

**THE IMPACT OF ISLAMIC REVIVALISTS ON MUSLIM
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN BRITAIN**

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This thesis is submitted to the University of Wales in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, particularly my father and two sisters who passed away before this thesis was completed.

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ABSTRACT

This study is a modest investigation into the impact of the Islamic Revivalist movements on the educational development of Muslims in Britain. The main areas covered are the education policy in Britain as a result of the arrival of immigrant religious communities in Britain; the ideological concerns of revivalists movements in Muslim countries; Islamic Revivalist movements in Britain; Muslim education policy in Britain, the evolution of Muslim supplementary schools, and Muslim justification for voluntary-aided schools; a framework for the demands of living in a multi-cultural society.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Preamble.

The present study is a modest investigation into the impact of the revivalist movements on the educational development of Muslims in Britain. The main objectives of the study would be as follows:-

- 1) To examine education policy in Britain as a result of the arrival of immigrant religious communities.
- 2) To examine the ideological concerns of revivalist movements in Muslim countries.
- 3) To examine the development of Islamic revivalist movements in Britain and the concern for identity.
- 4) To examine the evolution of Muslim supplementary schools, and Muslim justifications for voluntary - aided schools.

5) To examine a framework which would contribute to meeting Muslim educational aspirations and the demands of living in a multifaith society.

The study of migrant communities in Britain has produced a considerable literature in recent years and they have embraced a number of different theoretical and methodological perspectives. The present study is more concerned with the internal dynamics of a particular migrant settlement than with a wider appraisal of 'race relations' in Britain. However, the need to relate the social situation of Muslim immigrants to a much broader intra- and inter-societal perspective is recognised, although, it is believed that this has, and is, already being covered by ethnographic and sociological research in the field. Therefore, this study has drawn on the findings of such research where ever necessary.

During the last fifty years numerous Muslims have come to Great Britain from various parts of the world, from Muslim majority areas, such as Pakistan and Bangladesh, Turkey and Malaysia; and others from those countries where they lived for a considerable amount of time as religious minorities, such as Tanzania and Uganda, Guyana and India. They bring with them their national languages, customs, traditions, religious and cultural values. For both theologians and sociologists

this situation presents an immensely interesting range of issues for study. This chapter therefore reviews the trends so far covered by existing research, and maps out the perspective which underpins this study.

1.2. Typologies of Research.

The studies undertaken on new communities in Britain has produced a number of studies which have been concerned with an examination of all the major immigrant grouping.¹ They have sought to describe the nature of the West Indian, Indian and Pakistani migrations, the cultural and social organisation of these migrant groups, their settlement patterns in Britain and the problems which they meet in the host society. Most of these studies have placed all these groups under such common rubrics as 'coloured immigrants', 'ethnic and/or racial minorities', or some combination of these and similar terms. Within this perspective there has been an emphasis on host-migrant relationships and the concepts of

¹ See for example, Allen, S. New Minorities, Old Conflicts, U.S.A., 1971, pp.223; Banton, M. Racial Minorities, London, 1972, pp. 243.; Collins, S. Coloured Minorities in Britain, London, 1957, pp.267; Davison, R.B. Commonwealth Immigrants, London, 1964, pp.350; Griffith, J.A.G. Coloured Immigrants in Britain, London, 1960, pp.225; Huxley, E. Back Street, New Worlds: A Look at Immigrants in Britain, London, 1964, pp.265; Krausz, E. Ethnic Minorities in Britain, London, 1971, pp.234; Rosenthal, E.J.B. Colour and Citizenship, London, 1969, pp.815.

'accommodation', 'integration' and 'assimilation'.²

This approach led to a concern with colour prejudice and discrimination in Britain and the 'racial problems' associated with it. Several studies adopted an attitudinal perspective and attempted to 'measure' the levels of prejudice and discrimination based on the beliefs attached to cultural and phenotypical differentiation. Sometimes they were focused on the entire host society but more often they selected those urban areas in which coloured immigrants were most concentrated.³

In addition to such attitudinal surveys and those studies which examined race relations at the macro-level, a number of community studies have been carried out which have described the social situation of coloured migrants in particular British cities. The early studies conducted on the late 1940's and early 1950's were usually confined to African and West

² Patterson, S. Dark Strangers: A Study of West Indians in London, London, 1963, pp.320.

³ Bagley, C. Social Structure and Prejudice in Five English Boroughs, London, 1970, pp.158; Baker, P. Attitudes to Coloured People in Glasgow, Survey Research Centre, Glasgow, 1970, pp.150; Banton, M. White and Coloured - Behaviourial Study on Immigrants, London, 1959, pp.240; Stafford Clark, D. Prejudice in the Community, N.C.I.I. 1967, pp.50.; Darragh, J. Colour and Conscience, London, 1957, pp.236; Daniel, W. Racial Discrimination in England: P.E.P. Report, London, 1968, 248; Hill, C. How Colour Prejudiced is Britain? London, 1965, pp.224; Bloom, L. The Social Psychology of Race relations, London, 1965, pp.340.

Indian settlements because the immigration of Asian migrants did not reach a significant level until the 1960's. The most notable 'pioneering studies' of this type included Kenneth Little's study of *Bute Town* in Cardiff,⁴ Michael Banton's study in *Stepney* - London,⁵ and the *Liverpool* community study carried out by Anthony Richmond.⁶

With the entry of substantial numbers of West Indian and Asian migrants in the 1950's and 1960's, other community studies followed. Many of them based in the London area and were still centred on West Indian settlements. Sheila Patterson's study of Jamaicans in Brixton,⁷ Ruth Glass's survey of black 'newcomers',⁸ and R.B. Davison's study of the 'Black British',⁹ are perhaps the best known.

The setting up of the *Survey of Race Relations* by the

⁴ Little, K. Negroes in Britain: A Study of Race Relations in English Society, London, 1947, revised edition 1972, pp.292.

⁵ Banton, M. The Coloured Quarter: Negro Immigrants in An English City, London, 1955, pp.252.

⁶ Richmond, A.H. Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941-1951, London, 1954, pp. 342.

⁷ Patterson, S. *op.cit.*

⁸ Glass, R. Newcomers: West Indians in London, London, 1960, pp.248.

⁹ Davison, R.B. Black British, London, 1966, pp.278.

Institute of Race Relations in 1963 prompted the voluminous Colour and Citizenship Report¹⁰ and a number of community studies which were concerned with several provincial cities as well as the Metropolis. Apart from those studies which were concerned with particular aspects of race relations in Britain, for example, housing and employment,¹¹ the most notable study to emerge from the 'survey' was the study of Sparkbrook, Birmingham by John Rex and Robert Moore.¹² A survey of Bristol by Anthony Richmond and Michael Lyon which was initiated at the same time was of major significance in the field of urban studies.¹³ These studies, and a number of others not so well known,¹⁴ have provided a wealth of ethnographic data pertaining to several coloured settlements in Britain.

The above studies, and the previously described work, indicate that the level of colour prejudice and

¹⁰ Rose, E.J.B. *et.al. op.cit.*

¹¹ Burney, E. Housing on Trial, Open University, 1967; McPherson, K. and Gaitskell, J. Immigrants and Employment in East London and Croydon: Two Case Studies, London, 1969, pp.78.

¹² Rex, J. and Moore, R. Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook, London, 1967, pp.298.

¹³ Richmond, A.H. *et.al.*, Migration and Race Relations in an English City: A Study in Bristol, London, 1973, pp.268.

¹⁴ For example: Butterworth, E. *et.al.* Immigrants in West Yorkshire, London, 1967, pp.98; Brown, J. The Un-melting Pot, London, 1970, pp.234.

discrimination against coloured groupings in Britain is considerable.¹⁵ This finding prompted the suggestion that coloured immigrants in Britain are subsumed under a common 'underclass' or 'sub-proletariat' category in the stratificational system of the host society.¹⁶ Thus, it is argued that coloured individuals and groups in Britain are constrained by the prevalence of racial discrimination to occupy 'inferior' positions in the host society compared with indigenous white population. Due to the negative attributes assigned to colour and/or cultural difference by many members of the host society, coloured immigrants are placed in a disadvantageous position with regard to the acquisition of scarce resources, whether in the field of housing, employment or whatever. Relationships between coloured minorities and the host society are, therefore, perceived by theorists as conflictual and competitive.

The present study accepts the validity of this perspective and acknowledges the contribution made by the various approaches previously outlined. However,

¹⁵ See Daniel, W. *op.cit.*

¹⁶ For an excellent analysis of 'Marxist' and other stratificational perspectives on race relations situations see, Rex, J. Race Relations in Sociological Theory, London, 1970, pp.258; Rex, J. Race Colonialism and the City, London, 1973, pp.226; Dunning, E. "Dynamic of Racial Stratification: Some Preliminary Observations", Race, Vol. X111, No.4, 1972, pp.413-435.

these approaches appear to have a number of shortcomings. They can be more easily elucidated by placing these studies within three major categories which can be called the 'attitudinal', 'community', and 'stratificational' perspective respectively.

The attitudinal perspective whilst providing such valuable data on the prevalence of 'colour prejudice' in Britain, often fails to explore the structural relationships which underly attitude formation. It can be instructive to investigate the presence, or otherwise, of the attitudes which pertain to cultural and/or phenotypical differences as these may shape the beliefs and actions of immigrants and the host society.

Similarly, with many community studies there is a tendency to view immigrant settlements in particular cities as social isolates in space and time. There may be token acknowledgement of the historical factors which help to explain the presence of these immigrant groups in their contemporary metropolitan situation. There may also be an awareness that a specific settlement-area must be seen in relation to the wider structure of the society in which it exists, but often, these wider considerations are not *built-in* to the study as a *central* feature. They do not form the basis of the theoretical and methodological framework

being used.

Finally, the stratification approaches to race relations, particularly their Marxist variants, overlook or de-emphasise the essential task of separating out the socially and culturally distinct groupings *within* a common classification. These internal distinctions not only apply to the major cultural and geographical divisions between, for example, West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis but also to the very important regional, linguistic, religious, political and other differences *within* these groupings. These distinctions are more readily apparent if there is an explicit recognition of the way in which these groups *separate themselves* into meaningfully distinct groups of communities.

A major shift in research definition occurred with the establishment of the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges. The Centre produced a number of research reports which addressed the study of some immigrant communities from a religious perspective, in particular it was concerned with the way in which the Muslim community was responding to life in Britain and Europe.¹⁷ An

¹⁷ For example Ally, M.M. Muslims in Britain, 1981; Bhatti, F.M. Turkish Cypriots In London, 1981; Nielson, J. Muslim Immigration And Settlement In Britain, 1984; Joly, D. The Opinions Of Mirpuri Parents In Saltley, Birmingham, About Their Children's

important factor in this re-definition was the realisation that religion is a most potent force in ethnic identity, therefore, in the study of new communities such as Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Turkish Cypriots, the religious dimension cannot be ignored.

Many of the initial reports of the Centre were surveys of sub-national ethnic groups of Muslims, then emerged studies relating to specific areas in which Muslims were experiencing difficulties.¹⁸ One other determinant in the move away from ethnic studies was the increasing attention to the Muslim world due to major geo-political factors; the emerging political significance of several Muslim countries, in many instances related to their share of the world oil reserves; the armed conflicts in what is deemed to be highly important strategic areas; finally, the upheavals in the Muslim world as a result of Islamic revival, reform or revolution. These factors have contributed to the rise of research which placed the Muslim minority studies in a much broader context,

Schooling, 1984; Beckerlegge, G. Nation Formation And Religious Education: The Concern Of Muslims In Britain And Bangladesh, 1989.

¹⁸ Islam English Law And Administration: A Symposium, 1981; Assad, D. et.al. Christian Muslim Marriages, 1983; Nielson, J. A Survey Of British Local Authority Response To Muslim Needs, 1986; Shepherd, J.J. and North, C.W. Islam And Religious Education In England, 1987; Joly, D. Ethnic Minorities And Education In Britain: Interaction Between The Muslim Community And Birmingham Schools, 1989.

specifically to do with the relationship between Muslim minorities and Muslim majorities.

This change of emphasis also raised a number of methodological concerns in the study of the Muslims at a macro level; social scientists interested in the study of the Muslim community found it important to concern themselves with Islam.¹⁹ It is difficult to characterise what may be meant by 'a social scientific approach' to the study of religion, since there are wide variations of opinion among social scientists themselves about the nature and validity of the studies in which they engage. As a result, the approaches and stances they adopt are in a state of flux and advance. For instance there are those who would wish to consider the traditional discipline of history to be a social science!

The basic difference between a social science such as sociology in relation to history, is that the former marks off a certain sphere or segment of human activity and seeks to develop methods peculiarly suited to that of the segment, whereas the historian entertains broader purposes and use different methods.

¹⁹ Ayyub, M. The Politics of Islamic Reassertion, U.S.A., 1981, pp.230; Bennigsen, A. and Broxup, M. The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State, London, 1983, pp.280; Berger, M. Islam in Egypt Today: Social and Political Aspects of Popular Religion, London, 1970, pp.258.

Central to the social scientific approach is the conception that religion can be studied in objective terms. The desire of inquirers is to discover the hard or empirical aspects of religiousness in the belief that uncovering these will allow one to come to terms with what religion in reality is. The danger in this perception is that it may lead to a reductionist view of human religiousness. Consequently, religious reactions are deprived of any possible transcendental reference. Even if they escape the pitfall of reductionism, they still run the risk of missing the most essential thing in the study of religion. The matter that causes so much difficulty in coming to terms with religion in human history is precisely the fact that religious people feel themselves, and sincerely and deeply so, to be reflecting in their responses to the ultimate character of reality itself. How does one legitimately objectify the transcendental or the ultimate to make it observable, or to subsume it under some still larger conception that accounts for it and shows its 'real' nature? Much, though to be sure not all, social scientific thinking holds religious people to be deluding themselves when they believe they are responding to a transcendental vision; in reality they are motivated by other forces, social, psychological, economic or whatever.

If ways of thinking are adopted that serve to under-

cut the transcendental dimension of religion or to deny it altogether by reducing it to more mundane aspects of reality, then the study will be prevented from appreciating the heart of religion. If the purpose is to understand the quality of religiousness, to know what is happening to a person when he/she sincerely responds to life in a typically religious way, then this aspect cannot be ignored.

Most recent studies on Islam have been undertaken from a base within one of the recognised social scientific disciplines; political science, sociology, economics, and so on. To the extent that these studies are expressions of a disciplinary interest, they are normally concerned with Islam only as it affects the subject to which the discipline is devoted. Thus questions are raised about the effect of Islam on politics in one country or another, or about the relation of religious orientations to economic development or social change.²⁰ This approach skirts dangerously near a fragmented view of human nature, for it may slip into looking upon religion, politics, social behaviour, as separate, comparable and refined entities incapable of influencing or interacting with one another.

²⁰ Anderson, L. The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980, U.S.A., 1986, pp.330; Keyder, C. State and Class in Turkey, London, 1987, pp.236;

The danger at the theoretical level with this disciplinary perspective is to assess religion and its meaning as a function of another realm of activity, such as its relevance to politics or to economic behaviour.²¹ It may be questioned whether studies of such kind do justice to the phenomenon of religion since they are not principally directed at the investigation of the Islamic experience for its own sake, but, take into account only those aspects of Islam that seem relevant for their purpose. Political scientists and sociologists are not historians of religion, and their writings about religion are as little likely to be complete and satisfactory as would be the writings of a student of comparative religion about political or social forces.

Perhaps the most significant exception to the pattern of social scientific study of religion is history, because the historian is interested in the whole life of the community, in the whole religious life of the societies they study. The breadth of their focus allows them to take into account, and to render, more or less adequate, of even those societies, such as the Islamic, where religious experiences and insights are apprehended as the basis of all else. In short, historians have an interest in the phenomenon of

²¹ Binnez, T. Islam and Political Development in Turkey, Leiden, 1981, pp.158.

religion for its own sake, and in every aspect of its expression.

In certain contemporary studies which have drawn from techniques of both the historian and the anthropologist, they have been interested to enter into, and represent, the value outlook and worldview of whole societies on which they concentrate. Since the religious expression of a people brings together and focuses its value orientations as does no other expression of cultural life, religion becomes almost the equivalent of culture from this perspective. The approach has proven to be very fruitful in producing illuminating studies of the regional expression of Islamic piety in different places among peoples of differing life styles. Its great strength has been its insistence upon presenting the self-understanding of the subject group, in addition to, an analysis in the categories and terms of the inquirer.

This research is a further development out of such studies, which attempts to examine the interactive influences of ideological forces in Muslim countries on Muslim minorities in Britain in the specific area of education.

1.3. Theoretical Framework.

A recurring issue in the study of the Muslim settlement in Britain is the concern for the education of Muslim children. However, this matter cannot be isolated from its origins in the Muslim world. Therefore, this study, though, embracing some aspects of the 'attitudinal', 'community', and 'religious' perspectives, is placed within a theoretical framework which defines the social aspects of contemporary Muslim settlement in Britain as a part of an on-going historical process which originated in Muslim countries. Thus, the links, both contemporary and historical, between Britain and various Muslim countries, which the former colonised, need to be examined together with an analysis of the social structure of the Muslim community. Throughout the present study the educational developments in the Muslim community in Britain will be compared with similar developments in Muslim societies from which the community originated.

Another dimension of this framework is the acceptance that education is inextricably linked to the search for religious identity both in Britain, where Muslims are contending with a minority status, and confronting a challenge to conform to the dominant world view; and in the Muslim world, where after emerging from

colonialism, Muslims are still suffering from ideological schizophrenia, and are in search for a role for themselves in the world.

This challenge is being seized by Islamic revival movements throughout the Muslim world, who recognise that the first task in the process of modernisation is the reformulation of the Islamic identity, and this requires the re-establishment of the Islamic epistemological framework; Muslim educational policy in Britain is dictated by this paradigm.

In the present study, the total Muslim population in Britain will be referred to as a *community* whilst the distinctive island divisions within the latter will be called *ethnic groupings*. This use of terminology corresponds to the way in which individuals within the Muslim community relate to one other and how they define the closeness or otherwise of the social bonds within these relationships. The term Muslim Community is acceptable to this research as a means of referring to individuals who have a common cultural background, namely the Islamic.

1.4. Conceptual Framework.

Muslims have consistently objected to being referred

to as an ethnic community, though accepting that the 'ummah (community) is a constellation of racial, ethnic, linguistic, and theological entities.

In this research an ethnic group can be operationally defined as a collectivity of people who share some patterns of normative behaviour; and form a part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system. The term ethnicity refers to the degree of conformity by members of the collectivity to these shared norms in the course of social interaction.

By patterns of normative behaviour is meant the symbolic formations and activities found in such contexts as kinship and marriage, friendship, ritual, and other types of ceremonial. These may be referred to as customs or traditions. They are not the idiosyncratic habits or illusions of isolated individuals but largely collective representations, even though they manifest themselves in individual behaviour. They are involved in psychic processes, and thus, can be subjectively experienced by the actors.

An ethnic group is not simply the sum total of its individual members, and its traditions are not the sum total of the strategies adopted by independent individuals. Their norms are effective and have their

own constraining power only because they are the collective representations of a group, adopting its current major symbols. A member of an ethnic group can manipulate customs if he/she becomes part of such a group and are backed by the pressure of that group. However, that individual cannot manipulate others without being ready to be manipulated by them. This is the price to be paid in membership for participating in the group's symbolic activities, and by a measure of adherence to the group's aims. Ethnicity is essentially a form of interaction between individuals possessing a common ancestry, long shared history, common traditions and customs, the same geographic origins, common language, common literature, common spiritualism.²²

An ethnic group is an outgrowth of a tribal society, the shift from a kin-based system to one based on territory. The factors which were the cause of this development are identified to be the emergence of a hereditary ruling class, that class performing valuable centralising functions which offer clear military and economic increments to the group as a whole. Its existence makes everyone safer in relation

²² This criteria seem consistent with those given in Cohen, A. Urban Ethnicity, London, 1974, pp.ix-xiii; and as also interpreted by A.J.C. MacPherson in his testimony in the case King-Ansell -v- Police, Wellington, New Zealand, 1979. They also underscore the interpretation of Lord Fraser Tullybelton, in the case Mandla -v- Lee.

to external foes, and in the economic sphere it s managerial role, more particularly, that of the bureaucracy, often generates a high level of income for all. Greater absolute material comfort is gained at the expense of greater inequality.²³ Therefore, this research understands ethnicity in terms of interconnections with economic and political relationships.

Religion in this research should be understood to mean a cultural institution evolving out of patterned interaction which is instrumental in the satisfaction of needs, these are related to a *Divine Being* which is believed to be the absolute spiritual realm. This brief explication of our definition of 'religion' indicates that, viewed systemically, religion can be differentiated from other culturally constituted institutions by virtue only of its reference to a *Divine Being*. All institutions consist of belief systems, meaning, an enduring organisation of cognitions about one or more aspects of the universe; action systems, an enduring organisations of behaviour patterns designed to attain ends for the satisfaction of needs; and value systems, an enduring organisation of principles by which behaviour can be judged on some scale of merit. Religion differs from other

²³ Patterson, O. Ethnic Chauvinism: The Reactionary Impulse, U.S.A. 1977, pp. 35-54.

institutions in that its three component systems have reference to a *Divine Being*.

Every religious system consists, in the first instance, of a cognitive system; it consists of a set of explicit and implicit propositions concerning the superhuman world and of a persons' relationship to it, which it claims to be true. These include beliefs in spiritual beings of various kinds, of rituals of a wide variety, of existences - both prior and subsequent to the present existence - and so on. This cognitive system, or parts of it, is of course acquired by members of a group, and, on the individual level, it becomes a culturally constituted belief system. It is a belief system because the propositions are believed to be true; and it is culturally constituted because the propositions are acquired from a culturally provided religious system.

Within this conception religious beliefs determine culture in so far that culture is a cognitive system (though not the only one), that is, a set of propositions, both descriptive and normative, about nature, humans, and society that are embedded in interlocking higher order networks and configurations. Cultural propositions are *traditional*, that is, they are developed in the historical experience of social groups, and as a social heritage, they are acquired by

members of society through various processes of social transmission - enculturation.²⁴ Cultural propositions are encoded in *collective*, rather than private, signs, indices, icons as well as symbols.²⁵

Consequently, culture refers to social structure, social organisation, social behaviour.²⁶ Culture also determines thinking and feelings; thinking by means of concepts comprising cultural propositions, and emotions are often aroused by them; in short, thoughts and emotions are culturally constituted.²⁷ These emotions can be creative, but they can also be destructive. The culture generates mechanisms for control through norm-oriented beliefs which demand a

²⁴ Williams contends that: "In a society as a whole, and in all its particular activities, the cultural tradition can be seen as a continual selection and re-selection of ancestors. Particular lines will be drawn, often for as long as a century, and then suddenly, with some new stage in growth, these will be cancelled or weakened, and new lines drawn. In the analysis of contemporary culture, the existing state of the selective tradition - establishing new lines with the past, breaking or re-drawing existing lines - is a radical kind of contemporary change." Williams, R. The Long Revolution, London, pp.52-53.

²⁵ Firth argues that these cultural propositions are the religiously defined dogma, "The nucleus of the belief may be comprised in part by the dogma of the religion concerned, that is, by the set of doctrines regarded as proper to be believed in by all who profess that religion." Firth, R. Essays On Social Organisation And Values, London, 1964, p.261.

²⁶ Eisenstadt, S.N. Essays on Comparative Institutions, U.S.A., 1965, pp.3-57.

²⁷ Williams, R. *op.cit.* p.52.

rule, a law, a regulatory agency, designed to constrain the inadequate, ineffective, or irresponsible behaviour of individuals.²⁸

These regulatory mechanisms are institutionalised within what is referred to as *community*. In this study community is understood to mean the intercourse of social beings within which association in respect of common aims and interests takes place and functions. Consequently, community can be regarded in two interrelated dimensions; firstly, the structural, is recognised partly in spatial terms, and partly in terms of a common culture and pattern of behaviour. The second, the functional aspect, is recognisable in the way its associations are grouped and its activities organised. Methodologically, the approach to the first is largely descriptive; to the second, analytical as well.²⁹

By a religious community is meant the institutionalisation of a social system based on norms, sanctions, and organisations which regulate the access to different positions, and establish certain norms of exchange that are set up, and that policies through these norms, can be upheld and applied to a

²⁸ Smelser, N.J. Theory Of Collective Behaviour, U.S.A. pp.109-111.

²⁹ Little, K.L. *op.cit.* pp.1-3.

relatively large and complex variety of social situations are implemented. These norms are legitimated by values that are shared in differing degrees, by a large part of the religious community and symbolised by themselves, hence, such values tend to be binding on all members of the community because they have sanction from a *Divine Being*.³⁰

This research understands the Islamic community (*'ummah*) therefore, within a much broader context as representing a social system of shared values underpinned by a belief system, mediated through by culture which provides regulative mechanisms that are normative for common aims and interest.

1.5. Methodological Framework.

The present study being concerned with the development of Islamic education in Britain follows a historical perspective. It is therefore concerned with identifying the factors which have contributed to this development over a period of time, and uncover the issues about how people think, their values, perspectives, but most importantly: "it tries to do all this from within the group, and from within the perspectives of the group's members. It is their

³⁰ Eisenstadt, S.N. *op.cit.* pp.3-42.

meanings and interpretations that count."³¹

To achieve this the researcher's task is to enter the boundaries of a community under study and view it 'from the inside.' As in anthropology such a view cannot be obtained through brief visits to the community. Instead, the researcher has to spend a long period of time becoming familiar with the community, being accepted by it and learning about its culture. Such culture requires careful unravelling because the 'reality' of the community is wrapped in several layers of 'social meanings and interpretative structures.' Fortunately for this study, the researcher is a member of the community.

The status of such involvement in research has increased considerably in Britain in the past decade, although, previously, as in the USA, it tended to be 'dismissed' as a highly subjective and unscientific research method. However, since this research does not rely on quantitative methods, but, on the systematic evaluation and synthesis of evidence with the aim of establishing facts and drawing conclusions about past events, such reservations are minimised. Since historical evidence depends on the recording of events which cannot be repeated, the researcher is dependent

³¹ Woods, P. Inside Schools, Ethnography in Educational Research, London, 1986, p.4.

on written records or publications, or on verbal accounts of people actually present during events: " In seeking data from personal experiences and observations of others, from documents and records, the researcher has often to contend with inadequate information so that his construction tends to be a sketch rather than a portrait."³²

The above authors nevertheless, feel that in recent years, there has been a rapprochement between historical--research and areas like sociology and psychology, in so far that the two can provide historical studies with valuably interpretative material. Therefore, this study draws on sociological and psychological theory to illuminate a particular point. However, since the subject of Islamic education in Britain is an internal debate, the relevant sections of this research, depends on sources from within the community.

1.6. Structure of Thesis.

The first chapter maps out the framework of this research in terms of theory and methodology. It defines the various key terms used and the

³² Cohen, L. and Manion, L. Multicultural Classrooms, London, 1983, p.32.

justification for their usage.

The second chapter of the thesis argues that education is not culture neutral, but, socially and historically located, and culturally determined. The education policy of a country or community does not develop in a vacuum but proceeds on the basis of beliefs - seldom made explicit - about how people learn, what human beings should be like, what society is. Though, one important function of education is to transmit to children via the curriculum certain amounts of value free knowledge and objective truth, on the contrary, the knowledge carried by the curriculum is highly value-laden and relative. Any change in the educative system requires consensus, and the support of state machinery. The chapter proceeds to give an overview of British education policy following the immigration of new communities from former Commonwealth countries.

The third chapter concentrates on the factors which have contributed to the rise of Islamic revivalism, the cleavages caused by nationalism and secularism, and the challenge to re-affirm an Islamic identity. Attention is paid to the rise of certain revival movements, such as the *al-ikhwan al muslimin* and *jama'ati islami*, and their influence on the debate for the re-establishment of the Islamic paradigm and the role of education as one of the underpinning forces.

The chapter traces the linkage between these developments in the Muslim world and their manifestation in Britain. In particular it covers the evolution of the four movements: the migratory movement of Muslims; their institutional developments; their ideational concerns; and the question of identity in a new environment.

The fourth chapter describes the educational concerns of Muslims in Britain. It provides an overview of Muslim educational policy, particularly from the point of view of the revivalists, and reviews their response to the Swann report. They recognise that Muslims live in a multifaith context, but in light of the secular imposition on education, policy for Islamic education rests with the community. In this respect the chapter outlines the strategies suggested by influential revivalist voices for meeting the educational needs of the community. Two initiatives were to evolve, supplementary schools which became the backbone of community education, and voluntary-aided schools which was considered desirable because of the shortcomings of the latter.

The fifth chapter examines the possible strategies for fulfilling the educational aspirations of the Muslim community. and the legal responsibilities of the state.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION AND MINORITY COMMUNITIES: POLICY OVERVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The objectives of contemporary British school education aims to cultivate such basic human capacities as critical reflection, imagination, self-criticism, the ability to reason, argue, weigh up evidence and to form an independent judgement of one's own, which would "help children develop lively, enquiring minds; giving them the ability to question and to argue rationally, and to apply themselves to tasks."³³ It is hoped that as a result of acquiring these and other related capacities, the pupil will one day become capable of self-determination and live a free person's life, that is a life free from ignorance, prejudice, superstitions and dogmas and one in which he freely chooses his beliefs and plans his pattern of life. This is achieved through instilling "respect for moral values, for other people and for oneself, and tolerance of other races, religions, and

³³ Education in Schools a Consultative Document, H.M.S.O. London 1977, p.6.

ways of life."³⁴ Additionally, it aims to foster such intellectual and moral qualities as the love of truth, openness to the world, objectivity, intellectual curiosity, humility, healthy scepticism about all claims to finality and to familiarize the pupil with the great intellectual, moral, religious, literary and other achievements of the human spirit, and thus to humanize rather than merely socialize him.³⁵

While this view of education is intellectually

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ The above Green paper sets out eight aims by which this can be achieved, in addition to the first two mentioned above the following six are listed:-

iii. to help children understand the world in which we live, and the interdependence of nations;

iv. to help children to use language effectively and imaginatively in reading, writing and speaking;

v. to help children to appreciate how the nation earns and maintains its standard of living and properly to esteem the essential role of industry and commerce in this process;

vi. to provide a basis of mathematical, scientific and technical knowledge, enabling boys and girls to learn the essential skills needed in a fast-changing world of work;

vii. to teach children about human achievement and aspirations in the arts and sciences, in religion, and in the search for a more just social order;

viii. to encourage and foster the development of the children whose social or environmental disadvantages cripple their capacity to learn, if necessary by making additional resources available to them.

