aspects of the curriculum which can cause special concern for Muslim parents and their children. Jenkins [1995 p70] gave some examples:

“Specific issues arising in sex education classes may cause potential problems. For example, as Islam does not contemplate sexual activity outside of marriage, the issue of contraception is not considered a major area of concern.”

Islam does not prohibit the study of any useful area of human knowledge but there are certain ground- rules, which must be followed in the study of sex education or art and music. For example in Islam it is prohibited to draw human images or to dance to music.

Sarwar[1991] mentioned that according to the majority of Islamic jurists, the use of musical instruments generally is not allowed.

Thus, pupils are taught and encouraged to do some things at school, but they are taught in the mosques and at home that these things are prohibited. Therefore, the pupils will be caught between two cultures which might make the gap between the pupils' belief and what they learn very wide.

The third item in the table above is "The examples that are given by teachers reflect both western and Islamic cultures" Before presenting the viewpoints of the sample with regard to this item, it must be remembered that all the schools surveyed have a few Muslim teachers, because the majority of the pupils are Muslim. Therefore, it is not surprising to note that some Muslim teachers refer to their culture in the classes. However, a total of 42.3 % among the pupils [9.6 % strongly disagree and 32.7 % disagree] and 64.2 % among the parents [16.6% strongly disagree and 47.6% disagree] were unhappy with the monocultural nature of English education. The Chi-square test yielded a probability of .0001, which is statistically significant. This means that there are significant differences in opinions between the two groups. The majority of parents were dissatisfied with the examples used in the curriculum, whereas more than half of the pupils, 57.7 %, felt comfortable with the examples they were given. In my opinion, the pupils are more aware about what the teachers represent during the classes because they are the ones who are actually present and they may be aware that some Muslim teachers try to reflect their culture. But we must be sure what the pupils mean; it may be that they think that the mother language or customs represent Islam.

One of the reasons which causes conflict between parents and pupils is the idea that the curriculum encourages individualism. This seems clear from the point of view of the sample regarding the item, 'In the school education encourages individualism'. The responses of pupils included 51.6 % agree and 24.5 % strongly agree. The parents confirmed this result. Parents recorded 40.9 % agree 24.2 % strongly agree. The chi-

square test revealed no significant differences between the groups of respondents. The percentage of pupils who agreed with the item is high [76.1 %] compared to the percentage of parents [65.2 %]; this is the highest percentage of agreement, among pupils, regarding the curriculum items. I think that the fact that 70.7 % of the sample agreed that education encourages individualism, points to a serious challenge to Muslim identity for both groups. Individualism feeds the pupils' desire to escape from their parents' demands and directions, while most of the parents were suffering from their children's disobedience in various aspects.

Individualism is unacceptable in the views of some parents, especially in a free country such as Britain. At the same time, a lot of English researchers consider individualism a main aim of the English education system. For example Oaksott [1985] argued that education has the ability to change the trends of the new generation and to support the development of the individual, whatever his society [see Chapter 4].

However, the concept of the individual in the Islamic model is quite different from that in other models. Maqsood [1995] explained that Islam is quite clear on this point. Every single individual is responsible for his or her own good or bad reactions to life, and is accountable on the day of judgement. The job of a parent is not to try to force their children into an adult model but to create an environment in which their youngsters can develop their characters, and to give secure boundaries within which they might grow. This is why strict parents, especially 'religious' ones, have such a tough time-they are convinced that there is one right way of doing things, and if this disagrees with the notion of the developing young person, conflict is bound to follow.

Undoubtedly, individualism might involve some advantages which English education seeks to obtain, but as shown above, there are disadvantages from the view of Islamic education which considers that the over-emphasis on this philosophy of individualism causes conflict with some principles of Islamic education.

Finally, it is clear that all the four items in the table reflect a mono culture.

Moreover, the National Curriculum is generally unconcerned with religion because the education system in England and Wales is secular. Even if it teaches the mother language, it does so as part of tradition, rather than part of Islam. Even though schools in this system may be able to select good quality Muslim teachers, their role will be weak under the National Curriculum.

C. Facilities.

The religiosity of Muslims is not just confined to belief. As far as religious practice is concerned, Anwar [1994] states that parents and religious leaders are becoming increasingly worried because not enough facilities are being provided to practise and transmit Islam.

According to my knowledge, most researchers, when they discuss about problems which can face Muslim pupils in schools, concentrate mainly on a few issues such as sex education, physical education, school meals, school uniform etc. Certainly, these are legitimate concerns but most of these problems can be sorted out by the Education Authority; at least, efforts have been made in this direction in the surveyed schools. Alas, there are alternatives such as single sex schools and so on.

Other important issues which should be given more attention are how pupils can be encouraged to practise Islam in school, such as praying and observing the fast.

Sarwar[1991] emphasises that every Muslim beyond the age of puberty must pray five times a day at the fixed times and some of these prayers {depending on the length of the days as the seasons change} will fall within the school day. I was surprised during my visits to the schools which have a majority of Muslim pupils, to observe that most pupils never pray during the break.

The next table will show the position which regard to facilities in the schools.

Table 8.1.3 Facilities.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
In the school there is enough time to pray	Strongly Disagree	68	43.3%	65	44.2%	.540
	Disagree	56	35.7%	53	36.1%	
	Agree	22	14.0%	24	16.3%	
	Strongly Agree	11	7.0%	5	3.4%	
In the school not respect is given to fasting time .	Strongly Disagree	50	32.3%	35	24.1%	.477
	Disagree	64	41.3%	66	45.5%	
	Agree	26	16.8%	27	18.6%	
	Strongly Agree	15	9.7%	17	11.7%	
In the school pupils can go to Friday prayers.	Strongly Disagree	59	38.1%	58	40.6%	.006*
	Disagree	37	23.9%	53	37.1%	
	Agree	39	25.2%	26	18.2%	
	Strongly Agree	20	12.9%	6	4.2%	
In the school there is no place for ablution{washing before prayer}or for praying.	Strongly Disagree	44	28.6%	23	15.4%	.005*
	Disagree	43	27.9%	32	21.5%	
	Agree	38	24.7%	51	34.2%	
	Strongly Agree	29	18.8%	43	28.9%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

From the above table it can be seen that the first item is 'In the school there is enough time to pray'. The two groups in the sample seem to agree that there is not enough time to pray; 79 % of the pupils and 80.3 % of the parents thought this. Chi-square revealed that there is statistically no significant. Difference in opinions between the two groups while 43.3 % of the pupils strongly disagreed and 35.7 % disagreed, similarly 44.2 % of the parents strongly disagreed and 36.1 % disagreed. The time that is given for the break might be enough to pray if the number of pupils is small, as the prayer takes at most ten minutes, but it is impossible for six hundred pupils, for example, to manage that, as not all schools have not a large enough space suitable for prayer.

Ramadan {the fasting Month] is a holy month which is strongly respected in Muslim communities so most of the sample were satisfied with the respect which the school gave to it, as we can see from the answers to the second item, which say. 'In the school no respect is given to fasting time.'

It is clear from the table that among the pupils, 32.3 % strongly disagreed and 41.3 % disagreed, while among the parents, 24.1 % strongly disagreed and 45.5 % disagreed. The Chi-square test revealed no significant difference between the opinions of the two groups; a high proportion of pupils and parents, 73.6 % and 69.6 % respectively, thought that there is respect for the holy month in the schools. Such respect could be shown by letting Muslim pupils pray regularly on time, by preparing a place for that.

The point here is that this position is a response by schools to pressure from parents and pupils, but a mistaken impression could have been created that religious observance is only important during *Ramadan*, as the Muslim community focus so much on the importance of observing the requirements of this month, but in fact, the same prayer requirements apply every day.

Also, non Muslims see that pupils who are fasting may feel weak and tired, especially in the afternoon. English people naturally feel sympathetic in regard to this kind of position, so tend to avoid asking the children to do physical exercise.

The third item was : 'In the school pupils can go to Friday prayers.'

There was disagreement among the sample with regard to this facility. Among the pupils, 38.1 % strongly disagreed and 23.9 disagreed, while among the parents, 40.6 % strongly disagreed and 37.1% disagreed. A Chi-square test showed statistically significant differences between the opinions of the two groups. Although most of the sample disagreed with the item, parents were more inclined to feel that no facilities are available for the pupils, whether in the form of enough time or a bus to take the pupils to the mosque.

The last item in the facilities issue is 'In the school there is no place for ablution {washing before prayer} or for praying'. Compared to all the previous items in this section, this item was striking for the big difference discernible between the two groups regarding their view about this facility. Nearly two thirds { 63.1 % }of parents agreed with the item, compared with only 43.5 %of pupils. A Chi- square test revealed this difference to be statistically significant. The difference between the views of the two groups could relate to the understanding of the meaning of the item. Some of the sample thought that in the schools no special facility was prepared for this purposes. Others might have understood the item to mean that there was some room that could be made available for this purpose and there are washrooms in the toilets which could be used for washing before prayer. It seems that parents meant what the researcher meant, i.e. that no facility is set aside for this specific aim. So their view supports the idea that in most cases, schools do not provide such a service for Muslim pupils.

D. Environment.

Attitudes are not innate, but are acquired through social experience and are generally regarded as being comprised of three elements: a knowledge component, a feeling component, and a behavioural component. The process of attitude formation is seen as a matter of increasing differentiation with age in each of these components. [See Thomas {1984 p57}. The children at this age will gradually absorb any influence around them within the family at home, or in the school environment outside the classroom. The question that might arise here how the Muslim child reconcile between the Asian culture within the family and the environment in the school especially where Western culture predominates.

The next items will reflect some difficulties which can face Muslims in the school environment.

Table 8.1.4 Environment.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
In the school, enough attention is paid to the Islamic festivals.	Strongly Disagree	19	12.3%	23	15.6%	.112
	Disagree	40	25.8%	52	35.4%	
	Agree	73	47.1%	59	40.1%	
	Strongly Agree	23	14.8%	13	8.8%	
In the school, girls and boys get sex harassment from each other.	Strongly Disagree	36	23.4%	16	11.0%	.023*
	Disagree	54	35.1%	54	37.2%	
	Agree	49	31.8%	51	35.2%	
	Strongly Agree	15	9.7%	24	16.6%	
In the school children do not face racism from non-Muslim pupils.	Strongly Disagree	24	15.5%	30	21.1%	.008*
	Disagree	41	26.5%	52	36.6%	
	Agree	59	38.1%	49	34.5%	
	Strongly Agree	31	20.0%	11	7.7%	
In the school pupils acquire inappropriate friends.	Strongly Disagree	20	13.5%	14	9.9%	.424
	Disagree	45	30.4%	51	35.9%	
	Agree	57	38.5%	59	41.5%	
	Strongly Agree	26	17.6%	18	12.7%	
In the school pupils feel comfortable with the other non-Muslim pupils.	Strongly Disagree	23	15.2%	15	10.4%	.313
	Disagree	38	25.2%	43	29.9%	
	Agree	59	39.1%	64	44.4%	
	Strongly Agree	31	20.5%	22	15.3%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

Table 8.1.1.4 shows the responses to five items, each of which reflects the views of the sample with regard to a particular aspect of the environment in the school.

The first item is 'In the school, enough attention is paid to the Islamic festivals.'

Among pupils, more than half were satisfied; 47.1 % agreed and 14.8 % strongly agreed.

In contrast more than half of the parents were dissatisfied: 15.6 % strongly disagreed and 35.4 % disagreed. A Chi-square test, however, revealed no statistically significant difference in the respondents' opinions with regard to the item. The total percentage of parents who were dissatisfied was 51 % compared with only 38.1 % of the pupils. As usual, parents wish the schools would pay more attention to helping their children to maintain their identity. At the same time, pupils may give the Christmas festival more attention as a result of the great attention which English schools give to it, such as having decorations on the tree and sending cards. However, 44.55 % of the whole sample, pupils and parents, were dissatisfied, because there is no Muslim festival on which a holiday is given to the

pupils or decorations prepared in school, as is done for Christmas. However, according to section 39 {2} of the 1944 Education Act, head teachers should allow Muslim pupils to be absent from the school, during these festival days, which usually do not amount to more than three days for each annual festival { *Idul Fitr and Idul Adha* }.

The next four items reflect the relationships between the pupils in the school, which can play a very sensitive role in affecting the pupils' behaviour.

The first item of this four is 'In the school, girls and boys get sex harassment from each other'. More than half of the pupils disagreed with that. To be exact, 23.4 % strongly disagreed and 35.1% disagreed. In contrast, more than half of the parents agreed with the item: 35.2 % strongly agreed and 16.6 % agreed. The Chi- square test revealed this difference to be statistically significant.

Although I fully believe that there are some sexual relationships between girls and boys, they are conducted in secret, to avoid punishment, because the Muslim community forbids this kind of relationships before marriage. Also, no doubt there is sexual harassment between the two sexes because during the interviews I observed some behaviours which are not acceptable in Islam, such as touching a girl's body or intimate talk and laughter with members of the opposite sex. Such behaviours occur daily in the school but most pupils are not concerned, because it is acceptable in western culture. So this why most of them said that there is no sexual harassment between the pupils. Indeed, many researchers have indicated some problems which could arise in the schools. Halstead [1988], for example, sets out a number of educational arguments against co-education, including the avoidance of sexual harassment. He added that, according to Ashraf, Muslims insist that their daughters should attend single-sex secondary schools because they want to prevent free mixing at the most vulnerable period, adolescence. Therefore, this might be the main reason for the difference between the pupils' and parents' views.

So, more than half of the parents were dissatisfied because they worried for their daughters. Although sexual harassment is unacceptable Islamically for both boys and girls, the parents consider that sexual harassment of a girl hurts the whole family. As mentioned in Chapter four, Shaikh and Kelly [1989] emphasise that women represent the prestige or honour of a Muslim family and a girl's action can bring a bad name to the family and risk her chances of marriage.

However, overall 44.6 % of the sample, parents and pupils, indicated that they were dissatisfied about what could happen among Asian pupils or between them and white pupils, in the way of sexual harassment.

The next item reflects what Muslim pupils might face from white pupils. This item said 'In the school children do not face racism from non-Muslim pupils. The percentage of the pupils responses show that 38.1 % strongly agreed and 20.0 % agreed, while among parents 34.5 % agreed and 7 % strongly agreed. The Chi-square test, revealed to the difference to be statistically significant. Pupils are less inclined than parents to think that there is racism in schools. This trend can be explained by what was mentioned in Chapter Six. In the discussion with the pupils, all of them indicated that as they are in the majority in the school, they never face racism from white pupils, but they added that it could happen away from school, in the street.

If so, what about the number of pupils who respond that they face racism? I think that this racism might have come from some teachers or from a few white pupils or, as some pupils told me during the interviews, it may come among Asian pupils, e.g. between Muslims and Sikhs or Hindus, as a religious argument, or there may be ethnic tension among Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians.

In contrast, more than half of the parents {57.7 %} thought that their children face racism, which indicates that although the majority of the pupils are Muslim, still some children complain to their parents about the challenge that they face in the schools. The sources of

this racism might be as mentioned above, though on this issue pupils are likely to be more aware than their parents about the exact situation.

The next item is 'In the school the pupils acquire inappropriate friends.' More than half of the sample agreed that the environment in the school could encourage the formation of inappropriate friendships. Among the pupils, 38.5 % agreed and 17.6 % strongly agreed, while 41.7 % agreed and 12.7 % strongly agreed among the parents. The Chi-square test revealed no statistically significant difference between the two groups with regard to the item. It is clear from the table that parents tend to support the idea that the school could play a role by encouraging children to learn bad behaviour from inappropriate friends. It must be admitted, however, that some parents may be looking for someone else to blame for their children's problems, to absolve themselves of responsibility. Nevertheless, pupils confirm that indeed there are problems. As mentioned in Chapter Six, one of the pupils during the interview said: *Some pupils get into drugs because they meet pupils who teach them that they are men and can do what they like, away from their Muslim parents.*

The point here is that some parents try to restrict their children's relationships to those who attend the mosque in the same district. But at school they acquire some inappropriate friends.

The last item in this section is 'In the school pupils feel comfortable with the other non-Muslim pupils.' More than half of the pupils agreed with this item; 39.1 % agree and 20.5 % strongly agree. Similarly 44.4 % of parents agreed and 15.3 % strongly agreed. A Chi-square test revealed no significant difference between the groups in their opinions toward the item. Nevertheless, it is cause for concern that around 40 % of both pupils and parents suggested that some Muslim pupils feel uncomfortable with non-Muslim pupils.

This problem increases when the number of Muslims is not so large, so they feel that they are in a strange environment. So the percentages differed from one school to another. The item does not specify whether the non-Muslim are white or others, so the discomfort could be among Asian pupils, due to differences in religion, or with the few white pupils who

look on the Muslim Asians as representing a different culture, which is trying to dominate the school.

Finally, by comparing the attitudes of parents and the pupils in their responses regarding all the seventeen items discussed, it can be noted that there were significant differences in their views regarding some issues. For example in responses to the item, “some topics or activities, e.g. dance, conflict with Islam”, 71.5 % of parents agreed, compared with only 47.4 % of pupils. In my view, this example might indicate that there is a gap between the parents and the pupils, which may arise as a result of pupils being born and growing up in Britain, so they were influenced by the dominant culture.

The researcher also tried to find out if the desire to go back home was associated with the responses of each group { parents and pupils }, by using a Chi-square test. It was used here because it can be applied to single samples or for comparison, and it is widely used to evaluate the discrepancy between a set of observed frequencies and a set of expected frequencies [see Chapter Five, phase two].

The test of the parents' responses regarding the position in the state schools, for all the seventeen items discussed above, revealed no statistically significant differences in opinions between the parents who desired to back home and those who did not. This may indicate that even those parents who did not desire to go back home, were as concerned as other parents, about identity. Because most of them were born and spent their youth in a Muslim society before coming to Britain, this is considered as a factor that would have influenced their attitudes and their views about life.

Similarly, the pupils' responses were tested by chi-square for the same purpose. The researcher had expected to find a difference in responses between pupils who desired to return home compared with those who considered Britain their home, but the result was counter to that expectation. For only two items among the seventeen, was desire to go back

home related to the attitudes of the pupils regarding the position in the state schools, as will be seen in the next table.

Table 8.1. 5 Influence of preferences for permanent home upon pupils' responses.