See also Freeman, E. (ed.) The Uses of a Liberal Education, London, 1974, pp.415.

persuasive it suffers from a serious defect; it is sociologically naive and does not take account of the way in which its realization in practice is constantly frustrated by the social context in which every educational system exists and functions. An educational system does not persist in a historical and social vacuum, therefore, it is not culturally neutral, on the contrary its intellectual content and orientation is permeated by the world-view of the dominant culture.³⁶ Further, education is not apolitical either, because it cultivates specific attitudes and values, in so far as these assist and conduce to the maintenance of a particular type of social and political order.³⁷ This means that

³⁶ Garforth, F.W., John Stuart Mill's Theory of Education. London, 1979, p.86; Musgrave, P.W., Knowledge, Curriculum and Change. Australia, 1973, pp.1-19; Mannheim, K., Ideology and Utopia. London, 1969, p.9; Williams, R., Culture and Society. London, 1963, p.158.

³⁷ This view is well documented in the works of Young, Eggleston, Sharp, Apple, Friere. The essence of their thesis is that (a) the present structure and organisation of education in society serves to preserve the *status quo*; (b) in particular the content of education - the selection of knowledge for transmission by schools - is concerned with what counts for knowledge in our society, and stratification of knowledge; (c) subject barriers are arbitrary and artificial, existing largely for the convenience of those in control of education; (d) that all knowledge is socially constructed. Young, F.D.M., Knowledge and Control. London, 1971, pp.289; Eggleston, J., The Sociology of the School Curriculum. London, 1977, pp.1-36; Sharp, R. et al, Education and Social Control: A study in Progressive Primary Education. London, 1975, pp.256; Apple, M.W., Education and Power. London, 1985, pp.218; Freire, P., The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, And Liberation. Massachusetts, 1985, pp.209.

although an educational system may avow the ideals of freedom, objectivity, independent thought, universality of knowledge, intellectual curiosity, and so on, in actual practice it often does little more than initiate and even indoctrinate its pupils into the dominant culture.³⁸ To put it differently, it claims to provide liberating or liberal education, that is education in and for freedom; in reality it only provides Liberal education, that is, education into the kind of culture that has become dominant in Britain since the eighteenth century.

This chapter gives an overview of the main functions of education and the factors for change. In light of new immigrant communities to Britain it proceeds to briefly highlight the important policy considerations by government. Then it covers the concerns of multifaith policy.

³⁸ The dangers of this *were* highlighted by Russell, "Those who institute State systems of education will cause men to deteriorate, even as citizens, if they take a narrow view of what constitutes a good citizen. Only men of wide individual culture are capable of appreciating what individual culture has to contribute to citizenship. Unfortunately, in the present day, such men tend to be replaced more and more by men of executive ability, or by mere politicians who must be rewarded for their services."

Russell, B., Education And The Social Order, London, 1947, p.18.

2.2. Functions of Education in the Context of Change.

Education, a major social system in any community, has always served as an agent for passing on to the pupil his social and cultural heritage;³⁹ so the task of the educator is held to be the 'enculturation' of each new generation, for the sake of each individual in the new generation as well as for the sake of the society as a whole.⁴⁰ At the same time, because, each individual child is believed to contain within

³⁹ Musgrove gives five social functions of education:

"(i) The transmission of the culture of the society; here the need is basically the conservative one of passing on the main patterns of society through the schools.

(ii) The provision of innovators; someone must initiate the social change that is necessary for a society to survive under modern conditions. Such change may be, for example, technical, political or artistic.

(iii) The political function; this may be looked at in two ways. There is firstly the need to provide political leaders at all levels of a democratic society and, secondly, there is the demand that education should help to preserve the present system of government by ensuring loyalty to it.

(iv) The function of social selection; the educational system is central to the process by which the more able are sorted out of the population as a whole.

(v) The economic function; here the need is that all levels of the labour force should be provided with the quantity and quality of educated manpower required under the current technical conditions." Musgrove, P.W., The Sociology of Education, London, 1972, p.242.

⁴⁰ Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J.C., Reproduction in Education Society and Culture, London, 1977.

himself the seed of his own potential personality;⁴¹ the task of the educator is to help that seed grow and develop along the lines of the child's own innate individuality. From these twin objectives a third emerges, not only the task of helping each individual understand society and its cultural heritage, but also by using the intellectual equipment which society has itself developed, subject society to critical judgement,⁴² and then try bring about a better society, a better cultural inheritance for the next generation to work on in a similar fashion. P. L. Berger has described well the process of the internalisation of the culture of the child's society in the following terms:-

"What happens in socialization is that the social world is internalized within the child. The same process, though perhaps weaker in quality, occurs every time the adult is initiated into a new social context or a new social group. Society, then, is not only something 'out there', in the

⁴¹ The child-centred tradition is represented by Rousseau and Froebel, see, Rousseau, J.J. The Social Contract and Discourses, London, 1955; Hailmann, W.N. Froebel, The Education of Man, an abridged translation, U.S.A., 1887. This tradition has more recently been referred to as progressive education. "The child centred teachers sees him, or herself as engaging in a radical critique of the authoritarian-elitist assumptions of the more formal, traditional approaches to education. He does not wish to subordinate the child's individuality to some predefined social requirements or impose 'high culture' upon the child in an arbitrary fashion because these would frustrate the realization of the child's inner potential." Sharp, R. *et al. op.cit.* p.vii.

⁴² Peters, R.S., Ethics and Education, London, 1966, pp.23-45.

Durkheimian sense, but it is also 'in here', part of our inner-most being. Only an understanding of internalization makes sense of the incredible fact that most external controls work most of the time for most of the people in a society. Society not only controls our movements, but shapes our identity, our thought and our emotions. The structures of society become the structures of our own consciousness. Society does not stop at the surface of our skins. Society penetrates us as much as it envelopes us.⁴³

But, society is not static, it is active; it accumulates and it becomes diffused; and through increasing contact with other societies, the culture of any particular society changes. This becomes even more imperative when it is considered that all contemporary societies are faced with new communities, a variety of groups with their own cultures, or sub-cultures. They evolve and establish a patterned network of human relations, which generate and transmit cultural values and meanings, these may overlap with those of other groups, but they are also clearly distinguishable from them and from those of the dominant groups of the time. Therefore, because, the cross-cultural complexities arising out of such a societal milieu must confront the pupil the fourth task of the educator is to help the individual become both a social critic as well as cultural synthesizer. This means to initiate the child "into critical - rational acceptance of cultural diversity and the

⁴³ Berger, P.L., Invitation to Sociology, London, 1966, p.140.

creative affirmation of the individual and group difference within a common humanity. That means that it is a process conducted according to explicit, rational evaluative criteria : an ethical process, celebrating both diversity and unity, social differentiation and cohesion, stability and deliberate, systematic and evaluated change according to explicit yardsticks, themselves the subject of critical discourse."⁴⁴

While the educative system quite clearly devotes much of its efforts to social, economic and political continuity, as well as to change, this must vary according to the society: a prevailing ideology which emphasizes conformity is likely to be reflected in school practice which minimize individualised learning; a more liberal regime may do the opposite. Issues such as these have a long history, with origins in political and social theory and their related disciplines. Here, there is an emphasis upon individualism, there a more pessimistic view, a greater concern for socialisation and social control, and a belief that society comprises more than its constituent members. But the antithesis of individual and society is, artificial and unrealistic: while society may be more than a collection of individuals,

⁴⁴ Lynch, J. Multicultural Education, London, 1985, pp.13-14.

individuals are only fully human as members of society. Educational planning must take account of both the individual and societal aspects of the equation, and the balance which is struck will vary from place to place as it has from time to time: all societies strike a balance somewhere along the continuum.

Education may certainly in some ways be regarded as a preparation for the future, but, as a conserving institution, not only must it seek to mediate and maintain the cultural heritage of the society; it must also try and ensure that as little 'cultural lag' as possible occurs within the society. This means that there must be some attempt to adjust the old culture to new conditions in order that individuals within society keep up with change. Ogburn and Nimkoff have summed up this situation in the following words:-

"When culture begins to change, the modifications do not occur evenly in all parts of the social heritage. Some parts change faster than others. When the different parts are interrelated, the varying rates of change produce a strain between the unequally moving parts. The part that is moving at the slowest rate of speed constitutes the cultural lag. Since the other part of culture has already changed, as a rule the most practicable method of effecting a better integration between the two parts is to make some adjustment in the part that is lagging."⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ogburn, W.F. and Nimkoff, M.F. A Handbook of Sociology, London 1960, p.547.

This culture lag becomes even more complex in a plural society, and there is a very delicate balance between stability and change because the interplay between communities and cultures, sharing a common environment, may result in tension and conflict because in a society composed of sub-cultures, the dominant values frequently clash with the values and interests of minority groups. The outcome of such a clash usually results in the submission of the minority to the will of the dominant group.⁴⁶ The tension between stability and change is well illustrated when communities from predominantly agrarian backgrounds enter the stream of life of urban industrial societies. Whereas, the coming generation of the former learn the ways of their culture within the extended family system, for the latter, this function has been passed onto the school.⁴⁷ It can be seen that here the problems of culture transmission become acute. How much of the old social structure should be preserved and handed on to the next generation? How much will the new generation accept and pass on to its children? The central force which serves as a reservoir from which a society draws meaning and direction for its stability and strength, embraces the dominant values and structure shared by most members of the society. The educational system

⁴⁶ Eggleston, J., *op.cit.* pp.2-3.

⁴⁷ Musgrave, P.W., *op.cit.* pp.1-19.

disseminates the dominant culture among the young and ensures its preservation and reproduction across generations. Its structure, organisation, ethos, pedagogical techniques, its view of what constitutes knowledge and what is worth teaching are all profoundly shaped by the dominant culture. What is more, it does not merely disseminate but also legitimizes the dominant culture.⁴⁸

Another aspect of the equilibrium between stability and change is the consideration of who pushes both the existing society and new communities on to the road of change: the innovators. Innovation bring either new ways or new ideas and therefore challenges what was formerly considered to be usual.⁴⁹ The function of providing innovators clashes with the transmitting of culture because on the whole culture transmission is conservative; opposition to change is common where traditional ways have ruled for a long time; this is the case in many societies now meeting industrialisation for the first time. But change is not welcomed in some complex industrial societies either because it will hurt vested interests or, because the traditional is held in high regard. The educational system here plays a dual role: it provides the innovators and also ensures that the

⁴⁸ Apple, M.W., *op.cit.* p.42.

⁴⁹ Musgrave, P.W., *op.cit.* pp.74-75.

necessary changes take place with the minimum of friction.⁵⁰

The degree by which change can occur and stability maintained also depends upon the quality of the political and socio-economic fabric of the society, because pressures for change have to be politically negotiated in the context of social and economic institutions which may have their own ideas as to what constitutes desirable change. A great deal, of course, depends here upon the nature of the political system of any particular society; for instance the assumptions that underlie a democratic system demand a high level of political sophistication. Most important is the toleration of a wide variety of views, and of minorities by the majority who for the time have political power, and the acceptance by the minorities, that the majority has legitimate power.

A political decision may be taken that the existing way of life ought not to continue, and the government

⁵⁰ The operation of innovation in culture is exemplified in the following quotation from Gramsci: "Creating a new culture does not only mean one's own individual 'original' discoveries. It also, and most particularly, means the diffusion in a critical form of truths already discovered, their 'socialisation' as it were, and even making them the basis of vital action, an element of coordination and intellectual and moral order."

Salamini, L., The Sociology of Political Praxis: an introduction to Gramsci's theory, London, 1981, p.83.

may want to use a social institution which is as central to this purpose as the education system in an attempt to change culture.⁵¹ Once the political commitment of a government to a particular policy is high then it is unlikely to be resisted even if it should require the need to readjust the goals of education. Society at large may dictate the change, through the free election of political parties to power; and in turn the programme of education, its forms and the structure will be to a large extent directed and controlled by the political and social aims of society at any particular time. Education, however, does not merely reflect society: it co-operates with society to change it, this it does because it is not just a one-way process, in which education is wholly determined by the state or by the demands of society; but the institution and structure of education can, in turn, change and modify the social structure.

But the desire by the political and educative system for change would also have to be buttressed against the economic and social well-being of the society; as long as there are no serious economic or social crises then change can be tolerated.⁵² However, a

⁵¹ Apple, M.W., *op.cit.* pp.28-29; pp.170-177.

⁵² The relationship between these different spheres is not one of correspondence but of coupling - the *coupling* of two distinct, but interrelated and

protracted crisis of either nature calls into question the character of the educational system. Because for the economic order to be successfully stable it is necessary that there be minimum friction and continuity in the sets of social relationships on which society and the production process is dependant. It, therefore, becomes part of the social function of education to assist in the maintenance of those relationships. Yet at the same time, the rapidly changing economics of modern industrialised societies also require education to supply them with new types of manpower suitably trained or retrained, and credentialed.⁵³ There is no guarantee that education can perform these two functions without getting itself into a tangle: the greater the diversity and rate of change and of the economic and social pressures placed on education the more chance there is that education will be unable to harmonise the implications of the two. The implication of this perspective is that educational change must be viewed as a phenomenon which is negotiated in an institutional context under

interdependent spheres. Gramsci was one of the leading exponents of this position. The nature of the 'coupling' envisaged is described in Gramsci's phrase, the 'structure-superstructure complex.'

⁵³ Apple sees this as a new role of education: "Since it has become more and more difficult for individual corporations to guarantee a flow of technical knowledge and both technically specialized and semi-skilled personnel, the educational apparatus of the state, through its curricular, funding and testing priorities and policies, takes on a prominent responsibility". Apple, M.W. *op.cit.* p.53.

pressure from economic, social and political dynamics. Furthermore, that this negotiation of change is constrained by education's need to generate a rationale to legitimate both its own power and the social reforms it helps to perpetuate: the satisfactory orchestration of economic, social and political dynamics to produce educational change has to be consonant with the development in parallel of a suitable educational rationale.⁵⁴

Any consideration of stability tends to raise the problem of change and vice versa; certainly the educational system of a modern society has a function in respect of both. The very decision to hand part of the task of socialising the young to an institution other than the family builds in the chance of change.

As more educational institutions are set up, so sub-cultures can be allowed to germinate and perpetuate within them. This can result in healthy tension; it can be argued that the tensions produced by their very existence, provided they do not cause great conflict, bring enrichment and, therefore, the resulting whole is greater in quality than its parts; on the other hand it can also lead to dysfunction when the way in which education is organised is not meeting the aims assigned to it; therefore, the need to consider

⁵⁴ *ibid.* pp.52-58.

educational aims, when recognising dysfunctions, in order to reform the institutional framework which analysis reveals to have caused it.

Few would resist the conclusion that educational change almost invariably follows social change, and rarely precedes it; policy recommendations for increasing the scale of resources here or for modifying techniques there can frequently be related to broader developments of a structural or ideological kind - sometimes representing a national consensus and often the interplay of conflicting pressures of one sort or another. So, though it is important to provide opportunities and possibilities for diversity: a society of citizens who never go beyond "shared cognitive orientations" may survive biologically but may never have an original thought between them; yet, in social democracies, continuity includes the capacity to initiate and adapt to change - a paradox.⁵⁵ Even so, there will be limits. Diversity may be preferred to conformity, but without a good measure of agreement there is likely to be social breakdown. One contributing factor which can impede dysfunction is agreement and consensus upon values and social identities. All individuals require norms of behaviour - even in order to depart from them; and these norms are the "shared cognitive orientations"

⁵⁵ Apple, M.W., *op.cit.* pp.171-177.

referred to above. A society with well established values, norms, and mores makes for stability and a sense of security which in turn gives the individuals self-assurance and self-confidence, and develop a fluidity of mind and reference so that new situations and challenges can be addressed creatively. Durkheim alluded to this when he wrote in Education and Sociology:-

"Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child, from the beginning, the essential similarities that collective life demands. But on the other hand, without a certain diversity all co-operation would be impossible; education assures the persistence of this necessary diversity by being itself diversified and specialised."⁵⁶

The process by which this homogeneity can be arrived at requires not merely knowledge of the cultural background of the various sub-cultural groups, but also an understanding of their psychology at both the individual and social levels. This should enable the establishing of a new consensus out of a deeper comprehension of both the differences and the common ground which exists between various groups. Karl Mannheim understood this problem when he suggested in

⁵⁶ Durkheim, E., Education and Sociology, London, 1956, pp. 70-1.

Diagnosis of Our Time that "Consensus is far more than theoretical agreement on certain issues - consensus is common life. To prepare the ground for consensus eventually means to prepare the ground for common life."⁵⁷

Mannheim envisaged that this common life meant that there was a need for a consensus of values, underpinning social identities. That society must surrender its indifference to valuations, because it could function only if democratic self-discipline was strong enough to make people agree on concrete issues for the sake of common action, even if they disagreed on details.

Since the prime need of society is for consensus, the task of a really social education is to achieve this, and because consensus does not happen: it has to be planned; and this applies whether the society is a democratic or an ideological one. It is frequently argued that formal education is the convenient expression of the social need within the society to diffuse the underlying dynamic between consensus and descensus with political institutions serving to interpret and specify the precise form that expression should take. This is a too much of an

⁵⁷ Mannheim, K., Diagnosis of Our Time, London, 1943, p.27.

oversimplification which leads to the impression that the educational system and the infrastructure supporting it operate like a well oiled machine; it denies the possibility that tensions can exist between the institutional components of the society, of which the educational is one, when there is a coming into being of a consensus. These tensions are the result of pressures and counter-pressures between the bureaucracies undergirding state institutions,⁵⁸ which have to cushion an ensemble of options within society, and particularly when there is descensus to generate consensus. It is out of the interaction of these pressures that the dynamic for consensus emerges.

The bureaucratic pressure for consensus emerges, firstly, from the general need of modern society for

⁵⁸ The tensions in relation to bureaucracies grows as a result of they conceiving themselves as a 'body apart', Gramsci points to the potential conflictual situation which may arise between the intellectual community and the state bureaucracy: "the group which is the bearer of new ideas is not the economic group but the intellectual stratum, and the conception of the State advocated by them changes aspect; it is conceived of as something in itself, as a rational absolute. The problem can be formulated as follows: since the State is the concrete form of a productive world and since the intellectuals are the social element from which governing personnel is drawn, the intellectual who is not firmly anchored to a strong economic group will tend to present the state as an absolute; in this way the function of the intellectuals themselves is conceived of as absolute and pre-eminent, and their historical existence and dignity are abstractly rationalised..." Sassoon, A.S. (ed.), Approaches To Gramsci, London, 1982, p.78.

rational equilibrating modes of organising its increasingly complex systems of social relationships and, secondly, from the specific bureaucratic form of state agencies, which have developed to the point where they are capable of generating and sustaining their own autonomous needs.

Generally these two factors are linked to the extent that a state agency organises and administers a single area of individual or societal need (e.g. health, housing, industry), according to criteria which are presented as rational. The education system is different. For not only does it service individual educational need (theoretically), it also services the needs of the social order as a whole. Education is therefore, the critical institution in the society because it can help to produce and to legitimize a new consensus through its provision of a suitable rational.

Once the consensus has emerged there is a short period of turmoil within which the major parameters of a revamped system of education are forged. Consensus then reasserts itself. However, it cannot be guaranteed that the new consensus that emerges will ensure a more positive relationship between schooling and the needs of society. The likely outcome is a patched up series of compromises which ensure a

tentative political peace but which leave the social and economic problems unresolved. Equally, even complete victory for one party or the other may not lead to a solution (leaving aside the possibility that education may have only a minimal part to play in their resolution) for there may be no consensus as to what society expects from its young.

Change, therefore, occurs within three interrelated arenas. The first is the redefinition of the social ends of education and the restructuring of the experiences of schooling designed to achieve them. The second is the allocation of resources which will flow in the direction of those schooling experiences deemed to be either redundant or at least not meeting state support. The third is the struggle between institutions for educational consensus. Changes within the first two arenas have a bearing upon changes in the third.

2.3. Education Policy in a Multicultural Context.

Within the British context the above mentioned competing objectives, and their working out through the institutional process becomes even more acute in the midst of an evolving multi-cultural society, in which consensus become a problematic and equilibrium a question of organised planning.

Central to these challenges would be with regard to the status of immigrant cultures; recent developments in Britain force educators to think about the social ends that must be settled prior to determining what is done in schools, since teachers cannot know whether the policy is to integrate and assimilate migrants into the dominant culture, or to aim for a pluralist society in which all cultures are given equal respect.

To take the question of overall aims, are schools being asked to facilitate the speedy assimilation of culturally and linguistically distinctive pupils to the majority culture, or is there a more 'pluralistic' purpose? If it is the former, provision will be mainly concerned with the 'special needs' of immigrants or second generation children, with matters of language and literacy for example. If it is the latter, schools will be more concerned to acquaint all their pupils with the diverse origins of all members of the society, and to convey an appreciation of the intrinsic validity of different cultures. Both these concerns have been addressed over an historical period of fifty-one years, yet there seems to be little hope of a satisfactory resolution.

In the period after the second world war, Britain was characterised by tremendous cultural and ethnic diversity, which was dominated by an ambiguous

assimilationist policy. The economic conditions in Britain favoured immigration because of the shortfall in the labour market to meet the temporary economic boom. But this movement of foreigners into Britain gave rise to two preoccupations in the receiving society: the citizen rights of immigrants and the rate of inflow; and their participation in the labour force and wider society. The national goal was the continuation of a nation-state in which one culture - the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic - was dominant. The diverse ethnic and cultural groups that made the nation were expected to forsake their original cultures in order to become effective citizens: the goal was to maintain the cultural hegemony of existing dominant groups.

Policy available concerning schools at this stage indicates a commitment to assimilation in terms of the cultural and social integration of immigrant children, while retaining traditional value-systems; English teaching was regarded as integrative, other changes in the curriculum to take account of the immigrant intake was considered to be divisive. The second Report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council was quite explicit in this respect:

"One important need is for clear thinking as to aims. For our immediate purpose, it is possible only to state the assumption on which we are working. That is that a

national system of education must aim at producing citizens who take their place in a society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties which are the same as those of other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another culture or another tradition, children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups."⁵⁹

Though, recognising that "The presence of immigrant children in a school provides one of the best means of demonstrating and assisting the acceptance of immigrants as equal members of our society. If Britain is becoming at least to some extent a multi-racial community, the school, as a microcosm of the community, can be a multi-racial society. If, as we have suggested, it is one of the purposes of education to widen the horizons of immigrant children, the presence of immigrant children in a school should widen the horizons of other children";⁶⁰ yet, the report rejects the suggestion that "schools should teach immigrant children to read and write their native tongue in addition to English."⁶¹

⁵⁹ Second Report by Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Committee, HMSO, 1964, para.10.

⁶⁰ *ibid.* para. 18.

⁶¹ *ibid.* para. 19; in fact a decade later another government report declared that: "The bilingual situation can be very bewildering one for immigrant children and produce within them a sense of psychological and emotional insecurity." Department of Education and Science, The Education of Immigrants. London, 1971, p.9.

This assimilationist policy was undergirded by a liberal philosophy and world view that envisioned a secular society in which individuals from all ethnic, cultural and racial groups are able to participate fully. In order for this kind of equitable, modernised society to emerge, individuals must be freed of their ethnic and cultural attachments; these the liberals argued, were inconsistent with modernisation and a technological culture. The fact these attachments promote historic prejudices, we-they attitudes, and culture conflict;⁶² they lead to the Balkanization of the state; they stress group rights over the rights of the individual, and regard the group rather than the individual as primary.⁶³ This will give rise to inequality, racial and cultural awareness, and ethnic stratification. The result will be discrimination in employment and education, and other forms of exclusion that are inconsistent with democratic ideals and values.

There were three consequences in schools to this policy: importance of English language teaching for immigrants; the policy of dispersal; and the ability testing of immigrants pupils. In 1963, the then

⁶² Porter, J. "Ethnic pluralism in Canadian perspective" In Glazer, N. & Moynihan, D.P. (ed), Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. U.S.A., 1975, pp.267-304.

⁶³ Patterson, O. Ethnic Chauvinism: The Reactionary Impulse. U.S.A., 1977. pp.347.

Ministry of Education published English for Immigrants which outlined the main policy:-

"the problems which arise in receiving immigrant children into schools and in helping them to become adjusted to the new community in which they find themselves are obviously not rendered easier when the children - and their parents - have little or no English. This will not of course apply to the West Indians, who share our language with us even though they use it rather differently, especially on colloquial speech, but the great majority of children from Pakistan and India and Cyprus come to school without any knowledge of English and must learn it as rapidly and effectively as possible if their education is to progress:..."⁶⁴

The urgent necessity for immigrant children to acquire English was based on its importance as a vehicle for day-to-day communication; classroom learning; the 'embodiment' of English cultural tradition; and the development of thought processes, in that it was suggested linguistic handicap contributes to cultural deprivation.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ English for Immigrants, H.M.S.O., London, 1963, pp.3-4.

⁶⁵ I.L.E.A., The Education Of Immigrant Pupils In Primary Schools. London, 1970, p.6; D.E.S., The Education of Immigrants, London, 1971, pp.9 and 66-67; Townsend, H.E.R., Immigrant Pupils In England: The L.E.A. Response, London, 1971, p.36.

This latter view was very much influenced by the works of Bernstein at the beginning of the 1960's, in analysing the influence of types of language learned on ways of thinking and the development of verbal intelligence in the sub-cultures of society. In his study of working class and middle-class pupils he developed two concepts of language types, the 'restricted code' and the 'elaborated code', to

To support this programme Special Language Centres drawing in non-English - speaking children from neighbouring schools were established by a number of local education authorities, and many schools with large numbers of immigrant pupils created special reception classes and withdrawal groups. In-service courses for teachers in the teaching of English as a second language appeared, and several major urban areas arranged for teams of peripatetic teachers for language teaching in schools where the number of non-English-speaking children was insufficient to justify a special reception or withdrawal class.⁶⁶

An evaluation of these various strategies highlight the success in reducing the 25%, in 1967, of all those immigrant pupils in the maintained system who received

describe their respective modes of speech; those brought up to speak a syntactically simple, restricted language were found to think in an uncomplicated way, although, had they the necessary linguistic equipment would have been able to conceptualise at a higher level; those using the elaborated code possessed a more complex structure and variety in their pattern of language which enabled them to think on a more abstract level than the first group. Bernstein concluded that modes of speech are related to differences in social and cultural environment of children - especially their family structure and child rearing practices, which determine the verbal and planning procedures used. Such procedures and codes influence a child's social and emotional orientation to his environment. Bernstein, B., 'Social Class and Linguistic Development', in Halsey, A., Education, Economy and Society, Free Press:New York, 1961.pp.288.

⁶⁶ *ibid.* pp.14-15.
CIAC, *op.cit*; pp.5-6, para. 11 & 12.

special provision for English learning, to 16% by 1970.⁶⁷ However, there was word of caution in the Government Circular of 1965:-

There is a danger that some children, who quickly acquire fluency in the spoken language, do not in fact understand as much as may appear, and may find difficulty in absorbing new ideas expressed in English; it is therefore important that the progress of all pupils who have had to learn English as a second language should continue to be carefully watched after they have joined an ordinary class, and any necessary extra help given to them. This is particularly important with pupils in secondary schools, since the vocabulary required is larger and more complex, the subjects are covered more rapidly and in more specialised way and the difficulty of recovering lost ground is correspondingly greater."⁶⁸

It was suggested that immigrant children were under-performing when they entered normal classes because the language work was largely social and conversational in its achievement, resulting in a restricted language code; teachers lacked the training for teaching English as a second language; teachers did not have enough knowledge of their pupils social and cultural background; immigrant children came from families which were deprived of an educational tradition; most pupils return after school to a non-English speaking environment and received none of the linguistic consolidation of which they were in need; the pupils' progress reflected the degree to which

⁶⁷ Immigrant Pupils In England *op.cit.*, p.36.

⁶⁸ D.E.S., The Education of Immigrants, *op.cit.*, pp.2-3.

their families perceived their stay in Britain to be permanent; if it was believed to be temporary it became difficult to encourage the children to go beyond the minimum of English necessary to communicate their basic needs.⁶⁹

An important lacuna in the system was that of a 'the second-phase period'. "During this stage specific steps need to be taken not only to improve the pupil's linguistic competence, but also to facilitate his or her integration - both socially and academically - into a normal class."⁷⁰ The demand for this second phase period was felt to be imperative at secondary school level where many pupils need transitional help, between the initial stage of English language learning and the acquisition of an elaborated language code to acquire knowledge in the various subjects of the timetable, to enable them to benefit from the normal school curriculum.

To enhance acquaintance with the cultural background of indigenous children, as well as to improve familiarity with everyday concepts and usages in

⁶⁹ The Education of Immigrants, op.cit., pp.9-11; Immigrant Pupils In England, op.cit., pp.36-51.

⁷⁰ The Continuing Needs of Immigrants, op.cit., p.1.

English, a policy of dispersal⁷¹ was enunciated in the Second Report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council in 1964:-

"The presence of a high proportion of immigrant children in one class slows down the general routine of working and hampers the progress of the whole class, especially where the immigrants do not speak or write English fluently. This is clearly in itself undesirable and unfair to all the children in the class. There is a further danger that educational backwardness which, in fact, is due to environment, language or a different culture, may increasingly be supposed to arise from some inherent or genetic inferiority...the evidence we have strongly suggests that if a school has more than a certain percentage of immigrant children among its pupils the whole character and ethos of the school is altered. Immigrant pupils in such a school will not get as good an introduction to British life as they would get in a normal school, and we think their education in the widest sense must suffer as a result."⁷²

Within a Government Circular which defined one role of

⁷¹ "A potentially serious situation arising from the presence of immigrant children in schools first arose in Southall in 1963, when protesting white parents claimed that there were too many children of the area's large Indian population in certain primary schools and that this was having an adverse effect on their own children's education. At a meeting of these parents, Sir Edward Boyle, the then Minister of Education, refused to accept any suggestion that the immigrant children should be educated separately or that children attending the schools in question should be transferred. It was subsequently agreed that in the case of future admission of immigrant children to these schools, arrangements would be made to try to maintain a limit of about 30% of immigrants in any one school. D.E.S., The Education of Immigrants: Education Survey 13, H.M.S.O., London, 1971, p.16.

⁷² CIAC, *op.cit.*, 25 & 26.

education as, "the successful assimilation of immigrant children",⁷³ though, recognising "At the same time, the presence of immigrant children in the school can be effectively used to encourage other children to learn more about the history and geography of the Commonwealth and other countries from which the immigrant children have come...."⁷⁴ underlined the one-third limit and stated:-

"It is inevitable that, as the proportion of immigrant children in a school or class increases, the problems will become more difficult to solve, and the chances of assimilation more remote. How far any given proportion of immigrant children can be absorbed with benefit to both sides depends on among, other things, the composition of the immigrant children who are proficient in English; the dividing line cannot be precisely defined. Experience suggests, however, that, apart from unusual difficulties (such as a high proportion of non-English-speakers), up to a fifth of immigrant children in any group fit in with reasonable ease, but that, if the proportion goes over about one third either in the school as a whole or in any one class, serious strains arise. It is, therefore, desirable that the catchment areas of schools should, wherever possible, be arranged to avoid undue concentrations of immigrant children. Where this proves impracticable simply because the school serves an area which is occupied largely by immigrants, every effort should be made to disperse the immigrant children round a greater number of schools and to meet such

⁷³ Department of Education and Science, The Education of Immigrants, Circular 7/65, H.M.S.O., p.3. para.5.

⁷⁴ *ibid.* p.3., para.5.

problems of transport as may arise."⁷⁵

Dispersal received a mixed reception amongst Local Education Authorities; some adopted a policy of dispersing immigrant children, but the majority did not, one report recorded only 11 authorities with such a policy, which required the dispersal by bus on a daily basis: share cost mitigated against this strategy.⁷⁶ Most of those authorities which did not operate the dispersal regime rejected it on principle; the only ground for dispersal suggested by Circular 7/65 was educational need, to approach the matter on racial grounds would not only be contrary to educational tradition but would, under the Race Relations Act 1968, be against the law, particularly, since dispersal referred only to immigrants, and did not suggest that indigenous pupils should be moved.

The dispersal strategy was further undermined by the increase in the number of immigrant pupils in schools, from 131,043 January 1966 to 263,710 in January 1970. As a consequence of some local education authorities having higher percentages of immigrant pupils on roll, one local authority had well over 20% immigrant pupils on its total school roll, it became impracticable to

⁷⁵ *ibid.* p.4 para.8. This was also advised in the Home Office White Paper, Immigration from the Commonwealth, H.M.S.O., London, 1965.

⁷⁶ Immigrant Pupils In England, *op.cit.*, p.33.

apply the one-third rule.⁷⁷ There was also a change in the nature of the educational needs of many immigrant pupils, which were originally in terms of special assistance to overcome linguistic inadequacies and to promote social integration, returns from schools indicated, despite the deficiencies mentioned above, some progress being made with English language learning; it was assumed that this progress would accelerate as the number of new immigrants declined, and pupils of families who have decided to stay in Britain completed their education.⁷⁸

In addition to organising language teaching facilities, Local Education Authorities, in response to the 1944 Education Act which required them to provide education for pupils according to their age, ability and aptitude, felt it was possible to evaluate immigrant children ability levels for secondary school selection by linguistic and diagnostic tests.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ The Education of Immigrant, *op.cit.*, p.8.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.19.

⁷⁹ These tests were carried with the backcloth of the interminable debate during the 1960's between a number of psychologists, among them Vernon and Hudson, who on the basis of their own research, could not agree with the fixed potential concept of innate intelligence, which can be measured, but consider intelligence as a set of developed skills with which the person learns to cope with any environment. these views were in contrast to Jensen's assertion that the different IQ levels between blacks and Whites is due to genetic factors. this perspective was supported by Eysenck whose research results hypothesised two broad hierarchical classes of ability levels - 1.

Diagnostic and attainment testing on immigrant children began as early as 1961 in Huddersfield, using Ravens Progressive Matrices and the Goodenough Draw-a-Man-test.⁸⁰ The tests were applied to many children who had left more traditional, rural settings in the Caribbean and South-East Asian sub-continent for industrial centres of the UK, and were, in many schools, required to respond to verbal reasoning and other 'objective' tests standardised on indigenous school populations, which were much more familiar with such devices.

Though, most educational psychologists accept that these tests were useful as diagnostic aids to assess a pupil's abilities and difficulties and to indicate in which areas they need help, none would claim that any test was free of culture bias; both Vernon and Hudson refuse to accept that any test can predict an individual's existing or future intellectual

associative ability, and 2. conceptual ability - which he claims are distributed unequally in social classes and ethnic groups and which are genotypically independent types of mental processes. Vernon, P., Intelligence and Culture, London, 1969, pp.264; Hudson, L., 'Intelligence, Race and the selection of data'. Race, XII, 3, 1971, pp.283-292; Jensen, A., 'Do schools cheat minority children?' Education Research, vol.14; Eysenck, H.J., Race, Intelligence and Education, London, 1971; Butcher, H.J., Human Intelligence. London, 1968, pp.343; Wiseman, S.(ed), Intelligence and Ability. London, 1967, pp.368; Guilford, J.P., Nature of Human Intelligence. U.S.A., 1967, pp.538.

⁸⁰ Burgin, T. & Edson, P., Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children, O.U.P.pp.112.

potential, especially if his cultural background is different from that of the constructor of the test.⁸¹ This is because Houghton and Haynes claim their different language structure and values affect their performance on these tests and furthermore because the dominant culture wants them to conform to its values, and considers them deviant if they do not do so.⁸² For this reason Vernon suggests, "in attempting to assess educational potential of immigrant children verbal tests are preferable to non-verbal or performance tests - either standard tests in English if they can communicate or similar tests in their own tongue."⁸³

Immigrant children were also, of course, tested in standard English, which was a different language or dialect for most. As crude tests of levels of mental functioning in a new environment they might have been of some limited value, but as indicators of potential or predictive guides to placement they were seriously deficient, and probably contributed to the substantial

⁸¹ Vernon, *op.cit.* pp.89-98; Guilford, *op.cit.* pp.407-409.

⁸² Houghton, V., 'White Jamaican hypothesis', *Race*, XI,3; Haynes, J., Educational Assessment of Immigrant Pupils, NFER, Slough, 1971a, pp.121. NFER was the first, under Haynes, to develop objective tests to assess ability to learn in school, for use with children who neither speak nor write adequate English in multi-racial schools.

⁸³ Vernon, P., Intelligence and Culture, *op.cit.*

over-representation of immigrant children in schools for the mentally handicapped which subsequently came to light.⁸⁴

Many of the difficulties for the Local Education Authorities and their schools in assessing language needs and teaching standard English, Townsend found, were due to the absence of diagnostic instruments which had reliability and validity to measure in such areas as inter-school proficiency in language; social skills; language proficiency for infant and junior school work; specialised subject language proficiency

⁸⁴ A survey in 1966 of the most backward pupils in the first and second years in seven secondary schools revealed that out of 175 children classified as such, 73% were immigrants. D.E.S., The Education of Immigrants: Survey 13, H.M.S.O. London 1971, p.65. This was recognised in the Warnock report:- "The assessment of the needs and the placement of children from ethnic minorities may be a matter of special sensitivity. There has, for example, been concern in recent years that a disproportionate number of children West Indian families has been placed in special schools or classes for children currently described as ESN(M). Any tendency for educational difficulties to be assessed without proper reference to a child's cultural and ethnic background and its effect on his education can result in a category of handicap becoming correlated with a particular group in society. We see this as a risk inherent in the present system of ascertainment and categorisation of handicap, and the uncertain relationship between remedial and special education. We hope that the broader concept of special education and the formulation of children's individual needs which we are advocating, together with the abolition of categories of handicap, will eliminate harmful associations of this kind."

Warnock Report, Special Educational Needs: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young Children and Young People. H.M.S.O. 1978, p.64., para.4.51.

for secondary school work.⁸⁵ In addition, the factors for educational achievement were held to be largely psychogenic, that is, factors such as ability, motivation and aspirations, plus limited sociogenic properties such as home background and occupational status of parents. If those factors had continued to be regarded as of prime importance then dissension about the 'causes' of 'low' achievement - whether defined as below - average reading age or failures to acquire a university place - likely. However, achievement was subsequently related systematically to wider social structures and processes, therefore, it is no longer so easy to relate 'low achievement' simply to individual and family attributes.

The D.E.S. concurred with Vernon's view that "Intelligence is a developmental concept and the level of stimulation in the environment has a considerable effect on its development."⁸⁶ He concludes "that there is no scientific way of finding out a child's potential other than watching how the child progresses as he begins to pick up standard English and settle into school."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Townsend, H.E.R. and Brittan, E.M., Organisation In Multiracial Schools, NFER, Slough, 1972, pp.34-38.

⁸⁶ Vernon, *op.cit.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

The impact of these policies on the educative system can be discerned from two published works in the early 1970's. The first in 1972, by National Foundation for Educational Research; the second in 1973, by the Schools Council, both were the outcome of research carried out by Townsend and Brittan. In broad terms, these two studies found that many of the schools who responded to the research supported a cultural assimilationist and integrationist position for minorities. Many of the teachers interviewed seemed willing to educate children of overseas origin, but in the English tradition. Even the head teachers of some schools with culturally different children were against education or other kinds of instruction which emphasized cultural or racial differences in children.⁸⁸

Though, this remained the situation until the mid 1960's from which emerged a relatively clear consensus between Central Government, LEAs and schools, that immigrant children constituted a challenge for the education system which could be solved in terms of cultural and linguistic assimilation. By the 1970's this consensus had broken down. For although, it was not only national policy makers who endorsed an

⁸⁸ Townsend, H.E.R. and Brittan, E.M., Organisation in Multiracial Schools. N.F.E.R., Slough, 1972, pp.171; Townsend, H.E.R., and Brittan, E.M., Multiracial Education: Need and Innovation, London, 1973, pp.13-17.

assimilationist stance, immigrant groups themselves, and their leaders, accepted assimilation and structural integration into their new environment as a desirable goal and worked hard to achieve it; the incentives were economic and political.⁸⁹ The strong appeal of attaining social mobility within the new industrial state motivated many citizens to discard most aspects of their ethnic cultures and to become sceptical and ashamed of their heritage. During the late 1960's and 1970's, reactionary protest movements among Asian and West Indian communities began to demand that institutions within the state become more responsive to their needs, hopes and dreams. The scope and intensity of these protests revealed that the liberal policy may have had serious shortcomings which neither adequately explained nor predicted the course of development of immigrant communities and the status of their ethnic culture.

⁸⁹ Henderson distinguishes between accommodation and assimilating groups. The former are those who are content to live on the outside of the broader community, asking for little more of it than work of a kind and a place to live. The latter are those who want to belong to the wider community, even to the point of gradually losing their own distinct ways. For the accommodating groups an official policy of assimilation would be far more threatening than it would be for the assimilating groups.

Griffith, J.A.G., Henderson, J., Usborne, M., and Wood, D., Coloured Immigrants in Britain. An Investigation Carried Out By The Institute of Race Relations. Oxford University Press, London, 1960.pp.47-90.

The pressure of such protest resulted, by the end of the 1960's, in the crude assimilationist policies coming under review. In 1966 the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, had given what came to be regarded as a classic definition of integration:-

"Integration is perhaps rather loose. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think we need in this country a melting pot, which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman... I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, coupled with cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance."⁹⁰

This was early recognition of some of the shortcomings of the assimilationist position, and as Troyna (1982)⁹¹ has observed, in the late 1960's and early 1970's, "integrationist views came to be adopted as the working paradigm for educational policy and decision-makers."

Cultural differences were now given some recognition, but the absorption of ethnic minorities remained the aim. Teachers began to acquire some knowledge of the

⁹⁰ Jenkins, R., Essays and speeches, Collins, 1967, p.267.

⁹¹ Troyna, B. "The Ideological And Policy Response to Black Pupils in British Schools," in Hartnett, H. (ed), The Social Sciences in Educational Studies, London, 1982.pp.125-143.

social and cultural background of ethnic minority children so that they might better understand their pupil's origins and needs. At the same time the dispersal policy began to wane until it was officially abandoned in the DES report 1971.

It was this same report which gave clear indication of the ideological shift towards integration. It recognised that "...the arrival of immigrant pupils in the schools has greatly enriched the lives of other children...the new musical, dramatic, dance, and visual art forms which they have introduced...have given fresh colour and vigour to the life and work of many schools." The Report continued: the education service could: "...help promote the acceptance of immigrants as equal members of our society...[while also] permitting the expression of differences of attitudes, beliefs and customs, languages and culture...which may eventually enrich the main stream of our cultural and social tradition."⁹²

The Department of Education and Science (DES) was concerned with official government policy towards the education of all children in Britain, during the 1970's its decisions and recommendations were some guide to its thinking about the nature of integration.

⁹² Department of Education and Science, The Education of Immigrants, H.M.S.O., London, 1971, p.120.

They were formulated by the bureaucracy and put into effect by Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMIs) who were bound by the Government's official publication. Government policy, during this period, according to the HMI's, blended recognition of the pluralist nature of British society with conventional deprivation or compensatory ideology.⁹³ This enabled the government to accept that "ours is now a multiracial and multicultural society"⁹⁴ on the one hand but proposed solutions for the problems such pluralism generates as part of a wider 'package' of social welfare and equality of educational and employment opportunity.⁹⁵

The most important change of policy was encapsulated in the Bullock report which recognised that immigrant children were living between two cultures, and learning to handle two languages; but this was a

⁹³ In response to a critical Home Office Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Education, H.M.S.O., 1973; the DES responded in 1974: "while the Government believe that it is necessary to make more formal arrangements for the development of the work which is not being done on the education of immigrants and education for a multi-racial society...they also see a need to provide for all those suffering from educational disadvantage". Department of Education and Science, Educational Disadvantage and the Needs of Immigrants, CMND.5720, H.M.S.O., p.5, 1974.

⁹⁴ CMND.6869 (Green Paper), Education in Schools A Consultative Document, H.M.S.O., London, 1977.p.4.

⁹⁵ CMND, 7186 (HOME OFFICE), The West Indian Community Observations on the Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. H.M.S.O., London, 1978.pp.3-5.

situation which was enriching and had implications for all children, not just those of families of overseas origin. The report recognised that the achievement of immigrant children was related to not only to language but to several other issues, particularly those of cultural identity and cultural knowledge. This should, it was recommended, percolate across the curriculum, because "no child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept firmly apart." ⁹⁶

Therefore, teachers and support personnel should have an informed and sympathetic understanding of the children's origins, the cultures of their homes, and the very real link between some of their countries and Britain. These and related questions should also enter the initial training of teachers, whether or not they go to teach in schools with immigrant children. To combat racism it was suggested that libraries should replace racially and culturally offensive books with those about "the home lands of its immigrant families, about their religions and cultures and their experiences in this country." ⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Department of Education and Science, A Language of Life. (Bullock report) H.M.S.O., London, 1975, p.286.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

In contrast to the policies of the 1960's, Bullock emphasised the role of bilingualism, and the importance of mother tongue to immigrant pupils:-

"These children are genuine bilinguals, but this fact is often ignored or unrecognised by the schools. Their bilingualism is of great importance to the children and their families, and also to society as a whole. In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world we should see it as an asset, as something to be nurtured, and one of the agencies which should nurture it is the school. Certainly the school should adopt a positive attitude to its pupils' bilingualism and wherever possible should help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother-tongues."⁹⁸

In the area of English language teaching it was proposed that pupils should receive language tuition across the curriculum and that the immigrant child should not be cut off from the social and educational life of a normal school. Consequently, the money spent on transporting children to other schools or centres, might be better allocated to the appointment of full-time language experts to the school, whose role would include consultancy and advice across the curriculum rather than of teacher confined to a single room. The proposals were extended to include provision in nurseries and infant schools for the early language development of immigrant children, with in-service training for their teachers in an understanding of the

⁹⁸ *ibid.* p.294.

cultural values and specific language difficulties of the children whom they will teach. To support these functions the report recommended that a liaison service linking school with families and community should be established, in this respect it was suggested that members of ethnic minorities should be recruited so that "children of overseas origin should see people of their own communities in the role of teacher and helper."⁹⁹

Although this seemed to be a new approach to the problem of minorities, it had roots in earlier government thinking about their position in British society, and was basically assimilationist, as it saw a racial problem as one part of a wider context of social and economic deprivation that effected all disadvantaged groups.¹⁰⁰

While some schools were, during the 1970's, influenced by Central Government, stressing the general disadvantage of all their urban pupils, and were reluctant to change their practices to take account of minority group pupils, some LEA's and schools with

⁹⁹ *ibid.* pp.291-293.

¹⁰⁰ A valuable review of language and culture in the education policy of Britain is provided in Derrick, J. Language Needs of Minority Group Children, London, 1977, pp.59.

large numbers of ethnic minority pupils continued to press for special funding and policies specifically meant for those pupils. Despite the lack of response to these demands, the Home Office did make available money for black self-help projects, some of which were educational. In addition, Central Government also made efforts during the 1970's, to acquire money from the European Social Fund, claiming funding for children of immigrant workers.¹⁰¹

The absence of central funding or co-ordinated national policy, Local Education Authorities (LEAs) during the later 1970s began to initiate policies specifically for minority children, following the lead taken by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), which produced the first LEA document on multi-ethnic education.¹⁰² The authority had taken seriously the relevant sections of the Race Relations Act 1976, which for the first time in race legislation required LEAs to take positive action to eliminate discrimination, and promote equal opportunity, mutual understanding and good relations. The authority was also concerned with the issue of underachievement and

¹⁰¹ Department of Education and Science, Directive of the Council of the European Community on the Education of the children of Migrant Workers, Circular 5/81, H.M.S.O., 1981a.

¹⁰² I.L.E.A., Multi-Ethnic Education, Joint Report of the School Sub-Committee and the Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee, London, 1977.

keen to promote policies and provide resources to combat the problem.

Recognition of this underachievement was reflected in the July 1979 Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups¹⁰³ which was appointed to examine the educational needs and attainments of children from a whole range of ethnic minority groups, bearing in mind factors relating to pre-school experiences and prospects for school leavers. As a first step the Rampton Committee was required to prepare an interim report on the particular needs and attainments of West Indian children, due to concern about their academic underachievement. Considering the various factors which have been said to lead to this underachievement the report strongly argues that a broadly based "multicultural" approach to the curriculum should be adopted by all schools.¹⁰⁴ The Committee did not "believe that education should seek to iron out the differences between cultures, nor attempt to draw everyone into the dominant culture"¹⁰⁵ but rather

¹⁰³ Department of Education and Science, West Indian Children in Our Schools, A Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, (Rampton Report) H.M.S.O., 1981.

¹⁰⁴ Department of Education and Science, The School Curriculum, H.M.S.O., 1981.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*

should "draw upon the experiences of the many cultures that make up our society and thus broaden the cultural horizons of every child."¹⁰⁶

Central Government thinking had already begun to evolve a multi-cultural perspective in 1977, in the Green Paper, but placed its importance in an international context:-

"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. We also live in a complex, interdependent world, and many of our problems in Britain require international solutions. The curriculum should therefore reflect our need to know about and understand other countries."¹⁰⁷

The Multiculturalism articulated by Rampton sought to establish a new educational consensus. Rejecting assimilationist and ethnocentric philosophies of the 1960's, many have argued for a form of education that is pluralist in orientation and positively embraces a multi-ethnic perspective. Though, one might think that such unanimity in adopting the multicultural ideology at the official level would mean that there was a broad agreement on what it means in theory and practice, on the contrary immense confusion existed;

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ CMND. 6869 (Green Paper), Education in Schools A Consultative Document, H.M.S.O., 1977.

definitions and conceptual models compete with one another, multiracial education, and multiethnic education were proposed alternatives. This conceptual muddle was highlighted by Madeleine Blakeley:-

"We started off by talking about immigrants, fairly obviously in the late sixties. We still haven't got rid of that. Immigrants are now seen as anybody who's a different colour. Coloured are singled out; black minorities are in the greatest numbers...Multi-racial is the term used in relation to inner city disadvantage, black problems, language deprivation, and so on...The whole political implication of the term makes people shy away from multi-racial because they don't want to understand the relationship between black and white. So they'll say multicultural to get away from that."¹⁰⁸

A further critique of the DES policy has been produced by Dorn and Troyna who argue that the absence of a coherent and explicit national policy on multicultural education, despite its commitment in 1971 to such a policy, was actually part of the policies of non-decision-making. They argue that the DES rationalisations to justify non-intervention had much to do with the way those who exercise power can neutralise or marginalise potential contentious issues.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ National Association for Multi-racial Education (N.A.M.E.), n.d. The Association for Multi-racial Education (History & Activities).

¹⁰⁹ Dorn, A. and Troyna, B. "Multi-racial Education and the Politics of Decision Making", Oxford Review of Education, 8:2, 1982.

The terminological uncertainty typical of the early stage in the evolution of an ideology of pluralism is neatly illustrated by a report of the Community relations Commission:-

"In this Report we have decided to use 'black' and 'brown' to describe members of the main minority ethnic groups in Britain today. We have used 'multi-racial' when referring to the composition of the population and 'multi-cultural' to indicate the diversity of historical background, linguistic patterns, religious beliefs and cultural and family customs which make up our society."¹¹⁰

The essential problem noted by the Report focuses on race relations. Increasingly, the teachers being trained in the colleges will be interacting with fewer and fewer immigrants, but more and more young black and brown Britons who were born in the country and are entitled to the same rights to educational and occupational opportunities as their white classmates. This 'colour' problem was probably the major preoccupation among educationist and policy makers in Britain. Attempts to conceptualise it differ, however, and in the case of the Joint Working Party's recommendations it would appear that the problem is subsumed under the rubric of multicultural education.

¹¹⁰ Joint Working Party of the Community Relations Commission and A.T.C.D.E., Teacher Education for a Multi Cultural Society, Community Relations Commission and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education, 1974. p.3.

It was argued that Britain may not be a multiracial society, since only between three-four per cent of the population were non-white, but for the vast majority of the black who are here, for governmental policy, as for educational policy, Britain today is a multiracial society. This description stresses the physical composition of the society but carries no curricular implications.

All it suggests is that there are groups of people in Britain who are non-Anglo-Saxon, and they are spread thinly over the country as a whole, with concentrations in major metropolitan regions. By extension, all 'multiracial' conveys is that there are racially different children in the classroom to be educated. Multicultural education does have curricular implications on the other hand. Within this conceptualisation the composition of society is seen through different groups of people with different values and different interests. This perspective has no racial connotations - Britain has working class, middle class, and a range of sub-groups within them. Multicultural education is education using the various cultural sub-groups within society.

Multiethnic education would refer to the ethno-cultural implications of the society. Which would mean considering the Chinese, the West Indians, the

Afro-West Indians, the Pakistanis, the Bangladeshis, etc., as ethnic groups with their own cultural differences which influence their view of society. As a sociological description of society multiethnic is a preferred term, but from the point of view of an educationist the preferred model is the multicultural one, because it enables socio-economic, or 'class', sub-cultures to be considered, something which the multiethnic perspective neglects.

Despite these conceptual ambiguities by 1981 about twenty-five LEAs had appointed an Advisor for multicultural education,¹¹¹ and a few had produced policy documents - Bradford, Berkshire, London.¹¹² Many of these developments were accompanied by further democratisation of school governing bodies which enabled more ethnic minority parents to articulate their views on the education of their children.¹¹³ This pluralist response in education dramatically increased provision for minority languages, the ILEA

¹¹¹ Blakeny, M., Survey of LEAs, National Association for Multiracial Education, Derby, 1981; Matthews, A., Advisory Approaches in Multi-cultural Education, Runnymede Trust, London, 1981.

¹¹² Department Education, Education for Equality - Report of an Advisory Committee on Multicultural Education, Berkshire, 1982; Bradford City Council, Education for a Multi-Racial Society: Guidelines for Provision for Ethnic Minority Pupils, Bradford, 1982; Inner London Education Authority, Anti-Racist School Policies, ILEA, 1982.

¹¹³ Tomlinson, S., Ethnic Minorities in British Schools, London, 1983.pp.70-71.

language census in 1983, for example, identified 147 spoken languages in London schools, with 16 per cent or 50,353, of the school population using a language other than or in addition to English at home.¹¹⁴ Similar findings were to be found in a number of provincial towns and cities¹¹⁵ with the result that the strong movement for the provision of ethnic minority community languages, being part of modern languages curriculum in secondary schools, and as transitional bilingualism for younger children, met with some success. The tendency was for all such home languages to be accorded far greater respect than was the case in the 1960s and 1970s.¹¹⁶

In addition schools in the catchment areas where many immigrants have settled, frequent home - visiting programmes and Asian mothers' groups were established.¹¹⁷ In response to the plethora of

¹¹⁴ Inner London Education Authority, 1983 Language Census, ILEA, 1983a.; an extensive piece of research was carried out in London by Rosen, B. and Burgess, T. Language and Dialects of London School Children, London, 1980. pp.184.

¹¹⁵ Linguistic Minorities Project, Linguistic Minorities in England, University of London Institute of Education, London, 1983. pp.18.

¹¹⁶ Kerr, A.N. Mother-Tongue Teaching in Nottingham and Stockholm. Nottingham. 1978. pp.115.; Edwards, V. Language Variation in the Multicultural Classroom. Reading. n.d. pp.32.; Houlton, D. & Willey, R. Supporting Children's Bilingualism. Schools Council. 1983. pp.47.

¹¹⁷ Tomlinson, S., Home and School in Multicultural Britain, Batsford, London, 1984. pp.13.

pronouncements and publications,¹¹⁸ administrative and policy-making units of government, teacher education institutions, local education authorities and professional organisations were officially recognising the need for multicultural teacher education. In education, race and racism did not become a central issue until the 1980's, and teaching strategies aimed at improving intercultural relations emerged as an aspect of cultural pluralism; these strategies sought to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination in pursuit of the fullest development of a plural society. Indicative of these was the Swann Report's declaration that "all schools and all teachers have a professional responsibility to prepare their pupils for life in a pluralist society and the wider world."¹¹⁹ To meet this mission both minority and majority communities required a new framework within which the needs of each was accommodated.

¹¹⁸ House of Commons, Racial Disadvantage, 5th. Report of the Home Affairs Committee, 1981.; Little, A. and Willey, R. Multi-Ethnic Education: The Way Forward, Schools Council, 1981.pp.37.; D.E.S. Rampton, op.cit.; Craft, M.(ed.) Teaching in a Multicultural Society: The Task for Teacher Education, London, 1981.; Eggleston, S.J. et.al. In-Service Teacher Education in a Multi-Racial Society, Keele, 1981. pp.393.; Craft, M. and Atkins, M. Training Teachers of Ethnic Minority Community Languages, Nottingham, 1983.pp.66.

¹¹⁹ D.E.S. Education For All, Swann Report, 1985, p.560.

The Swann report, under the chairmanship of Lord Michael Swann, emerged out of the Rampton committee, and produced its final report in 1985 after six years of collecting evidence from different quarters of the educational establishment as well as from leaders of ethnic communities. The backcloth behind the length of time and the broad sweep of Swann's enquiry was the race discontent of the time which surfaced during the 1980's, between the completion of Rampton's Interim Report (1981) and the beginning of Swann's deliberations; and in the same period the Scarman Report (1981) on the race riots was published. Though much of the blame was focused on poor relations between the community and police, the broader social context for the race riots which erupted during 1981 in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol and elsewhere,¹²⁰ were racially motivated attacks which were believed to be on the increase, high unemployment as a result of the economic recession, poor housing

¹²⁰ The first riots of the year occurred in London on 2nd. March resulting from a fire in Deptford which caused the deaths of thirteen young black people, and it was alleged that the police failed to investigate the case properly, since many residents regarded it as arson. More dramatic rioting took place at Brixton between 10-12 April by predominately black West Indians. Further rioting broke out on the 3rd. of July in Southall between Skinheads and local Asians. During this month violence was to erupt in Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester and elsewhere. The Brixton riot became the subject of a major Home Office inquiry under the chairmanship of Lord Scarman. CMND 8427, The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981: Scarman Report, H.M.S.O. 1981, pp.167.; Benyon, J. Scarman and After, London, 1984, pp.292.

due to urban decay, underachievement in education due to institutional racism.¹²¹

In the search to resolve these disadvantages the report recommends greater involvement by local communities in the decisions which effect them, their participation in the decision making process about the allocation of resources to projects under the Urban Programme.¹²² Improving housing provision through a co-ordinated approach by housing agencies, building societies and housing associations.¹²³ Enhancing the employment prospects of ethnic minorities by eliminating institutional racism; improving support, including private financial and advisory support, for ethnic minority businesses; and encouraging ethnic minorities to secure a real stake in society through joining the professions and business.¹²⁴

The Scarman report received a very positive response from most sectors of society, and like Rampton and Swann came to very similar conclusions about the strategies for change. Swann captured the spirit of

¹²¹ Cowell, D. *et.al.* Policing the Riots, London, 1982, pp.172.; Brown, J. Policing By Multi-Racial Consent: The Handsworth Experience, London, 1982. pp.174.