		The Desired Permanent Home				p.
		Country of Origin		Britain		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
In the school some topics or activities, e.g. dance, conflict with Islam.	Strongly Disagree	10	34.5	12	13.3	0.036
	Disagree	5	17.2	31	34.4	
	Agree	11	37.9	30	33.3	
	Strongly Agree	3	10.3	17	18.9	
In the school there is enough time to pray	Strongly Disagree	15	50.0	36	39.1	0.011
	Disagree	4	13.3	41	44.6	
	Agree	7	23.3	9	9.8	
	Strongly Agree	4	13.3	6	6.5	

Significant at the level of 0.05

Table 8.1.5 shows two items. The first one is 'In the school some topics or activities, e.g. dance, conflict with Islam.' Among pupils whose desired permanent home was the country of origin, less than half {48.2 %} agreed with the item; 37.9 % agreed and 10.3 strongly agreed. In contrast more than half {52.2 %} of the pupils whose desired permanent home was Britain agreed with the item; 33.3 % agreed and 18.9 % strongly agreed. This means that pupils who consider Britain their country were more dissatisfied with some topics in the school, and considered them to conflict with Islam. But two points should be noted here. First, although the difference between their view was 4 % only, the test also revealed a big difference between those who strongly disagreed or disagreed among the two groups. Second, the result is in contrast with what the researcher expected, that pupils who plan to return home may be keen to reject some topics that conflict with Islam.

Therefore, although some parents succeeding in tying their children to the original country they may have failed to improve their knowledge about Islam.

The second item in the table is "In the school there is enough time to pray." Those whose desired permanent home is Britain were more dissatisfied with the item; about 83. % of them, disagreed {39.1% strongly disagreed and 44.6 % disagreed} compared with 63.3 %

of those who desired to go back their parents' home{ 50.0 % strongly disagreed and 13.3 % disagreed}. This means both groups claimed that there is not enough time to pray, but those who considered Britain their country in the future were more worried about this issue. As in the case of the result for the last item, this finding is counter to what the researcher expected, because it was expected that the pupils who desired to go back home were more influenced by their families; therefore, they might be more concerned about prayer than those consider themselves British. But it seems that although some parents succeeded in tying their children to the original country, they may have failed to improve their knowledge about Islam.

However, it is appropriate to conclude here, that no doubt Muslim pupils in state schools are facing serious challenges to their identity in daily life. It is clear from the findings above that most Muslim pupils have difficulty maintaining their identity in the dominant western culture. Some examples above reflect this position. Most of the sample maintained that there are not enough Muslim teachers and Muslims who teach Islam are not of sufficient quality, while non-Muslims misunderstand Islam. Moreover, one culture dominates the curriculum at the expense of others. In addition, it is difficult to practise Islam because of lack of facilities. Moreover, the child spends many hours in an environment different from that of the Muslim community. It not surprising to find that some children become Assimilated into the dominant culture.

At the same time, there are some advantages in the English system in state schools such as accurate time- keeping; comparative freedom given to pupils, which is conducive to a good relationships between the teachers and their pupils; and the way of handling discipline in the schools, etc. All these advantages could cause Muslim pupils to dislike the schools in the Mosques, which are very different in these respects. The challenge could come when the pupils make a comparison between the two systems. Moreover, the family may contribute to low achievement among Asian pupils by keeping the children speaking the mother tongue at home, as indicated in Chapter Seven. Pupils may also be

disadvantaged when family is large, especially in the case of some families who are suffering from poverty and living in the inner city where schools may be of lower quality than others outside the inner city [see Chapter 4, section on geography of education in Bradford].

Nevertheless, most pupils and parents argue that they must preserve their Muslim identity, whatever the cost. Some possibilities include educating children at home or sending them to the school in the mosque etc but even those places have some difficulties which can threaten identity, as will be seen in the next section.

8.2. Informal Education.

The educational problems discussed in this chapter are not confined to formal education in state schools. Informal education takes place in other fields in daily life, such as in the mosque, home and society. Identity is shaped by more than one factor, place or time. As Basit [1997] notes, the shaping of identity is one of the most important tasks facing the adolescent. This is done through socialisation and contact with a variety of influences within the home, the school and the wider world.

Although the school plays a vital role in shaping the Muslim identity, it is very important to recognize that the family plays a very sensitive role in educating the child. It is impossible to understand a child's problems without knowing his/her background in the family. Speaking the mother language at home, economic status, social class etc., all might affect the achievement of the pupils. The way that the child is educated at home has a role in the success or otherwise of families in maintaining their children's identity and making them able to deal with the wider society without assimilation.

Most Muslims consider the mosque the best place in non-Muslim society, particularly, because it plays a key role in helping Muslims to maintain their Muslim identity. It may play a role to compensate for deficiency in teaching Islam in state schools, and making Muslims aware of different aspects of Muslim life. But at the same time, the mosque might under some circumstances be unable to play this role as it should.

Clearly, threats to the identity could come from the school, home, society or mosque and the solutions could come from some or all of them. So it is important to understand the relationships between of them, rather than concentrate on one field.

8.2.1. Mosque.

The mosque was the first type of Islamic religious educational centre and the main instrument for teaching. The function of the mosque in the past was not for prayer but as a social centre where people could go to discuss general and religious issues. The mosque finally became a place for marriage and to discuss matters of justice [Al Sharaf{1992}]. But its role has changed at the present time; many Muslims in the West use it only for prayers on Fridays.

Hulmes [1989] state that Muslims look to the *Quran* for authoritative guidance. The *Quran* is the source book for belief and action. The *Madressa* {supplementary school} in the Mosque plays a very important role in teaching the *Quran*. So the Mosque became the most important religious institution. Its surrounding courtyards are places of relaxation and social activity.

Siddique [1993] states that one of the oldest mosques in the U.K was formed in May 1963. In addition to establishing this place of worship, the idea was to set up mosques' supplementary schools {*mudrassa*} where children could attend *Quranic* lessons, religious education, and also classes in Asian languages. Barton [1986 p150] added,

“Since the *Quran* School is part of a living tradition, it is liable to further alteration, and development, especially as the involvement of a migrant community in a non-Muslim society deepens.”

Thus, the mosque plays a very important role in maintaining the Muslim identity, especially in the beginning of settlement of migrants, by teaching the children some aspects of religion. British Muslims recognize that an education system which is grappling to come to terms with the needs of a pluralistic society cannot be expected to provide a full

Islamic education for Muslim children. Hence, over the past 50 years or so, supplementary schools have been established to complement formal state education. [Sarwar 1994].

In most of Bradford's mosques there are lessons in the evenings or at the weekends to teach children the *Quran* and provide Islamic religious education.

Woodward [1993] states that pupils accepted that attendance at a mosque school was normal for them, and although they understood very little of the Arabic, they memorised. Pupils are comfortable about attendance because it is free of charge and they are free to leave as soon as they wish.

The role of the mosque need not be restricted to teaching religious education but unfortunately the function of the mosque in raising Muslim awareness in Bradford faces some obstacles, such as the lack of public lectures and the old-fashioned topics of the speeches.

The questions which arise here are, does the mosque still play a vital role in compensating for deficiency in teaching Islam in the formal state English schools and do the pupils in these schools face any problems which deter them from availing themselves of this type of informal education? Moreover, does the mosque in general help in maintaining the identity? The answers to these questions will be shown through the explanation of the views of pupils and parents, in the next items in Table 8.2.1.

Table 8.2.1 Mosque.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
In the Mosque, <i>Mudrassa</i> { <i>Quran</i> lessons } teach only the <i>Quran</i> , rather than other knowledge	Strongly Disagree	28	18.1%	25	16.8%	.316
	Disagree	53	34.2%	40	26.8%	
	Agree	43	27.7%	42	28.2%	
	Strongly Agree	31	20.0%	42	28.2%	
In the Mosque the teachers are too strict with the children.	Strongly Disagree	13	8.3%	20	13.5%	.471
	Disagree	60	38.5%	56	37.8%	
	Agree	60	38.5%	49	33.1%	
	Strongly Agree	23	14.7%	23	15.5%	
In the Mosque there are means to attract the pupils.	Strongly Disagree	23	15.4%	27	18.4%	.258
	Disagree	49	32.9%	61	41.5%	
	Agree	63	42.3%	49	33.3%	
	Strongly Agree	14	9.4%	10	6.8%	
In the Mosque the teaching style is modern.	Strongly Disagree	19	12.8%	37	25.3%	.048*
	Disagree	78	52.7%	62	42.5%	
	Agree	35	23.6%	34	23.3%	
	Strongly Agree	16	10.8%	13	8.9%	
There is nationalist division between the Mosques.	Strongly Disagree	23	16.2%	11	7.7%	.010*
	Disagree	36	25.4%	22	15.5%	
	Agree	53	37.3%	73	51.4%	
	Strongly Agree	30	21.1%	36	25.4%	
In the Mosque women get a chance to attend the <i>Khautba</i> . { speech }	Strongly Disagree	40	27.6%	40	27.4%	.902
	Disagree	51	35.2%	57	39.0%	
	Agree	40	27.6%	36	24.7%	
	Strongly Agree	14	9.7%	13	8.9%	
In the Mosque the <i>Khautba</i> {speech} does not deal with current issues	Strongly Disagree	27	19.3%	18	12.4%	.182
	Disagree	53	37.9%	49	33.8%	
	Agree	46	32.9%	55	37.9%	
	Strongly Agree	14	10.0%	23	15.9%	
In the Mosque there are enough public lectures.	Strongly Disagree	25	17.5%	39	26.2%	.026*
	Disagree	47	32.9%	60	40.3%	
	Agree	46	32.2%	37	24.8%	
	Strongly Agree	25	17.5%	13	8.7%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

The first item in the table above is “In the Mosque, *Mudrassa* { *Quran* lessons } Teach only the the *Quran*, rather than other knowledge. A large proportion of the sample agreed with this item. Among the pupils, 27.7 % agreed and 20.0 % strongly agreed. Among the parents 28.2% agreed and 28.2 % strongly agreed.

The Chi- square test revealed no significant differences between the views of the two groups. Almost half of the pupils {47.7 %} and more than half of parents {56.4 %} felt

that other knowledge in the supplementary schools was neglected. Certainly, teaching the *Quran* is important, but these lessons should not ignore other aspects of Islamic education such as Arabic language and explaining the *Quran* instead of just memorising it, etc.

While more than half the pupils {52.3 %} and almost half of the parents {43.6 %} expressed that some supplementary schools teach other knowledge, it was observed during the visits to most of these supplementary schools that “other knowledge” meant teaching the mother language. The mother language might help in maintaining the Asian identity but this is not necessarily the same as Islamic knowledge which help to maintain the Islamic identity. Also, the focus on teaching the mother language in the mosque and speaking it at home might indirectly lead to defacing in English.

A more serious concern for the sample was the next item, “In the Mosque the teachers are too strict with the children.” The majority of the sample were dissatisfied with the teachers in the mosque. Among the pupils, 38.5 % agreed and 14.7 % strongly agreed with the item. Among the parents, 33.1 % agreed and 15.5 % strongly agreed. A Chi- square test revealed no significant difference in responses towards the item.

More than half of the pupils {53.2 %} and around than the half of parents {48.6 %} are dissatisfied with the way that teachers teach the children in supplementary schools, because most teachers deal harshly with the children, who need more careful handling especially in an open society such as Britain. Unfortunately I observed during visits to these schools that most teachers shouted at the children and used threats more than encouragement to get children to learn. The teacher is usually the *Imam* {the person who leads the prayer} Most of those *Imams* in Bradford were educated in their home countries, and perpetuate the methods by which they were taught. Barton [1986] states, “The *Imam* then enforces a degree of order by use of long stick.”

Also, in Chapter 6 one of the pupils said: “*I left the Mudrassa because my teacher was too strict with me.*”

Nevertheless, although many parents agreed that the teachers are too strict, there are other parents who consider this an effective way to educate the pupils. These parents got this idea from their own parents in their original home, because the use of the stick during teaching is a traditional rather than an Islamic method. However, the responses to the next item will shed more light on the position.

The next item is “In the Mosque there are means to attract the pupils.” Of pupils, 42.3 % agreed and 9.4 % strongly agreed. Of parents, 33.3 % agreed and 6.8 % strongly agreed. A Chi-square test revealed no significant difference in the two groups’ opinions towards the item. More than half of the pupils 51.7 % are dissatisfied because they found many attractions in the English state schools which are missing in the Mosques. Around 40.1 % of the parents are aware of this shortage of facilities in the Mosques, but at the same time more than half the parents accept the position because they have no clear idea about the attractions in the state schools and they are used to the style of education in the Mosque.

The reason for lack of attractions in the mosque, is that the committees in most mosques administer the mosque in the means that they brought with them from their home country.

Having, discussed the mosque curriculum, the strictness of the teachers and the shortage of attractions, it remains to consider how the teacher delivers the information, by looking at responses to the next item, “In the Mosque the teaching style is modern.”

The majority of the sample were dissatisfied with the teaching style, so most of them disagreed with the item. Of pupils, 12.8 % strongly disagreed and 52.7 % disagreed, while of parents, 25.3 % strongly disagreed and 42.5 % disagreed. A Chi-square test revealed significant difference in the groups’ opinions with regard to the item. The difference can be seen by comparing the proportions who strongly disagreed and disagreed with the item, although most pupils and parents {65.5% and 67.8 %} saw the teaching style as old fashioned. As Barton [1986] described it, the classes have no formal beginning and no register is kept, for the *Imam* knows the families well and seems to notice who is present and who is absent. Towards the end of each session he speaks to the children on some

aspect of the faith and the class concludes with corporate reading of the *Quran*. However, for most of the time the children work without direct instruction or supervision and the room can become very noisy and chaotic.

Thus, the standard of teaching is not as good as that applied in the state schools in the teaching of the other subjects. A challenge to identity might come from this situation. As mentioned in Chapter Four, some teachers simply seek to inculcate information, without making any effort to make the lesson more interesting. Therefore, when the pupils compare the Mosque lessons with the styles of teaching in the state school, some of them refuse to go to Mosque lessons, and so they will lose this chance of receiving Islamic education.

The next four items discuss other difficulties with regard to the Mosque but outside the supplementary schools. Unfortunately, such difficulties have been ignored by researchers and the Islamic leaders who are responsible to develop awareness among ordinary Muslims. The weak attention which is sometimes given to educating in the Mosque is restricted to support of the supplementary schools.

The first item among those four items is "There is nationalist division between the Mosques." Among the pupils, 37.3 % agreed and 21.1 % strongly agreed, while among the parents, 51.4 % agreed and 25.4 % strongly agreed. A chi-square test revealed a statistically significant difference in the groups' opinions regarding the item.

Although most of the respondents in both groups believe that there are nationalist divisions, parents are more aware of such differences. In my view, this issue has not been sufficiently studied, because it is very sensitive. Researchers try to suppress it or some non-Muslims may not know about it. However, racism can occur even in the Mosque committee. This can be for many reasons, but the main reason might be the competition among the communities. As indicated in the last chapter, most Muslims in Bradford are from three main nationalities, [Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian]; each own customs and mother language and some have misconceptions about Islam which they brought from their

original home, such as some actions which in Arabic are called *Budah* {some beliefs or practices introduced into Islam by people who lack knowledge and try to generalise their belief} Such differences might cause division within the Muslim community, because some feel comfortable with a practice and others disagree, so they become segregated and compete with each other.

The major challenge in the mosque is the treatment of Muslim girls. This problem derives from Asian traditions and customs still practised in Bradford by most Muslim families, rather than from Islamic itself, which encourages Muslims, both men and women, to seek knowledge and practise Islam. The item is, "In the Mosque women get chance to attend the *Khautba*. {Speech}." Of pupils, 27.6 % strongly disagreed and 35.2 % disagreed, while of parents, 27.4% strongly disagreed and 39.0%.disagreed. Chi- square revealed no statistically significant differences between the respondents' opinions regarding the item. Most of the sample supported the item; 62.8 % of pupils and 66.4 % of parents thought that women do not have this chance.

Another problem, related to the *Khautba*, is the type of subject discussed. In response to the item, "In the Mosque the *Khautba* {speech} does not deal with current issues." 32.9 % of pupils agreed and 10.0 % strongly agreed, while of parents, 37.9 % agreed and 15.9 % strongly agreed.

A Chi- square test revealed no significant difference in responses. Almost half of the pupils 42.9 % and more than half of the parents 53.8 % were dissatisfied with the topics covered in the *Khautba*. It was observed during the survey that many young boys arrive late so they do not know about the subject of the *Khautba* and most girls, as shown in the last item have no chance to attend, so most of the pupils who responded do not care about the *Khautba*, especially as speakers are usually old people; also, they give the first part of the speech in the mother language and the second part in Arabic, which is not always understood by Muslims in Bradford.

The last item in this table is “In the Mosque there are enough public lectures.”

There is a big difference between the two groups with regard to this item. Among pupils 17.5 % strongly disagreed and 32.9 % disagreed, while among parents, 26.2 % strongly disagreed and 40.3 % disagreed. A Chi- square test revealed statistically significant differences in responses to the item. Around half of the pupils {50.4 %} were dissatisfied compared with two thirds of the parents .

Although 50.4 % of the pupils looked for a heightening of awareness among the Muslims by more production of public lectures, it is notable that the parents were more worried about the shortage of public lectures, because the parents are more familiar with what happens in the Mosque and they believe that the public lectures play an important role by encouraging Muslims to come to the Mosque, which will help them to maintain their identity.

Finally, although the researcher accepts that the background of the family affects the attitudes of the respondents to the items, their views were influenced by some ideas such as parents' perpetuation of old methods in the supplementary schools in the mosque, while pupils were more inclined to favour the modern methods used in state schools; therefore, there were some differences in views regarding the problems. An attempt was also made to find out if there was any significance between those who planned to return home and those who did not, but the statistical results gave no indication of such differences.

It seems that although mosques in Bradford do not directly challenge Muslim communities' identity, in fact the mosque contributes with other fields to establish some obstacles which face some Muslim youths who are trying to understand Islam rightly and practise it in the right way. The majority of committees running the mosques in Bradford perpetuate the old ways of the country of origin, such as Mirpur. For example there is no effort to attract the pupils and the style of discipline is strict. Women, according to some old customs, are absent, Moreover they teach in the mother language and neglect modern teaching methods. Therefore, the young generation may be disappointed with this

provision, especially when they compare it with the state schools or when they receive another culture in a different language.

Unfortunately, in many families in Bradford, there are some problems which have roots in traditions and practices from the original country. My point is that the administration of mosque and family may have some similarity, in perpetuating ways which cause a challenge to the younger Muslim generation.

The next section will discuss some of the difficulties which might exist within the Muslim families in Bradford, bearing in mind that most of them have roots in Asian customs which Muslims brought with them from their old home and which unfortunately might contribute to the challenge to Islamic identity.

8.2.1. Home.

The family, in one form or another, is a very important part of the social organization in all societies, because it responds to the most fundamental human needs, for both individuals and groups. According to Calhoun et al [1994] 'one function of the family is to meet the individual members' need for love and emotional security'. It offers warmth, loyalty and willingness to care for the others. It is a basic part of human nature.' The family is a social group whose members are bound together by marital relationships, so members share certain mutual commitments, regarding identity [See Chapter Three].McDermott and Ahsan [1993] emphasise that the Muslim attitudes can be better understood if the role of the family in Islam is properly understood. But the way that some parents deal with the younger generation might be one of the many reasons which cause some gap within Muslim family members in Bradford.

As Basit [1997] mentioned in her study, Muslim children lead a dual life and face conflict at home and in school. For example, some Muslim girls behave differently at home and at school.

It is undoubtedly true that home background is highly relevant in understanding the behaviour of children. This is clearest in the extreme cases. Take, on the one hand, the young trouble-maker whose parents bring him the up looking untidy, inconsiderate to his/her parents and teachers and irresponsible, whose father is often out of home and whose mother cannot cope. On the other hand, take the well-behaved and responsible child whose parents bring him up looking tidy, practising Islam, take close interest in what he/she does at school and set him/her a good example. For this reason Islam pays great attention to the family and considers it to be the most important element in the moral upbringing of children [Hajaltom{1982}]. The next table will reflect some of the challenges which Muslims face within the family.

Table 8.2.2 Home

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Most parents practise Islam appropriately.	Strongly Disagree	2	1.3%	12	8.2%	.000*
	Disagree	16	10.1%	49	33.3%	
	Agree	62	39.0%	60	40.8%	
	Strongly Agree	79	49.7%	26	17.7%	
In the home it is difficult to educate the children properly when the size of the family is too big.	Strongly Disagree	57	37.0%	30	20.1%	.007*
	Disagree	57	37.0%	61	40.9%	
	Agree	32	20.8%	43	28.9%	
	Strongly Agree	8	5.2%	15	10.1%	
Most parents bring up their children in accordance with the local culture rather than Islam.	Strongly Disagree	47	31.3%	11	7.4%	.000*
	Disagree	54	36.0%	35	23.5%	
	Agree	36	24.0%	64	43.0%	
	Strongly Agree	12	8.0%	39	26.2%	
Parents do not deal harshly with their children.	Strongly Disagree	32	21.2%	9	6.1%	.000*
	Disagree	43	28.5%	42	28.4%	
	Agree	47	31.1%	75	50.7%	
	Strongly Agree	29	19.2%	22	14.9%	
Parents do not spend a lot of time outside the home.	Strongly Disagree	35	22.7%	20	13.4%	.002*
	Disagree	52	33.8%	44	29.5%	
	Agree	43	27.9%	72	48.3%	
	Strongly Agree	24	15.6%	13	8.7%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

The table above shows five items, which reflect some challenges to identity during the daily life at home. The first item is “Most parents practise Islam appropriately.” This item is more general than the other items. Respondents were not asked if they or their parents practise Islam appropriately because it would be hard for anyone to say no.

However, only 1.3 % strongly disagreed and 10.1 % disagreed among the pupils, while among the parents 8.2 % strongly disagreed and 33.3 % disagreed. Chi-square revealed the difference in responses to be statistically significant. Although only 11.4 % of the pupils disagreed with the item, 41.5 % of the parents did so. Therefore, among the parents around half of them are dissatisfied with the position of some parents, because they know each other more than the children know them. My point here is that if some Muslim parents do not practise Islam appropriately, how can the new generation find a good example within the family to encourage them to practise Islam appropriately? No doubt in most cases parents try to bring up their children in an Islamic environment as they see it, but at the same time, parents might make their children face some difficulties by lack of a good example which parents must present.

In response to the item “In the home it is difficult to educate the children properly when the size of the family is too big”, although more than half of the sample were not worried about such a difficulty, a number remarked that a large family in Britain might cause some problems. Among the pupils, 20.8 % agreed and 5.2 % strongly agreed, while among parents, 28.9 % agreed and 10.1 % strongly agreed. Chi-square revealed statistically significant differences between their opinions regarding the item. Although only 26. % of the pupils agreed 39. % of parents did so. This is probably because parents are more directly concerned with the problems of providing what they think is needful for their families. In Chapter Six it was reported that the average number of children in a Muslim family in Bradford is four. But compared with the homeland, everything is expensive, so providing the children with books, sending them to an Islamic school or taking them to the parents’ original home for a visit may be difficult. In Chapter Six it was reported that one

father during the interview said: “It is difficult to educate the children properly because the number of the family is too big. Everything here is very expensive; even the Islamic school is expensive.”

Also, Michael Bradford and Ashley Kent [1998] emphasised, ‘a large number of children could create difficulties of access which have been associated with household composition’. This problem is among those which might affect the achievement of Muslim pupils at state schools, because some families may be unable to obtain what pupils require to prepare adequately for the exam. [see Chapter Two, the section on geography of education in Bradford].

Another problem is that in some Muslim families, that most parents confuse Islam with their culture, as responses to the next item show. “Most parents bring up their children in accordance with the local culture rather than Islam.” 24.0% of pupils agreed and 8.0% strongly agreed while among parents, 43.0 % agreed and 26.2 % strongly agreed. Chi-square revealed the difference to be statistically significant. More than twice as many parents as pupils agreed with the item. The question arises, since most parents in the sample were aware of this, why do they act in this way? One reason could be that a number of parents are illiterate; as indicated in the previous chapter, those who are illiterate form 7.5 % of the sample. Other parents had sufficient education in their home country to be able to read and write their home language but had not completed formal education and could not speak English. Almost a third of mothers and a quarter of the fathers were in this category {See the previous chapter}. Most Islamic books in Britain are in Arabic or in English, so many people would be unable to read them.

This view was expressed by one girl during the interview {Chapter Six}, who said: *“Most parents bring up their children in accordance with the local culture rather than Islam because many parents are illiterate.”*

Because of the resulting lack of knowledge about Islam, some non-Islamic Asian customs are perpetuated and the children are forced to follow their parents. This may be accepted in

the homeland in some cases, but it causes tension in an open society such as Britain, especially when parents are harsh with their children to force them to accept traditional ways, as some of them do. In response to the item, “Parents do not deal harshly with their children”, as expected, pupils disagreed; only 21.2 % strongly agreed and 28.5 % agreed. Among parents, only 6.1 % strongly disagreed and 28.4 % disagreed. The Chi-square test revealed a statistically significant difference between the respondents’ opinions with regard to the item. Although only 34.5 % of parents considered that they deal harshly with their children, around half of the pupils, 49.7 %, were dissatisfied with the way that their parents deal with them.

Shaikh [1987] commented on such behaviours, saying that culture conflict is considered to be the root cause of all problems. While immigrants want to retain their culture, their children, being brought-up in a different environment, may pick up the ways of the society. This can cause severe problems. For example, demands for freedom and for children to be like their white peers are major sources of conflict, especially if girls seek independence.

In my view some parents push their children to become more independent because those parents spend a long time away from home, which can give the children chance to choose the style of life that they like, without being guided by their parents’ opinions. The next item may shed light on this. In response to the statement, “Parents do not spend a lot of time outside the home,” pupils recorded 22.7 % strongly disagree and 33.8 % disagree.

Among parents, 13.4 % strongly disagreed and 29.5 % disagreed. Chi-square revealed the difference to be statistically significant. Although more than half of the pupils {56.5 %} thought that Muslim parents tend to spend a lot of time outside the home, among the parents, the percentage who thought this was lower, 42.9 %. Asian people are very sociable and tend to make a lot of visits. For example, Muslim women visit their neighbours, while fathers tend to spend most of their time at work {many are shopkeepers} and to visit friends from the tribe in the evening. This challenge was indicated in Chapter Six when

some pupils complained that they got no chance to spend time with their fathers, who spent most of their time at their business.

Returning to the Chi- square tests for this group of items as a whole, it is interesting to note that the results show significant differences in opinions between the two groups of respondents for all of the items concerned with the influence of the family. These differences in perception could indicate that there is a wide gap between the parents and the new generation, which could play a very dangerous role in loss of identity.

An attempt was also made to see if there is any significant difference among parents or pupils, between those who desire to stay in Britain and those who wish to go back home.

Interestingly, among all the items concerning problems at home, only one item showed such a difference; the same issue was significant for both parents and pupils, as is clear in

Table 8.2.3 Influence of Preferences for Permanent home upon pupils.

Parents		The Desired Permanent Home				p.
		Country of Origin		Britain		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
I do not deal harshly with my children	Strongly Disagree	7	12.5	2	2.9	0.004
	Disagree	10	17.9	26	37.1	
	Agree	34	60.7	28	40.0	
	Strongly Agree	5	8.9	14	20.0	
Pupils		The Desired Permanent Home				p.
		Country of Origin		Britain		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
My parents do not deal harshly with my.	Strongly Disagree	7	25.0	17	19.1	0.034
	Disagree	3	10.7	35	39.3	
	Agree	12	42.9	21	23.6	
	Strongly Agree	6	21.4	16	18.0	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

It is clear from the table above, that although the majority of parents in both groups claimed that they do not deal harshly with their children, 40 % of those who desired to stay state that they deal harshly with their children, compared with 30.4 % of those who wished to go back home.

This means that the parents who desired to go back home reported less tendency to accept a harsh way to educate their children. This finding is counter to what the researcher

expected, because it was expected that the parents who desired to go back home might be more inclined to use their country's way of educating their children, as a result of considering their stay in Britain temporary, while those who desired to stay in Britain were expected to adopt a more modern approach.

The Table 8.2.4 also shows that fewer pupils who desired to go back home reported that their parents dealt harshly with them {35.7 %} compared with those who desired to stay in Britain {58.4%}. The researcher had expected that the former pupils' parents might tend to use a harsh traditional style of discipline, reflecting ties to the culture of the country of origin. It might be that parents and pupils who intended to stay in Britain were more critical of the punishment still used by some parents, while those who desired to go back home, accepted punishment as a way to educate children and they did not regard it as harsh, because it is the norm in their culture.

Thus, it clear that the background of the family could play a role in affecting feelings about identity as discussed above, especially when the parents use the traditional methods of child rearing.

Thus, when parents bring up their children in accordance with the home culture or deal with them harshly or spend a lot of time outside the house, children are more likely to choose the Western way of life as an alternative.

In Muslim countries, children would accept their parents' ways as observed in Mirpur as example, but in an open society, where they see other examples and have the freedom to choose an alternative, this is not the case. In this respect, account must also be taken of the influence of the wider society.

3. Society.

In any pluralistic society, ethnic minorities try to maintain their 'cultural identity' through practising religious values and traditions, and having distinctive family patterns etc. but they also face difficulties in adjusting to the new way of life and transmitting their culture

to the next generation. The main reasons are that the parents have different life experiences in their homeland and exposure of children to another environment and lifestyle [Shaikh {1987}].

British Muslims, like all parents and their children, face challenges to their identity from the influences of western culture in secular society. Kettani [1998] argued that conflicts within a society are due to differences of ideas that are not exchanged peacefully. As a human being is a thinking creature, a society is bound to be made up of people promoting and receiving different ideas. Islam recognises this fact, promotes the peaceful exchange of ideas and respects the plurality of thinking within an overall boundary that ensures minimum cohabit for Muslims.

Islam does not accept the negation of others but it refuses to integrate and accept ideas which conflict with Islam. Many studies emphasise that Muslims are suffering because they refuse to integrate into western society. Although they are attempting to adapt to the new environment they meet many problems such as racism, the influence of T.V etc, which it seems may be a result of discrimination in many cases. All these challenges might threaten Muslim identity, as will be shown in the findings presented in the next table.

Table 8.2.1. Society.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
There is no racism in the society.	Strongly Disagree	31	20.1%	22	14.9%	.605
	Disagree	45	29.2%	50	33.8%	
	Agree	49	31.8%	50	33.8%	
	Strongly Agree	29	18.8%	26	17.6%	
Badly behaved youth can teach Muslims about drugs, prostitution, etc	Strongly Disagree	18	11.4%	18	12.2%	.072
	Disagree	23	14.6%	36	24.3%	
	Agree	71	44.9%	48	32.4%	
	Strongly Agree	46	29.1%	46	31.1%	
The media present Muslims as peaceful people.	Strongly Disagree	55	35.7%	65	44.5%	.476
	Disagree	53	34.4%	45	30.8%	
	Agree	33	21.4%	26	17.8%	
	Strongly Agree	13	8.4%	10	6.8%	
The media reflect western culture only.	Strongly Disagree	14	9.3%	10	6.9%	.000*
	Disagree	45	30.0%	24	16.6%	
	Agree	66	44.0%	57	39.3%	
	Strongly Agree	25	16.7%	54	37.2%	
Pleasure centres have many things forbidden in Islam, such as gambling, which makes me uncomfortable.	Strongly Disagree	21	14.2%	10	6.7%	.017*
	Disagree	28	18.9%	16	10.7%	
	Agree	47	31.8%	53	35.6%	
	Strongly Agree	52	35.1%	70	47.0%	
In the street there are advertisements involving nudity and alcohol , that can make me uncomfortable	Strongly Disagree	22	14.5%	6	4.0%	.000*
	Disagree	29	19.1%	12	8.1%	
	Agree	55	36.2%	57	38.3%	
	Strongly Agree	46	30.3%	74	49.7%	
T.V is a good influence on Muslim children.	Strongly Disagree	60	39.7%	95	65.1%	.000*
	Disagree	54	35.8%	34	23.3%	
	Agree	29	19.2%	14	9.6%	
	Strongly Agree	8	5.3%	3	2.1%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

The table above shows seven items which reflect some of the difficulties which Muslims face in western society. The first item is, “There is no racism in the society.” Among pupils, 20.1 % strongly disagreed and 29.2 % disagreed, while among parents 14.9% strongly disagreed and 33.8 % disagreed. Chi-square revealed no statistically significant difference in the groups’ opinions with regard to the item. Almost half of each group believe that racism exists in the society. The reasons for this could be related to points

made in the interviews reported in Chapter Six. The youths commented that they suffered from racism because they were not white, while parents added that the media can feed racism by presenting Muslims as terrorists, or reflecting western culture only and neglecting other cultures. However, some Muslims feed the discrimination against them. For example, some of them have poor jobs, health and housing, or practise certain customs or religion. As confirm by Brah [1996] those cultural differences are rarely the outcome of a simple process of differentiation{ See the argument in Chapter Three}.

The point here is that this kind of prejudice could impel some Muslims, especially the youngest, to avoid practising their culture to escape from the racism. Consequently they may be vulnerable to bad influences. In response to the item, "Badly behaved youth can teach Muslims about drugs, prostitution, etc." 44.9 % of pupils agreed and 29.1 % strongly agreed, while among parents, 32.4 % agreed and 31.1 % strongly agreed. Chi- square revealed no statistically significant differences in the groups' opinions on the item, which are clear when the percentages of the two groups are compared, although most of the sample had this concern and pupils were more worried than parents.

The concerns of the sample reflect the size of the problem which threatens Muslim youths' identity. Most Muslim parents have the ability to find Islamic companions for their children within the family or mosque or by sending them to an Islamic school or to a single sex state school, but they cannot control them in open society, so some parents try to prohibit their children from going out at night or bringing members of the opposite sex home etc. However, youths full victim to badly behaved youths for many reasons. For example, the media could reflect the Muslim community as poor people and as prohibiting sexual enjoyment etc, so some youths seek secretly to deal with drugs to get money quickly or go with prostitutes for a short time so nobody discovers them, and so on.

The next two items show the role of the media in threatening Muslim identity.

The first is "The media present Muslim as peaceful people." Among the pupils, 35.7 % strongly disagreed and 34.4 % disagreed, while among parents, 44.5 % strongly disagreed

and 30.8 % disagreed. Chi-square revealed statistically no significant difference in opinions with regard to the item. Most of the sample rejected the item.

This dissatisfaction among the sample with regard to the media image reflects the fact that the media often represent Muslims as terrorists or accused of crimes [see British Muslims Monthly survey, June 1996]. I have seen some American films which perpetuate such images. For example the film named "Lying Truth" concerns Muslim terrorists whose leader sought to rob a girl and he challenged the west to kill them by detonating a bomb.

The second item, related to the media, is "The media reflect western culture only." Among pupils, 44.0 % agreed and 16.7 % strongly agreed, while among parents 39.3 % agreed and 37.2 % strongly agreed. Chi-square revealed this difference to be statistically significant.

Parents were more inclined to agree with the item than pupils.

Muslims feel their culture is ignored. Bat and others [1998] note that "On television, Channel 4 has opened the door to minorities with Eastern Eye, Indian films, and other programmes such as comedy programmes or teaching how to cook a curry and so forth" [see Chapter Three], but British Muslims look for programmes that transmit some aspects of their religion and reflect their cultural worth.

From the table above, it seems that parents are more concerned than youths, because ignoring their culture encourages the children to look for an alternative. As mentioned in Chapter three, Calhoun et al [1994] emphasised that, overall, children in the West spend more time watching television than they spend in school or, very likely, in direct communication with their parents. Therefore the media are a major influence on young people. So it is no surprise to find discussions among Muslim boys about advertisements such as types of beer, or pretty girls in some films, while some Muslim girls refuse to wear Islamic *Hajap*. Another aspect of media influence is that some encourage youth to think that they should be independent from their parents. For example one girl, during the interview, when I asked her why she did not wear her *Hajap*, said: "*My parents asks me to*

have it, but I am in a free country so I do what I like to do. Nobody can force me to do something. I feel that I will look strange if I do it."

Although parents are more worried, most pupils in the sample are also unhappy with the position of media and confirm the parents' view that the media ignore their culture.

Another challenge which can face Muslims is "Pleasure centres have many things forbidden in Islam, such as gambling, which make me uncomfortable."