¹²² Scarman Report, *op.cit.*, p.101.

¹²³ *ibid.* p.103

¹²⁴ *ibid.* p.107.

all three reports when it set out its vision of a future Britain:-

"A multi-racial society such as ours would function most effectively and harmoniously on the basis of pluralism which enables, expects and encourages members of all ethnic groups, minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within the framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures, whilst allowing and, where necessary, assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within this common framework. In a democratic pluralist society, all members of that society, regardless of ethnic origin, have an obligation to abide by the laws of the country and to seek to change them only through peaceful and democratic means, but there is also an obligation on government to ensure equal treatment and protection by law for members of all groups, together with equality of access to education and employment, equal freedom and opportunity to participate fully in social and political life, equal freedom of cultural expression and equal freedom of conscience."¹²⁵

Though Swann makes clear that ethnic minority communities could not be allowed to preserve unchanged all elements of their culture and lifestyles, it emphasised that:

"We would...regard a democratic pluralist society as seeking to achieve a balance between, on the one hand, the maintenance and active support of the essential elements of the cultures and lifestyles of all the ethnic groups within it, and, on the other, the acceptance by all groups of a set of shared values distinctive of the society as a whole. This then is our view of a genuinely pluralist society, as both socially

¹²⁵ Runnymede Trust, Education For All: A Summary of the Swann report on the education of ethnic minority children, London, 1985. p.1.

cohesive and culturally diverse."¹²⁶

Swann recognised the correlation between social deprivation and racism highlighted by Scarman to be essential causes for underachievement among ethnic minorities, but these were factors which in varying degrees affected all members of society, therefore, "the fundamental change that is necessary is the recognition that the problem facing the education system is not how to educate children of ethnic minorities, but how to educate *all* children."¹²⁷

The three reports emphasised that society as well as the education system had an important role in combatting racism which was the major factor contributing to ethnic minority disadvantage.¹²⁸ But it was Swann which telescoped the common threads in all previous policy documents relating to the education of ethnic minorities.

Though supporting the provision for ethnic minority languages which should "become more established as part of the modern languages curriculum and a

¹²⁶ Swann Report, *op.cit.*, p.6.

¹²⁷ Runnymede Trust, *op.cit.*, p.10.

¹²⁸ Rampton, *op.cit.*, pp.12-14.; Scarman, *op.cit.*, p.110.; Runnymede, *op.cit.*, p.3-6.

realistic option for *all* pupils..."¹²⁹ it was explicit in that "A good command of English is in fact the basis for equality of opportunity."¹³⁰ Therefore the needs of ESL learners should be met "within the mainstream school as part of a comprehensive programme of language education for *all* children."¹³¹ To ease the progression from home to school it was suggested that nursery education was a valuable transitional stage to assist the child from a home where English was not the first language.¹³² In addition it was recommended that "Within primary and secondary schools, *all* teachers with a substantial number of pupils for whom English is a second language have a responsibility to cater for linguistic needs of these pupils and should be given appropriate support and training to discharge it."¹³³ Mother tongue learning was seen as the responsibility of the community to which the child belonged with considerable support being given to the latter by school. However "All schools should seek to foster amongst their pupils an awareness of the linguistic diversity of our society and a real understanding of the role and function of

¹²⁹ Runnymede Trust, *op.cit.*, p.15.

¹³⁰ *ibid.* p.14.

¹³¹ *ibid.* p.13.

¹³² *ibid.* p.13.

¹³³ *ibid.* p.13.

language in all its forms."¹³⁴

The central curriculum resource, the teacher, was of special interest to Swann, all teachers needed training which reflected the realities of life in multi-racial Britain. Instrumental to this new situation teacher training programmes and Subject - specific courses should permeate the principles underlying a genuinely pluralist approach, and core courses should give students an informed awareness of the diversity of society.¹³⁵ The recommendations extended to all head teachers and key figures in the education service where it was necessary for them to have an "understanding of the implications, opportunities and responsibilities of teaching in a culturally diverse society so that they would be in a position to act as agents of change within their own organisations and institutions."¹³⁶ Induction and school-based in-service activities was considered an invaluable source of support in the professional development of individual teachers as well as important in examining the policies and practices of

¹³⁴ *ibid.* p.15.

¹³⁵ Swann envisaged that "Subject-specific courses should also be permeated with the pluralist perspective, for example, by discussing the development of scientific and mathematical concepts in different cultures, by broadening the range of literature, art and music drawn upon in subject studies." *ibid.* p.21.

¹³⁶ *ibid.* p.23.

the school as a whole.¹³⁷

Ethnic minority groups were singled out by Swann as disproportionately under-represented in the teaching profession and there was evidence that those who were in the system faced racial discrimination in gaining promotion and therefore "stagnating in the system, in posts far below both their capabilities and experience."¹³⁸ This was borne out in a subsequent survey carried out by the Commission for Racial Equality revealed that " The total number of teachers in all 1189 schools was 20,246 of whom only 431 (2%) were of ethnic minority origin. The ethnic origins of 530 (3%) teachers were not identified."¹³⁹ Further

¹³⁷ *ibid.* p.24.

¹³⁸ Swann put forward five reasons for encouraging ethnic minority teachers into the profession: "so that the staff of the education service (as in all areas of employment) are seen as a natural reflection of the make-up of the population; people of ethnic minorities should have opportunities to become professional workers if they have the desire and ability to do so; ethnic minority teachers act as a source of cultural expertise and skill for other staff and children; ethnic minority parents and children who are unable or unwilling to trust authority to understand their needs are reassured by the presence of staff from their own ethnic group; ethnic minority teachers can serve as valuable role models for pupils of the same ethnic background, who can see the teacher as someone who has faced and overcome the same hurdles they face." *ibid.* p.25.

¹³⁹ The survey was based on a Stage One questionnaire despatched at the end of November 1984 to 1572 head teachers, of whom 1189 (76%) returned the questionnaire. CRE, Ethnic Minority School Teachers: A survey in Eight Local Education Authorities, London, 1988. p.13.

the number of ethnic minorities in teacher training institutions in 1986 represented only 2.6% of all final year students.¹⁴⁰The survey revealed that 89% of ethnic minority teachers with British qualifications "started on scale one, and six percent on scale 2...On leaving their first school in the UK, fewer ethnic minority than white teachers had achieved a higher scale than the one which they had started."¹⁴¹The Swann report highlighted the CRE's observation of "the widespread sense of frustration and bitterness among ethnic minority teachers about what they see as their subordinate and disadvantaged position in the teaching profession."¹⁴²Swann urged that all LEAs should establish themselves as equal opportunity employers, and co-operate with the CRE in overcoming racism within the teaching profession.

Though the Swann Report generated a framework and rationale for a pluralist Britain, the strategies it formulated and elaborated on, was drawn from dispirit policy documents and reports both by government and the education establishment since Bullock. However, it achieved to make explicit clear policy objectives based on firm educational principles, rather than those determined by political expediency which seemed

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.* p.65.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.* p.34-35.

¹⁴² Runnymede Trust, *op.cit.*, p.25.

to have been the underlying concern since the early days of large scale immigration.

2.4. Religion and Minority Communities.

One characteristic of minority communities which was recognised by the Swann Report, but which was ignored in previous documents, was the religious dimension. Though Swann focused on the demands of the Muslim community which will be dealt with later in subsequent chapters of this research, the report recommended that religion and the role of the school, should be placed within a broader phenomenological approach:

"The broader phenomenological approach to religious education is the only means of enhancing the understanding of all pupils of the plurality of faiths in contemporary Britain, of bringing them to an understanding of the nature of belief and the religious dimension to human existence, and of helping them to appreciate the diverse and sometimes conflicting life stances which exist, and thus enabling them to determine their own religious position. The 'confessional' approach to religious education, whether in terms of encouraging a belief in the superiority of Christianity, or as advocated by some parts of the Muslim community for the teaching of Islam in separate schools, is therefore rejected."¹⁴³

Within this context Swann saw the role of religious education as seeking to inform rather than to 'convert,' but that if religious instruction continued to be a requirement then pupils of non-denominational

¹⁴³ Runnymede Trust, *op.cit.*, p.17.

faiths should be allowed to withdraw, although the report recommends that "the government, in consultation with religious and educational bodies, should look afresh at the relevant provisions of the 1944 Act, to see whether alterations are called for after an interval of 40 years."¹⁴⁴ This was accomplished three years later with the Education Reform Act 1988 which devoted much space to the place of religious education in schools.

By the time Swann published its findings it was overtaken by events which were to have a profound effect on education policy, the Conservative government under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher was successful in neutralising the radical left and liberal elements in British politics, this diminished any possibility of an effective opposition. In addition there were strong signals of a major economic recession which would put tremendous pressure on public spending, therefore many of the strategies suggested by Swann were shelved, and the governments' education policy retreated into an assimilationist and centralist approach which is best described by Bhikhu Parekh:-

"The Education Reform Act is a logical culmination of the assimilationist approach. The state now decides what subjects to teach in

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

schools, how, and what books to require pupils to read in each subject. It has paid particular attention to the teaching of history, the most political and ideologically charged of all subjects, and seeks to ensure that all children from now onwards will share an identical and state-endorsed view of British history and national identity. The Government and its academic sympathizers have repeatedly complained that teachers are seduced by the Marxist and other types of 'dangerous propaganda' and cannot be trusted to exercise their own judgement. It would seem that pupils are now to be protected against their benighted teachers, and the latter against the hidden enemies of Britain. A Government that places so much value on choice is evidently unwilling to trust the academic choices of its own group and professionally trained teachers. The Education Reform Act rests on a policy of cultural protection and political engineering, and represents an attempt by the state to mould British society into a homogenous and nationalist mould."¹⁴⁵

With regard to Religious Education the Reform Act emphasised that existing multi-faith and any new syllabus adopted after September 1988 must:-

"reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian, while taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain."¹⁴⁶

Although all maintained schools must provide for daily acts of collective worship and for classes in RE, any parent who is apprehensive about Christian

¹⁴⁵ CRE. Britain: A Plural Society, London, 1990, p.64.

¹⁴⁶ Education Reform Act 1988, sect.8.3.

indoctrination may request that his or her child be withdrawn from either or both of these activities.¹⁴⁷ In LEA schools the collective worship has to be "wholly or mainly of a broadly Christian character"¹⁴⁸ But schools may obtain exemption from this provision if the local Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (SACRE) decides that it would be inappropriate, where there is a sizable number of pupils of non-Christian faiths.¹⁴⁹ Those parents who are not satisfied with their local agreed syllabus can request separate religious education for their children in accordance with their faith, and the LEA must normally arrange this so long as the cost of such tuition does not fall upon the authority.¹⁵⁰

Confronted with the turnabout in legislation, away from multi-culturalism and multi-faith, the response from minority communities was one of despair. In many respects the most important characteristics of the minority communities were not so much their brown or black skins of their members but their adherence to certain customs, traditions, religious beliefs and

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.* sect.9.3.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.* sect.6 & 7

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.* sect. 11.4. The principal religious traditions of the local area have to be reflected in one of the four groups entitled to be represented on each SACRE.

¹⁵⁰ Education Act 1944, sect.26 (as amended); Education Reform Act 1988, sect.9.4.

value systems which were at variance from those of the majority indigenous community. The Reform Act is seen as an another piece of legislation towards assimilation.

The absence of religion from the discussion on ethnic minorities in policy documents prior to Swann was a mirror of the sociological studies which informed government enquiry. Within the academic studies on ethnic minorities¹⁵¹ which embraced a number of different theoretical and methodological perspectives, they examined the major immigrant groups under such common rubrics as coloured immigrants, ethnic/and or racial minorities; "religion and religious identity tended, at most, to be aspects of secondary interest and even then only of interest to those researchers who had a professional interest in the sociology of religion. Indeed, so dominated by the secular assumptions of academic sociology was the field, that well into the 1970s there seemed to be an expectation that communities of immigrant origin would quickly follow a course characterised by the privatisation of

¹⁵¹ See for example, Allen, S. New Minorities, Old Conflicts, New York, 1971. pp.223. ; Banton, M. Racial Minorities, London, 1972.; Collins, S. Coloured Minorities in Britain, London, 1957.; Davison, R.B. Commonwealth Immigrants, London, 1964.; Griffith, J.A.G. Coloured Immigrants in Britain, London, 1960. pp.225.; Huxley, E. Back Street, New Worlds: A Look at Immigrants in Britain, London, 1964.; Krausz, E. Ethnic Minorities in Britain, London, 1971.; Rosenthal, E.J.B. Colour and Citizenship, London, 1969. pp.815.

religion: one could look forward to the existence of ethnic minority communities who were integrated to the extent that their religion would have a place similar to that of the private Christianity of Protestant northern Europe or laicised Catholic France."¹⁵²

This approach led to a dearth of literature dealing with communities whose lifestyle and customs were based on religious values. Lack of recognition of this fact led to what may be described as the fallacy of simplified aggregation and misplaced categorisation. When the identity of a religious and cultural group has not been properly defined, its major characteristics, and the problems and challenges it faces, cannot be fully appreciated.

Religion, in the case of certain communities living in Britain, constituted the source of their culture. Their social institutions and the whole network of relations between individuals and institutions had been deeply influenced, if not totally determined by, their religious beliefs and values. Legislation ignored the fact that the new immigrants were Hindus, Sikhs, Jews, and Muslims, and that these minorities belonged primarily to religious communities, and when they share a common environment like Britain, the

¹⁵² Nielson, J. Muslims In Western Europe, Edinburgh, 1992. p.vii.

religious ethos might be much greater than the racial ethos that has somehow overshadowed the literature that is available so far.

The legislation protecting the educational interests of religious minorities has been minimal, in part this has been because, "adequate religious education in British schools remains disturbingly rare. The subject is given low priority in terms of time allocation, resources, and specialist staff. Many (if not most) pupils, parents and teachers continue to see it as an area of only marginal concern compared to other subjects."¹⁵³ The diminishing importance of the subject was related to the rapidly changing circumstances in society following the rise of secularism and liberalism. Whereas with the passing of the 1870 Education Act and the creation of schools owned and maintained by local government, the State permitted the teaching of religion but insisted that if and when the schools provided for teaching of religion such religious education should include "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination."¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Arthur, C., Biting the Bullet: Some Personal Reflections on Religious Education, Edinburgh, 1990, p.xii.

¹⁵⁴ Murphy, J., Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970, London 1971, p.58.

Many School Boards sought to interpret and enforce the religious neutrality which the Act expected. The Denbigh School Board, for instance, declared that religious instruction might include "the history of the Jews and the Jewish nation and the geography and natural history of Ancient as well as modern Palestine; But that in any use which may be made of the Bible in teaching or illustrating these subjects, it is to be distinctly understood that no reference whatever is to be made to the doctrines taught therein; except in cases of discipline and to enforce moral teaching."¹⁵⁵

With the 1944 Education Act, the policy of the State became more established, Religious education was now a compulsory subject on the curriculum and collective worship a legal requirement. The motives behind the framing of the Act was complex and diverse, the social and political climate of the time was thought to warrant a greater role of religious instruction. Therefore the religious settlement of the Act has to be seen as part of a whole movement; "the religious clauses of the Education Act passed into law at a time of high national purpose and idealism. The year 1944 saw the invasion of Europe, the crusade of liberation. Great Britain was still great in military power and

¹⁵⁵ in Adamson, J.W. English Education 1789-1902, London, 1930. p.163.

international prestige. It was a time of statesman-like planning and of national reconstruction."¹⁵⁶ The clauses themselves were an investment of the hopes for religious education of many Christians in the early forties, because though there was no mention of Christianity in its pages the intention was that pupils would have a grounding in the principles of the Christian faith.¹⁵⁷

This faith was a necessary prerequisite for democracy, after all the war was seen as a clash of ideologies, to some it was a war between Nazism and Christianity, but to most it was a war between totalitarianism and democracy, and Christian ethics was the basis of this British democracy. Consequently, the association of the Christian religion with the cause of democracy helped to secure a more widespread acceptance of the religious clauses than they might otherwise have had. Concomitant with democracy was the way in which intelligent public opinion had been influenced by the interest Christians were taking in social questions; social deprivation, industry and daily living, were amongst some of the issues which the thoughtful layman were challenged to respond to, and to see their relatedness between religion, conduct and national

¹⁵⁶ Wedderspoon, A.G. (ed.), Religious Education 1944-1984. London, 1966. p.11.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.* p.22-23.

policy.¹⁵⁸ The Act assumed that schools were apprised of the importance of religious education; and that England, and the Western world, were fundamentally Christian.

The State remained impartial so as not to be involved in any attempt to influence the minds of children on disputed questions of religion. This was reinforced, not only in the repetition of the clause forbidding denominational instruction, but also in the requirement that religious education "shall be given in accordance with an agreed syllabus."¹⁵⁹ It is significant that, although detailed regulations were laid down in Schedule 5 of the Act for the procedure by which such a syllabus was to be drawn up, nothing whatever was said about the content and objectives of them, apart from the mere fact that they had to be syllabuses of religious instruction with Local agreement.¹⁶⁰ But in the meantime the rather arid

¹⁵⁸ ibid. p. 20-21.

¹⁵⁹ Education Act 1944, Sect.26.

¹⁶⁰ "The local education authority shall convene a 'conference' consisting of representatives of (a) such religious denominations, as in the opinion of the authority, ought, having regard to the circumstances of the area, to be represented; (b) except in the case of an area in Wales or Monmouthshire, the Church of England; (c) such associations representing teachers as, in the opinion of the authority, ought, having regard to the circumstances of the area, to be represented; and (d) the authority. Each of the four 'committees' so constituted has one vote and all four must vote in favour of the proposed syllabus. They may decide to adopt an existing syllabus prepared by

and formal impartiality of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century religious education had passed away. The syllabuses which preceded the 1944 Act, had already adopted a tone of buoyant Christian optimism and had inaugurated the Christian nurture period of British religious education.

Although the uniquely denominational aspects of the syllabuses were removed, most were modelled on those which were already being used in church schools.¹⁶¹ A number of syllabuses were revisions of those used by the ecclesiastical authorities, and there were instances where a local authority would request the local clergy to assist in the preparation of the School Board Syllabus, which included an invitation to inspect the instruction given in council schools. These early syllabuses were very brief but almost entirely they dealt with the past; the present, which was not studied, was nurtured through the study of the past. Amongst the topics which was studied included the history of Israel, the life and teachings of Jesus, the growth of the Church in New Testament times, the Bible, and the history of Christianity in

another authority, or parts of several such syllabuses, or they prepare their own syllabus." Hull, J.M., "Agreed syllabuses, past, present and future," in Smart, N. and Horder, D. New Movements in Religious Education, London, 1975. p.97.

¹⁶¹ The Anglican catechism would thus disappear but the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments would remain.

particular areas. An example was the 1945 Surrey Agreed Syllabus:-

"The aim of the Syllabus is to secure that children attending the schools of the County... may gain knowledge of the common Christian faith held by their fathers for nearly 2,000 years; may seek for themselves in Christianity principles which give a purpose to life and a guide to all its problems; and may find inspiration, power and courage to work for their own welfare, for that of their fellow-creatures, and for the growth of God's kingdom."¹⁶²

The 1924 syllabus designed by the Cambridgeshire Education Committee¹⁶³ was amongst the first and most influential, its appearance gave considerable prestige and inspiration to what was becoming a national movement. By 1934, 224 out of 316 local education authorities had emulated and adopted syllabuses designed on the Cambridgeshire model, and forty different syllabuses were in circulation.¹⁶⁴ By the time the agreed syllabuses became mandatory and the machinery for their production and revision were incorporated in the 1944 Education Act, a tradition had already been well established.

¹⁶² Surrey County Council Education Committee, Syllabus of Religious Instruction. 1945. p.8.

¹⁶³ Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Education Committee, The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools. 1924.

¹⁶⁴ Hull, J.M. "Agreed Syllabuses, Past, Present and Future," in Smart, N. and Horder, D. New Movements in Religious Education, London. P.99.

Influenced by the child-centred movement of the time there was a change of emphasis in religious education by the late 1950s; the pupil needed to discover Christianity for himself. Work was arranged into two broad categories, late childhood and early adolescence. The syllabus for each stage was organised according to *Themes and Activities*, and shifted from the past to the present, examples of themes were *Personal Relationships*, *Discovering Oneself*, *Christianity in the Modern World*, and *Religion and Life in Contemporary Society*.¹⁶⁵

The 1970's was to witness the impact of Curriculum Studies and theories of curriculum development on agreed syllabuses, in Cambridge a Religious Education Development Centre was established at Homerton College and there in 1968, three working groups of teachers began to meet to prepare materials for trial in schools. After publishing the material in 1970 it was decided that the Cambridgeshire agreed syllabuses should be abolished. From then on agreed syllabuses become more and more instruments of curriculum

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.* p.101. See also County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire Education Department, Suggestions for Religious Education, 1966. pp.137; Inner London Education Authority, Learning for Life, 1968. pp.95; Wiltshire County Council Education Committee, Religious Education in Wiltshire, 1967. pp.79; Lancashire Education Committee, Religion and Life, 1968. pp.216; Northamptonshire Education Committee, Fullness of Life (Primary) and Life and Worship (Senior Section), 1968.

development, the role of teachers in framing syllabuses increased, and greater experimentation encouraged so that religious education became more open ended. Bath is a typical example of the changing aims of religious education:

"The primary aim of religious education is to help young people to understand the nature of religion. This does not simply mean teaching about religion if by that is implied an historical survey of the doctrines, practices and institutions of the major religions or even of only the Christian religion. It means helping young people to understand and appreciate religious phenomena, to discuss religious claims with sensitivity, to be aware of the nature of religious language and to recognise the criteria and standards by which truth and falsehood in religious beliefs are distinguished..."¹⁶⁶

However with increased plurality and secularity of British society after the second world war, and with the rise of a view of education which sought to foster a more critical and more autonomous individual, the Christianising period of religious education had largely come to an end. The recent history of religious education in Britain may be understood as an attempt to create a subject which would be faithful to its own natural content, and which would be impartial

¹⁶⁶ City of Bath Education Authority, Agreed Syllabus of Religious Education, 1970.; see also, Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Education Committee, Religious Education: Suggestions for Teachers, 1970.; Cornwall Education Committee, Handbook for Religious Education, 1971.; Essex Education Committee, 'Interchange' Working Papers in Religious Education, n.d.; Hampshire Education Committee, Approaches to Religious Education: A Handbook of Suggestions, n.d.

but not arid, personal but not proselytizing. Religious education was no longer to foster or nurture faith in any particular religion; it was to promote a sympathetic but critical understanding of religions. Its focus of study would not lie in the history of far-off lands but in the teeming religious life of the towns and cities in which the pupils live. The teacher would desist from teaching his own enthusiasms or project his own religious commitments but would be an educator, aiding his pupils learning, and seeking to discover his curriculum and his methods from educational theory, and not from the religious teaching of the churches or from the polemics of the religions themselves. This was the genesis of the secularisation of religious education and it was forced to find relationships with the other secular disciplines in the curriculum.

This new subject evolved during the 1970's stimulated by the growth of a more specialized and disciplined philosophy of education. The debate was simultaneously being carried forward at two levels, in universities where scepticism in Christian truths gave rise to a new breed of scholarship, religious studies, which was represented by Ninian Smart of Lancaster University.

Smart argued that the pluralistic nature of British society, and the diminishing importance of

Christianity in the lives of its citizens, required religious studies to complement theology through an objective study of the religions of the world, and that "even from the standpoint of Christian faith and doctrine it is imperative for theological studies to take philosophy and the comparative study of religion seriously. This means that theology cannot simply be dogmatic. It must introduce, even from out of its own substance, the sympathetic appreciation of positions and faith other than its own. Christian theology, in brief, must be open."¹⁶⁷ Similarly religious education he believed should transcend the informative "by being a sensitive induction into religious studies, not with the aim of evangelizing but with the aim of creating certain capacities to understand and think about religion."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Smart, N. Secular Education & the Logic of Religion, London, 1968. p.91

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.* p.97. There were five considerations which Smart put forward when teaching religion. "First, religious education must transcend the informative. Second, it should do so not in the direction of evangelizing, but in the direction of initiation into understanding the meaning of, and into questions about the truth and worth of, religion. Third, religious studies do not exclude a committed approach, provided that it is open, and so does not artificially restrict understanding and choice. Fourth, religious studies should provide a service in helping people to understand history and other cultures than our own. It can thus play a vital role in breaking the limits of European cultural tribalism. Fifth, religious studies should emphasize the descriptive, historical side of religion, but need thereby to enter into dialogue with the parahistorical claims of religions and anti-religious outlooks." *ibid.* pp.105-106.

At another level local authorities were responding not only to the pressures which were being exerted on them by Humanists, Communists and Buddhists¹⁶⁹ but also to the demands of the new immigrant communities. Considerable numbers of Sikh, Muslim, and Hindu children were attending inner city schools in the major conurbations, and religious education was seen as a key point in community relations.

However most of the new agreed syllabuses included the study of non-Christian religions only in the sixth form and even then "in an apologetic or missionary context."¹⁷⁰ The Hampshire syllabus recommends that pupils study one unit on religions other than Christianity in the 5th. year of Secondary school within the context of General Studies, and "the leader of the whole course will have an opportunity to 'compare' the various religious beliefs not only with each other, but with Christianity."¹⁷¹ The unit was resourced by members of each faith being brought into

¹⁶⁹ The Lancashire Agreed Syllabus of 1968 mentions 'Humanism' and 'Dialectical Materialism' as topics for the 6th.form. The London 1968 Syllabus refers to 'rationalism', 'materialism', Marxism, 'existentialism', p.164; The 1968 Lancashire Syllabus describes Communism and Humanism as alternatives to the Christian faith, p.165.

¹⁷⁰ Hull, J.M. " Agreed Syllabuses, Past, Present and Future," *op.cit.* p.113.

¹⁷¹ The committee suggests five major faiths for study: Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam. Hampshire Education Committee, *op.cit.* Secondary Section F Unit (i).

the school to respond to pupils questions. There is no syllabus for the unit because it was left to the teacher to work out an appropriate scheme.

This was unlike the Lancashire syllabus which provides detail advice as to the themes to be covered at sixth form. Though Christianity was the backcloth to the study of other faiths, it also recognised the need for religion to be studied within a comparative perspective, for this purpose, religions were categorised into the lower cultures, the higher religions, national religions, the universal religions.¹⁷² The historical circumstances for the emergence of each faith was studied together with their beliefs, sacred texts, and rituals. It is noticeable that the syllabus does not suggest drawing on the resources of the large faith communities which had already established themselves in the various cities in the conurbation, nor recommend literature published by them. However the syllabus, albeit at sixth form, does reflect the changing methodology in the study of religion, and the change of religious composition in British cities.

In contrast the West Riding Syllabus devotes only a

¹⁷² Lancashire Education Committee, *op.cit.* pp.159-167; pp.196-203.

paragraph towards the study of other faiths,¹⁷³ and the Wiltshire and Surrey Syllabuses makes no mention of other faiths at all. In spite of the Inner London Education Authority Syllabus being predominately Christian in content, an important precedent was established when two Muslims and one Jew was invited to serve on the Conference.¹⁷⁴ Similar to other syllabuses the study of other faiths is reserved until the sixth form and yet again it does so within a comparative context.

It is evident from the study of a sample of syllabuses since the war, that the degree by which Agreed Syllabuses would take into account the need for pupils to study other faiths was very much determined by the relative concentration of new religious communities in any particular city. Another consideration was the importance for Christian pupils to be exposed to other religious traditions, and for immigrants to be familiar with the Christian heritage of Britain, but the study of a variety of religious stances was not seen as a necessity in itself for all pupils.

Birmingham was the first city to pioneer an entirely new agreed syllabus which reflected Britain's changing

¹⁷³ County Council Of The West Riding Of Yorkshire Education Department, *op.cit.* p.105.

¹⁷⁴ Inner London Education Authority, *op.cit.* p.7.

religious landscape. The framework for the new syllabus which was available from late 1973 was based on the following:-

"Three areas of investigation should be studied. A (i) Religion as it manifests itself in our own and other societies, and the claims upon which it rests. (ii) Non-religious stances for living, their basic assumptions and their outworking in personal and social life. B Aspects of personal life and behaviour which call for moral judgements. C The problems currently facing mankind nationally and internationally which involve ethical and religious considerations."¹⁷⁵

Whereas previous agreed syllabuses followed a methodology which compared one faith with another, in which one faith was considered superior to the rest,¹⁷⁶ the approach of the new syllabus was to study them objectively and for their own sake.¹⁷⁷ In the words of the handbook accompanying the syllabus:-

"a detailed study of at least one religious tradition in all its dimensions. Each pupil should have the right to choose for himself or herself the subject of this study from the following options: Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism. In addition to this detailed study some further study of one or more of these options should be undertaken, including Christianity if this is not the religion chosen for detailed study. All secondary school pupils

¹⁷⁵ Hull, J.M. *op.cit.* pp. 109-110.