Dissatisfaction predominated among the sample, so most of them agreed with the item. 31.8 % of the pupils agreed and 35.1 % strongly agreed. While 35.6 % of the parents agreed and 47.0 % strongly agreed. Chi-square revealed statistically significant differences in the groups' opinions regarding the item. Although most of the sample were concerned about pleasure centres, the percentage of parents who had these concerns was higher than that of pupils.

Although parents and pupils were particularly concerned about forbidden activities in the pleasure centres, it is a fact that most Muslims feel uncomfortable in many places in society, although some Muslims who did not agree with the item, might accept this type of thing and consider it as necessary for enjoyment.

There are other sources of discomfort for Muslims, even if they avoid going to any place where activities take place that are not in line with Islam, as seen in responses to the next item, "In the street there are advertisements involving nudity and alcohol, that can make me uncomfortable." Among pupils 36.2 % agreed and 30.3 % strongly agreed, while 38.3 % of parents agreed and 49.0 % strongly agreed. Chi-square revealed the differences in scores to be statistically significant, which means there is a significant difference between the groups in their opinions on the item. Parents were considerably more worried than pupils about such images seen in the street. This may be because parents are less accustomed than their children to seeing this kind of advertisement on T. V. so they are not familiar with it, and because they spend their free time in the Mosque or visiting their

relatives. Also, parents are usually more concerned than the young to preserve their culture.

Such advertisements, which show naked people or recommend some kinds of beer etc, could play a vital role in challenging the identity, especially when combined with other factors in the non-Muslim society, such as television, as will be seen in the next item.

The item, "T. V. is a good influence on Muslim children." met with disagreement from the majority of the sample. Among the pupils, 39.7 % strongly disagreed and 35.8 % disagreed, while among the parents, 65.1 % strongly disagreed and 23.3 % disagreed. Chi-square revealed statistically significant differences of opinions on the item. Parents were more inclined than pupils to see television as a bad influence.

This problem could be explained, as mentioned above, by the fact that children in the west spend a lot of time watching television, in some cases, more than they spend with their parents. Therefore, they are repeatedly exposed to examples of bad behaviour such as violence. As mentioned in Chapter Three, many studies claim that watching television can encourage aggression in children. Moreover, western films could teach Asian children, who usually go to bed late, how to practise love with a girl or boy friend, which is forbidden in Islam, or attract them to dance, or show advertisements for different types of beers etc. These kinds of influences could challenge the Muslim identity, and widen the gap between the young and their parents, which feeds the conflict between the two cultures, especially since, as indicated in an earlier chapter that parents seek to force their daughters to stay at home and in some cases do not even allow them to complete their education.

In this regard, it might interesting here to see if there is any difference in responses to the society items, between those who wish to make their permanent home in Britain, and those who do not.

All the seven items shown in Table 8.2.3, were tested in this regard. The Chi-square revealed no statistically significant difference in the attitudes of parents, related to whether

they desire to back home or not. This might be because parents' style of life in Bradford and that in the old home are close to each other. However, the case was different among the new generation, as seen in the next table.

Table 8.2.4 Influence of Preferences for Permanent home upon Pupils' Responses.

		The Desired Permanent Home				p.
		Country of Origin		Britain		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Badly behaved youth can teach Muslim about drugs, prostitution, etc	Strongly Disagree	2	6.7	14	15.1	0.021
	Disagree	1	3.3	18	19.4	
	Agree	12	40.0	38	40.9	
	Strongly Agree	15	50.0	23	24.7	
In the street there are advertisements involving nudity and alcohol , that can harass my feel's.	Strongly Disagree	8	28.6	11	12.2	0.006
	Disagree	0	0.0	24	26.7	
	Agree	10	35.7	34	37.8	
	Strongly Agree	10	35.7	21	23.3	

Significant at level of 0.05

Table 8.2.4 shows that pupils who desired to return to their parents' country of origin overwhelmingly by agreed {90.%}with the first item in the table. This means that they were very sensitive to these influences and might believe that the old home is a place safe from this type of friends. Among Muslim communities, a person who engages in activities such as drugs or prostitution will be considered an undesirable person who disgraces his/her family, relatives or tribe.

Around two thirds of children who considered Britain their home, however, also agreed with the item, reflecting their awareness of such problems. Although this kind of practice is not acceptable to many people in the west, it persists as a result of the weakness of religious practice.

The table also shows that in the second item, pupils who desired to go back to their parents' home were more concerned about the content of advertisements in the street.

They recorded 71.7 % .agreement, compared with 61.1% of pupils who consider Britain is their home. The point here is that although both groups were dissatisfied about the advertisements, because they conflict with Islamic identity and culture, the youths who

planned to leave Britain were more sensitive, perhaps because they were brought up in conservative families which usually bring up their children with this kind of view, and they thought they should go back home as the best way to escape this environment.

Thus, it is easy to see that Muslims, whether parents or youths, face challenges to their identity in many aspects of society, as shown above. Some of these influences are interrelated. For example, watching some films may attract some Muslims to behave in ways forbidden in Islam, such as establishing relationships outside marriage, drinking alcohol, etc. These people know such behaviour is not acceptable within the Muslim community. Therefore, they tend to cut themselves off from Muslim society and might deal with badly behaved people, or at least their loyalty to their identity will decline.

Finally, I can argue that the challenge to Islamic identity, could come basically through the Muslim parents. According to the background of the migrations as discussed in Chapter Seven those people brought with them the view that they would not stay permanently in Britain. Even those who state that they consider Britain their home might do so only as a result of their economic and social circumstances, rather than their desire, so they did not take any action to improve their position, is clear through their attitudes to the items put to test their views about life in Britain. Since they came to live in Bradford within a close-knit ethnic group, they are influenced by their relatives. For instance, as indicated in Chapter Three, part of the problem of the low achievement at Muslim Asian pupils is related to the poverty of their families who are living in inner city. In the present, chapter in spite of the challenges caused by state schools, such as the shortage of Muslim teachers, especially with the domination of Western culture in the curriculum at the expense of the minority culture etc., we must remember that the Asian family also shares in this challenge by dealing with their children in the same way that they used in their old home, e.g. by imposing punishment to force their children to follow the traditional way of life. This widens the gap between the parents and their children. Also the Islamic alternative in the mosque is still unable to fulfil the expectations of the new generation in Britain.

Consequently, the new generation, through the attraction of the mass media or desire for enjoyment, seek to integrate into western society, without recognizing boundaries as a way of escaping their parents' severity at home. Hence, youths face a challenge to identity in the society.

Clearly, is a complex issue. The boundaries between the cultures have failed and each of them claims that the problems come from the other, while each of them contributes to this challenge. The attempt to investigate the source of the problems will lead us to look for the best solution to the position, which will be discussed in the last chapter of this study.

Summary.

The is chapter explained how school, together with the Mosque, home and society, could contribute in the threat to the Muslim identity. It discussed in particular the educational problems which are not confined to formal education in state schools, but occur also in informal education which can take place in other aspects of daily life. It is impossible to understand a child's problems without knowing his\her background in the family. Some of Muslims' problems might come from school, others from family or society, or they may affect each other. Also, it should be added here that although most problems come from non-Muslim society with its dominant culture, there are some difficulties that the migrants brought with them from their home countries, in behaviours which they try to force the new generation to accept, although they are customs rather than religious practices.

It seems from the review of family background in the previous chapter that the movements of migrants did not have very far-reaching effects on the education system. Whereas the initial immigrants were single males, later more and more families emigrated, and so large numbers of school-age children arrived. After that, the educational problems increased, when more children were born in Bradford. Hence, the challenge started.

Parents felt that their children became victims under threat by state school system. School authorities claim that most Asian parents do not co-operate with the school to improve the achievement of their children, by neglecting to respond to the schools' requests, etc.

Therefore, Muslim pupils do poorly in examinations, which plays a role in the challenge to Muslim pupils. But, accepting that there are some reasons which might cause that, such as poverty of some families, especially in the inner city, and low education of some parents who come from a rural background and cannot speak English, at the same time, the school authority is still responsible to respond to British Muslim' demands, in order to represent all pupils in the schools.

Admittedly, some concessions have been made in some schools in Bradford, but discussion of the attitudes of parents and pupils, as reflected in the interviews and questionnaires, suggests that there are serious problems that challenge the Islamic identity in the schools. For example there is a shortage of Muslim teachers and, even where they exist, pupils and parents doubted their capability. Concern was also felt that non-Muslim teachers do not understand Muslim pupils' problems and might misunderstand Islam.

The challenge which comes through the teachers increases with the mono-cultural curriculum, either by giving incorrect information about Islam or through some topics which conflict with Islam, such as religious education and sex education. At the same time, pupils are unable or not encouraged to practise Islam, because of the lack of facilities in most schools, such as places for praying. Moreover, the parents and pupils stated that although Muslim pupils constitute the majority in some schools, the environment in those schools does not help to maintain the identity, and they gave some evidence, such as the neglect of the Islamic festivals etc.

Observation and the discussions carried out in all the schools visited left me with a feeling that an uncomfortable future awaits the new generation, which requires efforts from Muslim communities to cover the deficiency in teaching Islam in state schools. Unfortunately, the function of the mosque in raising Muslim awareness in Bradford faces some obstacles, such as the lack of public lectures and the old-fashioned topics of the speeches. Also the supplementary schools in the mosque are administered in the same way as those in the country of origin, with corporal punishment as a means of maintaining

discipline. This method is not valid in a modern and open society such as Britain. Pupils will leave the *Quran* lessons if they compare the attractive methods in state schools and the old fashioned ones used in the mosque, as observed by the researcher during the survey and emphasised by the parents and pupils in the interviews.

Also, this challenge could be increased by the situation in some Asian families, where parents spend much of their time outside the home and try to bring up their children in accordance with the local culture rather than Islam. The researcher observed that there is similarity between the style of life of the families in Mirpur and in Bradford. Some of these features, such as the extended family, cooperation between the members and respect for the older people in the family, are beneficial, but in Bradford it was noted that the children deal with their parents at home differently than they do outside, to avoid punishment. This might reflect that there is a gap between the parents and the children, which might push the youths to look for alternatives in society. That means the background of the family and their way of life might interact with western society to encourage the Muslim youths to practise some things that are not in line with Islam but are available in the society in Bradford. For example, pleasure centres have many things forbidden in Islam, such as gambling. Also, during the interviews, Muslim Asian youths commented that they suffered from racism because they were not white, while parents added that the media can feed racism by presenting Muslims as terrorists, or by reflecting western culture only and neglecting other cultures. Although some Muslims feed the discrimination against them, because some of them have poor jobs, health and housing or practise certain customs, the point to be made here is that whatever the source of this discrimination or the attractions in the media, as indicated in Chapter Three, all these things might challenge Islamic identity.

Thus, the threat to identity, as emphasised in the responses to the items in this chapter, could come from all those fields, but basically the background of Muslim Asians could feed the difficulty that the Muslim minority suffer as a result of living in a non-Muslim

society. Therefore, it could be a source of such a threat in the absence of the role of the mosque and the deficiencies in the state schools. All those challenges could adversely affect identity, as explained above.

Although the main aim of this chapter was to identify the position of identity and the challenges posed by educational problems, at the same time the answers reflect that most of the sample, parents and pupils, feel it is important to preserve Islamic identity. This attitude can be regarded as the first step to solving the problems, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Suggested Solutions for Maintaining Muslim Identity

Introduction.

9-1 Formal Education{state schools}.

9.1.1. Teachers

9.1.2. Curriculum.

9.1.3. Facilities.

9.1.4. Environment.

9-2 Informal Education.

9.2.1. Mosque.

9.2.2. Home.

9.2.3. Society.

Summary.

Introduction.

This chapter concludes the empirical part of this study and gives some keys to solve some of the problems raised by the sample during the survey. It is accepted that some concessions have been made in some schools in Bradford, as a result of the pressure from some parents, but Islamic identity is still threatened by the position in state schools, as well as the lack of awareness of some parents, the unsatisfactory example provided in some Muslim private schools and mosques, and the challenge which can come through living in a non-Muslim society.

Therefore, there is concern among some Muslim leaders and researchers to find solutions in the light of increased concerns among Muslim parents and the desire of the Education Authority to address problems such as under achievement among Asian pupils.

Britain is now multi-ethnic and multi-religious. This fact is not a temporary phenomenon that will disappear through the passing of some law to expel "immigrants" or assimilate them within the majority, because people such as British Muslims are relatively permanent settlers with citizenship rights and more than half of them were born in Britain, so they can no longer be called immigrants.

Therefore, cultural pluralism is the alternative. It has existed in Britain for quite some time, but it has become more widely recognized with growing acceptance of individual freedom in all aspects of behaviour and belief.

In education, for example, cultural pluralism has been recognized to some extent. So far as religious differences are concerned, the right of parents to withdraw their children from morning assembly or RE lessons, exists.

Jenkins [1995] states, "Multiculturalism is expressed in terms of creating tolerance for minority groups and reducing prejudice to create a harmonious society."

However, as Ashraf[1996] emphasises, the present dominant secular approach to education in many LEA schools ignores this possibility. Jenkins [1995] added, that multiculturalism

focuses on the inadequate attempts to address cultural diversity, through the curriculum, for example.[see the argument in Chapter Four].

This chapter attempts through presentation of questionnaire responses indicate to some solutions that have been suggested by the research sample.

A plural society can only be achieved by responding to the desire of those people who are suffering now and aspire to a peaceful society, not by feeding them some legalese which aims to assimilate them into the stream of western culture, with some concessions in some state schools. British Muslims look for pluralism not only in the school, but in other aspects of life in all society. But to achieve that, Muslims also have to address problems within the Muslim communities, whether in the mosque or at home, as explained in the previous chapter.

The suggestions in this chapter will be presented in two sections. The first concerns formal education {state schools}, while the second section is about informal education {mosque, home and society}.

9.1. Formal Education { state schools}.

The concerns of Muslim pupils in the state schools might be resolved by improving the position through some reforms. The following suggestions for maintaining the Muslim identity are presented in relation to teachers, curriculum, faculties and environment, respectively.

9.1.1. Teachers.

Generally, it clear from the previous chapter that most of the sample were unhappy with the position in regard to teachers, both Muslim and non-Muslim, and although parents are more worried than the pupils regarding the threaten to identity, generally Muslim parents and pupils are aware that providing suitable Muslim teachers is one of many ways to transfer values. Reid [1984] commented that teachers are part of the formal culture of the

school, that they help to devise it, and that they maintain it. Also, teachers can be seen to have an informal culture. Hulmes [1989] explained the role of teachers when he said: “Every teacher has a unique part to play in encouraging a continuing inquiry into the values which society seeks to protect and to transmit.” He added elsewhere in the same book, “Teachers are expected to use their professional skills to remove the injustice experienced.” [see the previous chapter]. Therefore, teachers can do much as individuals to change the situation in multicultural schools. The next table shows some suggestions which might help to improve the situation among teachers, Muslim and non-Muslim.

Table 9.1.1. Teachers.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture.	Less Important	59	36.9%	56	37.6%	.495
	Most Important	101	63.1%	93	62.4%	
Increase the number of Muslim teachers.	Less Important	89	55.6%	77	51.7%	.281
	Most Important	71	44.4%	72	48.3%	
Give high importance to teaching teachers of Islam.	Less Important	101	63.1%	75	50.3%	.016*
	Most Important	59	36.9%	74	49.7%	
Make teachers aware of the importance of treating all pupils equally.	Less Important	65	40.6%	91	61.1%	.000*
	Most Important	95	59.4%	58	38.9%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

It is clear from the previous table that the first item, “Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture” was supported by around two thirds of the sample. The χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item.

Most of the sample supported this solution, because they might think that it could help to avoid wrong information about Islam being transmitted to both Muslim and non-Muslim pupils. As indicated in the previous chapter, there was widespread agreement among the sample that most non-Muslims misunderstand Islam.

The second item regarded as important by the sample was “Make teachers aware of the importance of treating all pupils equally” Around half of the sample overall {49.2 %}

supported this solution. However, the χ^2 test revealed a significant difference between the pupils' and parents' opinions on this item, with pupils more inclined to support it than parents. This is probably because it is pupils who suffer from unfairness in some schools, rather than parents. However, half of the respondents reflected the importance of this item. Thirdly, 46.3 % of the sample supported an increase in the number of Muslim teachers and the χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils' and parents' opinions regarding the item. It was supported by 44.4 % of the pupils and 48.3 % of parents. This result emphasises the point made in Chapters 6 & 8 that all the schools visited need more Muslim teachers. In the view of some of the pupils interviewed, Muslim teachers can understand Muslims' problems better than non-Muslim teachers. Therefore, it is very important to increase their number.

The last item among the four was "Improve training for teachers of Islam," supported by only 43.3 % of the sample. Although 49.7 % of parents supported it, this was regarded as the least important. However, around half of parents supported this item, meaning that they agreed with Jenkins[1995] who noted that: 'Teachers cannot be expected to translate educational theory into practice without adequate training, in multicultural skills, knowledge and values.'

On the other hand, pupils gave less support to this item, perhaps because they did not notice any difference in teachers who had been offered some training. That means those programmes need to be improved to cover many aspects of Islam in modern methods. It will improve the level of teachers to teach Islam and cover the shortage and correct some topics in the curriculum, as we see in the next section.

9.1.2. Curriculum.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the sample emphasised what I had indicated in Chapter Four, that the English education system is mono-cultural, so most of the curriculum reflects Western culture and ignores the culture of the minority. The following table include some suggestions to help maintain identity in this area.

Table 9.1.2 Curriculum.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Allocate more lessons to Islamic education.	Less Important	52	32.7%	52	34.9%	.387
	Most Important	107	67.3%	97	65.1%	
Filter the curriculum content to remove any material which conflicts with Islam.	Less Important	94	59.1%	85	57.0%	.400
	Most Important	65	40.9%	64	43.0%	
Give examples taken from Islamic culture.	Less Important	92	57.5%	102	68.5%	.030*
	Most Important	68	42.5%	47	31.5%	
Teach Muslim pupils sex education in the Islamic way.	Less Important	85	53.1%	63	42.3%	.036*
	Most Important	75	46.9%	86	57.7%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

Table 9.1.2. shows that most of the sample {66.2% overall} supported the first item “Allocate more lessons to Islamic education.” The χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. This high percentage of support from both groups reflects the need to learn about Islam in the state schools, because in mind the findings presented in the previous chapter regarding the lack of teaching of Islam in state schools, and the mono-cultural curriculum. Similarly Sarwar[1983] argues that there is poor information about Islam in schools.