¹⁷⁶ City Of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, Agreed Syllabus Of Religious Instruction, 1975. p.5.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.* p.5.

should also study one, at least, of the non-religious stances for living."¹⁷⁸

The structure of the syllabus is even handed and gives equal weight to each faith studied. Whereas previously pupils concentrated on the doctrines of a faith, the new syllabus presented each as a comprehensive way of life: history, mythology, doctrine, ethical outlook, liturgical life, inner experience, artistic and social expression.¹⁷⁹

The consultations on the Agreed Syllabus was quite elaborate, in addition to the various Christian denominations, the conference included representatives from the Jewish, Sikh, Hindu, and Muslim communities. At a later stage, a Humanist was co-opted onto several of the working parties. There were separate committees for the Church of England, Teachers' Organisations, and the Local Education Authority.¹⁸⁰

This consultative structure was the direct result of the States' right and duty, unlike other subjects, to religiously educate all its children, both centrally and locally, causing religious education to find itself contextualized in an increasingly complex

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.* p.110.

¹⁷⁹ City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, *op.cit.* p.4.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.* pp.12-16.

society.

Though the syllabus was the most controversial because of its inclusion of the study of communism, it influenced the Agreed Syllabuses of Avon (1976), Hampshire (1978), and the City of Manchester (1980), but it highlighted the difficulties which such documents go through, and the cumbersome procedures to bring them into operation, therefore many local authorities have published recommendations for religious education which have ignored the agreed syllabus machinery entirely. Three reports which paved the way in this development were the two reports by the Schools Council on religious education in primary and secondary education,¹⁸¹ and later the 1977 report of a working party set up by the Religious Education Committee of the Schools Council, A Groundplan for the Study of Religion, all three reports were to formalise what was already being achieved on the ground.

The preoccupation of the government with matters to do with multiculturalism diverted attention away from the debate on Religious Education, in fact government policy neglected the development in schools and the

¹⁸¹ Schools Council, Religious Education in Secondary Schools, London, 1971, pp.104.; Schools Council, Religious Education in Primary Schools, London, 1972, pp.79.

academic community. The struggle for Religious Education to find a place for itself in the curriculum is evidenced by the debate amongst those who were on the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) commissioned by the DES to report on the whole subject of primary education and the transition to secondary education.¹⁸² Though there were members who believed that Religious Education and the Act of Worship should influence the entire curriculum and set the tone of living and learning for the whole school community, there were some dissenting voices,¹⁸³ a minority of members who believed that the subject should not figure in the curriculum at all. The reservations were partly due to the personal beliefs of members, but partly revolved around educational theory and the methodological perspective within which religious education was placed.

The underlining reservations of the dissenters was that religious education involved theology; and it was felt that theology was both too recondite and controversial a subject to be suitable for inclusion in the curriculum for primary schools. Though not objecting to the content of Christian beliefs being

¹⁸² Plowden Report, *op.cit.*

¹⁸³ Professor A.J. Ayer, Dr. I.C.R. Byatt, Professor D.V. Donnison, Mrs. E.V. Smith, Professor J.M. Tanner and Dr. M. Young, Mr. E.W. Hawkins, Mr. M.H. Wilson. *ibid.* p.489 & p.492.

taught in schools, the methodology should expose pupils to the arguments in its favour and to those against, so that they could decide whether such beliefs were credible; the ability of children before the age of 12 years being able to appreciate such a debate was considered unlikely. The source book of Christianity would be better studied as an important piece of literature, but the authorised version of the Bible was not easy reading for the modern child, therefore it was doubtful that its literary quality would be appreciated until the child's mastery of English had attained secondary level. However, Bible stories should be studied along with other legends and stories of classical antiquity.¹⁸⁴

Recognising that it is the function of the school to induce children into a set of moral values, it was suggested that this would be best achieved independent of any particular religious outlook, and not through theology, but, when pupils were provided with models from which they could imitate; in this respect Christ as an exemplar, was but one of many exceptional human beings. It was felt that teachers were being placed in an impossible situation because they may have to participate in a compulsory school activity which they do not agree with or believe in, and though they can legally opt out, they may not exercise that right for

¹⁸⁴ Plowden Report, *op.cit.* pp.489-490.

fear of prejudicing their career prospects. Similarly, there was a minority of people who for reasons of their own convictions and religious stances would prefer that their children did not receive the kind of religious education which primary schools gave, but for fear that their children may be set apart from their fellows, did not exercise their right to withdraw them from either religious education nor from the daily Act of worship. In consideration of this concern it was recommended that parents be given an option of enrolling their children for religious education or for a secular course in moral and social education. It would be open to teachers to choose which of those forms of instruction they wish to give.¹⁸⁵

Respecting the reservations on the committee, the Plowden report re-enforced its support for the 1944 Education Act and its provisions for those who wished to opt out of religious education and the daily Act of Worship. Though it proposed no significant reforms, it did suggest that schools as a community should encourage moral values which could be built on by pupils in their future school careers. That the daily Act of Worship should be more imaginative and include material from sources other than Christianity which illuminate shared spiritual and moral values. In this

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.* pp.490-491.

regard it was considered unnecessary for Heads of schools to be entirely responsible for assemblies; it should be a shared effort. It was recommended that heads of schools and administrators become more sensitive to the needs of immigrant children, and just as special provision had been made to accommodate Jewish pupils, so such attention should be given to new religious communities.¹⁸⁶ Religious Education was seen to be a continuation of the Christian heritage, although, the report concedes that the agreed syllabuses need reconsideration and re-appraisal in the light of new thinking on education practice. Consequently, the report calls for more adequate training for teachers of religious education, an expansion of the advisory service, and more in-service training.¹⁸⁷

A subsequent survey¹⁸⁸ carried out by the HMI on Primary Education in England reveals that nearly a quarter of all heads referred specifically to Christian teaching, and many emphasised equally strongly the particular Christian commitment of their

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.* p.207. The report highlights as good practice an example of one school with a large intake of 'Mohammedan' pupils, provide facilities for them to perform their daily prayers.p.207.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.* pp.208-209.

¹⁸⁸ The report was an account of some aspects of the work of 7, 9 and 11 year old children in 1,127 classes in 542 schools so chosen as to represent primary schools in England.

schools. Supported by both written comments of heads and the work in the classes the report findings indicate that Christian precepts were seen as important ideas to be taught and put into practice and that the Bible was the main source for religious teaching. The report found that a few schools did introduce work on other faiths which were often studied in the context of their historical origins, and when studying other countries. On the matter of school assemblies the report discovered that it was predominately Christian led by the head or another teacher, and on some occasions by a pupil. The report concludes that in light of Britains multi-faith society, consideration should be given to the ways and means by which the range of work in the subject could be expanded to respond to this new situation.¹⁸⁹

A similar survey was undertaken for Secondary Schools in England,¹⁹⁰ there was no comment on what was taught in religious education syllabuses, but the report did highlight the increasing marginalisation and lessening importance of the subject. When compared with other subjects only one or two periods on the timetable was allocated to religious education up to

¹⁸⁹ D.E.S. Primary Education in England: A Survey by HM Inspectors of Schools. H.M.S.O. 1978. pp.70-72.

¹⁹⁰ A structured sample of 10% of secondary schools which were drawn by computer in 1975. 384 schools were visited by HMI.

the age of 14 years, when between three or four periods was given to physical education.¹⁹¹ In the fourth and fifth year its place in the curriculum was "either as a discrete subject or as an element within some form of combined study."¹⁹² Half of the schools surveyed taught the subject separately, and a number included it as part of the general or social studies courses.¹⁹³ When examining subjects taught with subjects of qualification, it was found that "of the 608 teachers who taught religious education as their first and only subject 122(20%) did not record this as their first or second subject of study. Of the 486 teachers who had qualifications in the subject, 213 were graduates and 202 certificated teachers in secondary education."¹⁹⁴ The report reflects the priorities schools were attaching to science subjects over and above humanities, and in this respect religious education was beginning to lose its significance.

It became clear that the educational policy in a multi-faith society centred on questions of educational theory, and raised the debate about the

¹⁹¹ D.E.S. Aspects of Secondary Education on England: A survey by HM Inspectors of Schools. H.M.S.O. 1979. pp.19-20.

¹⁹² *ibid.* p.52.

¹⁹³ *ibid.* p.211.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.* p.52.

nature of British society - is it a secular society? a plural society? is it a Christian society? An analysis of the DES reports, agreed syllabuses, and the DES surveys suggest the "aim of benevolent integration,"¹⁹⁵ Whereas there is a clear consensus that religious education would become more effective and acceptable by improving methods and techniques in accordance with the findings of educational research, in the matter of what is taught, and especially by constructing syllabuses based on the capacities, needs and interests of pupils, there was an ambivalent approach.

Despite the concession of acknowledging the need to introduce young people to other world religions and non-religious philosophies of life, the place given to these in the syllabuses demonstrates that they are tolerated extras. In other words these attempts, liberal in intention, often described as open-ended,¹⁹⁶ were an open-ended approach to Christianity. They were documents written by Christians which assumed that the objective of

¹⁹⁵ D.E.S. Prospects and Problems for Religious Education, H.M.S.O. 1969, pp.65.

¹⁹⁶ The Newsom Report makes many concessions to a more open approach. It is strongly critical of purely academic Bible study and insistent that religious teaching should be made relevant to the needs of adolescents. The Newsom Report, Half Our Future, H.M.S.O., 1963. para.163, p.54.

religious education was to foster Christianity.¹⁹⁷

The methodological perspective of comparative religion was born at a time when the theory of evolution was dominant, when everything within range, beliefs and practices, were arranged in a hierarchy ending with their own. The application of this frame of reference in syllabuses made it difficult for pupils to enter into the religious experience of the rest of humanity or to appreciate the rich heritage and the present power of non-Christian religions. On the contrary pupils began to respond to other religions and cultures as superstitious, irrational, and underdeveloped.

With the arrival of immigrant children in British schools since the 1950's this perspective has been under challenge, more recently the 'Study of World Religions' has emerged. This has resulted in attention being given to the many dimensions of each religion. In the past the focus of study has been too much on the doctrines, and very little on the mythology, ethical and liturgical life, inner experience, and social expression. Moreover these may be viewed from the standpoints of history, psychology, anthropology, and sociology. This perspective allows for the

¹⁹⁷ Schools Council Working Paper 36, Religious Education in Secondary Schools, London, 1971. pp.32-33.

awakening of the pupils' understanding of the realities to which religious experience is a human response.

The framework within which theory and method was cast was the liberal critical stance which is itself a stance that judges all others. But it provides an example of the striking change which has taken place in the adaptation of religious education to the social environment, the shift from Christian education, to a critical and descriptive education in a variety of world religions and secular ways of life.

2.5. Response from Minority Communities.

In the post war period, official policy took steps to eliminate some of the most blatant forms of discrimination and to improve the social and economic status of immigrants. However, these improved conditions created rising expectations and hope, which outpaced the improvement within social, economic and political systems. The disillusionment and shattered dreams that resulted from widespread discrimination, racism and structural exclusion - the outcome of the historic quest for assimilation - experienced by immigrant communities demanded recognition and incorporation of their cultures and languages into the general culture of the society and in the state school

system; structural inclusion but maintenance of important aspects of their cultures and symbols - integration.

The attitudes of the parents towards their children's acculturation to the English way of life varied among the different ethnic groups as well as the attitudes of the individual parents within these groups. But to a large extent they wished to retain their own social and cultural existence.¹⁹⁸

Their response to developments in the educational system were very much influenced by their colonial and cultural backgrounds and the high expectations of education often nurtured in their country of origin; by their own levels of knowledge about an unfamiliar education system; and by their experience of schools and teachers in Britain. The limited research¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Taylor, F. Race, School And Community, London, 1974. pp. 111-112.

¹⁹⁹ Bhatti, F.M. "Young Pakistanis in Britain", New Community, Vol.6, No.3. 1978; Dosanjh, J.S. "Punjabi Immigrant Children: Their Social and Educational Problems in Adjustment", Education Paper No.10, University of Nottingham, 1969; Ghuman, P.A.S. "Punjabi Parents and English Education", Educational Research, Vol.22, No.2, 1980a. pp.121-30; Ghuman, P.A.S. and Gallop, R. "Educational Attitudes of Bengali Families in Cardiff." Journal of Multicultural and Multilingual Development, Vol.2, No.2. 1981; Tanna, K. "Gujerati Muslim Parents in Lancaster: Their Views On Education." Unpublished Independent Study for B.A. Degree, University of Lancaster. 1981; Noor, S.N. and Khalsa, S.S. Educational Needs of Asian Children in the Context of Multiracial Education in

available suggest that most minority parents were anxious for their children to do well in education, and to acquire skills and qualifications which would enable them to find employment or go on to further education or training. This was not surprising because many migrant parents were working in low-paid employment and felt that their efforts might be justified if their children would acquire a more favourable position in society than they were able to achieve; they viewed schools as places where their children's life chances would be enhanced.

Once this was realised, the parents expected that their children would benefit from 'equal opportunity' to succeed, and saw education as a major means of social and economic upward mobility.²⁰⁰ In addition, parental enthusiasm for school, and the desire to see their children acquire credentials, was matched by expectations that schools would also accommodate their different cultural traditions and religions. Much of the continuing anxiety about schools has derived from the parents' perceptions that the educational system is reluctant to genuinely recognise and accept religious and cultural diversity.

Wolverhampton: A Survey of Parents' Views and Attitude, Indian Worker's Association, Wolverhampton. 1978.

²⁰⁰ Dosanjh, *op.cit.*

The most articulate group in this regard has been the Muslim community. The important areas of concern for them has been mother-tongue and religious teaching which underpin cultural identity; dress and food which are seen as important cultural symbols; single-sex education, separate physical education and swimming for girls; and a multi-faith curriculum which would give due respect to their religious expression.²⁰¹ The failure of the educational system to respond to these needs has resulted in dissatisfaction being expressed in the calls by the Muslim leadership for alternative education; through the establishment of separate schools.

Muslims have argued that within the education system integration was taken to mean, not cultural diversity, but pressure on Muslim pupils to adapt to, and eventually join, a culturally homogeneous society. They felt that early ideas of assimilation and integration were patronising or offensively dismissive of other cultural life-styles. The inconsistencies in Religious Education and the ambiguities in multi-cultural education was evidence for them that policy makers were appearing to give ethnic minorities what they wanted in education while in reality giving them little that will enhance their life chances, because

²⁰¹ Tomlinson, S. Ethnic Minorities in British Schools, London, 1983. p.65.

a great deal of multicultural and multifaith education emphasised only life styles, in a safe, bland and politically neutral panacea.

The Muslim response to this disillusionment was to establish a network of voluntary supplementary schools, both for religious identity and cultural maintenance, and improve children's basic skills. Dissatisfaction of some Muslims with secular and co-educational schooling produced demands for single-sex schools, and also Muslim schools. Pressure was increased for the provision of culturally acceptable school meals, and for the rights of Muslim girls to wear traditional dress and headscarves.

The vanguard of this struggle was carried forward by Muslim revivalist movements who have pressed policy-makers to re-appraise their approach to the education new communities and that of the wider society. They believe that though the minority experience has not been totally devalued, integration and assimilation were still main agenda items. the liberal policy created expectations and goals for excluded minority groups but often made it impossible for these two groups to attain them; they internalised the egalitarian and democratic ideals of the state, and believed that it was possible for these ideals to be realised. Yet, whilst the conditions of these groups

improved in the period after the second world war, they still were not able to achieve many of the benefits enjoyed by the dominant groups in their societies.

However, the failure of Britain to close the gap between its democratic ideals and societal realities, and the existence of discrimination and racism, do not altogether explain the rise of the Muslim revivalist movement. The strong religious and symbolic components of the movement suggest that it emerged in part to help individual members of the Muslim community to acquire the sense of identity in the faith, moral authority, meaning in life, that highly modernised societies often leave unfulfilled. In the words of Apter "(Modernisation) leaves what might be called a primordial space, a space people try to fill when they believe they have lost something fundamental and try to recreate it."²⁰²

The liberal assimilationist conception of the relationship between the traditions of religion and culture, and that of modernity is not so much wrong as it is incomplete, flawed and oversimplified. It does not take into account the spiritual and community

²⁰² Apter, D.E. "Political Life and Cultural Pluralism". In Tumin, M.M. & Plotch, W. (ed.), Pluralism in a Democratic Society, U.S.A. 1977. pp. 58-91.

needs that religious cultures often help individuals to satisfy, in fact the push towards assimilation in Britain is counterbalanced by the trenchant pull of primordialism, and the quest for community. This is the subject of the next chapter which reviews the rise of British Muslim revivalist movements

CHAPTER THREE

THE RISE OF ISLAMIC REVIVALISM IN BRITAIN

3.1. Introduction.

The emergence of the Islamic revival movement in Britain cannot be isolated from the world wide Islamic revival movements which arose after the fall of the last Islamic empire, the Ottoman, in 1921; and the ethnic revival which arose in the West during the 1960s. Though, it seems that the relationship between religion and politics has been the pre-occupation of revivalists in the heartland of Islam, and for Muslim minorities, education has been of pre-eminent concern, yet for both, the question of epistemology has been central to the reformulation of education and an essential component in *al-sahwa al-islamiah* (Islamic awakening). Therefore this chapter focuses on the salient features of revivalism among Muslims and the important undercurrents for its rise.

Inaccurately Islamic revival has been synonymously identified with fundamentalism which is laden with

Christian presuppositions²⁰³ and Western stereotypes, as well as implying a monolithic threat; the term is used pejoratively by liberals for those who advocate a literalist biblical position and are thus regarded as static, retrogressive, and extremist; it is also equated with terrorism, fanaticism, anti-American, and therefore anti-West.²⁰⁴ Western obsession with this mythology has obscured their vision of the real issues which challenge the Muslim world, and whose resolution will impinge on the West's own future.

If by fundamentalism it is meant those who resort to foundational beliefs or to the fundamentals of the Islamic faith, then this would include all Muslims (99.99%) who believe the *qur'ân* to be the word of God, and the *sunnah* (traditions) as the normative model for living. Viewed from this perspective the majority of the Muslim leadership would not fit the above stereotypes because they have received "the best education, enjoy responsible positions in society, and are adept at harnessing the latest technology to propagate their views and create viable modern

²⁰³ Fundamentalism has its origins in American Protestantism, "a movement in 20th century Protestantism emphasizing the literally interpreted Bible as fundamental to Christian life and teaching." Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary.

²⁰⁴ Esposito, J.L. The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality, U.S.A., 1992, pp.7-8.

institutions such as schools, universities, hospitals, and social service agencies."²⁰⁵ While some engage in radical religiopolitics, most work within the established order to liberate their people from poverty, illiteracy, and oppression.²⁰⁶

The central challenge in the Muslim world remains underdevelopment. How this challenge is to be met, and who has the solutions, and are those solutions to be found in secular or Islamic paradigms are the questions which confront the forces of traditionalism and modernity. Post-war concepts of development became highly fashionable. It was believed that Development planning would strengthen the new Muslim states, however, it has proved to be an illusion: it promised the masses more than it could deliver. As a result, the credibility of the nation-state, and its secular ideology, has come under increasing attack from Islam, and the victims of maldevelopment are everywhere turning to their Islamic traditions.

²⁰⁵ *ibid.* p.7.

²⁰⁶ "Moreover, current Islamic movements and ideas are not the product of some essential continuity with the past, but are basically 'modern'. Even when they explicitly reject all modern political models as alien imports from the hostile West, their various political ideas, organisations and aspirations are implicitly premised upon the models and assumptions of modern nation-state politics." Zubaida, S. Islam, The People And the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movement in the Middle East, London, 1989, p.ix.

Muslims perceive their Islamic cultural heritage (*turâth*) as rich and they believe it compares favourably with others in humanities contribution to civilization. Islamic scholarship has made major contributions to human knowledge, "During the better part of the Middle Ages Muslim scientific and material superiority was undeniably and widely acknowledged."²⁰⁷ The inequalities of the Islamic world is seen as "the product of specific adverse historical circumstances."²⁰⁸ The failure of Islamic ideals to match Muslim realities, despite the claims that it has strong egalitarian and social-justice values, and the existence of a social contract, has resulted in a deep search for the causes by the intellectual and community leadership so that they are able to discover a new formula that can combine modernity with authenticity.²⁰⁹

This search has carried Muslim scholarship back to the sources of the faith: its scriptures - the *qur'ân* and *sunnah*; and the totality of Muslim history. The *qur'ân* invites interpretation and questioning, and when this

²⁰⁷ Grunebaum, G.V. Medieval Islam, U.S.A., 1953, p.337.; a standard work on the Muslim contribution to civilisation is given in Schacht, J. and Bosworth, C.E. The Legacy of Islam, London, 1974, pp.530.

²⁰⁸ Tibi, B. The Crisis of Modern Islam, A Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age, U.S.A., 1988, p.vii.

²⁰⁹ Ayubi, N.N. Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World, London, 1991, p.60.

is undertaken in the light of the *sunnah*, the very pragmatism of the *sunnah* makes justification of widely varying positions all that much easier. But this is complicated by the absence of a definitive spiritual authority in Islam; there is no mediator between God and man; there is no priestly caste endowed with esoteric wisdom or sacramental powers. The individual is endowed with intelligence, salvation is between him and God and no one else. Legal scholarship recognises the idea that the individual's freedom of action outside the area of specific divine commands is acknowledged. Which raises another difficulty in that the 'ulamâ (scholars of Islamic law) may be prepared to exercise *ijtihâd* (their independent judgement) but no ecclesiastical authority exists to settle disputes among them. Accepting that it is impossible to attain complete uniformity of interpretation, the 'ulamâ sanctioned diversity that flows from *ijtihâd*.²¹⁰

It is not surprising therefore to encounter a broad range of interpretations, approaches, tactics, and strategies used by Islamic revivalists in their response to contemporary Muslim challenges. Consequently, this chapter will restrict itself to the main concerns of all Islamic revivalists.

²¹⁰ Piscatori, J.P. Islam in a World of Nation-States, London, pp.3-21. Zubaida, S. *op.cit.* pp. 3-12.

3.2. Islamic Revival in the Twentieth Century.

Though this research uses the terminology Islamic revival, it is also linked to reform and revolution, and some scholars have presented these as though they are three separate processes,²¹¹ in fact they are three phases of one phenomena: *tajdid* (revival) has various connotations: to bring forth, to arise, to awaken; *islâh* conveys the meaning of reform, recast;²¹² *thawrah*, radicalism, revolution, total change.²¹³

Each of these processes merge at different points in Islamic development; the time frame of each phase is immaterial; and the boundaries between each is open

²¹¹ Choueiri, Y.M. Islamic Fundamentalism, London, 1990, pp.9-10.

²¹² Esposito, J.L. *op.cit.* p. 49.; Reformism is seen as "an urban movement that came into being in the nineteenth century and lasted well into the twentieth. Its leaders were state officials, intellectuals, or 'ulama fiercely opposed to traditional interpretations of religion. It conducted an open dialogue with European culture and philosophies in an attempt to grapple with what it perceived to be an intolerable state of Islamic decline." Choueriri, Y.M. *op.cit.* p.9.

²¹³ Islamic revolution or radicalism is seen as a direct reaction to the growth of the nation-state. "Its constituency embraces recent rural migrants to cities and towns, or declining social stratum of artisans and shopkeepers. Moreover, it finds a fertile source of recruitment in the ranks of young Muslim men and women who grew up under largely secular and nationalist systems of government. Hence, radicalism does not revive or reform. Rather, it creates a new world and invents its own dystopia." Choueiri, Y.M. *op.cit.* p.10

ended and undetermined because revival is not a monolithic movement. There are a variety of groups, organisations, institutions, and movements - some related, some independent of each other - engaged in the process, and though pan-Islamic, there is no overall co-ordinating body. In addition, it is transnational, revival is not restricted to any particular locality, its geography is unlimited; the synthesis of Islamic revival is in its common vision.

Usually *tajdîd* is historically located in the eighteenth and nineteenth century,²¹⁴ however, it has a long tradition down through the ages beginning with the prophetic mission of Muhammad. Muhammad can be considered the first *mujaddid* (revivalist) in so far as he re-awakened-*tajdîd* in Arabia the original religion which had long since declined, the religion of Abraham the *hanif*;²¹⁵ through his role as God's *rasûl* (messenger) Muhammad reformulated-*islâh* it into a new universal faith derived from the *qur'ân*, a new

²¹⁴ Choueiri, Y.M. *op.cit.* p.10.

²¹⁵ " And they say, 'Be Jews'-or, 'Christians'-and you shall be on the right path.' Say: 'Nay, but [ours is] the creed of Abraham (*hanif*), who turned away from all that is false, and was not of those who ascribe divinity to aught beside God." Qur'ân 2:135. The expression *hanif* is derived from the verb *hanafa*, which literally means, he inclined towards the right state. In pre-Islamic times it had a monotheistic connotation, and was used to describe a man who turned away from sin and dubious beliefs, especially idol-worship. Asad, M. (trans.) The Message of the Qur'ân, p.28. note 110.

wahī (revelation); it emerged as a distinct entity with its own historical genesis, socio-economic environment and conceptual frame of reference-*thawra* (revolution).

Subsequent *tajdīd* movements sought their authority from this prophetic mission; theologians, legal scholars, sufi masters, and charismatic leaders, and organisations undertook the renewal of the community in times of weakness and decline, responding to the apparent gap between the Islamic ideal and the realities of Muslim practice.²¹⁶ Emulating the prophetic mission, *tajdīd* movements transformed their societies through a religiously legitimated and inspired sociopolitical movement.

Tajdīd movements in the present century identify the essential challenge to underdevelopment in the Muslim world to be the restoration of Islamic identity. They argue that the cause for the loss of this identity is due to two interrelated forces: the endogenous - spiritual and ethical decline, departure from Islamic

²¹⁶ During the eighteenth and nineteenth century the *tajdīd* movements in the Muslim world were exemplified by *mujadids* and movements such as the Mahdi (1848-85) of the Sudan, the Sanusi (1787-1859) in Libya, Abdul Wahab (1703-92) in Saudi Arabia, the Fulani (1754-1817) in Nigeria, the Faraidiyyah of Haji Shariat Allah (1764-1840) in Bengal, Ahmad Brelwi (1786-1831) in India, and the Padri in Indonesia (1803-37). Voll, J.O. Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World, U.S.A., 1982, ch.2.; Choueiri, Y.M. *op.cit.* pp.20-23.

values, infiltration and assimilation of local, indigenous, un-Islamic beliefs and practices; and the exogenous - the imposition of the Western concepts of secularism, modernisation, and development, including the concept of the territorial, bureaucratic state.²¹⁷

Western imperialism quite literally altered the geographic and institutional map of the Muslim world; redrawing its boundaries and appointing its leaders. It replaced or transformed indigenous political, social, economic, legal, and educational institutions and explicitly and implicitly challenged Muslim faith and culture; modernisation was equated with the progressive Westernisation and secularisation of society.

In the West secularism has gradually involved the exclusion of the Church from the domain of politics, this was achieved because religion was institutionalised and since it was the Church that had appropriated politics; once the Church was removed, its influence was excluded from the State. In a modern Muslim State, *'ilmânîah* (secularism) was introduced by imposition, and historically, religion and politics

²¹⁷ Ahmad, K. "Economic Development in an Islamic Framework." in Ahmad, K. and Ansari, Z.I. Islamic Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Syed Abul A'la Mawdudi, London, 1979, pp.223-240.

were brought together by way of the State appropriating Islam, therefore, it was not a question of excluding religion from politics simply because there was no 'Church' in Islam.

However, Secularism's introduction into Muslim countries was to foster secular forms of national identity and solidarity and to limit religion to private rather than public life, the resultant process of social change was identified as the cause of sociomoral decline, a major contributor to the breakdown of the Muslim family, more permissiveness and promiscuity, and spiritual malaise. Yet, while a minority accepted and implemented a Western secular worldview, the majority of most Muslim populations did not internalise the secular outlook and values; the secularisation of institutions did not translate into the secularisation of minds and culture.²¹⁸

Emerging out of this secularisation was a small group of Western-oriented elites who initiated Western

²¹⁸ "The Muslim world was confronted with modernisation and innovations associated with it about two hundred years ago with the onslaught of European expansion. Defeated on battlefields the Muslims were forced to accept modern European institutions and systems within their societies, but they never became ready converts to the new order. Modernity appeared to them synonymous with Christianity and Europeanisation and its concomitant changes were considered incursions into the Islamic faith." Saqib, G.N. "Modernization of Muslim Society and Education: Need for a Practical Approach", in Khan, W., Education And Society In The Muslim World, London, 1981, p.46.

models of modernisation. Socioculturally and psychologically this was seen as blind imitation-*taqlîd* of Western values: infrastructures of the urban centres underwent rapid institutional and physical change, and were judged to be modern by virtue of the Western facades; modernisation was equated with Western dress, language, ideas, education, behaviour, architecture and furnishings. Governments concentrated on urban cities, encouraging migration from the rural areas. The high expectations by the poor of a better life in these urban centres were shattered by the realities of poverty in urban slums and shantytowns. The decay in the rural areas, neglect of towns, fragmentation of community, erosion of traditional values, fragility of extended family ties, were accompanied by the shock of modern urban life and its Westernised culture and mores.²¹⁹

Modernisation was underpinned by development strategies which concentrated power in ruling elites who controlled investment choices and resource allocation within highly centralised systems of development administration. These elites and their battalion of Western advisors became architects of high cost, uncompetitive systems of state capitalism or socialism. There were no mechanisms to evaluate the political and social impact of their policies, nor

²¹⁹ *Piscatori, J.P. op.cit. p.27-29.*

were there any monitorial systems in place to ensure efficiency; the masses were simply expected to succumb, adjust, and follow this top-down strategy.²²⁰

The disregard for the rules of economic efficiency, and underestimating the complexity of cultural restructuring, resulted in mal-development, the concentration of wealth in a few hands, while causing mass poverty; peasants who were long accustomed to an egalitarian culture based on a strong sense of community, were now marginalised proletarians victimised by the capital-intensive technology of the West. It seemed to destroy whatever remained of the old Islamic socio-economic order without any compensation.²²¹

²²⁰ Mehmet, O. Islamic Identity and Development: Studies of the Islamic Periphery, London, 1990, p.41-42. " The paradox of the Muslim world is that it is resource-rich, but economically poor and weak. Development planning has been introduced in a number of Muslim countries. In some, the art is now at a fairly advanced level. Nigeria, Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia are some of the instances. But in almost all these countries development effort is modelled after the prototypes of growth developed by the Western theorists and practitioners of planning and "sold" to the planners in the Muslim countries via international diplomacy, economic pressurisation, intellectual infiltration and a number of other overt and covert means. Whatever be the source of inspiration - the Capitalist economies of the West or the Socialist models of Russia and China - no effort worth the name seems to have made to rethink the basic issues of development economies in the light of the ideals and values of Islam and its world strategy..." Ahmad, K. *op.cit.* pp.224-225.

²²¹ *ibid.* p.42.; Piscatori, J.P. *op.cit.* p.29-30.

What emerges is the fact that the modernising role of the national leadership matched neither expectations of the citizens, nor, for that matter, the leadership's own initial promises. In particular, the leadership failed to promote growth with equity because it relied excessively on non-competitive state capitalism at the expense of Islamic social justice. As a result, the distance between the leaders and followers widened and the organic relationship in the body politic weakened, becoming increasingly more vulnerable to Islamic reaction.

The central core of Westernisation was nationalism the ideology of the nation-state. *Qawmīa* (nationalism), a reductionist view of a world rebuilt on ethnicity and territoriality was to replace the Islamic identity of universalism as the binding force of the modern collectivity. *Qawmīa* shifts allegiance from God to the state. In return, it promises its citizens the benefits of socio-economic development in this life.²²²

"Thus nationalism, as a secular ideology, represents an alternative source of legitimacy to Islam and offers a second path to identity definition. A Muslim, who in an earlier age identified himself solely as a traveller along the True Path, can now acquire a second sense of identity from his membership in a nation with a distinct territory and culture of its own, and symbolised by a sovereign state legitimately

²²² Mehmet, O. *op.cit.* p.1.

enacting man-made laws in the national interest. The source of this legitimacy is national will, freely expressed, not divine authority. While nationalism mobilizes the national will to secure legitimacy of the state, it is state-law which gives meaning and content to the identity of the modern individual and, in the aggregate, it is the same man-made law which limits and safeguards the national interest."²²³

Qawmīa has been a potent force in the Muslim world; on the one hand it has been the reaction to Western imperialism and European colonialism, as well as Ottoman suzerainty; on the other hand it has been the major source of Westernisation in the Muslim world.²²⁴ Through state bureaucracies, educational, and legal systems, as well as through trade and commerce, which were left intact beyond independence, there were decades of political, economic, and military alliances, educational and technical exchange which continued between Muslim and Western States. Yet, *qawmīa* sits uneasily in the Muslim world, it has been seen as a source of oppression, conflict amongst Muslims, it encourages tribalism, conflict over territory, and has the potential to be imperialistic.

The dependence on Western ideational models was seen as the cause of political and military failure, and the uncritical acceptance of Westernisation led to a

²²³ Mehmet, O. *op.cit.* pp.12-13.

²²⁴ Esposito, J.L. *op.cit.* pp.51-76.; Esposito, J.P. *op.cit.* pp.76-116.; Vatikiotis, P.J. Islam And The State, London, 1987, pp.35- 57. and pp.72-83.

cultural dependence that threatened the loss of Muslim identity. Consequently, two ideological movements emerged as a response to these Western encroachments on the Muslim world, both of them populist: the Islamic revival of the *al-ikhwân al-muslimîn* in Egypt founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna; and the *jamâ'atî-islâmî* founded in India by Syed Abul-A'la al-Maududi (1903-79) in 1940; after partition, in 1947, its headquarters was moved to Pakistan. Though both movements developed independently of each other, their aims, objectives and theology are quite similar. Their new confidence and vitality influenced and excited the development of similar movements across the world, and these two movements became the catalyst for a new intellectual and sociopolitical ideology based on Islam.²²⁵

Though the *ikhwân* and *jamâ'at* are *sunnî* movements the *tajdîd* which they launched was to inspire the *shi'ite* revolution of Iran (1978-79). For many in the West and the Muslim world, the unthinkable became reality. The powerful, modernising, Western-oriented regime of the Shah disintegrated. The fact that a *thawra* (revolution) against him and the West was effectively mounted in the name of Islam, bringing together disparate groups and relying on base communities from a network of mosques, generated admiration among many

²²⁵ Esposito, J.L. *op.cit.* pp.119-130.

in the Muslim world and convinced Islamic revivalists that these were lessons to be emulated.²²⁶

The three were to sponsor two important factors for change: (1) the unconditional and uncompromising advocacy of the *qur'ân* and *sunnah*, as a source of enlightenment and guidance for providing the *'ummâh* (community) with a framework within which it could evolve suitably so as to be able progressively to reflect the Islamic ideal; and (2) the reclaiming of the individual by so reforming his or her personal life in virtues which reflect the values of Islam as a universal religion of humanity. From these two factors the vision that the sovereignty of God can once again be established, and consequently an Islamic State and the *khilâfa* (trusteeship) be realised.²²⁷

Therefore *tajdîd* was seen by them as not only confined to political activism or cultural regeneration; but extended to a deeper level, the new awakening of Muslim thought, and the revivication of the entire Muslim ethos.

The first stage in the process of realising the above vision was the retrieval of the Islamic identity from secularism by welding the material and spiritual

²²⁶ *ibid.* pp.101-110.

²²⁷ Choueiri, Y.M. *op.cit.* pp.93-119.

together so that progress and prayer do not represent two watertight compartments, but two sides of the same coin, with prayer acting as a stepping stone to human progress and progress leading to the glorification of the Creator.²²⁸ Syed Qutb (1906-66) the main literary ideologue of the *ikhwân* reflects succinctly the place and role of Islam in the formation of the Muslim identity:

"Islam cannot fulfil its role except by taking concrete form in a society, rather, in a nation; for man does not listen, especially in this age, to an abstract theory which is not seen materialized in a living society. From this point of view, we can say that the Muslim community does not denote the name of a land in which Islam resides, nor is it a people whose forefathers lived under the Islamic system at some earlier time. It is the name of a group of people whose manners, ideas and concepts, rules and regulations, values and criteria, are all derived from Islamic sources. The Muslim community with these characteristics vanished at the moment the laws of God became suspended on earth."²²⁹

From the above there is a contradiction, on the one hand though nervous of the nation-state, it is only in such a state that Islam can realise itself, yet on the other hand the Islamic world-view is shaped by the oneness of God (*tawhîd*) and the universality of the *'ummah*, the Muslim is therefore free of any commitment to land, and loyalty to any ethnic group. A person's

²²⁸ Qutb, S. Milestones, Kuwait, 1978, pp.141-147.; Sageb, G.N. *op.cit.* p.48.

²²⁹ Qutb, S. *op.cit.* p.11.

identity is tentative in this life; it is fulfilled on the Final Day. *Qawmīa* is the return to pre-Islamic society (*jahiliyah*); it leads to war and aggression and inter-state conflict; it divides humanity into racial groups, sets up barriers of languages within one religious community, and demarcates artificial territorial boundaries.²³⁰

The idea of excluding God from 'intervening' in the social life of humans is an anathema to Islamic revivalists. For them it is a uniquely Western reaction against scholastic theology and its imposition by narrow-minded priests.²³¹ As a consequence of *tawhīd*, the human being enters into a relationship with God that involves a particular relationship with the universe, *tajdīd* seeks to raise the pure consciousness of persons to realise that they are the *khalīfa* (trustees) of God, carrying a divine responsibility-*taklīf*.

"God has put us to serious trial on two counts: (a) He has left man free but even after giving him that freedom He wishes to see whether or not man realizes his true position; whether he remains honest and steadfast and maintains loyalty and allegiance to the Lord, or loses his head and revolts against his own Creator, whether

²³⁰ Maududi, S. Abul A'la, Bayna al-da'wa al-qawmiyya wa al-rabita al-islamiyya, Cairo, 1978a, pp.9-13.

²³¹ Maududi, S. Abul A'la, "Bayna al-hadaratayn al-gharbiyya wa al-islamiyya," al-Muslimun, Vol.8:2,3, pp.134-5.;

he behaves like a noble soul, or tramples underfoot all values of decency and starts playing such fantastic tricks as make the angels weep; (b) He wants to see whether man is prepared to have such confidence in God as to offer his life and wealth in return for what is a promise, that is to materialize in the next world - and whether he is prepared to surrender his autonomy and all the charms that go with it, in exchange for a promise about the future."²³²

Khilâfah (trusteeship) for revivalists is the essence of being human and the basis of identity, for the conferring of this status to all humans means the restoration of human dignity that has been the central challenge before all revealed religions.

Once this identity is restored the human being becomes the instrument of change with the specific task of re-establishing Islam as a total or comprehensive way of life mirrored on the example of Muhammad and the nature of the first Muslim community, and embodied in the comprehensive nature of the *sharî'ah*, God's revealed law; the re-awakening of Muslim governments and societies requires the re-introduction of Islamic law, the blueprint for an Islamically guided and socially just state and society.²³³

While the Westernisation and secularisation of society

²³² Maududi, S. Abul A'la. Islamic Way of Life, Kuwait, 1977, pp. 10-11.

²³³ Qutb, S. *op.cit.* p.63.

are condemned, modernisation as such is not. Science and technology are accepted, but pace, direction, and extent of change are to be subordinated to Islamic belief and values in order to guard against the penetration of Western values and excessive dependence on them. They regard Islam not as a rigid constant system but as a dynamic and creative force quite compatible with modernisation. The process of modernisation was seen within the context of first principles:-

"We aspire for Islamic Renaissance on the basis of the Quran. To us the Quranic spirit and Islamic tenets are immutable; but the application of this spirit in the realm of practical life must always vary with the change of conditions and increase of knowledge...Our way is quite different both from the Muslim scholar of recent past and modern Europeanized stock. On the one hand we have to imbibe exactly the Quranic spirit and identify our outlook with the Islamic tenets while, on the other, we have to assess thoroughly the developments in the field of knowledge and the changes in conditions of life that have been brought during the last eight hundred years; and third, we have to arrange these ideas and laws of life on genuine Islamic lines so that Islam should once again become a dynamic force; the leader of the world rather than its follower."²³⁴

Similarly Syed Qutb perceives the acquisition of science and technology as an obligation on the Muslim community:-

²³⁴ Yusuf, M. Maududi: A Formative Phase, Pakistan, 1979, p.35.

"However, a Muslim can go to a Muslim or to a non-Muslim to learn abstract sciences such as chemistry, physics, biology, astronomy, medicine, industry, agriculture, administration [limited to its technical aspects], technology, military arts and similar sciences and arts; although the fundamental principle is that when the Muslim community comes into existence it should provide experts in all these fields in abundance, as all these sciences and arts are sufficient obligation, *fard al-kifayah*, on Muslims (that is to say, there ought to be a sufficient number of people who specialise in these various sciences and arts to satisfy the needs of the community).²³⁵

The source of Muslim degeneration was perceived by the *tajdid* movements to reside in the backwardness of the educational programmes in Muslim countries, and the imposition of a Westernised system. A major result of modernisation was the emergence of new elites and a growing bifurcation of Muslim society, epitomised in its legal and educational systems. The coexistence of traditional religious and modern secular schools, each with its own curriculum, teachers, and constituencies, produced two classes with divergent worldviews: a modern Westernised elite minority and a more traditional, Islamically oriented majority.²³⁶ The process also eroded the traditional bases of power and authority of religious leaders, as new classes of modern trained elites assumed positions of importance in government, education, and law, positions which had

²³⁵ Qutb, S. *Milestones*, *op.cit.* p.203.

²³⁶ Sageb, G.N. *op.cit.* pp.52-54.

always been the province of the 'ulamâ.

Muslim rulers seeking to emulate Western hegemony sought European learning and technology to develop military, economic, and political modernisation. Consequently, European teachers and schools were imported. Young Muslims were sent to Europe, where they studied languages, sciences, and politics. Translation bureaus and printing presses were established to translate and publish Western works. Very soon a new intellectual elite was born - modern, educated, and Western -oriented. The traditional Islamic basis and legitimacy of Muslim societies were slowly altered as the ideology, law, and institutions of the state, indebted to imported models from the West, were increasingly secularised.

But revivalists identified that the origins of Islamic intellectual decline pre-dates the European penetration of Islamic lands when the 'ulamâ opted in favour of theology at the expense of rational knowledge. By so doing the 'ulamâ effectively abdicated their responsibilities on Islamic public policy. As a result the quality of Islamic public administration, as well as education and knowledge, began to deteriorate. Science and mathematics ceased to have the importance it once had within the Islamic empire. Geographic discovery became a European

monopoly. Trade and commerce, long in Muslim hands, passed to Christian Europe.²³⁷

The 'ulamâ failed to notice the fundamental shift of the economic centre of gravity westwards from the Islamic heartland. They elected to pursue spiritual education at the expense of problem-solving, socially relevant knowledge, and failed to grasp the crucial relationship between prosperity and civilisation. As custodians of Islamic civilisation they abdicated their responsibility as a functional intellectual group to guide Islamic public policy. Therefore the incorporation of the Islamic world within the imperialism of Europe occurred primarily by default of the Muslim ruling elites.

The restoration of the Islamic vision as envisaged by the *tajdîd* movements required the restoration of the Islamic epistemological framework. The central pivot within this framework is the role of divine guidance (*wahî*) in human life which is to remind individuals of the ways that suit their own character and the world of nature. The will of God revealed to human beings is believed to give them the vision of a society engaged in the pursuit of value, or humans living a healthy,

²³⁷ Ahmad, K. and Ansari, Z.I. "Mawlana Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi: An Introduction to His Vision of Islam and Islamic Revival." in Ahmad, K. and Ansari, Z.I. Islamic Perspectives, op.cit. pp.369.

well provisioned, good life in cooperation with others. That vision inspires the person to an ethic of action, for God has invested the human being with divine trust that is the fulfilment of the ethical part of the divine will. By virtue of the powers delegated to human beings by God, the human person is required to exercise this authority within the limits prescribed by God.²³⁸

The source from which Muslim revivalists seek knowledge (*'ilm*) of God and guidance (*hidayah*) for human conduct is the *qur'ân*, the book (*al-kitâb*), the revealed word (*wahî*) of God to humanity, the direct and immediate disclosure of what God wants to be realised on earth. Revivalists see the *qur'ân* not merely as an ethical source, but as a cognitive category in that it has to do with epistemology and with the truthfulness of its propositions. As an epistemological principle, it is a counsel against despair, resting on the *a priori* assumption that human beings find it difficult to distinguish between reality and unreality. Therefore it is grounding for a rational interpretation of the universe within which the tawhidic principle lays everything open to inspection and criticism, minimising the possibility

²³⁸ Ahmad, K. and Ansari, Z.I. *op.cit.* pp.365-369.; Qutb, S. *op.cit.* pp.37-68.

of literalism, fanaticism, and stagnation.²³⁹

The second source of the epistemological framework finds expression in the prophetic mission (*risâlah*), the concretisation of the Islamic vision, or the materialisation of the ideal in space-time, the translation of theory into reality. In it, the values of Islam were given form and have become alive. Muhammad, himself a human being, was the first to accept *wahî* and to put it into practice, thereby setting an example (*sunnah*) for others to emulate. His function was to convey the divine message in his own language. " We have sent no messenger except to convey the message in the tongue of his own people, to make the content clearly comprehensible to them."²⁴⁰ In other words, to explain and elaborate (exegesis), and to initiate those processes - *tazkia* (purification) and *tarbia* (education and development) - in the lives of individuals and society through which the ideals and principles can be implemented.²⁴¹

The *sunnah* represents the *qur'ân* in practice. The *sunnah* is a collection of Muhammads saying and deeds. Its function is to clarify the *qur'ân's* pronouncements,

²³⁹ *ibid.*

²⁴⁰ Qur'an 14:4.

²⁴¹ Ahmad, K. and Ansari, Z.I. *op.cit.*

to exemplify and illustrate its purpose. Where the *qur'ânic* statement is general, the *sunnah* particularises it to make it applicable; and where particular, the *sunnah* generalises it in order to make possible its extrapolation to other particulars. All revivalist movements in Islam universally recognise the value of the *sunnah* as a methodological resource for them to fulfil the requirements of their faith in liturgical, legal, ethical, social, economic, political, and international affairs.

The *qur'ân* and the *sunnah* are the two constants within the revivalists' epistemological framework, they are the sources which are the pivot for the re-formulation of an Islamic identity, and the sources for modernisation; therefore, they are *fard 'ayn*, the knowledge which all Muslims must be familiar with. In subordination is experiential knowledge - the sciences, humanities, and crafts which are specialist knowledge derived out of the totality of human experience, and for which only some in the community are required to know (*fard kifaya*).

" It is important to note that the knowledge that the Muslim must seek vigorously has two distinct dimensions. the knowledge of the revealed will of Allah, of how Allah wills men to live, of what is good and what is bad, what is right and what is wrong, in the light of revealed truth, is one. The second dimension is the knowledge of man, his society, the world of nature and all that is relevant for the value-realising activity in this

life here on earth. Both dimensions are crucial for *ijtihad* and *jihad* and both are the sine qua non of a truly Islamic living. The knowledge of what is to be changed is no less important than the knowledge of into what it is to be changed. The knowledge of all that relates to the means of achieving the ends is likewise as indispensable as the knowledge of the ends themselves. This point must be clearly understood to banish from the mind the fallacious view propounded by some people that the "knowledge" emphasised in the *qur'ân* and *sunnah* is the knowledge of "religion" only. It could be so; for religious living must be conducted in this world which must, therefore, be "known" to make living in it possible."²⁴²

The relationship between *fard 'ayn* and *fard al-kifaya* is merged through the mechanism of *ijtihâd*, rational thought. In the 'Golden Age' of Islam *ijtihâd* was a creative and innovative tool. But perhaps the most damaging declaration to Islamic knowledge came in the tenth century when the 'Gate to *ijtihâd*,' knowledge based on reasoning, was declared closed. The 'ulamâ of the time considered that the Islamic way of life had been adequately delineated by previous scholarship, therefore, the need for independent judgement or rational inquiry was unwarranted. Closing the gates of rational knowledge had a disastrous effect on Islamic science and education. "It is an untenable proposition in view of the fact that "religion" is not a closed system but open to extension, through *ijtihâd*, to new situations which must be analysed and understood before they are covered by religion. Lastly, the claim

²⁴² Siddiqui, M.N. in Islamic Perspectives, *op.cit.* p.26.

mentioned above is obviously ill-founded in view of the fact that the terms "knowledge" and "men of knowledge" are also used in very early parts of revelation when almost the entire *shari'âh* had yet to be revealed."²⁴³

Secular science was replaced by theology and dogma, and public education lost its dynamism and creativity. It became institutionalised around the dysfunctional *taqlîd* system of learning by memorising and blind imitation. " As a result, empiricism and the use of the faculties of observation, inference and reasoning generally have hardly any place in the mind of the contemporary Muslim."²⁴⁴ Gradually the reactionary '*ulamâ* assumed control of education, morality and opinion, and, in the process, advanced the cause of *jahiliya* (mass ignorance), fatalism and underdevelopment as effectively as imperialism and colonial exploitation.

However the reopening of the 'Gate of *ijtihâd*' began in the mid-nineteenth century. It was pioneered, in particular by the Islamic reformer and Pan-Islamic revivalist Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-99).²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Siddiqui, M.N. *ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *ibid.* p.28.

²⁴⁵ Afghani represents a group of intellectual reformers of Islam of the period who "preached the need and acceptability of a selective synthesis of

Afghani was highly critical of Islamic scholars who wished to divide knowledge between scientific and religious, he argued that there was no incompatibility between the two.²⁴⁶ Contemporary revivalists were inspired by Afghani, they saw Islam's encouragement of individual reasoning, *ijtihād* and rational investigation as being necessary for contemporary reform.

The framework for change which is to articulate the ideals and principles of Islam in a language understandable to the people of the age requires that an intellectual effort be made to study carefully, analyse and criticise new terminologies. This requires an exercise in *ijtihād*, which means that the ideals and values of Islam have to be applied to the changed context.²⁴⁷ Thus there will be a distinction between

Islam and modern Western thought; condemned unquestioned veneration and imitation of the past; reasserted their right to reinterpret (*ijtihād*) Islam in light of modern conditions; and sought to provide an Islamically based rationale for educational, legal, and social reform to revitalize a dormant and impotent Muslim community." Esposito, *op.cit.* p. 55. Those sharing echoing similar views were Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905)- Egypt; Rashid Rida (d.1935)- Egypt; Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98)- India; Muhammad Iqbal (1875-1938)-India; Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis (1889-1940)- Algeria.

²⁴⁶ Badawi, Z. The Reformers of Egypt - A Critique of Al-Afghani, Abduh and Rida. p.8.

²⁴⁷ "Presumably, it is still possible to modernize the Muslim world upholding the values of the Quran and the Sunnah. But for that an *ijtihād* of the entire *Ummah* is essential in order to evolve viable formulae for the Islamization of all modern institutions so

the essential and the incidental elements found in the actual life of Muslims. *Ijtihād* represents the principle of the movements within the system of Islam, and it involves creative thinking and action with a view to bringing the stream of life under the guidance of Islam. "To attain the leadership of mankind, we must have something to offer besides material progress, and this other quality can only be a faith and a way of life which on the one hand conserves the benefits of modern science and technology, and on the other fulfils the basic human needs on the same level of excellence as technology has fulfilled them in the sphere of material comfort. And then this faith and way of life must take concrete form in a human society - in other words, in a Muslim society."²⁴⁸

To consolidate these views three hundred and thirteen Muslim educationalists assembled in Makka in April 1977 in order to come to a consensus about future education policy in the Muslim world, significantly a number of contributors were from the Muslim academic community in Britain which enable the participants to be better informed about intellectual developments in the West, and the position of minority communities.

that they can function within the Muslim world." Saeed, G.N. *op.cit.* p.49

²⁴⁸ Qutb, S. *op.cit.* pp.12-13.; Rauf, S.M.A. (ed.), Mawdudi On Education, Pakistan, pp.63-70.; Ahmad, K. and Ansari, Z.I. *op.cit.* pp.25-27; p.376.

The themes of the conference ranged from a review of the state of the art in Muslim countries to the needs of contemporary Muslim societies. The conference reached the conclusion that a World Centre on Islamic Education should be established at Makka to research, monitor, and evaluate developments in the field. But more importantly the papers reflected a consensus on the epistemological framework which should underpin education within the Islamic *ummah*.

The consensus of this epistemological framework underpinned a new educational rationale which fired the intellectual imagination of Muslim academics across the world. It gave rise to a new intellectual movement which became known as the Islamisation of Knowledge, the leading exponent of whom was Ismail Faruqi (1921-1986).²⁴⁹ Observing the Muslim world from the West, he propounded that "The Islamic system of education consisting of elementary and secondary *madrasahs* as well as of college level *kulliyas* or *jâmi'ahs* ought to be united with the secular system of public schools and universities. The union should bring to the new unified system the advantages of both; namely, the financial resources of the state and the commitment to the vision of Islam. Union of the

²⁴⁹ Ismail al Faruqi was of Palestinian origin, he was assassinated in his home on 27th. May 1986. At the time he was Professor of Islamic Studies at Temple University, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

two systems should be the proper occasion to eliminate their disadvantages; namely, the inadequacy of archaic textbooks and inexperienced teachers in the traditional system, and the mimicry of the secular West in its methods and ideals in the secular."²⁵⁰

The intellectual vision of Islam that Faruqi envisioned was the cross-fertilisation of the Islamic system and the secular: "The union of the two systems is expected to do more than bring means to the Islamic system and autonomy to the secular. It is expected to bring Islamic knowledge to the secular; and modern knowledge to the Islamic system."²⁵¹ To achieve this vision, Faruqi proposed a five point workplan: to master modern knowledge; to master the Islamic legacy; to establish the specific relevance of Islam to each area of modern knowledge; to seek ways for creative synthesis between the legacy and modern knowledge; to launch Islamic thought on the trajectory which leads it to fulfilment of the divine patterns of Allah.²⁵²

Faruqi was a powerful voice within the international Muslim academic community, his influence was to inaugurate a rise in Muslim schools and Islamic

²⁵⁰ Faruqi, I.R. Islamization of Knowledge: General Principles and Workplan, U.S.A. 1982. p.9.

²⁵¹ *ibid.* p.10.

²⁵² *ibid.* p.38.

universities. The consequence for the nineties is that Islamic revivalism has ceased to be restricted to small, marginal movements on the periphery of society and instead has become part of mainstream Muslim society, producing a new class of modern-educated but Islamically oriented elites who work alongside, and at times in coalition with, their secular counterparts. Revivalism continues to grow as a broad-based socio-religious movement, functioning today in virtually every Muslim country and transnationally. It is vibrant, multifaceted movement that will embody the major impact of Islamic revivalism for the foreseeable future.

Tajdîd movements that have become operational within the Muslim world in contemporary society have identified three general factors responsible for the loss of Muslim witness in the world; the change in the body politic of the community to an authoritarian monarchical and presidential system. This led to very important changes affecting the role of religion in Muslim sociopolitical life, particularly in the bifurcation into political and religious leadership, each with its own domain. Consequently, ordinary persons in Muslim society are torn between following political rulers and religious leaders who have been exalted to the position of unquestioned authority.

The second change concerns the system of education imposed by colonial rule which separated education into religious and the secular. Throughout this process, the uncritical Western educated elite has injected heterogenous ideas into the intellectual milieu of Muslim countries and fostered religious conservatism - *taqlid* (blind imitation)-among the masses in those places where Islam has been inherited via oral tradition rather than through choice and freedom of thought. As a result, the perpetuation of schisms in all the major realms of human effort.

The third, the outcome of these changes has caused the moral life of the people to deteriorate; their *imân* (faith) and *taqwâ* (God-consciousness) has weakened, and a dislocation between theory and practice has appeared. "The community which is at present known by the name Muslim is a hybrid mixture of all sorts of people with hardly a common standard of behaviour. From the point of view of moral conduct, you will find among Muslims as many varieties of character as are to be found among the non-believers." ²⁵³

Their response is built on four pillars: the revival and renewal of Islamic thought to meet the modern ideational challenge; the reaching out to persons who

²⁵³ Maududi, S. Abul A l'a, The Process of Islamic Revolution, Pakistan, n.d., p.28.

are disposed to righteousness and drawing them out together into a *ummah*-universal community; the striving to bring about societal change through individual conversion and collective effort; the development of a new cadre of leaders at the intellectual, social, and cultural levels.

3.3. Islamic Revival in Britain.

The influence of the revivalist movements were to find expression within the new Muslim community in Britain that evolved just after the second world war.²⁵⁴ The majority of migrants are *súnnîs*²⁵⁵ of the

²⁵⁴ The presence of Muslims in Britain is the result of the migratory movement of Muslim men during the fifties, and later the immigration of their families in the 1960's, which must be seen within the wider movement of immigration from the New Commonwealth countries to Britain that has occurred during the post-war period. There are common threads and recurring themes throughout the history of the migratory movement brought together by a combination of push and pull factors: on the one hand there was the desire of potential emigrants to improve their quality of life which was disturbed by political instability, as well as, social and economic deprivation in their country; on the other hand there was the demand in Britain for overseas labour to meet the shortfall in the local labour market required to resource the post-war reconstruction programme. Katznelson, I. Black Men White Cities, London, 1970, p.219; Allen, S. New Minorities, Old Conflicts: Asian and West Indian Migrants in Britain, London, 1971, pp.33-60.; Anwar, M. The Myth of Return: Pakistanis in Britain, London, 1979, p.26.

²⁵⁵ This term is used in many connections but in this case it refers to the customs and traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. Hence the expression *ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamâ'a*, the people of the sunna and of

*hanafite*²⁵⁶ school although there are small groups of *shi'â*²⁵⁷ and sub-sects of it. Among the predominant groups which find expression within *sunnî* Islam in Britain, are Barelwi, Deobandis and *tablighî jamâ'at*, and *jamâ'atî islamî*, all of whom were founded and continue to exist in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and East Africa; then there is the *al-ikhwân al muslimîn* founded in the Middle East. The *shi'a* groups are *isma'iliâ* - Agha Khan, Bohras, Khojas. For the purposes of this research the relevant groups are the four *sunnî* movements mentioned earlier.

the community. The expression is particularly used in this sense in opposition to *shi'â*. Gibb, H.A.R. and Kramers, J.H. (eds.), Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam, Brill, 1961, pp.552-553.

²⁵⁶ One of the four schools of law, named after the jurist Abu Hanifa (d. 150 A.H.), which is adhered to by Muslims of Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, and Muslims who originated from the Indian subcontinent. The remaining three jurists were Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi'i (d. 204 A.H.) whose school has a following among Egyptians, Gulf States and Central African Muslims. Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241 A.H.) whose following is among Saudi Arabians and Gulf States. Malik ibn Anas (d. 179 A.H.) whose school of law has wide following among North African countries. Each of these four jurists were in contact with each other and each others work. Their differences are mainly in the method and application of law. They are not sects or theological schools, but the pronouncements of all four constitute the basis and, after the *qur'ân* and *hadîth*, third source of *sunnî* Islamic law.