Allocating more lessons about Islam will give Muslim pupils a chance to understand it in the right way, not as their parents force them to practise it. Also, non-Muslim pupils will get the chance to understand it in the right way, rather than be misled by the media. Moreover, both kinds of pupils will feel more confident with each other, which may help to reduce racism and other difficulties referred to in the previous chapter..

The second suggestion supported by the sample was “teach Muslim pupils sex education in the Islamic way.” This item was supported by more than half of the sample, 52.3 %. A χ^2 test revealed significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item, with parents’ support the greater, because the parents are more sensitive regard this issue, as indicated in last chapter. This is because chastity is part of their religion and

tradition, and they believe that if girls in particular have sexual relationships outside marriage, it brings shame on all the family and the tribe as well.

However, half of the respondents supported the importance of this item, because Islam prohibits obscenity and shameful acts. Sex education in the secondary schools is compulsory for all children. and providing the possibility of withdrawal from the class is not a final solution. One of the secondary schools in Bradford provided some sex education books written by Muslim authors. I read the books and found them very suitable, especially if the school has a large number of Muslim pupils.

The third item among the four items that was supported was “Filter the curriculum content to remove any material which conflicts with Islam. The percentage of the sample supporting this suggestion was 42 %. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. This trend was supported by what a non-Muslim teacher stated during the interview, that some information in the curriculum, such as Darwinian theory, conflicts with both Islam and Christianity and he thought such material should be excluded.

It is important to avoid any information that could cause any confusion between what the pupils are taught in school and what they learn at home or in the mosque.

The least supported item was “give examples taken from Islamic culture.” This suggestion was given less importance compared to the others, because most parents and pupils may have thought that giving examples during teaching the mother language or referring to some Asian customs, such as dance or art, was sufficient to reflect their identity.

Also, it should remember that efforts to improve the place of Islam in the curriculum must not be confined to knowledge only; while it needs practice in daily life, through provision of facilities for those pupils, as explained in the next section.

9.1.3.Facilities.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the religiosity of Muslims is not confined to belief. As far as religious practice is concerned, Anwar[1994] states that parents and religious

leaders are becoming increasingly worried because not enough facilities are being provided to practice and transmit Islam. In this study, the pupils also appeared worried about this position, which reflects the importance of such facilities. Their support for possible solutions in this area can be seen in the next table.

Table 9.1.3. Facilities.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Offer pupils enough time to pray.	Less Important	44	27.7%	38	25.5%	.382
	Most Important	115	72.3%	111	74.5%	
Respect the fasting time for Muslim pupils.	Less Important	66	41.3%	91	61.1%	.000*
	Most Important	94	58.8%	58	38.9%	
Provide a place for ablution{washing before prayer}and a prayer room.	Less Important	82	51.3%	62	41.6%	.057
	Most Important	78	48.8%	87	58.4%	
Provide pupils with transport to the Mosque for Friday prayers.	Less Important	112	70.0%	112	75.2%	.183
	Most Important	48	30.0%	37	24.8%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

The above table shows that the suggestion, “offer pupils enough time to pray’ received the most support, 73.4 %. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. The high percentage of support reflects the necessity of meeting this need. This emphasises what was mentioned in the previous chapter, that the time given for the break might be enough to pray if the number of pupils is small, especially as the prayer takes at most ten minutes, but it is impossible for six hundred pupils, for example, to manage that, particularly as not all schools have a large enough space prepared for prayer. So it was suggested in Chapter Four that the afternoon break be extended to give the pupils chance to have lunch and pray.

However, Muslims must make ablution before prayer and should preferably pray as a group in a quiet, clean place. Therefore, more than half the sample, 53.6 %, supported the item, “provide a place for ablution{washing before prayer} and a prayer room.” A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the

item, although parents give a higher response on favour of it than pupils. This may indicate that parents were more worried about fulfilling prayer obligations than were youths.

However, the support for this suggestion, combined with that for offering time to pray, reflects the importance of these two points and means that most parents and pupils appreciate the practices of Islam and are aware that ignoring prayer obligations means loss of identity.

The third suggestion was “respect the fasting time for Muslim pupils,” supported by 58.8 % of the pupils, but only 38.9 % of parents. A χ^2 test revealed that the difference was significant. This may be because parents do not realise how difficult pupils find it to cope with some physical activities in most schools. However, around half of the respondents supported the importance of this item, because it is difficult for Muslims to do strenuous activity and it is hard for them to cope during the lunch time when non-Muslims are eating and drinking. It should be mentioned, nevertheless, that 51.2 % of the sample considered this suggestion less important, perhaps because there is trend to provide some facilities in *Ramadan* month, which are not available at other times, as indicated in the last chapter. My view here is that the emphasis on *Ramadan* might have come from Muslim communities, who have focused on this problem and got the education authorities to respond. Therefore, during the visits of some schools it was observed that there were some Islamic activities carried out during this month only.

The suggestion which gained least support, being considered important by about 27.4 % of the sample, was to provide transport to the mosque for Friday prayers. The sample considered this idea less important than the others, probably because there is another alternative, namely, to provide a qualified person {*Imam*} to lead the pupils in prayer at the school. Or perhaps in the schools there is no encouragement to go to the Mosque. This possibility raises the importance of establishing a good environment to remind the pupils about the importance of practising the Islam, to make the children aware that the school is linked with the family environment.

9.1.4-Environment.

Youths under twenty are vulnerable to any influence around them, within the school environment or outside the classroom, because they are dealing with a different environment than the one with which they are familiar. The next items will reflect some suggestions which can improve this environment.

Table 9.1.4.Environment.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Offer single sex education.	Less Important	116	73.0%	86	57.7%	.003*
	Most Important	43	27.0%	63	42.3%	
Prevent any kind of racism in the school.	Less Important	68	42.5%	80	53.7%	.032*
	Most Important	92	57.5%	69	46.3%	
Increase the number of Islamic schools	Less Important	96	60.0%	80	53.7%	.158
	Most Important	64	40.0%	69	46.3%	
Display posters about Islam in the school.	Less Important	119	74.4%	113	75.8%	.435
	Most Important	41	25.6%	36	24.2%	
Give the Islamic festivals much attention, especially if there is a high percentage of Muslim pupils.	Lees Important	67	41.9%	90	60.4%	.001*
	Most Important	93	58.1%	59	39.6%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

The suggestion which received the highest support was “prevent any kind of racism in the school”, supported by 51.% of all the sample, 57.5 % of pupils and 46.3 % of parents. A χ^2 test revealed that the difference was significant. This is probably because parents do not suffer as pupils do within school. However, more than half of the pupils supported this solution. This trend can be explained in terms of what was mentioned in Chapter Six regarding the discussion with the pupils. All of them indicated that as they are in the majority in the school, they never face racism from white pupils, but they added it could happen away from school in the street.

So what about the number of pupils who indicate that they face racism? This might, as indicated in the previous chapter, come from some teachers or a few white pupils, or as religious or ethnic tensions between groups of Asians. In addition, most of the sample

consider any shortage of facilities in school which has a majority of Asians, or lack of response to Muslim demands, as a type of racism.

The second suggestion, supported by around half of the sample, was "Give the Islamic festivals much attention, especially if there is a high percentage of Muslim pupils." A χ^2 test revealed a highly significant difference between the pupils' and parents' opinions regarding the item. Pupils were more inclined to support it because they are more aware of what happens in the schools during the Christmas festivals and at the same time they note that Islamic festivals are completely ignored, although most pupils in the school are Muslim. For example there is no holiday given to the pupils and no decorations are prepared in school as for Christmas, although by sec. 39 {2} of the 1944 Education Act, head teachers should allow Muslim pupils to be absent from the school during these festival days, which usually do not amount to more than three days for each annual festival, *Ed-al Fitr and Eid al-Adha* {see the previous Chapter and Chapter four}.

In spite of the lack of interest among some Muslim pupils and some non-Muslim researchers with regard to establishing separate schools, as argued in Chapter Four, we find here that 43.1 % of the sample supported the idea of 'increasing the number of Islamic schools.' A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils' and parents' opinions regarding the item [pupils 40.0 % and parents 46.3 %]. A high proportion of each group thought that Muslim schools are the best alternative. This trend supports the line taken by the researcher in many chapters in this study, that British Muslims should seek both to gain some improvements in the state schools and to support Islamic schools.

This issue and single sex education are the issues most discussed in relation to Muslims and education in the West. But comparing responses to the two solutions in this table, it seems that Muslim schools are regarded as more important than single sex education, because Muslim schools were supported by 43.1 % of the sample, while single sex education was supported by only 34.6 % of the sample. Also, it can be seen that parents were more supportive of single sex education than pupils, A χ^2 test revealed a highly

significant difference between the pupils' and parents' opinions regarding the item [pupils 27.0 % and parents 42.3 %]. Parents' greater support for this suggestion may be because they are more worried about their daughters in school, especially outside the classroom in physical education[see formal education in the previous chapter and the co- education argument in Chapter Four}

However, the fact that single sex schools did not gain a high percentage of support compared to the other suggestions may be because British Muslims are concentrating on one issue, of separate Muslim schools, which would in any case be single sex schools and because there are already some single sex state schools in Bradford.

Finally, any attempts to improve or alleviate the position in state schools and so reduce threats to identity, will be wasted if parents, either in the mosque or at home, try to bring up the new generation by the same methods as are used in their country of origin, because as indicated in the last two chapters, it will be make the gap between the parents and their children wider. And as mentioned in Chapter Four in the section on the geography of education, one way to solve pupils' problems regarding low achievement is to solve family problems such as the poverty of some Asian families.

Therefore, success in improving the means to help to maintain identity in formal education requires other efforts from the other sources such as the mosque , family and society, so that informal education plays an effective role alongside and complementary to formal education. This aim will not be achieved without considering Muslims' suggestions to overcome this problem. The next section will discuss some suggestions related to other fields outside the state schools, in the informal education provided by mosque, home and society.

9.2 .Informal Education.

As indicated before, although the school could play a vital role in maintenance of the Muslim identity, it is very important to add here that the family also plays a very sensitive

role in educating the child, so it is impossible to understand a child's problems and find solutions to them without knowing his/her family background.

The third sphere, which can form the child's small world, is the society. Therefore, the child is not educated by the school only !

Since, as mentioned in the last chapter, challenges to identity could come from different spheres, equally, ways of maintaining identity could come by providing some solutions in the spheres of mosque , home and society.

9.2.1. Mosque.

Most Muslims consider the Mosque the best place in non Muslim society, particularly, because it plays a main role in helping Muslims to maintain their Muslim identity, so it can play this role to compensate for the shortage in teaching Islam in state schools, and raise awareness of all Muslims about the issues that they are dealing with during their daily life,

The next table will show some suggestions which could improve the position of the role of the mosque in Bradford.

Table 9.2.1 Mosque

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Concentrate on Arabic language to help pupils to understand Islamic principles.	Less Important	69	43.7%	68	45.6%	.408
	Most Important	89	56.3%	81	54.4%	
Give some importance to other aspects of Islamic knowledge.	Less Important	101	63.5%	102	68.5%	.214
	Most Important	58	36.5%	47	31.5%	
Give equal opportunities to male and female pupils.	Less Important	90	56.6%	113	75.8%	.000*
	Most Important	69	43.4%	36	24.2%	
Deal with pupils in a flexible way.	Less Important	124	78.0%	127	85.2%	.068
	Most Important	35	22.0%	22	14.8%	
Avoid nationalism between the Mosques to increase Muslim unity.	Less Important	117	73.6%	89	59.7%	.007*
	Most Important	42	26.4%	60	40.3%	
Arrange Islamic courses and weekly lectures	Less Important	98	61.6%	90	60.4%	.458
	Most Important	61	38.4%	59	39.6%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

Table 9.2.1 shows that the item which gained the highest support was “concentrate on Arabic language to help pupils to understand Islamic principles.” More than half of the sample {55.4 %} supported this idea which reflects the importance of Arabic language, A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. Both of the groups agreed that concentrating on Arabic language would help pupils to understand Islam.

This emphasis among the sample reflects the need to learn Arabic, either in the mosque or in the state school, because most non Arabic speaking Muslims can read the Quran but they cannot understand it. Also, as mentioned before, most references about Islam are in Arabic or in English rather than the mother language of the Muslim minority. Thus, a major reason for shortage of knowledge about Islam among British Muslims is that they have not enough chance to learn Arabic. Therefore, the committee of any mosque should include teaching Arabic in the programme of the supplementary schools.

The second suggestion was “arrange Islamic courses and weekly lectures.” Again, a large number of respondents thought this would help to improve knowledge. About 39 % of the sample supported this item. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. Both groups agreed that there is a shortage of Islamic courses and weekly lectures.

The third ranking suggestion, supported by 34 % of the sample, was “give some importance to other aspects of Islamic knowledge.” A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. Around a third of each group wanted more variety in the curriculum of the supplementary schools, rather than a sole focus on the Quran and ignoring the other aspects of Islamic information. The problem might have arisen because most teachers are unable to teach other subjects, because of their own limited education.

However, supplementary schools have other deficiencies as appears from the support for the suggestion “give equal opportunities to male and female pupils.” More than a third

of the sample {34%} supported the suggestion. A χ^2 test revealed a high significant difference between the pupils' and parents' opinions regarding the item; 43.4 % of pupils supported it, but only 24.2 % of parents. The strong agreement among the pupils may reflect the dissatisfaction of girls at being withdrawn from the supplementary school when they reach ten years old, and not being given chance to attend the speeches on Friday or any activities in the mosque, although Islam commands all Muslims, male and female, to seek knowledge. At the same time it seems that most parents do not support the attendance of girls at the mosque. This trend emphasises what was mentioned in the previous chapter, that the major challenge in the Mosque is its treatment of Muslim girls. This problem stems from tradition and custom rather than Islam, how which encourages both men and women to attain education and practise Islam.

It is interesting to note that although 66.4 % of the parents admitted that girls do not have the chance to come to the mosque {see the previous chapter} only 24.2 % of the parents in this chapter supported giving girls this chance. This indicates the need of parents for Islamic awareness.

The fifth suggestion which concerned a very sensitive problem within the Muslim communities was "avoid nationalism between the Mosques to increase Muslim unity." A third of the sample {33.4 % } supported this suggestion. A χ^2 test revealed a significant difference between the pupils' and parents' opinions regarding the item. Only 26.4 % of pupils supported it, compared with 40.30 % of parents, no doubt reflecting parents' greater experience of this problem and its consequences..

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that a majority of respondents thought nationalist divisions exist. There may even be racism among the committee of the mosques. This may be due to many reasons, but the main reason is probably competition among the community and the fact that every nation has different customs and mother language and some have different interpretations of Islam, because they confused customs from their original homeland with Islamic requirements.

Every group seeks to take the lead as the best and strongest. Most of the parents interviewed during the survey thought this was a main cause of weakness in the role of the mosque. If unity cannot be achieved, it would be better for each mosque to represent only one ethnic group.

Thus, in discussing the difficulties in the mosque in the previous chapter and the solution to those problems in this chapter, it was noted that the source of the problem can be traced to the background of Asian people and to overcome the challenge, it will be necessary to review some customary aspects which dominate the control of the committees in the mosque. Unfortunately, such practices also adversely affect the relationships between parents and their children. Hence, the most important point is for family members to be aware that they are British Muslims rather than Asian.

9.2.2. Home

In this section will be discussed some suggestions to ensure that a family is able to meet the individual members' need for love and emotional security. Muslim attitudes will be better if the role of the family in Islam is properly understood and each member of the family carries out his or her role appropriately. Jacob[1965] stated:

'the traditional parent- child relationship is based on the almost unlimited authority and dominance of the parents, particularly the father.'

Islam on the whole, tends to support parent- child relations which are conducive toward family unity, on condition that they do not compromise on Islamic values.

Table 9.2.2 shows some suggestion which might help to understand this role of the family and to see how far the family can participate in maintaining the Muslim identity.

Table 9.2.2. Home.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Take the children back home periodically.	Less Important	125	78.6%	120	80.5%	.392
	Most Important	34	21.4%	29	19.5%	
Teach children that they are Muslim first and British second.	Less Important	78	49.1%	72	48.3%	.494
	Most Important	81	50.9%	77	51.7%	
Provide Videos or Satellite programmes to replace unsuitable T.V programmes.	Less Important	118	74.2%	120	80.5%	.117
	Most Important	41	25.8%	29	19.5%	
Devote sufficient time to teaching children Islamic principles.	Less Important	98	61.6%	79	53.0%	.079
	Most Important	61	38.4%	70	47.0%	
Encourage children to practise Islam.	Less Important	59	37.1%	53	35.6%	.436
	Most Important	100	62.9%	96	64.4%	

***Significant at the level of 0.05**

Table 9.2.2. shows that the suggestion most supported by the sample was “encourage children to practise Islam.” Overall 63.7% of the sample supported that {pupils 62.9 % and parents 64.4 %}. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. Unfortunately, however, although most pupils feel proud to say “we are Muslims” in fact a large number of them do not practise Islam appropriately. It may be suggested, therefore that youths supported this idea because they feel the need of guidance in this respect. I noted during the visits to the schools that most pupils did not pray, for example, and Baist[1997] states in her study that some Muslim girls do not practise Islam.

In the previous chapter it was indicated that some Muslim parents do not practise Islam appropriately. If this is the case, how can the new generation find a good role model within the family? Therefore, it is very important to encourage the children to pray first and provide many facilities in the house which help all the family members to practise Islam.

One of the reasons which led some Muslims to neglect Islamic practices or misinterpret Islam is that most parents teach their children some Asian customs as part of the religion,

so one of the suggestions in Table 9.2.2. was “teach children that they are Muslim first and British second.” More than half of the sample {51.3 %} supported this type of education as a way to help the children to practise Islam properly. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. As mentioned in Chapter Three, some Asian youths under the influence of the mass media tends to dress and eat according to western culture because the majority of them were born and grew up here, so they must understand that they could become British and at the same time they are Muslims because Islam is not only for the people of the east, any more than Christianity, which came from the east but was accepted by westerners. Therefore, British Muslims must escape from idea that they will go back home in the future, in order to look at life from a realistic viewpoint.

The third suggestion which was considered important to help to preserve Muslim identity was “devote sufficient time to teaching children Islamic principles”. 42.7 % of the sample {38.4 % of pupils and 47 % of parents } supported this type of education at home. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item, although parents supported it more than pupils because they might feel that the deficiency in state schools must be compensated by parents at home and parents are more worried about the new generation, who mostly think that they can get knowledge individually, without any control from their parents.

However, as indicated in the previous chapter, a large number of parents spend a long time outside the home, so parents should be aware and look after their children by devoting time to teaching them Islamic principles.

A major potential source of education at the present time, especially in a modern country such as Britain, is as suggested in Table 9.2.2, to “provide Videos or satellite programmes to replace unsuitable T.V programmes.” More than a quarter of the sample {22.7 %} agreed with this suggestion. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item.

The most influential among the mass media is probably television, and most Asians seem to watch T.V more than the other communications, so it is very important to provide at home videos or satellite reflecting some aspects of Islam or at least Asian culture.

There are some who think that the most effective solution is to “take the children back home periodically.” Although this is done by most families in Bradford, among the sample, just 20.5 % recommended it, perhaps because they regard the other suggestions in this section as more important or because the respondents felt that this practice is already implemented. For example, I met some families in Kashmir who were visiting for this reason. And those parents justify such visits, to show their children Muslim society which is more conservative, especially since they regard Britain’s open society as more dangerous in the summer time when the schools are closed.

9.2.3. Society.

The assimilation of minorities within the majority is the commonly preferred alternative in many societies as a major solution for minority problems, but this is not the case in Britain, because the Muslim minority are trying to challenge assimilation. As Nadwi[1993 p133] said:

‘Islam has a distinctive character of its own. This character comprehends every aspect of life-words and deeds and attitudes.’ Islam also has a very sensitive temperament. It cannot assimilate ideas and institutions which are alien to it.’

Muslim communities are bound together by bonds of loyalty within the community.

British Muslims are also unable to change the whole secular society to live in an Islamic environment. Therefore, British Muslims should try to find the best alternative ways of living within this large society and avoiding influences which threaten their identity. they join with British society in many fields, but they must be aware that there are boundaries that should be respected by both, to avoid conflict { see Chapter Two}.

The next table will show some suggestions which could alleviate the problem.

Table 9.2.3 Society.

		Categories				p.
		Pupils		Parents		
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	
Devote certain media programmes or TV a channel to Islamic culture.	Less Important	62	39.2%	66	44.3%	.217
	Most Important	96	60.8%	83	55.7%	
Arrange conferences of Islamic organisations to find solutions.	Less Important	109	69.0%	76	51.0%	.001*
	Most Important	49	31.0%	73	49.0%	
Organise various sport activities for Muslim youths .	Less Important	84	53.2%	92	61.7%	.080
	Most Important	74	46.8%	57	38.3%	
Use Community Centres to make people aware of forbidden behaviours.	Less Important	70	44.6%	68	45.6%	.472
	Most Important	87	55.4%	81	54.4%	

* Significant at the level of 0.05

Table 9.2.3 shows four suggestions which could improve the position and help to preserve identity. The one regarded as most important by the sample was “devote certain media programmes or a TV channel to Islamic culture.” More than half of the sample {58.3 %} agreed with the importance of this idea. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. The high level of support reflects the sensitive stance that British Muslims take over the dangerous role of western media in the image it presents of Muslim identity. Gillespie [1995 p181] noted that

‘Cross- media advertising plays a crucial role in shaping teenage consumer culture and in making material values.’

In fact it is rare for the voices of minorities to be heard in the white mass media. So the Muslim community in Bradford seeks to establish alternative radio stations in Urdu and English to teach the Muslim minority their religion, especially in *Ramadan* month, and they have established some newspapers to reflect some of the needs and news of Asian people. Presently, some Muslims watch some eastern channels on satellite; they can now be received across the world. { see Chapter Three, the section on media }.

However, all these measures still do not meet the needs of British Muslims and Muslims are still unable to establish a TV channel to reflect Islamic culture in Britain.

Most Muslim youths spend a lot of time in community centres, so the suggestion in Table 9.2.3 was “use community centres to make people aware of forbidden behaviours.” Again, more than half of the sample {54.9 %} supported this suggestion. A χ^2 test revealed no significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item. At present, the community centres are rarely if ever used for this purpose. For example in the survey conducted in this study, as mentioned previously, I observed during visits to many Muslim community centres in Bradford that the popular Indian films, songs and music were not related to Islam. So although this kind of film has the ability to impart languages and traditions, it is still unable to show Islam and Muslims are unable to use it for this purpose. In addition, the committees of those centres should prepare some activities such as posters, book exhibitions, public lectures or at least video tapes etc.

The committees of community centres and mosques could “arrange sport activities for Muslim children;” as seen in Table 9.2.3, 42.6 % of the sample supported this suggestion. A χ^2 test revealed no a significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item, they favour, probably because they suffer from a lack of appropriate recreation opportunities.

The last suggestion was “arrange conferences of Islamic organisations to find solutions.” This suggestion gained the support 40 % of the whole sample. A χ^2 test revealed a significant difference between the pupils’ and parents’ opinions regarding the item, with parents being most in favor. Perhaps pupils are less optimistic, because they are not aware that Muslim communities have arranged such conferences before.

It can be seen from the suggestions that were chosen among those which aim to modify some part of the whole society, that the items which concurred awareness among the minority were more supported than the others, which reflects the problem in this area.

Therefore, British Muslims want to see any action responding to their wishes within the Muslim community.

Thus, this chapter could conclude that the solution should come first from the Muslim communities to overcome the problems mentioned in the previous chapter, by improving awareness among their members, starting with the family, which should take care of the new generation by bringing up them according to the Islamic way, while recognising that they are living in a non-Muslim society, not in Pakistan or Bangladesh etc. Secondly, Muslim communities should take into account that the mosque is the second source of Islamic education for their children. The control and the decision lies with them, so they must adopt suitable ways to compensate for deficiencies in the state schools, by improving the position in the supplementary schools in the mosque in particular. The eventual ideal would be to establish Muslim state schools which could open their doors for all Muslims, free of charge. When Muslims feel that they do their duty on their own side, they will be in a better position to claim the right to alleviate the position in state schools.

Summary

This chapter attempted through the responses of the sample to point out some solutions for the problems identified in earlier chapters, which had been suggested by the interviewees and supported in the literature.

The first part of the chapter was about some solutions in state schools. Although some concessions have been made in some schools, as discussed in Chapter Four { e.g. parents' right to withdraw children from assemblies or from sex education, etc} Chapter Eight showed that threats to identity remain in many aspects in the school such as teachers, curriculum, facilities and environment. Therefore, more than one part of the school needs change to reduce the challenge to Islamic identity..

For example, it was found that most of the sample supported making non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture. This emphasised what was indicated in Chapter Eight, that there

was widespread agreement among the sample that most non-Muslims misunderstand Islam. Also there was support for treating all pupils equally, which reflects what the pupils mentioned during the interviews, that some teachers are unfair. Also, regarding teachers, there was a trend by parents and pupils to emphasise the importance of an increase in the number of Muslim teachers, provided that they are trained to improve their knowledge about Islam.

It seems that the sample viewed the curriculum as mono-cultural, reflecting western culture, so they suggested allocating more lessons to Islamic education, and filtering the curriculum to remove some material which conflicts with Islam.

Moreover, the sample suggested giving pupils enough time to pray and providing a place for this purpose, which confirms what the researcher observed, that most schools lack such facilities. Also, the sample confirmed the importance of having an environment in the school which encourages the pupils to practise Islam, for example, by giving Islamic festivals more attention; the researcher had observed that the schools ignored them. Respondents did not, however, strongly support offering single sex education, perhaps because they thought that an increase in the number of Islamic schools would resolve this problem.

In addition, some suggestions were made to improve awareness through informal education, in three fields {mosque, home and society}. As indicated in Chapter Eight, the mosque reflects traditional customs more than Islam; for example the main language is Urdu, so it was suggested that teaching be in Arabic, because most references about Islam are in Arabic. Also, awareness about Islam could be improved by providing Islamic courses and weekly lectures, and attention to other aspects of Islamic knowledge in addition to the *Quran*. The support of this proposal among the sample confirms what the researcher observed through the visits to those mosques, that there is a lack of attention to other aspects of Islamic knowledge. There was also strong emphasis among the pupils, in particular on the need to give equal opportunities to male and female in the mosque. {This

ties in with the researcher's observation that women tend to be ignored, as a result of some traditions from the countries of origin}.

The point which should be made here is that all the solutions suggested by the sample were in the direction of modifying the traditional methods used to control the mosque, which are a source of many problems, as mentioned in Chapter Eight, and which threaten Muslim identity.

Therefore, it not surprising that most of the solutions offered to improve awareness among the members of family were related to this point. For example, it was suggested that one of the most important solutions is to teach Muslims that they are Muslim first and British second, to get over the dream of returning home. If we succeed in convincing the parents that they are British Muslims, not Asian migrants, it will give them encouragement to strive to improve their position within the family, such as providing alternative programmes at home and devoting sufficient time to teaching children about Islam and encouraging their children to practise it, instead of taking the children back home periodically. Also it should be remembered that solutions in one area such as the family may help to achieve other solutions in other aspects of life, because one of them could affect the others. For example, the sample supported encouraging children to practise Islam at home; at the same time they suggested that schools should offer pupils enough time to pray and provide facilities for this purpose. The point is, if the school offers this time by providing a place for prayers at school, the family will find it easy to encourage their children to pray at home, because their children will have seen that all the Muslim pupils pray at school.

However, the weakness of the Islamic environment in state schools, lack of Muslim schools and old-fashioned methods used to educate children in the mosque or at home might all push Muslim youth to seek for alternatives in the open society. Therefore, it is very important to protect their identity, especially from threats that could come through the media, by devoting certain media programmes or a TV channel to Islamic culture, as an

alternative to English TV, which reflects western culture only, or Indian films shown on video in community centres, which mostly reflect Asian culture or the Hindu religion. Awareness among parents and youths could be improved if the committees of those centres were to prepare some materials and such as posters, book exhibitions, public lectures or at least video tapes etc.

Finally, it is very important to note here that the school cannot safeguard Muslim identity if the family and the mosque do not play their roles as they should. The success of any of the fields mentioned above depends on the co-operation and interaction of the others.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

Conflicts between societies, and within a society, are due to differences of ideas that are not exchanged peacefully. People are factors in these conflicts, inasmuch as they are carriers or receptacles of ideas. A society is bound to be made up of people promoting and receiving different ideas. As Hagendoorn [1993] noted, many examples illustrate that cultural misunderstanding can lead to ethnic prejudice and hostility. If ethnic groups differ in expression of status, authority, honour and guilt in their rules, or in their valuation of time, labour, family and religion, all these differences can become sources of misunderstanding and lead to negative evaluation of outgroups.

A boundary, as Cohen [1985] stated, marks the beginning and end of a community. But why is such marking necessary? The simple answer is that the boundary encapsulates the identity of community and, like the identity of an individual, boundaries are marked because communities interact in some way or other with entities from which they are, or wish to be, distinguished. Barah [1994] suggests that ethnic groups may be significant units if they imply marked difference in behaviour. Cohen [1985] noted that the way in which people are marked depends upon the specific community. Boundaries may, for example, be racial or linguistic or religious.

The boundary may be perceived in different terms, not only by outsiders, but also by people on the same side. That means boundaries define a community, and that the community can determine the nature of boundaries and the objective in erecting them.

A community is a group who are related in some socially significant way. The members of an active community are connected by such things as shared values, institutional ties and regular social interaction. Therefore, the outsiders will draw an image of them, regarding the property and characteristics that make them different from the majority. At the same time, the communities within the minority might contain within the group different ties, whether of nation, religion, customs, skin colour, etc, and they decide for themselves what is the most important tie among them. It could be religion or nation etc. For example, many people who migrated to Britain come from different parts of Asia, and have different

religions, customs, language etc, but they are categorised by outsiders as Asian or black, while within the minority, there are differences which distinguish sub-groups. For instance religion could be Muslim or Hindu etc; within the Muslim group there are Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian communities; also among the Muslim Pakistanis for example, there are different ties, such as tribe. But some of those symbols might change according to education. Unlettered people might tend to regard loyalty to the tribe more highly than religion, while those who are educated might determine themselves as Muslims first, as we will realise through looking at the periods of settlement of Muslims in Bradford.

It is demonstrated in this study that Muslim migrants came from rural areas in search of work. Many were uneducated and had only minimal knowledge about Islam. Some of these Muslims, faced with culture shock, found assimilation into Western culture an effective solution to the conflict between the two cultures. Others, however, chose to retain their values, despite the difficulties they faced, but they established geographical boundaries and tied themselves to the lifestyle of their old home, which they brought with them, and remained segregated in the inner city.

There is a growing interest among researchers concerning the position of Muslims in western Europe, consequent upon the large-scale immigration of labourers from Muslim countries nearly four decades ago. Although Muslims are free to practise their faith, they may find themselves in a hostile environment, and suffer from a sense of alienation.

It is common for any group which migrates to a new country to have difficulties adjusting to a new way of life. The Muslim community is strongly attached to its own identity, so they may feel that western culture, is by nature, a threat to their identity. The problem is compounded by racial discrimination and hostility from some people of the white community.

Also, the efforts of Muslims to preserve their religion and culture, mark them out as “different” and make it harder for them to be accepted as British, which increases the tendency of Muslims to form closed communities within the larger society.

On the whole it appears that there is willingness among Muslims in Britain to adjust to the institutions of this country and become a part of the society, but as Anwar [1994] points out 'this does not mean that they are not facing any problems. There have been several recent examples which made Muslims feel that they are not being treated equally', so they started to erect some boundaries between themselves and the surrounding society.

Bradford, the focus of the present study, was the centre for the production of the best wool in the world, and the textile mills were running overtime. The textile industry was the single most important employer in Bradford, providing about a third of all employment in the city. These industries, however, suffered from old machinery, and unhappy local workers wanted work with better pay and working conditions which the textile industry could not provide. Afro-Caribbeans and Asians were invited into Bradford to provide cheap labour. However, it should not be forgotten that there were also local factors which pushed migrants to come to Bradford. For example, Punjab was an agricultural state. Siddique{1990}noted that Punjab had more than 15,000 villages and only 130 towns. The pressure on the land led to the subdivision of holdings and instability was created by the partition of India. Another local reason, in Mirpur, was the construction of the Mangla Dam during the early 1960s.

However, when Muslims first came into Bradford, they faced a strange situation. There were no facilities for their religion. A group of several individuals living in the same household would share food, and everyone would contribute towards the shopping. Between three to four people would sleep in a small room of a terraced house, paying rent of ten shillings{50p}per week. They worked overtime on night shifts to send money to their families back home. Furthermore, the first migrants found it difficult to get work because they were unskilled. They also had difficulty in how to deal with English people, especially as they could not speak English well. Siddique [1993] noted that the position got better after 1960 with the arrival of Muslim women groups to Bradford. This developed into a network of communication which helped to maintain the culture Muslims

brought with them. It should be borne in mind that many had hoped to return home with money so that they could purchase land and build better houses in their countries; they did not intend to stay in Bradford any longer than was necessary and so were not anxious to assimilate.

Asians are highly concentrated in the inner city, compared with other areas. A large number of the Muslim minority in Bradford are living inside the city, and close to each other, because when the first groups arrived, they settled around the industrial area and they built facilities such as mosques. They then tended to remain in the same place, especially as they felt more secure living close to each other. This concentration in the inner city, however, leads them to suffer many disadvantages, such as the low quality of housing, absence of amenities and racial disadvantage.

The Muslim minority's concentration and segregation from the local white British population can be attributed to several reasons. When they first arrived, Asians erected geographical boundaries around themselves, In addition to the reasons mentioned above which encouraged them to concentrate, they came with a plan to go back home, so preferred to take cheap housing as well as to live close to their compatriots. This also enabled them to have access to the mosques and to supplies of particular foods and clothes. They remained tied to the old home lifestyle, such as the structure of the Asian family or tribal ties. They continued to speak the mother tongue and no doubt an increasing rate of self-employment has helped them to use the same language. They continued to wear traditional clothes and practise a different religion which made them outsiders to English people, who avoided mixing with them, which reinforced the boundaries between them. I would argue that such geographical boundaries which preclude the interaction between the different groups, might lead to misunderstanding.

In some cases, moreover, Muslims were excluded from the majority because of their economic circumstances or because they were migrants and regarded as outsiders. Sibley [1995] commented that there are some groups and individuals who erect boundaries, but

there are those who suffer or whose lives are constrained as a result of their existence. I emphasise here that the Muslim minority in Bradford seek to erect such boundaries as a way to maintaining their identity, as a result of a feeling that they are weak, so they are restricted by some boundaries which have been set by the dominant white people. As Cater and Jones [1989] stated, minority is commonly a state of exclusion or non-membership, and a group so identified may be disqualified from sharing equally in society's resources. Anthias and Yuval-Davis [1992] added, that 'equal opportunities grew out of the multiculturalist approach, and at its simplest, focuses on the cultural diversity of life-styles, with a view to cultural pluralism. This allows room for ethnic groupings to retain their cultural identity and secure compensatory resources, but may lead to a struggle between different groups to prioritize their cultural differences.' Therefore, the Muslim minority feel that they must struggle to have their right to maintain their identity within cultural pluralism, while erecting some boundaries to protect them from becoming assimilated into the mainstream society; at the same time some white people try to exclude those groups by erecting some boundaries around them.

But what kind of identity do white people try to give to this minority, and how do the minority define themselves and how do they look at outsiders? First, white people commonly use the term **Black people**. This term has been used to refer to people of African-Caribbean and South Asian origin, because those people who migrated to Britain in the post-war period found themselves occupying a similar structural position within British society as unskilled workers on the lowest rungs of the economy. But usage of this term has been criticised [see Chapter 3 on section The Society]. Also the terms 'ethnic' and 'racial' have a wide use, but the two concepts cannot be used to define the Muslim communities, because they refer to a social group having a common national or cultural tradition, whereas Muslims come from different nations and cultures. In addition, it is not accurate to call all Muslims in Britain, Asian people, because this term would include other Asians who follow other religions, such as Hinduism and Sikhism.