²⁵⁷ *Shi'â* is the general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, which originated, after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, from among his companions who considered 'Ali, the Prophets *cousin* as the legitimate Caliph of the Ummah. The *shi'â* sect are to be found in Iran although many have migrated and to be found throughout the Middle East and India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The *tablighî jamâ'at* has its roots in the intellectual movement of Deoband in India, heir to the revivalist Sayyid Ahmad Shahid Bareilvi (1786-1831). Shaikh Ahmad protested against the syncretic and liberal trends of his time, he declared the Hindus as *kâfir*-unbelievers, and objected to the innovations created by the sufi orders. He emphasised the importance of the *sharî'ah*, particularly the recitation of the *qur'ân* and adherence to the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.²⁵⁸

The efforts of Sayyid Ahmad and his activists resulted in the establishment of an Academy of learning in 1866 at Deoband in the United Provinces. The Academy was founded by a sufi saint Hajji Muhammad Abid of Deoband but was developed by Mahmud Qasim Nanotawi after whose death it came under the leadership of Mahmud al-Hasan. Rooted in the teachings of Shah Wali-Allah,²⁵⁹ the seminary was anti-British and shared in the

²⁵⁸ Sayyid Ahmad's movement acquired political overtones and later became anti-British; he even tried to establish an Islamic State on the north-west frontier. Ahmad, A. Studies in Islamic Culture: In The Indian Environment, London, 1964, p.209

²⁵⁹ Shah Wali-Allah was a foremost Indian Muslim revivalist, although he belonged to the Naqshbandiyyah sufi order, he tried to resolve the differences between the various sufi orders and bring to the attention of the masses the un-Islamic elements that had crept into their faith. He translated the *qur'ân* into easy, readable Persian, the court language of the time. Ahmad, A. *op.cit.* p.201.

independence aspirations of the Indian Nationalists.²⁶⁰ However the main object of the seminary's creation was to train men who were sent out to different areas to teach the fundamentals of Islam and to serve as preachers and teachers in the *masâjid* (Muslim places of worship). It was through the seminary that many of its students were later to become influenced by the *tablighî jamâ'at*.

In fact the *tablighî jamâ'at* was founded by a former student and teacher of the Deoband seminary, Muhammad Ilyas (1885-1944).²⁶¹ Originally his movement, located in Mewat (an area south of Delhi), was called *tehrîk-i-imân* or Faith Movement, but it was later referred to as the Propagation Party.²⁶² The aim of Ilyas was not to pursue mission among non-Muslims but

²⁶⁰ For this purpose Mahmud al-Hasan brought together the *'ulamâ* of Deoband and those of other Islamic seminaries and formed in 1919 *jam'iyyat al-islama - i hind*. This organisation emphasised the distinctiveness of the Muslims of India but did not share the trends of self-determination, therefore under the leadership of Shabbir Ahmad Uthmani some of the *'ulamâ* of *jamiyyah al-'ulamâ -i-hind* founded a splinter group *jamiyyah al-'ulamâ-i-islam* which supported the demand for Pakistan. Ahmad, A. An Intellectual History of Islam in India, Scotland, 1969, p.12.

²⁶¹ Muhammad Ilyas went to the Deoband seminary in 1908 and joined the circles of Shaikh Mahmud-ul-Hasan and Shaikh Ashraf Ali Thanawi; in 1910 he began to teach there.

²⁶² It has been called (i) *dinî dawat* (call to religious renewal); (ii) *Bhopalî Jamâ'at* because after the death of Ilyas its annual convention were often held in Bhopal (now in Madhya Pradesh). Haq, A. The Faith Movement of Mawlana Ilyas, London, 1972, p.45.

to carry out revival among the Muslim masses. His methodology incorporated certain ideas and practices from the four major sufi orders, although he himself belonged to *sabiriya*²⁶³ branch of the *chishtia* order.²⁶⁴

In matters of the *shari'ah* Ilyas came close to the *naqshbandia* order;²⁶⁵ he encouraged the masses to concentrate on the *qur'an* and *hadith* and to orient their life towards the *sunnah* of Muhammad, therefore he considered the recitation of the *qur'an* a

²⁶³ Founded by Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1077-1166). The first *qadiriya* sufi was Shah Ni'amatu'llah Qadari (d.1430) of the Deccan, but the order spread widely through the efforts of Makdum Muhammad Gilani (d.1517).

²⁶⁴ The rise of the *silsilah* (spiritual order) in India led to the establishment of the *khanaqah* (hospice) in order to organise systematically the work of the orders. There were two further developments: the Quietists (661-850); and the Period of the Mystic Philosophers from the 9th to 12th. century. Nizami, K.A. Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century, Aligarh, 1961, pp.53-57.; The name of the Chishtiyah originated from Chisht, a village near Herat where the founder Khwaja Abu ishaq lived. Introduced into India by Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din from Sistan who settled in Ajmer.

²⁶⁵ Khwajah Ahmad (d.1166) was its founder but received its name from Kwajah Baha-u'd-din Nawshband (d.1388), who appeared two centuries after khwajah Ahmad. The *naqshbandia* is one of the most popular and well known of the four sufi orders. The first three trace their line back to the Prophet through 'Ali his son-in-law, while the *naqshbandia* traces its descent to Abu Bakr, the first successor after the death of Muhammad. Haq, M.A. *op.cit.* pp.46-62.

meritorious act. He opposed *samâ'*²⁶⁶ observed by the *qadirîa* and *chishtîa*; but enjoined upon his workers the sufi practice of *chillah*.²⁶⁷ He opposed saint worship and the practices of visiting graves by women.

Although the *tablighî jamâ'at* developed during the most turbulent years of British India, and in spirit it was anti-British, and it upheld the idea of a distinct Muslim community, Ilyas did not allow his movement to participate in political activity, an important and unique feature of the movement up to today. Ilyas concluded that Muslims had lost all political authority in India, therefore it was useless striving for something they could not achieve.²⁶⁸

Ilyas's programme for renewal began among the people of Mewat who were originally Hindus and who had incorporated remnants of their previous faith into Islam. He therefore designed a process by which they could be purified (*tazkiyah*) and return to the *sunnah* of Muhammad. To accomplish this he based his movement on six positive principles and one negative: (i) every Muslim should be taught the correct understanding and

²⁶⁶ Listening to music, singing, chanting and measured recitation in order to produce religious emotion and ecstasy.

²⁶⁷ Retreat for 40 days.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.* p.65;98.

recitation of the *kalimah*;²⁶⁹ (ii) every Muslim should be engaged in the remembrance of God (*zikr*), and *salât* (prayer) is of utmost importance; (iii) every Muslim should acquire knowledge (Islamic);²⁷⁰ (iv) every Muslim should respect, love and support the other; (v) every Muslim, agreeing to the above should spread it others; (vi) every Muslim should be prepared to spend his time in *chilla*;²⁷¹ (vii) every Muslim should not waste his time in gossip and useless talk.

Unlike other sufi orders who waited for the masses to come to them, Ilyas formed his trained workers into groups, to each was designated an *amîr* (leader), and for every four groups an *amîr ul 'umâra* (leader of leaders) appointed. The groups would go to houses in the area and invite the occupants to 'true Islam.' Three demands were enforced on the workers: (a) every week they should preach in their locality; (b) every month they should go to a nearby town and preach for

²⁶⁹ The first article of faith, "there is no god but God and Muhammad is His last Messenger".

²⁷⁰ In order to acquire this knowledge the following books were recommended for study: *faza ul-î-namâz*, *faza il-î-qur'ân*, *faza il-î-ramazân*, *faza il-î-hajj*, *faza il-î-sadaqât*, (books on prayer, remembrance, qur'an, fasting, pilgrimage, charity. These books were written by the well known Deobandi scholar Shaikh Muhammad Zakariyah a close associate Ilyas. For the 'ulamâ various sections from *sahih al-Bukharî* had been additionally prescribed. Haq, M.A. *op.cit.* p.144.

²⁷¹ Ilyas asked for three *chillah* but after his death, Yusuf his son, increased it to six months in a year.

three days; (c) they should go for three *chillah* away from their homes to centres of learning to study about religion.²⁷²

Through these methods the *tablighî jamâ'at* was able to attract substantial numbers of the masses and even a large sector of the 'ulama, particularly those from the Deoband seminary and *dâr-ul-'ulûm nadwat-ul-'ulamâ*,²⁷³ whose students have come under the influence of the movement, and as *imâms* have been responsible for the spread of the movement all over the world. Following the death of Ilyas, his son Yusuf (d.1965), was given responsibility for the leadership of the movement and was able to expand it to all parts of India, Pakistan, throughout the Middle East, Turkey, U.S.A. and to Britain.²⁷⁴

Though, those attracted to the *jamâ'at* were visiting Britain during the 1950's, it was not until the 1970's that they emerged as a religious force within the community. Most were East African Asians who had

²⁷² *ibid.* pp.162-163.

²⁷³ Among the scholars who supported and were instrumental in the establishment of the movement were: Mawlana Hafiz Imran Khan (*nadwat-ul-'ulama*), Mawlana Tayyib (Deoband), Mufti Kifayat-Ullah and Muhammad Shafi (*madrasah-i-abd-ur-rabb*), Hafiz Abdul-Latif (*madrasah-i-mazahir'l-ulum-saharanpur*), Izaz Ali (Deoband) and Shaikh-ul-Hadith Muhammad Zakariya. Haq, M.A. *op.cit.* p.95.

²⁷⁴ *ibid.* pp.162-163.

migrated to Britain as a result of the Africanisation movement in the former British colonial territories of Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi. In each of these countries there were sizable Asian populations, imported from India by the British in the nineteenth century as part of their colonial policy. Seventy percent of these were Gujarati-speaking peoples, although there was a smaller Punjabi-speaking contingent. In East Africa many worked to develop the railways, but later they were joined by small traders, who apart from their important role in the wholesale and distribution trades, provided the main banking and financial services; in Britain they were to fulfil same the role within their own community.²⁷⁵

The *tablighî jamâ'at* is well established in Lancashire and in the East Midlands, with a high concentration in Leciester, Dewsbury and Preston. Throughout Britain they operate from a network of *masâjid* in base communities and they follow the exact principles and methods laid down by Ilyas. Groups under the tutelage of an 'amîr would set out from a nearby *masjid* after the sunset prayer (*maghrib*) and go from door to door in the neighbourhood inviting its occupants to the *masjid*. At the *masjid* one or two speeches would be given on some aspect^{of} Islam. Following this, time was

²⁷⁵ Tandon, J. Problems of a Displaced Minority: The New Position of East African Asians, London, p.10.

allotted for learning and teaching, which include *tajwîd*-the art of correct pronunciation of the *qur'ân*, stories from the life of Muhammad and his companions.

The movement has annual *ijtimâ'*-gatherings in the Midlands which can total on occasions 20,000 -30,000 participants, an indication of their popularity. It has continued its links with the Deoband seminary which helps in supplying *imâms*, and has assisted in the establishment of a similar *dar-al-'ulûm* in Bury, Lancashire.

Darul 'ulûm al 'Arabîyah al Islâmîya is the leading and reputed seminary of the *tablighî jamâ'at* movement in the Britain, although there are a further ten similar institutions in varying stages of development in other cities.²⁷⁶ Founded in 1973, it is located in Bury, and the building was formerly an old sanatorium.²⁷⁷ The *jamâ'at* recognised that a cadre of trained workers, more familiar with the local environment, was needed to operate from their network

²⁷⁶ The main cities in which there other seminaries are: Bolton, Bradford, Birmingham, Dewsbury, Kidderminster (for girls), Nottingham, Leciester, London.

²⁷⁷ The main building consists of about 106 rooms on eight acres of land at a cost of £115,000. The idea for the establishment of the College arose when its then Principal Maulana Yusuf Suleman Motala met with Maulana Muhammad Zakariyah at Madina in 1969. Maulana Zakariyah was a close associate of Muhammad Ilyas, and helped spread the *tablighî* movement across the world.

of *masâjid* to carry out revival among the young Muslims growing up in Britain.²⁷⁸

The College attracts a resident student population of approximately 300 between the ages of 12-25. The course of study and syllabus they pursue is based on the *'alîmiya* course of *al-azhar* University, Egypt. The subjects studied are Arabic, Sira, Qur'an, Hadith, and Fiqh. Having completed the course of study it is expected that the graduates would teach Islam and take up posts as *imâms* in *masâjid*.²⁷⁹ Over the last few years it has been offering GCSE exams, and the results have been quite impressive. Its courses have also been recognised by the Bradford Education Authority for its students to receive local authority grants.

One of Muhammad Ilyas's lesser known contemporaries was Ahmad Rida Khan (1856-1921) of Bareilly (India).²⁸⁰ He was committed to the revival of Islam among the masses, and to elimination of Hindu elements from the daily life of Muslims. Although, not a political activist, he encouraged Muslims to

²⁷⁸ *Darul Uloom Al Arabiyah Al Islamiyah*, unpublished annual report, 1978.

²⁷⁹ Annual Report, *op.cit.*

²⁸⁰ Ahmad, M.M. Neglected Genius of the East, Pakistan, 1978, p.1.; Ahmad Rida's family were Pathans or Rohillas, Afghans who had migrated to the Mughal court in search of employment, in this case obtaining land in Lahore, then Delhi, and finally in Bareilly.

preserve their Islamic identity, but was not in favour of a separate Muslim state. It was not until after his death, that at a conference in 1946 some of the 'ulamâ who were his followers unanimously agreed to pass a resolution in support for the creation of Pakistan.²⁸¹

The work of Ahmad Rida Khan was founded within small towns and rural areas of the United Provinces and the Punjab. Since the Barelwi orientation made less a demand for individual responsibility upon its followers it had a greater appeal from among the less well educated.²⁸² Ahmad Rida had the support of a group of 'ulamâ who were Pathans from the major cities of Bareilly and Budaun in Rohilkhand.²⁸³ They did , however, operate, as did the other 'ulamâ, as a popularly supported leadership, detached from political activity, offering social and religious guidance to their followers. They were committed to what they deemed a correct interpretation of the *sharî'ah*. What made them unique was that they used their position and their legal scholarship to justify the mediational, custom-laden Islam, closely tied to the intercession

²⁸¹ *ibid.* pp.6-7.

²⁸² Metcalf, B.D. Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900, U.S.A. 1982, p.297.

²⁸³ *ibid.*

of the *pirs*²⁸⁴ of the shrines, that was characteristic of the area.

Like the *tablighi jamâ'at* the 'ulamâ of Ahmad Rida were concerned with the inward development of the community, cherishing religion as an ever-more important component of their identity. Confrontation, and refutation were, indeed, the motive of much of their work. Their targets were other Muslims rather than other religious communities. It was through the towering intellectual personality of Ahmad Rida Khan which gave coherence to a distinct group, intellectual and social. By the end of the nineteenth century, he had formed with his students, disciples, and associates a group that held itself to be so true to Islam that it identified itself alone as the ahli-î sunnat wa jamâ'at.

Ahmad Rida Khan's thinking was rooted in the *qadirîa* sufi order, but his theology focused on the sufi doctrine of the *nûr-i muhammadi*- the light of Muhammad. This was based on the idea that the "light of Muhammad" was derived from God's own light and had existed, like the Word in Christian theology, from the beginning of creation. It had acted as an intermediary in that creation, enlightening the world just as a

²⁸⁴ A sufi master able to lead disciples on the mystical way; also known as *murshid* (a guide) or *shaikh*.

full moon, reflecting the sun, lights of the world. He insisted on the belief that although Muhammad was a human being, he was not equal to but greater than any other human being. He believed that the highest merit of knowledge was given to the Prophet, and in particular the knowledge of the unknown-'*ilm ul ghaib*.

To emphasize the position of the Muhammad in Islam he advised his followers to pay special attention to *durûd* (salutation to the Prophet), *salâm* (showering blessings on the Prophet, and *na'at* (recitation of poetry on the life of the Prophet). Of the three, the *salâm* has caused most controversy because Rida Khan was of the view that when *salâm* is being recited the Prophet was present, therefore, the *jamâ'a*-congregation should stand up in respect. These views were to find violent reactions from among other revivalist movements, because it was thought to be in direct contradiction to the Islamic concept of *tawhîd*-unity of God.

Rida Khan defended the high position of saints in Islam although he prohibited the visitation of women to graves and the performance of *sajdah* (prostration) before the dead. He also considered the kissing of graves *makrûh* (disliked) and the practice of *tawâf* (circumbulation) around them *shirk* (idol worship). He did not actually form a movement, but his influence on

the masses was considerable, this was due to an extensive network of *pīrs*. Owing to the absence of a major seminary like Deoband, his influence among the educated classes had not been established. However, he did attract the support of a group of *'ulamā*, the most well known of whom is Mohammad Abdul-'Alim Siddiqui who carried his teachings to East Africa, Nigeria, and the West Indies; a mission which was later continued by his son-in-law Fazlur Rahman and his son Ahmed Noorani Siddiqui.²⁸⁵

In Britain those influenced by the teachings of Ahmad Rida Khan arrived along with those who migrated from Pakistan and Bangladesh, in the 1960's and 1970's. They are invariably from the least literate sections of Pakistani and Bangladeshi society, and when in Britain they form the unskilled labour which worked in foundries, the cotton industry, and brick factories, of Bradford, Manchester, Birmingham, Northampton, Coventry. Their activities are strengthened through their *masājid* which are co-ordinated by a network of *pīrs*. The World Islamic Mission under the patronage of Ahmad Noorani Siddiqui, its President, undertakes a range of activities with an endeavour to propagate and educate its members within Britain, this it does through its Islamic Missionary College which was first

²⁸⁵ Ahmad, M.M. *op.cit.* p.5.; Metcalf, B.D. *op.cit.* pp.299-310.

established in Bradford, and later moved to London.

The Islamic Missionary College was originally established in 1974 in Bradford and its stated objectives are: to establish and promote education in the Islamic Sciences, Islamic meditation, Islamic Law, Islamic Moral Sciences, and Islamic Philosophy. Membership to the College is open and restricted to only those of the Barelwi persuasion.²⁸⁶

The *tablighî jamâ'at* and *Barelwis* see themselves as rivals, both intellectually and socially. Each represent a different stance within the faith, emphasise different branches of learning, adhering to different jurisprudential positions, and striking different balances between a primary role as mediator and one as instructor in religious responsibility for the believer himself. Overall, the *tablighî jamâ'at*, who rejected customary practices and parochial cults, appeals to the more educated and urban British Muslim, whereas Barelwi support is largely among those who came from the rural and less educated. However since coming to Britain they both have moved out of their traditional structure of operations and they have begun to share in the modern institutional forms. Formal educational institutions, annual conferences,

²⁸⁶ Constitution of Islamic Missionary College, 1973.

establishment of places of worship are standard means for passing on their knowledge and re-enforcing identity on their members and supporters in the new environment. The two groups perceive themselves, however, as radically different from each other, and the resulting competition among them provide the motive for what is in fact their common vision of religious renewal and redefinition.

Whilst the *tablighi jamâ'at* and Barelwis restricted their activities primarily to work among the masses, Abu'l A'la Al-Maududi (1903-1979),²⁸⁷ the founder of *jama'âti islâmi*,²⁸⁸ attempted a programme of Islamic revival which would both attract the masses as well as the Muslim educated classes. To a certain extent he was able to draw sympathy for his cause from among the masses although his ideas found a greater reception from among the educated classes.

Maududi had witnessed the collapse of the Ottoman empire and the failure of the Caliphate Movement to save that empire from dismemberment by Britain and France for its support of Germany during the first World War. He was also able to experience the growing Hindu assertiveness in the Indian Freedom

²⁸⁷ Maududi was born in Aurangabad in the State of Hyderabad (Deccan). Kalim, B. The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan, Pakistan, 1977, p.9.

²⁸⁸ The *jamâ'at* was founded in August, 1941.

(Independence) Movement in the sub-continent which further threatened Islam and Muslim identity and power. Maududi blamed European colonialism and the emergence of modern nationalism, which divided rather than united peoples, replacing the universal or pan-Islamic ideal and solidarity with a more tenuous and divisive identity based upon language, tribe, or ethnicity.

Maududi's demand for political and socio-cultural change by the Muslims in India marks a departure from the *tablighî jamâ'at* and the Barelwis. In matters of the *sharî'ah* he was in general agreement, although he could not accept the negation of politics from the Muslim sphere of life. For him political action was essential for social change.

Maududi traces his descent from the *chishtîa* order,²⁸⁹ which seems to have had very little impact on his ideas, and whose principles he did not practise. In fact his criticism of certain sufi methods was a factor in the tension which arose between him and the above groups. His intellectual and religious influence was drawn from the revivalist movement founded by Shah Wali-Allah, in this respect he shares much with the other groups. One of his

²⁸⁹ Maududi was a descendant of Khawaja Qutub-uddin Maudud Chisti (d.537 A.H.) whose teachings reached India through his disciple Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti.

objectives was to help the masses become conscious of the need for proper leadership to enable them to effect the Islamic transformation required to retrieve their Islamic identity and hegemony, and therefore like the *tablighi jamâ'at* and Barelwis he opposed the un-Islamic practices which had become part of Muslim life.

He shared with Mohammad Ilyas and Ahmad Rida Khan the view that Islam was a distinct community, and like them this distinctiveness should be expressed within a united India; although once Pakistan was created, his ideas took a different emphasis. The central theme of Maududi's argument was that Muslims would never wield political authority or acquire the reins of government unless they reconstruct themselves politically as well as culturally upon the *qur'ân* and *sunnah*. He was of the opinion that those who were demanding a separate state for Muslims were doing so more for nationalist reasons than for religious reasons. After partition he decided to work in Pakistan for a state based on Islam, from then on he and the *jamâ'at* took an ideological stance.

In Pakistan²⁹⁰ the efforts of the *jamâ'at* was

²⁹⁰ With partition of the country the movement was divided, the Indian branch being known *jamâ'atî islâmî* (Hind). Later a branch was created in what was then known as East Pakistan.

directed towards the establishment of an Islamic constitution and an Islamic way of life. The *jamâ'at* holds the view that in an Islamic State, sovereignty is vested in God, and no man, party or nation shares in it, what is entrusted to Muslims and the nation is the role of being God's trustee (*khalîfa*) by fulfilling His will.²⁹¹ This is achieved through a process of purification and education which would assist in the individual: (i) awaken their intellectual capacity; (ii) reform themselves; (iii) reform society; (iv) reform the government-system.²⁹² Which it is pointed out is not limited to the boundaries of the Muslim world, but must go beyond it until Islam is established throughout the world.

Maududi articulated his views through an extensive body of literature, he wrote on nearly every aspect of State, from constitutional issues to economics, he wrote on *jihâd*, Islamic revolution, birth control to the status of women.²⁹³ His principles have been expanded upon by a keen group of scholars who were

²⁹¹ Maududi, S.A. Islamic Law and Constitution, trans. and ed. by Ahmad, K. Pakistan, 1960,

²⁹² Maududi, S.A. The Process of Islamic Revolution, Pakistan, n.d.

²⁹³ A list of Maududi's writings is contained in Islamic Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi, *op.cit.*

attracted to his teaching.²⁹⁴ He published a well known journal *tarjûman al-qur'ân*,²⁹⁵ he established an Islamic Academy, and a student organisation, *jamâ'at tulaba*, to carry on his thoughts in universities. Many students from this organisation have become members of the *jamâ'atî islâmî*.

Structurally the *jamâ'at* has a very rigid system of membership²⁹⁶ which is related to personal character, conduct and way of life and adherence to the *sharî'ah*. From among the members there is a *majlîs-i-shûra* (consultative council); a *majlîs-i-'amila* (executive council); a *qaiyyam* (secretary general), and *'amîr* is head of the *jamâ'at*.²⁹⁷

Maududi was, and the *jamâ'at* has been able, to attract followers from a wide spectrum of Pakistani society; from those in civilian life, from those in political life, and from those in military life. But those most attracted to it have been from the educated middle classes. The writings of Maududi have spread

²⁹⁴ Amongst whom are Khurshid Ahmad, Abdul Hameed Siddiqui, Nejatullah Siddiqui, Khurram Murad, Zafar Ishaq Ansari.

²⁹⁵ An Urdu monthly began in 1932 of wide repute.

²⁹⁶ Membership is open to any adult irrespective of sex, race or nationality.

²⁹⁷ Bahadur, K. The Jama'ati Islami of Pakistan. India. 1977, 141.

throughout the world and inspired similar movements.²⁹⁸ In 1972, Maududi retired and his successor Mian Tufayl Muhammad became this first successor.

During the 1960's and 1970's students and professionals who were inspired by the efforts of Maududi and the *jamâ'at* began to migrate to England to live and study, some even arrived as political refugees, escaping from the tyranny of martial law of the successive political and military regimes of Pakistan. They came together and formed the United Kingdom Islamic Mission (UKIM) which evolved a network of *masâjid* in the major cities of Britain. Later they influenced the creation of other organisations: Impact International, Muslim Educational Trust, Dawatul Islam, Federation of Student Islamic Societies in U.K. and Eire, Islamic Foundation, all of whom have been articulating the views of the Islamic movement.²⁹⁹

The UKIM is the main ideational base community which pursues the views of the *jamâ'atî islâmî* and has been the founding organisation of other base community groups such as *da'wâ al islâm*, the wing serving the Bangladeshi community; the Young Muslims and the Young

²⁹⁸ Esposito, *op.cit.* pp.120-124.

²⁹⁹ Gilani, S.A. Maududi, Thought and Movement, Pakistan, 1978, pp.165.

Muslim Organisation; and Islamic Society of Britain. Formed in 1962, it drew its constituency from amongst those Pakistani (West and East) Muslims who arrived during the late fifties and early sixties as students and professionals. They recognised that there was a need for new leadership from among the Muslims in Britain, which could present Islam as a dynamic force, able to critically contribute to the British social order.

Therefore the primary task of the Mission is "the establishment of the Islamic social order in the United Kingdom in order to seek the pleasure of God."³⁰⁰ The first stage in fulfilling this vision is concentration on development within the community in order to establish an "authentic identity", before they can ever think of influencing the non-Muslim environment.

The UKIM has sought to reflect Maududi's vision of Islam through its network in Britain, though in so far as the form of the Mission's activity towards social change cannot reflect the totality of Maududi's system which involves political as well as social factors, though some of its members would claim that Maududi's framework is based on a person being a *khalifa* of God,

³⁰⁰ The United Kingdom Islamic Mission Constitution.

therefore that person is both social and political. The institutions of Islam place upon a person a psychological and spiritual orientation which is reflected in both his social and political life. So implicit in the Mission's framework there is a political dimension which confers upon it an ideational stance.

In pursuance of its vision the Mission established regional bases in existing *masâjid* in various towns, and they have built or acquired their own in the major British cities. In this way a network of Mission centres have developed across the country with the headquarters in London co-ordinating their administration.

The method of recruitment is through a highly discriminating procedure. This is because it has tried to emulate a system of organisation operated by the *jamâ'atî islâmî*. The workers of the Mission are divided into three categories: those who subscribe to the Mission's objectives, and practice all the main *arkân* (pillars) of Islam are enroled as full members. There are associate members who agree with the ideas pursued by the Mission and who co-operate with it in its multifarious activities. Lastly there are the *muttafiq* (sympathiser) who agrees with the objectives of the Mission in principle but may or may not

participate in its activities. The result of this structure of membership is that a select inner circle is formed at the leadership level of people who presumably would be closely associated with the *jamâ'at* back home.

Just as Muslims of India were grappling with the issues on the role of nation and state in Islam during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so similar stirring were occurring in what is now known as the Middle East. Just as the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the abolition of the Caliphate had somehow exposed the Muslims of India to their political nakedness, so it exposed the Muslims of the Middle East to their political ineptness. Just as the Muslims of India had their seventeenth century revivalist, Shah Wali-Ullah, so the Muslims of Arabia had their revivalist Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab.³⁰¹ And just as the Indian Muslims had their twentieth century revivalists so the Arabs had theirs. Each inheriting from their precursors but each having to struggle with their contemporaries; each having to cope with their own political, cultural and religious circumstances.

³⁰¹ Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab was born at *Uyaynah* in Najd in A.D. 1691, he was a Hanbali Scholar who like Shah Wali-Allah noticed the un-Islamic practices which had crept into Islam through Sufism, among the Muslims of Arabia. He therefore undertook a *tajdîd* in Arabia which has left an impact up to today.

As mentioned in section 3.2. Hasan al-Banna was the founder and first leader of *al-ikhwân al-muslimîn* (Muslim Brotherhood). He drew his inspiration from the nineteenth century scholar Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) and later Abduh's disciple Rashid Rida (1865-1933). All three were Egyptians, but all three were concerned with the decadence in the Muslim world, and especially in the Arab world. Their concerns were linked to those of the Indian subcontinent through the thoughts of the Pan-Islamist Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani (1839-99) a teacher and mentor of Abduh.

Hasan al-Banna launched his movement when he was twenty-two years old and whilst a teacher at Ismailia, a town near the Suez Canal. His strategy was to revive and reawaken the Muslims by initiating an educational programme for the masses and students. He therefore organised his movement on a cellular structure. In each village or *masjid*, a group of interested people would constitute a cell; a leader would be appointed for each cell, and every week a study of the *qur'ân* would be given by a member of the cell, attention being given to pronunciation, memorisation and understanding. In addition, regular study of the life of the Prophet would be conducted. Later, activities included social and welfare work. This method had considerable success, so much so that cells were being established throughout Egypt, and

later expanded throughout the Middle East - in every Arab and African country there is now an *ikhwân*.³⁰²

Al-Banna's teachings found expression particularly in the works of Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, Said Ramaddan, and many others. His work has influenced thousands of students, and they have been the main agents of his movement beyond the Middle East, particularly to the U.S.A. and Britain.

The *ikhwân* has no similar network in Britain to those evolved by the other three movements, although it has established a number of cells (*halaqa*) in major British cities, however, like the UKIM it is among the students studying in British Universities that it has been able to make its most substantial gains, because the ideals to which it subscribes are more relevant to those who would eventually return home, and also because among the student fraternity there are many who are already attracted towards the goals of the *jamâ'at* of Pakistan, and of a similar movement in the Arab world - *al-ikhwân al-muslimîn*.

The essential common features of the *ikhwân* and the UKIM in Britain is a mirror image of those characteristics found in their home countries. They

³⁰² Cragg, K. Counsels in Contemporary Islam, Edinburgh, 1965, pp.32-35.; Mitchell, R.P. The Society of the Muslim Brothers, London, 1969.

are both concerned with evolving a righteous community within the broader society in which they exist - the dynamic nucleus for true Islamic reformation. Both recruit from *masâjid**, schools, universities, and professionals. They are primarily urban, based among the lower and middle classes, with whom they are especially successful. They both focus on the transformation (Islamisation) of the individual and society.