Therefore, none of the terms mentioned above are accurate to define Muslim communities or the boundaries established by outsiders as a result of the position of this minority. Although, for white people, at least in the beginning, it did not matter whether those migrants were Muslims or not, and whether they spoke Bengali; in the end they were members of a group excluded from the majority society.

Identity has to do with the way in which people define themselves. Immigrants come to their adopted country with labels such as Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian amongst others. Whether or not they want to be identified by their country of origin, these racial and ethnic identifiers stick to them and, even two or three generations later, their children are still identified by means of such labels.

Aside from the geographical boundaries reflecting the negative image drawn by white people of those segregated people as “backward” there are other types of boundaries established by those people themselves. For example, Muslims built mosques which helped them to interact with each other within a brotherhood which excludes all non Muslims, even if they are Asian. But these boundaries became victims to national difference, so there is a Mosque for Pakistanis and another for Bangladeshis, and so on. This kind of definition can be ascribed, at least in part, to the low level of education of people from rural areas such as Mirpur. Original tribal loyalties were maintained, which unfortunately caused competition, which led to conflict in some cases.

But does the meaning given to the boundaries change with time, reflecting a change of the position of the minority, or improved understanding of differences between the Muslim communities or between the Muslim minority and the white people, especially relative to the role of education through the schools or mass media or interaction in society?

Sun-ki Chal [1996] argued that ethnic boundaries are malleable, rather than fixed. In such societies, the majority of the population will still reside in small, stable populated and relatively self-sufficient communities, but many individuals from such communities will eventually migrate to larger population centres in pursuit of work and education. Although

there is widespread debate over the specific predictions made by such theories, there is no question that the transition from small communities to large population centres is one of the most significant effects of long-term structural change.

Barth [1994] emphasised, that the cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed; indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change- yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content {see Barth 1994 p10-38 }

In fact, it emerged through the chronology of movements of Muslim migrants to Bradford, that the boundaries are changed not only by outsiders, but also by people on the inside. That means boundaries define a community, and the community can determine the nature of boundaries and its objective in erecting them. In the past, the background of the immigrants affected their sense of identity and their boundaries, but the position has changed with the last generation who were born in Britain, attend state schools and lived in many aspects of daily life as British people. In spite of the concern of the parents to retain the old lifestyle, the pressure of western life has succeeded in changing some aspects of the culture of Asian people such as the structure of family. Most of them became able to speak English. The rising rate of unemployment alerted parents that they must struggle to get a better position for themselves and their children in the future. So they started to send their children to state schools. Some families moved outside the inner city to get better schools and to reach good facilities, which means the geographical boundaries started to disappear and other boundaries such as race also started to die after integration with white people in many aspects of life. I accept that this is a way to achieve harmony between the majority and the minority. But it must be noted that Islamic identity could be lost as a result. Assimilation has started to become a fact as the state schools, curricula and the regulations ignore other cultures, while outside school, through the attraction of the mass media or desire for entertainment, the new generation might seek to integrate into western society

without recognising conflict with their identity, as a way of escaping their parents' severity at home.

Thus, there emerges the suggestion of religious boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims, as one solution among others, to maintain Islamic identity.

This study examined education as a factor among others which are stressed in the literature, as helping to maintain boundaries [Whyte 1986]. Potentially, education has a strong role in protecting identity, or challenging it. Sibley [1981] added that social policy is generally designed to transmit dominant values participation pivot, particularly through formal education, which is concerned with the transmission of mainstream ideas.

However, it appeared through this study that most Muslims are not willing to assimilate entirely, so it is very important to be aware of what affiliation to the religion requires and to encourage Muslims to seek to achieve it perfectly, while keeping good relationships with the host society. Kettani [1998] emphasised that Islam recognises this fact, and promotes the peaceful exchange of ideas and respects plurality of thinking, within an overall boundary that ensures minimum cohesion for Muslims'. So religious boundaries are suggested as markers between Muslims and non-Muslims to avoid conflicts and improve the understanding between the different groups. Those boundaries are taken for granted at some level rather than problematised and would constitute a theoretical image of Muslims and non-Muslims, rather than a geographical divide. To achieve that, it is suggested that three zones can be identified. One is for non-Muslim people. The second zone is the ambiguous liminal zone, which is considered a source of anxiety. The third is for Muslim communities.

The first zone means the whole society, which involves all non-Muslim people, whether Christian or adhering to some other religion, such as Jewish. It also includes people who are living without religion. The matter for all those sorts of people is, if they are not Muslims, they should avoid crossing Muslim boundaries, because this may cause embarrassment for all. For example, in the mass media, non-Muslims should respect Islam

as the second religion in Britain, and avoid hurting Muslim' feelings by showing Islam as a religion associated with crime, and so on. At the same time, Muslims should avoid crossing into the non Muslim zone. For example Muslims are not allowed to enter churches or attend Christmas celebrations. Muslim must also avoid drinking alcohol or eating pig meat, or having relationships with anyone of the opposite sex outside marriage. Education, whether in school or outside it, should play a role to educate people about these zones and at the time it should encourage them to interact in any activities that do not conflict with Islam.

The second zone which should be known and avoided, is that of areas where distinctions between Muslims and non-Muslims are not clear. This includes, for example, Muslims who do not stick to Islamic values under the challenge to their identity in daily life. Also, the third zone is not clear for most non Muslims because most of them have not enough knowledge about Islam. The role of education is in clarifying in the minds of both sides, that there are certain red lines which should be respected . This is necessary because with the attraction of western culture and the weak of role of Islam in state schools, both sides might cross those boundaries, which could threaten identity. For example, Skelton and Valentine [1998] suggested that the media are an important cultural space for the production of new ethnicities; however, there has been little work considering how these ideas are received and transformed by young people. It is important, because studies of the production of identity remind us that identity is never a stable product.

The third zone and the most important of those of concern in this study, is the Muslim community's zone. Muslims, particularly those of the second and third generations, are increasingly demanding to be recognised as a religious, not racial group; one nation of one religious community cannot be an unattainable ideal. The Arabic word *ummah* conveys this idea of an Islamic community which is unified and to which loyalty is due. The preservation and health of the *ummah* is considered an important aspect of faith and as Jenkins [1995] added, it depends upon the success which Muslims have in protecting the

community from alien elements. Also Geaves [1996] noted that if the community forms around kin networks and place of origin, they may use religion to reinforce ethnic identity. In the case of Muslims, this may conflict with the religious definition of the *ummah* which insists upon universal Islamic identity being primary.

Therefore, the idea that has been suggested is community organisation as the universal brotherhood of believers. The Mosque in Islam plays a crucial role in helping to maintain the boundary, as Churches do in the Christian community; Whyte [1986] considers that Churches are remarkably all-embracing institutions in Northern Ireland, for example. In addition, separate education could play a vital role in maintaining the religious boundaries by improving the level of knowledge among Muslims within the Muslim communities.

However, in practice, the findings of this thesis suggest that the Muslim minority have difficulty maintaining Muslim community boundaries. This is particularly true for Muslim youths who were born and grew up in British society, because most of them, particularly boys, become involved in a new culture, especially when their parents seek to erect national or ethnic boundaries. Thus, threats to identity come from various factors, some of them within the Muslim minority and others from non-Muslims.

I would argue that the challenge to Islamic identity, could come basically through Muslim parents. Many immigrants, as discussed Chapter 7, brought with them the view that they would not stay in Britain permanently. Even those who state that they consider Britain their home might do so only as a result of their economic and social circumstances, rather than their desire, so they did not take any action to improve their position, as is made clear through their attitudes about life in Britain. Since they came to live in Bradford within a close-knit ethnic group, they are influenced by their relatives. For instance, part of the problem of the low achievement of Muslim pupils who are living in the inner city is poverty of their families and parents' illiteracy. Also we must remember that Asian families share in this challenge by dealing with their children in the same way that they used in their old home,

e.g. in style of punishment to force their children to follow the traditional way of life, so it is not strange to find that some families still refuse to send their daughters to university or college. This widens the gap between the parents and their children, especially as the Islamic alternative in the mosque is still unable to fulfil the expectations of the new generation in Britain, because it perpetuates methods and attitudes brought from the place of origin.

Consequently the new generation, through the attraction of the mass media or desire for enjoyment, seek to integrate into western society, without recognizing boundaries, as a way of escaping their parents' severity at home. This threat is compounded by lack of Islamic knowledge in state schools, with curricula that reflect western culture only, particularly in the absence of Muslim schools.

The challenge from outsiders also could come through racism in different fields in daily life such as in housing, employment, and politics, but it should be noted here that some parents might contribute to this discrimination through behaviours adopted in the belief that their stay will be only temporary. This leads them to settle for cheap housing in poor areas, where inadequate social services and poor educational facilities are common. Consequently the local residents gradually come to associate these problems with the immigrants, which fuels racism. Also, the media play a sensitive role in widening the gap between Muslims and non Muslims.

But the challenge which most threatens religious boundaries is that the new generation tend to break down those boundaries to enter the ambiguous zone. This is a source of worry to parents, who see their children become victims of western culture. Through this study it became clear that Muslim youths because confused between what they learn in the mosque and at home and what they are taught by the state schools and the western society. They may be influenced more by outsiders than their parents, so they seek to enter the ambiguous {liminal} zone.

The findings of this study suggest that the solution should come first from the Muslim communities, to overcome the problems mentioned above, by improving awareness among their members, starting with the family, which should take care of the new generation by bringing up them according to the Islamic way, while recognizing that they are living in non-Muslim society, not in Pakistan or Bangladesh etc. Secondly, Muslim communities should recognise that the mosque should be the second source of Islamic education for their children. The control and the decision rest with them, so if they seek to compensate for the deficiency in the state schools, they should use modern methods in the mosque, and improve the conditions in the supplementary schools in the mosque in particular. Meanwhile, they may work to establish Muslim state schools which could open their doors to all Muslims, without fees. When Muslim feel that they do their duty in this respect they will be better able to claim their rights to alleviate the position in state schools.

Thus, this study showed that Muslims are suffering and meet many difficulties in their daily life. They feel that their Muslim identity is challenged. No doubt this is a result of the existence of Muslims in a non Muslim society. Muslims differ in religion, culture and usually ethnicity from British society, and most of them come from outside Britain, so the majority look on them as outsiders. In addition, there are other reasons for Muslims' isolation, which exist within the Muslim community itself, such as lack of interest in improving their social and economic position, because they see themselves as living in Britain only temporarily.

In fact British Muslims meet many problems such as educational difficulties, racism, difficulties in employment, housing, media etc. However, a major role in overcoming problems that threaten Muslim identity could be played by education, through improved awareness among Muslims in the school, in the mosque, at home and in society, as well as awareness of non-Muslims about the Muslim way of life.

Education could play a role to bridge these gaps, by emphasising that Muslims in Bradford are British Muslims, not Asian migrants. English people { non Muslims} should accept the minority as part of the society, even if they are Muslims in a tolerant society.

However, the educational problems found in this study are not confined to formal education in state schools. Informal education takes place in other fields in daily life, such as in the mosque, home and society. Identity is shaped by more than one factor, place or time. The shaping of identity is one of the most important tasks facing Muslim youth. This is done through socialisation and contact with a variety of influences within the home, the school and the wider world.

Although the school plays a vital role in shaping the Muslim identity, it is very important to recognize that the home plays a very sensitive role in educating the child. It is impossible to understand a child's problems without knowing his/her family background. The third sphere, which can form the child's small world, is the society. Moreover, most Muslims consider the Mosque the best place in non Muslim society, particularly, because it plays a main role in helping Muslims to maintain their Muslim identity. It may play a role to compensate for deficiency in teaching Islam in state schools, and making Muslims aware of different aspects of Muslim life.

Clearly, as the threats identity could come from the school, home, society or mosque, the solutions could come from some or all of them. So it is important to understand the relationships between them, rather than concentrate on one field.

This study has contributed to understanding these issues and provided a basis for future study. For example, it has shown different aspects of the problem in different spheres and made clear that some of them are related, whereas much previous research has considered only one of those fields. Also, this study differs from those Muslim writers that suggest the only solution to maintain the Muslim identity is by establishing Muslim schools. I fully agree that it this is important but much could also be done to reduce the challenge in state schools.

Another point to be noted is that previous studies have not paid attention to the role of the mosque. Non Muslim researchers may have difficulty including it because of difficulties of communication, while Muslim researchers may not like to talk about the problems within the Muslim community or they have no hope that the position can be improved while the organization is run by traditional people. Therefore, this study provides new insights into difficulties in this area and suggests some improvement.

As with the mosque, the Community centre, also, has been ignored by educational researchers, but in this study it is considered as a vital place which can be used to improve the awareness among youths and older people as well.

The concept of Muslim identity has also been misunderstood by researchers. Therefore, this study, in emphasising Islam as an identity, has noted that Muslims have different cultures. By Islamic identity, the researcher does not mean traditional Muslim life in Mirpur, but what Islam requires its followers to do, as expressed in the *Quran* and *Sunna*.

Most Muslim researchers claim that all the difficulties that face Muslims in Britain come from non Muslims, and fail to explore the problems that come from Muslim communities. On the other hand, many non Muslim researchers present some information about Islam that is incorrect; for example, they misunderstand the position of women in Islam. This study has shown that the both groups participate in the problem, and has tried to correct some misunderstandings about some Islamic principles which may confuse non Muslim researchers

In this study, it was found that British Muslims generally reject assimilation and demand to live in a pluralist society. For this reason it is suggested that the erection of certain boundaries is one of many solutions to maintain Muslim identity.

Those boundaries are taken for granted at some level rather than problematised and would constitute a theoretical image of Muslim and non Muslims, rather than a geographical divide. But we should understand that boundaries do not exist only as a matter of mental perception while they are implemented in daily life.

However, despite the strengths mentioned above, there are some limitations to this study which made it unable to cover some aspects the researcher felt are important. For example, although the researcher shares those peoples' religion and some aspects of their culture which enabled him to integrate with them, it was difficult to interview the girls at home to assess their behaviour compared with that outside the family. Also, it was difficult to interview some women, especially the mothers, who refused to stay with the researcher, either because they were shy or believed that it is forbidden in Islam to talk with outsiders of their family or it is not acceptable as part of their tradition. The researcher had to resort to speaking to some of them by telephone, which does not help to understand their feelings as well as direct interaction and observation would do. Thus, there is scope for further work by Muslim women researchers, who would be more able to gain access to Muslim women and integrate with them.

Conducting this study has opened the view to the possibility or even the necessity of conducting some other studies to develop the work that has already taken place and extend it to other areas, such as the role of the mosque in the west as a source of understanding of Islam, and improve the imaging of Muslims in the western media. The emphasis of such studies should be to bridge the gap between the West and Islam, instead of encouraging conflict between them.

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Appendices

Appendix First: In Mirpur.

Appendix 1: The English Version of the Interview Schedule. [Parents and Pupils]

Appendix 2: The Urdu Version of the Interview Schedule. [Parents and Pupils]

Appendix Second: In Bradford

Appendix 1: The letter sent to the head teachers of secondary schools asking schools to cooperate in administering the study in Bradford.

Appendix 2: The Interview Schedule

Appendix 3 The English Version of the Questionnaires. [Pupils and parents].

Appendix First: In Mirpur.

Interview Schedule
[for Parents]

Personal Profile

- 1 Name -----
- 2 Age -----
- 3 Occupation -----
- 4 Education level-----
- 5 Relationship to pupil -----

Family Background

- 6 Urban - Rural background.
- 7 Type of family members Joint-----Nuclear-----
- 8 Total number of family members-----
- 9 Number of children. Male-----Female-----
- 10 Home occupancy status.
Owned-----rented-----other [specify] -----
- 11 Language spoken at home-----.

Attitudes.

- 12 What are the reasons for sending your children to school ?

- 13 Do you think that separate schools are better for children ?

Yes -----No

If yes, please give reasons.

If no, please give reasons.

- 14 Do you send all your children to school?

Yes -----No

If no, please give reasons.

15 What do you think about the school curriculum in general ?

16 Are you satisfied with religious education in your children's school ?

Satisfied Not satisfied
----- -----

If yes, give reasons in this regard.

If no, give reasons and suggestions in this regard.

17 What do you think about the attitude of teachers towards children ?

18 Is/are there any problem/s that you think your girl/boy is facing at school ?

19 Do you attend parents' meetings to discuss your child's progress at school ?

Yes-----No-----

If no, what are the reasons.

20 What are your future plans with regard to further education of your children? Would you send them to a mixed college/university or a segregated college ?

Would send them to a mixed college/university-----

Would send daughter to a girls' college -----

No further education -----

Too early to say -----

No response -----

21 What are your plans with regard to your son's/daughter's/marriage?

Will arrange it -----

Will leave it to them -----

Too early to say -----

Already engaged -----

No response -----

Interview Schedule in Mirpur
[for pupils]

Personal Profile.

- 1 Name -----
- 2 Class -----
- 3 Age -----
- 4 Sex -----

Attitudes

5 What is the purpose of separate schools ?

6 Are you in favour of separate schools ?

Yes----- No-----

A If yes, reasons:

B If no, reasons:

7 What do you think about the curriculum ?

9 Are you satisfied with the religious teaching at your school ?

Satisfied Not satisfied
----- -----

a If satisfied, what are the reasons?

b If dissatisfied, give reasons and suggestions in this regard.

9 What do you think about the attitude of teachers towards children at your school ?

10 What problems, if any, are you facing at school ?

11 What type of close friend do you have ?

12 Do your parents know about your friendship with your friend ?

13 What are your future plans with regard to your education and the career you want to pursue ?

14 What do you think about your marriage ?

- Should be my choice -----
- Let parents decide -----
- Have final word myself -----
- Too early to say -----
- No response -----

15 Where would you like to settle in future ?

Mirpur -----or other-----

عمارت

- 1- نام =
- 2- عمر =
- 3- پیشہ =
- 4- تعلیم =
- 5- طالب علم کیساتھ رشتہ =

خاندانی پس منظر

- 6- شہری یا دیہاتی
- 7- اجتماعی خاندان یا انفرادی
- 8- افراد خانہ کی تعداد
- 9- بچوں کی تعداد = لڑکا لڑکی
- 10- رہائشی مکان کی حیثیت = کرایہ پر ذاتی دیگر
- 11- گھر میں بولی جانے والی زبان

رقمہ

- 12- بچوں کو سکول بھیجنے کی وجہ
.....
.....
- 13- آپ کے خیال میں کیا بچے اور بچیوں کو علیحدہ سکول موزوں ہیں
ہاں نہیں
اگر آپکا جواب ہاں میں ہے تو اسکی وجوہات
.....
.....
- اگر آپکا جواب نہ میں ہے تو اسکی وجوہات
.....
.....
- 14- کیا آپ اپنے تمام بچوں کو سکول بھیجتے ہیں
ہاں نہیں
اگر نہیں تو اسکی وجہ
.....
.....

15- آپ صوبی طور پر سکول نصاب کے بارے میں کیا جانتے ہیں

16- کیا آپ سکول میں پڑھائی جانے والی مذہبی تعلیم سے مطمئن ہیں

مطمئن ----- مطمئن نہیں -----

اگر آپ مطمئن ہیں تو اسکی وجہ

اگر آپ مطمئن نہیں ہیں تو اسکی وجہ

17- آپکے خیال میں سکول اساتذہ کا رویہ آپکے بچوں کے ساتھ کیا ہے

18- کیا آپکے بچوں کے سکول میں کوئی مسئلہ درکار ہے لڑکا/لڑکی

19- کیا آپ بچوں کی سکول میں کارکردگی کے سلسلہ میں ہونے والی والدین کی میٹنگ میں جاتے ہیں - ہاں ----- نہیں -----
اگر نہیں تو اسکی وجہ

20- مستقبل میں بچوں کی پڑھائی کے سلسلہ میں آپ کا کیا خیال ہے - کیا آپ ان کو لڑکی/لڑکیوں کے مشترکہ کالج میں بھیجنے کا ارادہ رکھتے ہیں یا علیحدہ کالج میں -----

کیا آپ مشترکہ کالج میں بھیجیں گے -----
کیا آپ اپنی لڑکی کو لڑکیوں کے کالج میں بھیجیں گے -----
کیا آپ اپنے بچوں کو مزید تعلیم نہیں نپلوائیں گے -----
اس وقت اس بارے میں کہنا قبل از وقت ہو گا -----
کوئی جواب نہیں -----

21- اپنے بچوں/بچیوں کی شادی کے بارے میں آپ کا کیا خیال ہے

کیا اینج شادی کریں گے -----
بچوں/بچیوں پر چھوڑ دیں گے -----
قبل از وقت ہے -----
پہلے سے شادی شدہ ہیں -----
کوئی جواب نہیں -----

سوالنامہ برائے طلبہ/طالبات

تعارف

- 1 نام : =
-2 کلاس : =
-3 عمر : =
-4 سیکس : =

روحہ

-5 لڑکے/لڑکیوں کے علیحدہ سکول کا مقصد ہے

-6 کیا آپ علیحدہ سکول کے حق میں ہیں

ہاں ----- نہیں -

اگر ہاں تو اسکی وجہ

اگر نہیں تو اسکی وجہ

-7 آپ کے خیال میں سکول نصاب کھسا ہے

-8 کیا آپ سکول میں پڑھائی جانے والی مذہبی تعلیم سے مطمئن ہیں؟

مطمئن ----- مطمئن نہیں -----

اگر مطمئن ہیں تو اسکی وجہ

اگر مطمئن نہیں تو اسکی وجہ اور اسکے بارے میں تجاویز

9۔ آپ کے خیال میں آپکے اساتذہ کا سکول نئے بچوں کے ساتھ رہا کہا ہے؟

10۔ کیا آپ اپنے سکول میں کسی مسئلہ کا شکار ہیں؟

11۔ آپکے قریبی دوست کہتے ہیں؟

12۔ کیا آپکے والدین آپکے دوستوں کے بارے میں جانتے ہیں؟

13۔ آپ کا مستقبل میں اپنی تعلیم کے بارے میں کیا ادارہ ہے؟
اور کونسی شعبہ زندگی آپ اپنے لئے پسند کرتے ہیں؟

14۔ آپکا لہنی شادی کے بارے میں کیا پروگرام ہے؟

اپنی پسند سے
والدین کی پسند سے

موت اور موت اپنی مرضی سے

قبل از وقت کچھ کہنا فلتا ہے

کوئی جواب نہیں

15۔ آپ مستقبل میں کہاں رہائش رکھنے کا پروگرام رکھتے ہیں

میریور میں
یا کسی اور جگہ

Appendix Second: In Bradford

Appendix 1: The latter to the had teachers of secondary schools.

I am a Ph. D. researcher at the university of Hull. My research is concerned with the identity' challenges that may be faced by young Muslims living in Bradford, which may make it difficult for them to maintain their Islamic identity. It is hoped by investigating this issue to enhance the mutual understanding of Muslims and the British society within which they live and to find ways that young Muslims may be helped to maintain their unique Islamic identity. The enclosed schedule represents the first phase of my research to that end.

If possible, I would like to arrange an interviews with you on this topic. I would also like to obtain the responses of some pupils by organizing focus group. In addition to your school, 10 upper schools in Bradford are being approached with the some request.

I would like confirm that all information will be held by me personally in confidence; it will not be shown to any other person. It will use to design questionnaires, which will be distributed to pupils and their parents, if you would allow me to visit again to do that.

I would be most grateful if you would agree to cooperate with this project by allowing me arrange an appointment shortly to do the interviews.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you for your help

Ahmad Al-Shabban.

Department of Geography

University of Hull

Appendix 2: The Interview Schedule.

Structured Interviews.

Name:

Date:

School:

Level:

Position:

Time: from:

To:

1- In your opinion, are there any factors in the school that make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity ? If so, what do you think are the main ones?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2- Have you any suggestions as to how these problems in the school can be solved ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

1- In your opinion, are there any factors at home that make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity ? If so, what do you think are the main ones?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

.....
.....
.....

2- Have you any suggestions as to how these problems at home can be solved ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

1- In your opinion, are there any factors in society that make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity ? If so, what do you think are the main ones?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2- Have you any suggestions as to how these problems in society can be solved ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

1- In your opinion, are there any factors in mosque that make it difficult for Muslim youth to maintain their cultural identity ? If so, what do you think are the main ones?.....

.....
.....

2- Have you any suggestions as to how these problems in mosque can be solved ?

.....
.....
.....

Appendix 3 The Questionnaires.

Dear pupil.

This questionnaire is part of a study investigating the importance of education in the preservation of the identity of Muslims in Bradford.

All information you give will be held by me personally in confidence, and it will not be shown to any other person.

For the purpose of this survey there are no wrong or right answers.

Your personal and honest opinion is the only required response. Please put down what you really feel and complete the whole of the questionnaire, and remember that your answers will help other Muslim pupils in Britain to preserve their Islamic identity.

I would be very grateful if you would please complete all the questions and give the questionnaire back to the teacher who handed it to you .

Section one: The challenges which Muslim pupils can face during their daily life.

Please tick the appropriate column to indicate your personal opinion about the following items.

- Remember there is no wrong or right response.
- SA: Strongly Agree/ A: Agree/ D: Disagree/ SD: strongly disagree.

1-Formal education { state schools}

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	In my school there are enough Muslim teachers.				
2	In my school Muslim teachers are unable to teach Islam .				
3	In my school non-Muslim teachers do not understand Muslim pupils' problems.				
4	In my school most non-Muslim teachers understand Islam.				

5	In my school the curriculum teaches enough about Islam.				
6	In my school some topics or activities, e.g. dance, conflict with Islam.				
7	The examples that are given by my teachers reflect both western and Islamic cultures.				
8	In my school education encourages individualism.				

9	In my school there is enough time to pray				
10	In my school no respect is given to fasting time .				
11	In my school we can go to Friday prayers.				
12	In my school there is no place for ablution {washing before prayer} or for praying.				

13	In my school, enough attention is paid to the Islamic festivals.				
14	In my school, girls and boys get sex harassment from each other.				
15	In my school I do not face racism from non-Muslim pupils.				
16	In my school pupils acquire inappropriate friends.				
17	In my school I feel comfortable with the other non-Muslim pupils.				

2- Informal education

1- { Mosque }

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	In my Mosque, <i>Mudrassa</i> { Quran lessons } teach only the Quran, rather than other knowledge				
2	In my Mosque the teachers are too strict with the children.				
3	In my Mosque there are means to attract the pupils.				
4	In my Mosque the teaching style is modern.				
5	There is nationalist division between the Mosques.				
6	In my Mosque women get a chance to attend the <i>Khautba</i> . { speech }				
7	In my Mosque the <i>Khautba</i> { speech } does not deal with current issues.				
8	In my Mosque there are enough public lectures.				

2- Home

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	My parents practise Islam appropriately.				
2	In my home it is difficult to educate the children properly when the size of the family is too big.				
3	My parents bring up their children in accordance with the local culture rather than Islam.				
4	My parents do not deal harshly with me.				
5	My father does not spend a lot of time outside the home.				

3- Society.

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	There is no racism in the society.				
2	Badly behaved youth can teach Muslim about drugs, prostitution, etc				
3	The media present Muslims as peaceful people.				
4	The media reflect western culture only.				
5	Pleasure centres have many things forbidden in Islam, such as gambling, make me uncomfortable.				
6	In the street there are advertisements involving nudity and alcohol , that can make me uncomfortable.				
7	T.V. is a good influence on Muslim children.				

Section two: To Suggest possible improvement for the future.

For each group, please tick the two items you think are the most important.

For example:

Do not tick more than two

No	Items	Most Important
1	Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture.	
2	Increase the number of Muslim teachers.	
3	Give high importance to teaching teachers of Islam.	
4	Teach Muslim pupils sex education in the Islamic way.	

1- Formal education.[state schools].

Do not tick more Than two

No	Items	Most Important
1	Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture.	
2	Increase the number of Muslim teachers.	
3	Improve training for teachers of Islam.	
4	Make teachers aware of the importance of treating all students equally.	

Do not tick more Than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Allocate more lessons to Islamic education.	
2	Filter the curriculum content to remove any material which conflicts with Islam	
3	Give examples taken from Islamic culture.	
4	Teach Muslim pupils sex education in the Islamic way.	

Do not tick more Than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Offer pupils enough time to pray.	
2	Respect the fasting time for Muslim pupils.	
3	Provide a place for ablution {washing before prayer} and a prayer room	
4	Provide pupils with transport to the Mosque for Friday prayers.	

Do not tick more Than two

No	Items	Most Important
1	Offer single sex education.	
2	Prevent any kind of racism in the school.	
3	Increase the number of Islamic schools	
4	Display posters about Islam in the school.	
5	Give the Islamic festivals much attention, especially if there is a high percentage of Muslim pupils.	

2- Informal education.

1. Mosques.

Do not tick more than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Concentrate on Arabic language to help pupils to understand Islamic principles.	
2	Give some importance to other aspects of Islamic knowledge.	
3	Give equal opportunities to male and female pupils.	
4	Deal with pupils in a flexible way.	
5	Avoid nationalism between the Mosques to increase Muslim unity.	
6	Arrange Islamic courses and weekly lectures	

2. Home

Do not tick more than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Take the children back home periodically.	
2	Teach children that they are Muslim first and British second.	
3	Provide Videos or Satellite programmes to replace unsuitable T.V programmes.	
4	Devote sufficient time to teaching children Islamic principles.	
5	Encourage children to practise Islam.	

3. Society.

Do not tick more than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Devote certain media programmes or TV a channel to Islamic culture.	
2	Arrange conferences of Islamic organisations to find solutions.	
3	Organise various sport activities for Muslim youths .	
4	Use Community Centres to make people aware of forbidden behaviours.	

Section Three: Personal Profile.

-Age

-Sex: Boy {.....} Girl {.....}

Please tick the appropriate boxes.

1- Where were you born?

Britain Other {Please state} {

2-Where were your Mother and Father born?

	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
Azad Kashmir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Bangladesh	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pakistan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jammo Kashmir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Britain	<input type="checkbox"/>
India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other {please state}.....	

3- Which language do you normally speak with your parents?

English Mother language Both

4- Where would you like to make your permanent home in the future?

Country of origin Britain Other

Any comments or suggestions

.....

Thank you for your kind help

Dear parent.

This questionnaire is part of a study investigating the importance of education in the preservation of the identity of Muslims in Bradford.

All information you give will be held by me personally in confidence, and it will not be shown to any other person.

For the purpose of this survey there are no wrong or right answers.

Your personal and honest opinion is the only required response. Please put down what you really feel and complete the whole of the questionnaire, and remember that your answers will help other Muslim pupils in Britain to preserve their Islamic identity.

I would be very grateful if you would please complete all the questions and give the questionnaire back to the teacher who handed it to you .

Section one: The challenges which Muslim pupils can face during their daily life.

Please tick the appropriate column to indicate your personal opinion about the following items.

- Remember there is no wrong or right response.
- SA: Strongly Agree/ A: Agree/ D: Disagree/ SD: strongly disagree.

1-Formal education { state schools}

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	In my child's school there are enough Muslim teachers.				
2	In my child's school Muslim teachers are unable to teach Islam .				
3	In my child's school non-Muslim teachers do not understand Muslim pupils' problems.				
4	In my child's school most non-Muslim teachers understand Islam.				

5	In my child's school the curriculum teaches enough about Islam.				
6	In my child's school some topics or activities, e.g. dance, conflict with Islam.				
7	The examples that are given by my child's teachers reflect both western and Islamic cultures.				
8	In my child's school education encourages individualism.				

9	In my child's school there is enough time to pray				
10	In my child's school no respect is given to fasting time .				
11	In my child's school we can go to Friday prayers.				
12	In my child's school there is no place for ablution {washing before prayer} or for praying.				

13	In my child's school, enough attention is paid to the Islamic festivals.				
14	In my child's school, girls and boys get sex harassment from each other.				
15	In my child's school I do not face racism from non-Muslim pupils.				
16	In my child's school pupils acquire inappropriate friends.				
17	In my child's school I feel comfortable with the other non-Muslim pupils.				

2- Informal education

1- { Mosque }

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	In my Mosque, <i>Mudrassa</i> { Quran lessons } teach only the Quran, rather than other knowledge				
2	In my Mosque the teachers are too strict with the children.				
3	In my Mosque there are means to attract the pupils.				
4	In my Mosque the teaching style is modern.				
5	There is nationalist division between the Mosques.				
6	In my Mosque women get a chance to attend the <i>Khautba</i> . { speech }				
7	In my Mosque the <i>Khautba</i> { speech } does not deal with current issues.				
8	In my Mosque there are enough public lectures.				

2- Home

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	Most parents practise Islam appropriately.				
2	In my home it is difficult to educate the children properly when the size of the family is too big.				
3	Most parents bring up their children in accordance with the local culture rather than Islam.				
4	I do not deal harshly with my children.				
5	I do not spend a lot of time outside the home.				

3- Society.

No	Items	SA	A	D	SD
1	There is no racism in the society.				
2	Badly behaved youth can teach Muslim about drugs, prostitution, etc				
3	The media present Muslims as peaceful people.				
4	The media reflect western culture only.				
5	Pleasure centres have many things forbidden in Islam, such as gambling, make me uncomfortable.				
6	In the street there are advertisements involving nudity and alcohol, that can make me uncomfortable.				
7	T.V. is a good influence on Muslim children.				

Section two: To Suggest possible improvement for the future.

For each group, please tick the two items you think are the most important.

For example:

Do not tick more than two

No	Items	Most Important
1	Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture.	
2	Increase the number of Muslim teachers.	
3	Give high importance to teaching teachers of Islam.	
4	Teach Muslim pupils sex education in the Islamic way.	

2- Formal education.[state schools].

Do not tick more Than two

No	Items	Most Important
1	Make non-Muslim teachers aware of Islamic culture.	
2	Increase the number of Muslim teachers.	
3	Improve training for teachers of Islam.	
4	Make teachers aware of the importance of treating all students equally.	

Do not tick more Than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Allocate more lessons to Islamic education.	
2	Filter the curriculum content to remove any material which conflicts with Islam	
3	Give examples taken from Islamic culture.	
4	Teach Muslim pupils sex education in the Islamic way.	

Do not tick more Than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Offer pupils enough time to pray.	
2	Respect the fasting time for Muslim pupils.	
3	Provide a place for ablution {washing before prayer} and a prayer room	
4	Provide pupils with transport to the Mosque for Friday prayers.	

Do not tick more Than two

No	Items	Most Important
1	Offer single sex education.	
2	Prevent any kind of racism in the school.	
3	Increase the number of Islamic schools	
4	Display posters about Islam in the school.	
5	To give the Islamic festivals much attention, especially if there is a high percentage of Muslim pupils.	

2- Informal education.

1. Mosques.

Do not tick more than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Concentrate on Arabic language to help pupils to understand Islamic principles.	
2	Give some importance to other aspects of Islamic knowledge.	
3	Give equal opportunities to male and female pupils.	
4	Deal with pupils in a flexible way.	
5	Avoid nationalism between the Mosques to increase Muslim unity.	
6	Arrange Islamic courses and weekly lectures	

2. Home

Do not tick more than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Take the children back home periodically.	
2	Teach children that they are Muslim first and British second.	
3	Provide Videos or Satellite programmes to replace unsuitable T.V programmes.	
4	Devote sufficient time to teaching children Islamic principles.	
5	Encourage children to practise Islam.	

3. Society.

Do not tick more than two

N	Items	Most Important
1	Devote certain media programmes or TV a channel to Islamic culture.	
2	Arrange conferences of Islamic organisations to find solutions.	
3	Organise various sport activities for Muslim youths .	
4	Use Community Centres to make people aware of forbidden behaviours.	

Section Three: Personal Profile.

Please tick the appropriate boxes

-Sex : Male Female

1-Educational level

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A. Illiterate | you <input type="checkbox"/> | your partner <input type="checkbox"/> | D .Can read and write English | you <input type="checkbox"/> | your partner <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B.Can read and write home language | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | E. Intermediate or university | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C-Can speak English but not read | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | F. College-University. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. When did you came to Britain?

- Before 1940 Between 1940-1949
 Between 1950-1959 Between 1960-1969
 Between 1970-1979 After 1979

3- Why did you come to Britain?

To get a job Business Study Other Please state.....

4- How many children do you have ?

1-2 3-4 5-6 More than 6

5- Where would you like to make your permanent home in the future ?

Country of origin Britain Other

Any comments or suggestions

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Thank you for your kind help.