Though the movements covered in this section are preoccupied with the internal change and development of the Muslim community, it would be an illusion to underestimate their present and future importance in relation to the wider society in Britain. In their countries of origin they are powerful agents of change; in Britain they can be potent forces for protest and can emerge as potential social movements. As the Muslim community becomes ever increasingly entrenched into British society, its members may certainly wish to express their anguish and anxieties over a whole range of issues through these movements. Evidence that this is already occurring can be witnessed from their responses to the Salman Rushdie affair, in their concerns relating to religious discrimination, and in their reactions to education policies.

They may pursue independently the common vision they have of a future society, but as they participate and become more defused in the wider society and benefit from its egalitarianism, they may begin to coalesce in terms of common action towards what they see as injustices against their community. There are a number of ingredients which point to this possibility. All four movements in different degrees and levels are mutually influencing each other, this is very much the case for the *jamâ'atî islâmî* and *ikhwân* who both have consultative bodies in Britain and internationally, they both participate with the *tablighî jamâ'at* and the Barelwis on mosque councils which have begun to develop in British cities.³⁰³

In the realm of ideas they have a common body of constitutive ideas which transcends the barriers which their unique praxis divides them.³⁰⁴ This is to be found in their basic affirmation of Islam: *tawhîd*-unity of God; adherence to the *sunnah*; the *qur'ân* the source book for life; the five acts of worship the process of spiritual purification leading to human

³⁰³ "Social movements are products of the interactions of people mutually influencing each other." Gusfield, J.R. Protest, Reform, and Revolt: A Reader in Social Movements, London, 1970, p.2.

³⁰⁴ Constitutive ideas are those ideas considered most essential to the movement and which form the basis for its solidarity. Herble, R. Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology, U.S.A. 1951, pp.24-25.

progress. This means that the whole structure of the *sharī'ah* should be the basis for individual and collective behaviour.

The four movements claim the same intellectual heritage which means that they have a relationship between ideas in the realm of intellectual endeavour. They are continually engaged in a conversation between the great minds of Muslim history and with the innovators of today; every new theory is influenced by its forerunners.³⁰⁵

Maybe the departure between the four movements lies in the emphasis that the *jamâ'atî islâmî* and *ikhwân* place on their value-oriented beliefs in so far that they envision a modification of those conceptions concerning nature, a persons place in it, relationships between humans, and what is desirable and nondesirable.³⁰⁶ This kind of value-orientation involves a basic reconstitution of the self and society through the revival of values, which in turn presupposes a social philosophy; in the case of the four Islamic revival movements this would be striving for social justice. Whereas, the *tablighî jamâ'at* and

³⁰⁵ *ibid.* p.30.

³⁰⁶ Smelser, N.J. Theory Of Collective Behaviour, U.S.A. 1963, pp.122-123.

Barelwīs are more norm-oriented movements³⁰⁷ because they are attempting to restore, protect, modify, or create norms in the name of the generalised Islamic beliefs in the context of the new environment therefore, their range of activities are more limited.

Consequently, though all four share the same psycho-spiritual texture because they believe afresh that God is real, and that He makes decisive interventions in time, therefore life is to be taken seriously, for it is a testing ground for obedience to God. When it comes to socio-political action, it is only the *jamâ'atī islâmī* and *ikhwân* who can envisage *thawra*.

The possibilities of these four groups becoming a strong social movement will very much depend upon their ability to overcome the complex diversity of the Muslim community which mitigates against the rhetoric of unity. This is the subject of the next section.

3.4. Muslim Identity.

The migratory movement of Muslims to Britain after the second world war has many characteristics which distinguish it from that which occurred during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Not only is

³⁰⁷ *ibid.* pp.270-277.

this distinction noticeable in terms of the predisposing factors which underlie the migration, but it is also noticeable in terms of the nature and size of the migratory movement, as well as the geographical and ethnic backgrounds from which the Muslims have come.

Unlike a century ago when Muslims settled in and around the dockland areas of the British seaports and were drawn from the limited areas of Southern Arabia and the coastal regions of India, the large scale post-second world war emigration of Muslims has resulted in substantial Muslim settlements in the industrial urban centres of Britain. One of the striking features of this post-war migration is its sheer magnitude which is estimated to be in the region of one to one and half millions.³⁰⁸ Another is its complex diversity; the community draws its membership from a wider variety of national,³⁰⁹ ethnic, racial, linguistic,³¹⁰ and theological groupings and

³⁰⁸ Ally, M.M. "Paper Two," in Law, Blasphemy and the Multi-Faith Society: Discussion Papers 1, London, 1990, p.22.

³⁰⁹ One study lists ten nationalities with the Middle East constituting a block: Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Iran, Turkey, Middle East. Joly, D. "Making a Place for Islam in British Society: Muslims in Birmingham," in Gerholm, T. and Lithman, Y.G. The New Islamic Presence in Western Europe, London, 1988, p.34.

³¹⁰ Languages include Arabic, Urdu, Bengali, Swahili, Turkish, Hausa, Chinese, Malay.

categories, contradicting the image of being a monolith.

The mixture of unity and diversity runs through Muslim history. Research of their presence in Britain has shown that no group is wholly unique, and yet no two are completely alike. Each group has its own geographic distribution pattern, reflecting conditions when they arrived on British soil and the evolution of the industries and regions to which they became attached. Incomes, occupations, and unemployment rates differ substantially among Muslims, as do rates of crime, fertility, and business ownership.³¹¹ One source which has been instrumental in determining the fate of many Muslims and a catalyst for unity has been religion, however, in the new environment this has been elusive because of the multiplicity of identities which the Muslim has to live by. The search for identity involves unpacking the ethnic and cultural baggage which Muslims bring with them on landing in Britain.

For British Muslims this presents a complex dynamic: how to come to religious-cultural consensus out of the phenotypical differences within a common classification, and how at the same time to share

³¹¹ A recent study reveals the present state of Muslims in these areas, Jones, T. Britain's Ethnic Minorities, London, 1993, pp.166.

with, and in, the spiritual and cultural resources of the wider society. The internal distinctions not only apply to the major ethnic and geographical divisions between, for example, Muslims from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Somalia, and Middle East, but also to the very important regional, linguistic, political and other differences within these respective groupings. The distinctions are more readily apparent if there is an explicit recognition of the way in which these groups separate themselves into meaningfully sub-ethnic and national groups of the Muslim *Ummah* (community). In addition, Muslim sub-ethnic and national groups must be placed within a theoretical framework which defines the social aspects of contemporary Muslim settlement in Britain as part of an ongoing historical process which originated in the earliest links between Britain and their respective countries.

Those religious and cultural values and customs which the Muslim brings are often perceived merely as a base for role-stripping. It is assumed that the norms, indigenous to another Muslim milieu, are immediately constrained and a steady process of cultural erosion introduced as soon as the migrant enters the new society. This is a very static approach. It fails to appreciate the dynamics of the continual inter-penetration which takes place or religio-social

factors from both the original and new society.

Therefore, migration and settlement must be seen as an ongoing process rather than a set of isolated actions. The short-term dynamics of the Muslim's initial contacts with the new society must be seen against the background of the long-term dynamics which blend past and present. Although each situation is unique, nevertheless there are consistencies and continuities which need to be understood: religious communities have a past, present and future; the operational dynamics and opportunities of today must take cognisance of the collective experiences of yesterday and keep an eye on the goals of 'tomorrow. For the Muslim community the only certainty is 'today'; they are at a point in time, trying to be aware of its dangers and alert to its opportunities. Like nationalism, one of the preoccupations of the revivalist movements in Britain, has therefore been the question of how to overcome the range of Muslim ethnic identities which they see as an obstacle to religious growth, particularly since they claim Islam is not rooted in land or ethnic mores. Albeit that the origin of Islam is located in the land of Arabia and that some of its cultural mores draws on pre-Islamic tribal practice.

In responding to the new environment the Muslim not

only aligns himself with a religious community, but also feels he should be free to be himself, to serve in the framework of his own ethnic milieu because it performs important psychological functions such as in buffering and muting the shock of displacement. It also performs useful economic and social functions, in providing a familiar social context in the bewildering alien world of the host society and facilitating the search for employment. Researching on Pakistani Muslims in British cities, Badr Dahya reports that:-

"To that end entrepreneurs act as 'clearing houses' for information regarding opportunities for employment within the city and in other towns. They have village-kin links both within and beyond the city, and among items of news and gossip they exchange with their fellows information relating to employment...During such moves he stays with fellows who are known to him either through his village-kin network or through an intermediary, such as the ethnic entrepreneur. Thus, village-kin and ethnic ties are potentialities for social participation and mutual aid."³¹²

The majority of Muslim ethnic groups emerged out of their pre-Islamic tribalism,³¹³ therefore, these

³¹² Dahya, B. "Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain", in Cohen, A. (ed.) Urban Ethnicity, London, 1974, pp.91-92; Anwar, M. "Pakistanis in Britain: A Sociological Analysis," in Pakistanis In Europe, London Centre fo Pakistani Studies, London, 1982.pp.39-46.

³¹³ Ethnicity evolved out of the kin-hegemonic pristine state through to the tribal then to the ethnic. Patterson, O. Ethnic Chauvinism: The Reactionary Impulse, U.S.A. 1977, pp.42-43.

groups should not be confused with culture,³¹⁴ but that ethnic loyalties reflect, and are maintained by, the underlying socioeconomic interests of group members.³¹⁵

"However, since the ethnic institutions depend on ethnic patronage, they acquire a vested interest in the immigrants as their clientele. That is, the ethnic entrepreneur's interest lies in ensuring that the immigrants continue to remain Pakistanis, or that they do not give up their Pakistanihood, for only then can the entrepreneur be secure in the knowledge that the immigrants will continue to patronize his business. Accordingly, one role of the entrepreneur in the immigrant community is to remind immigrants of their traditional culture and values, that is, to perpetuate and defend their ethnicity."³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Barth, F. (ed.) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference, London, 1969, pp.15-16.

³¹⁵ The move from tribalism to ethnicity is distinguished by existential solidarity which the tribesmen experience by the togetherness of the tribe; whereas ethnic groups experience ethnocentric solidarity, conscious of togetherness. It makes something new of tribal solidarity by making it at least partly dependent on the existence, on the real existence, of other groups. Therefore the tribe is the protoethnic group. Once the quality of contradistinction develops, three factors contribute to ethnicity: the threat of hostility from other groups stimulates the emergence of the ruling lineage and the centralised state form; even without the threat of hostile peoples, it is not long before the ruling aristocracy finds the existence of such hostile forces in its own best interest; the third factor is trade, the tribal state can only emerge after a group begins to generate surpluses, and the economic base of the ruling class is disproportionate hoarding of such surpluses. Patterson, O. *op.cit.* pp.43-44.

³¹⁶ *ibid.* p.93.

This is important because unlike the general view that ethnic identity is involuntary and cannot be changed, by emphasizing that ethnicity is related to its structural and contextual environment, there is an important sense in which the significance of a particular ethnic attribute can change and, as such, an individual can be said to have some choice in the matter, since the sociological and psychological significance of a trait can be selected. This is done simply by changing one's social context or seizing the opportunity offered by such a change over time.

A exemplification of this complexity, can be appreciated in the Pakistani from the Punjab who lives in Britain and visits Pakistan once a year. When in Pakistan he belongs to the demographically dominant majority and is a member of an important ethnic community, racially homogenous, and he speaks Urdu, the language of the State, and he adheres to the faith of the majority. In Britain he is a member of a sub-national ethnic group, the Punjabi Pakistanis, he does not belong to the dominant majority, although he speaks English the language of the State, racially heterogenous and his religion is a minority faith. Changes in the context of ethnic identification can take place by movement from one society to another in a particular period, or over a course of time within a single society.

The relationship between an ethnic group and the wider society can be mutually enriching; the ethnic group does not exist as an island. Therefore the new community will influence the host society just as the host influences the immigrant. This opens up the possibility of the merging of ethnic traits as ethnic groupings go through a process of mutual adjustment and/or integration. This inter-ethnic penetration is evident in cuisine, fashion, etiquettes etc. However, this does not mean that the ethnic group will entirely assimilate. Here the ethnic group adjusts to the new situation by reorganising its own traditional customs, or by developing new customs under traditional symbols, using cultural norms and ideologies to enhance its distinctiveness within the contemporary situation.

But when the customs of an ethnic group cease to be relevant, the history of ethnic groups suggests that they are ruthlessly discarded. However, discarding the irrelevant traditions and customs does not mean that the sense of ethnic identity will be discarded; an ethnic group is quite capable of existing without any distinctive culture to sustain it, the survival of ethnic identity is more dependent on the group's perception of its relevance.

Ethnicity presents a challenge for both the Muslim

community and the wider British society; if the society encourages pluralism, in what seems to be the latest liberal philosophy, then it legitimises ethnic solidarity; if the Muslim community sanctions it, Islamic universalism could be undermined.

The pluralist philosophy is based on the principles that while each ethnic group is different or separate, they should be considered equal and treated by the members of different ethnic groups with respect; and that this diversity is not only desirable but that it is consistent with individualism; that British democracy is best realised in a respect for such ethnic diversity. Underlying these principles is the view that all ethnic groups are capable of living in a symbiotic relationship with each other and, as such, with the totality of ethnic groups which make up the society. In addition there is the assumption that others must be judged and understood in terms of their own values and standards if they are treated of equal worth; the relativistic position.³¹⁷

The main argument, against the relativistic assumption is that it is self-contradictory: it postulates a basic negative statement—there is no universal value, but there is one universal value, relativism; at the

³¹⁷ Relativism was revived by modern social science, especially by anthropology, as an academic and moral strategy in the study of alien peoples.

same time it asserts a general value-the values of all peoples are of equal worth, then contradicts it by implying the superiority of the values of the group consisting of relativists- it is good to understand other peoples in their own terms.³¹⁸

The second criticism is that pluralism is socially divisive. "The presence and proliferation of such a vast range of ethnic concerns in the zones has an important bearing in the nature of Pakistani ethnicity and on the quality of interpersonal relations among the immigrants. It helps *inter alia*, to keep the immigrant community a relatively closed one as the immigrants do not have to cross the ethnic boundaries to satisfy most of their everyday needs."³¹⁹ No society can survive for long without a common set of values whereby other members can be judged and consensus can be achieved. Muslims point to the cleavages in their own societies, Pakistan, Somalia, Nigeria etc., caused by ethnic and tribal reactions, and when the group defines itself as "chosen".

By emphasising ethnicity, communication between individuals of different groups will be impeded.

³¹⁸ Bidney, D. "The Philosophical Presuppositions of Cultural Relativism and Cultural Absolutism," in Ward, L.R. (ed.) Ethics and the Social Sciences, U.S.A. 1959. pp.51-76.

³¹⁹ Dahya, B. *op.cit.* p.91.

Dahya's research points to this:-

"The immigrants' participation in their own socio-cultural activities and their patronage of ethnic institutions reduces their chances of meeting non-immigrants. By taking hold of the immigrants' allegiance, the ethnic institutions bring about their relative encapsulation and reduce the potentialities for inter-personal relations across the ethnic boundaries."³²⁰

The only kind of communication possible will be the formalised interaction of ethnic spokesmen who meet during a truce to work out the best way of living beside each other with the least amount of conflict. An example of the use of gatekeepers is found in Sidney Collin's study of Yemeni Arabs in Cardiff where he reports that the Welsh wives of the Yemeni men would act as the intermediary between the Muslim community and the local authorities.³²¹ A more recent example is the way in which Muslims responded to the Rushdie issue, by organising a U.K. Action Committee³²² to communicate their feeling to the

³²⁰ Dahya, B. *op.cit.* p.94.

³²¹ Collins, S. "The Position of White and Half-Caste Women in Coloured Groupings in Britain", American Sociological Review, Vol.16, No.6, 1951, pp.800-802.

³²² The UK Action Committee on Islamic Affairs was formed on 11th. October 1988, representing major Muslim organisations, mosques and scholars in the UK, formed in London in order to mobilise public opinion against the book Satanic Verses by Salman Rushdie. Mr. Iqbal Sacranie was its convenor and its address was the London Central Mosque. Ahsan, M.M. and Kidwai, A.R. Sacrilege Versus Civility: Muslim Perspective on The Satanic Affairs, London, 1991, p.11.

publishers of the Satanic Verses, and to the Government. The Committee no doubt conveyed the common consensus that something must be done, but it obscured the wide variety of feelings among the Muslims, that though they were hurt, each Muslim and each component of the Muslim community has reacted to the book within their own capacity and according to their own interpretation of the situation.

The third criticism of the pluralist position is that it is a inherently conservative doctrine. Though it tolerates civil rights, it is unlikely to encourage any programme of action that will affect the relative statuses or absolute position of the various ethnic groups; it freezes the relative position of the various competing groups, and it may prevent deprived groups from making any gains relative to those which are better off.³²³

This is highlighted in the case of the Pakistani who appealed to the Race Act, supported by the Equal Opportunities Commission, against a midlands manufacturer who refused to employ him because he was Muslim.³²⁴ Though the Tribunal ruled in favour of the appellant with regard to indirect discrimination,

³²³ Riesman, D. The Lonely Crowd, U.S.A., 1962, pp.213-217.

³²⁴ Commission For Racial Equality -V- Precision Manufacturing Services Limited. October 1991.

he lost the case of direct discrimination because the Race Act did not recognise Muslims as an ethnic group. In terms of how Muslims perceive themselves the tribunal was correct in its interpretation of the law. However, the case exposed the ambiguity in the Act *vis-a-vis* its interpretation of which ethnic groups are protected by it; the Jewish community is covered by the Act, because, though the Jews are a religious community, they are also classified as an ethnic community, similarly is the position of the Sikhs. Consequently, Muslims have been, unsuccessfully, lobbying for the change in the law.

Lastly, many liberals claim that pluralism promotes greater individualism through greater diversity. However, plurality usually refers to the diversity of ethnic groups; and tolerance does not refer to other individuals but of the groups to which they belong. The result is the failure to recognise that the greater the diversity and cohesiveness of groups in a society, the smaller the diversity and personal autonomy of individuals in that society.

The greater the number of ethnic groups in a society, the greater the tendency towards cohesiveness within each group. As Dahya observes "To put it negatively, the ethnic institutions are means of making explicit to outsiders the immigrant community's refusal to

adopt local norms or to surrender its ethnic identity."³²⁵ By legitimising ethnicity in a society reinforces the tendency for ethnic groups to become interest groups. The more ethnic groups there are, the greater the number of groups competing for scarce resources of society's power and wealth.³²⁶ "Increasing ethnic diversity implies increasing group cohesiveness. Therefore, increasing ethnic diversity implies declining individuality."³²⁷

Closely related to ethnicity is nationalism³²⁸ which is another divisive characteristic of the British Muslim community. As the *idee-force* of Muslim countries between the two world wars it was dominated by two interrelated issues, national identity (nationalism) and independence. On the one hand, nationalism³²⁹ was a reaction to Western imperialism, and to European colonial rule; on the other hand those who led nationalist and independence

³²⁵ Dahya, B. *op.cit.* pp.94-95.

³²⁶ Despres, L.A. Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies, U.S.A. 1975. pp.221.

³²⁷ Patterson, O. *op.cit.* pp. 179-180.

³²⁸ *ibid.* pp.77-80.

³²⁹ Patterson concludes that "In a real sense nationalism is born in the collective anxiety that comes from a too great awareness of one's separateness vis-a-vis other peoples, and beneath all nationalism is the acute neurosis which is expressed on the one hand in the fear of being less than others and on the other hand in the compensatory claim of being more than they are." Patterson, O. *op.cit.* pp.70-71.

movements owed their training to the West and were influenced by the liberal nationalist beliefs and ideas of the French Revolution. In some areas Islam was a prominent ingredient in nationalism, while in others it was subordinated to secular nationalism. In many parts of the Muslim world, Islamic reformism and nationalism joined together to form a potent force, but, in contrast to the traditional Islamic ideal in which political loyalty and solidarity rest in a transnational Islamic community (*ummah*) based upon common belief, modern nationalism represented the notion of national communities based not upon religion but upon common language, territory, ethnic ties, and history.

In Britain the Muslim commitment to their country of origin depends upon whether they emigrated from a non-Muslim country wherein they were already a minority, such as those from the East African territories, or whether they emigrated from Muslim majority areas—Muslim States, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Turkey, and any of the Middle East territories. Those from previously Muslim minority areas have no allegiances to those countries any more, and have adopted British nationality. However, those who were from Muslim majority areas, though adopting British nationality continue to have their links with those countries.

This was affected by, and related to the push factors which determined migration in the first place. Whereas those Muslims from the East African territories were expelled,³³⁰ and the opportunities of returning to retrieve their former status was unlikely, those from the most deprived parts of Muslim world immigrated to Britain purely for economic reasons,³³¹ and originally considered their stay in Britain to be temporary.³³² Their concern was to acquire financial resources to improve the quality of life back home, in the 1960's it was estimated that between £40 - £50 millions were being remitted by New Commonwealth immigrants;³³³ this had a positive affect on economic development in those countries, therefore,

³³⁰ Those who were from East African territories left as a result of the Africanisation policies of those countries, which included nationalisation of economic institutions predominantly run by Asians. Deep insecurity in those countries caused many to search for suitable opportunities beyond Africa for re-settlement. Those who had U.K. passports decided to migrate to Britain, and many Indian passport holders decided that Britain was a better economic option than India.

³³¹ After the Second World War many new independent states were created, and these newly formed states faced enormous economic and social problems, and compounded by political instabilities in the early years motivated Muslims to migrate to Britain. Castles, S. and Kosack, G. Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, London, 1973. pp.514.

³³² E.J.B. Rose et.al., Colour Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations, London, 1969. pp.78-81.

³³³ Castles, S. & Kosack G., Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, London, 1973. p.97.

Muslim governments had a vested interest in encouraging their overseas nationals in retaining their allegiances to their country of origin, to the extent that a country like Pakistan allowed their nationals to hold dual nationality.

Revivalist movements in Britain sensitive to this dynamic and aware that the second and third generation Muslims are confronted with the complexity of living between two cultures in a minority situation, and having to cope with rising prejudice³³⁴ and racism,³³⁵ unemployment³³⁶ and social

³³⁴ The popular image of Islam, and of Muslims has its roots in the Crusades of Medieval Europe:- "the man in street desired an image that would both show the hateful character of Islam by presenting it in crude terms and would also be such as to satisfy the literary taste for the wonderful which strikes one so strongly in all the works of that time; the average person wanted a picture of the most outstanding of the exotic traits that had struck the Crusades in their dealings with the Muslims." Schacht, J. and Bosworth, C.E. *op.cit.* p.13. It would appear that contemporary perceptions have not changed much:- " Yet there is a consensus on 'Islam' as a kind of scapegoat for everything we do not like about the world's new political, social, and economic patterns. For the right, Islam represents barbarism; for the left, medieval theocracy; for the center, a kind of distasteful exoticism. In all camps, however, there is agreement that even though little enough is known of the Islamic world there is not much to be approved there." Said, E. Covering Islam, London, 1981. p.xv.

³³⁵ Specifically, Muslim women have been harassed in marketplaces, Mosques have been attacked, and the general tone of the popular press has heightened tension between Muslims and the wider society. During the war between Iraq and Kuwait, a newly built Mosque in Wakefield, Yorkshire, was set alight with petrol. *Asian Times*, 25th. January 1991; a similar incident occurred in Norwich when intruders tried to set alight to slippers of the worshippers in the local Mosque.

deprivation,³³⁷ put forward a number of criticisms against loyalty to the nation-state. They are not convinced that Britain, or any State for that matter, can provide the security and stability that is claimed. More specifically they believe Britain is deeply parochial and lacks the adaptive capacity to respond to a cosmopolitan challenge, therefore, believe that Britain has no convincing framework or policy towards those fellow nationals who are citizens of other states and that of citizens within the state who do not belong to the dominant national group - racial and ethnic minorities. In the case of Muslims they cite the ambiguity and duplicity in the Race Act and Education policy.

Muslim revivalists are suspicious of the nation-state on three counts. Every state has embedded in it cultural symbols which are dominant, and it is these symbols which are mainly exploited in the political process because they are instruments of control, as well as power.³³⁸ Not only are they used as sources

The Guardian, 22nd. January 1991.

³³⁶ The unemployment rate among Muslims is highest at the 16-24 age, in the case of Pakistanis it is in the region of 30%; between the 25-44 age range it is 18%-23%. Jones, T. Britain's Ethnic Minorities, London, 1993. pp.112-113.

³³⁷ *ibid.* pp.154-155.

³³⁸ Murray Edelman distinguishes between two symbols which are used in this way: referential symbols that are an economical ways of referring to

of legitimacy, but they can and are manipulated by persons in authority who wish to gain support for their policies or transform the subjective experience of others. Muslim revivalists point to the misuse and abuse of Islam by Qaddafi in Libya, who tried to weave into Libya's ideological identity: Pan-Arabism, socialism, and Islam. As a primary unit of loyalty and identity, religion was used as a political symbol of crucial importance in controlling and mobilising the masses. During the seventies Qaddafi introduced a series of reforms which reasserted Libya's Arab-Islamic heritage and thus employed Islam to buttress its national ideology and Arab nationalism/socialism. This emphasis manifested itself in the oppression of its people; in the closure of Churches, and missionary activities; banned British and American bases. However, on close examination Islam remained relatively peripheral to Libyan society.³³⁹

As a vehicle of expression the symbol carries with it

the objective elements in objective situations. Such symbols are useful because they help in logical thinking about the situation and in manipulating it. Industrial accident statistics are examples of referential symbols. Condensation symbols evoke emotions associated with the situation. They condense into one symbolic event, sign, or act patriotic pride, anxieties, remembrances of past glories of humiliations, promises of future greatness. Edelman, M. The Symbolic Uses Of Politics, U.S.A., 1985, p.6.

³³⁹ Esposito, J.L. *op.cit.* pp.80-81; *al-ikhwân* has constantly challenged Qaddafi on his exploitation of Islamic symbolism.

meanings which are not often understood but felt, consequently, they lend themselves not to rational resolution of conflicts but to the manipulation of the irrational by contending parties who compete with each other both in their interpretation of the true meaning of the symbols and for control over the powerful symbolic instruments. This manifests itself in Britain by those in the wider society who sympathise with the view that immigrant communities should be expelled because new races, languages, religions, and customs are seen to be culturally threatening, therefore compromising territorial integrity at the level of individual residence; and territorial integrity at the level of the nation as a whole.³⁴⁰

A second criticism of the nation state is to be found in the example of the Iranian revolution, which demonstrates the suffering of millions people because of the lag between the socio-political change as a consequence of the Shahs fall and ascendancy of the the new Islamic regime. As mentioned in the first chapter (1.2.) both cultural symbols and the social system of a social order change over time, they change at different rates and sometimes in different directions. Usually, there is a lag between the change

³⁴⁰ Husbands, C. *Racial Exclusion and the City: the Urban Support of the National Front*, London, 1983. p.30.

in the cultural symbols and the social system, such lags can and often do generate tremendous social tension if there is too close an identification of the political order with the normative order of a given period. The lag will be reflected in a tension between those committed to the preservation of the old political order and the symbols that legitimated it, and those committed to the new order and the need to generate a new set of dominant symbols.

Finally, the nation-state which is based on ethnic solidarity is internally inconsistent because it accepts the principle of ethnicity not only as a desirable form of social action but as the source of political power. But in so doing it makes acceptable morally, and encourages sociologically not only the perpetuation of already existing nondominant ethnic groups but the development of new ethnic groups among parties whose purely political interests are not being served by the state.

The subnational conflicts in the Muslim world such as between Pakistan and Bangladesh, and subsequent ethnic rivalry within those states; the destruction of Lebanon caused by ethnic and religious fascism; and the cleavages in Afghanistan etc. are evidences put forward by Muslim revivalists for their caution of nation-states. They argue that the state which bases

its existence on ethnic solidarity encourages its citizens to express their political grievances in ethnic terms, since they have learned from the state that political action is meaningless if it is not an expression of ethnic interests. Since the state cannot satisfy all interests it will always create fissiparous forces through the subnational groups it generates by its own example.

In response to ethnic factionalism, the nation-state can either attempt to destroy the subnational ethnic group, or allow them to exist and flourish. The latter will result in the state eventually disintegrating into a gross and unworkable collection of competing ethnic factions. The former morally concedes the nonexistence of its claimed ethnic unity, it will strengthen the solidarity of the subnational ethnic groups, and in the end weaken the body politic.

The persistence of Muslim sub-national ethnic groups in Britain is highlighted in the way their ethnic origins have determined their religious organisation. Research provide evidence that most *masâjid* in Britain attract members from one sub-national group, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Arabs, Turkish Cypriots etc., and that internal divisions are pronounced by ethnicity. Reporting on the Muslims in Birmingham one research records:-

"Mosques with predominantly Punjabi congregation; one example is the mosque in Anderton road
Mosques whose people come from Azad Kashmir (Mirpur) such as the Green Lane mosque
'Pathan' based mosques, e.g. the Woodstock Road mosque. In reality, the term Pathan commonly includes, not only the 'authentic' Pathans, inhabitants of the North-West Frontier area in Pakistan, but also Campellpuris who come from the extreme North West of Punjab, close to the North-West Frontier

In addition, there are other nationally based mosques:

With a congregation from Bangladesh, e.g. the Coventry Road mosque

With a Yemeni congregation, e.g. the Edward Road mosque

Finally, people from East Africa, the majority of whom originate from Gujarat in India, e.g. the Clifton Road mosque."³⁴¹

The evolution of these communities was the natural result of the chain-migration through the sponsorship of those in the country of origin from a particular region and on the basis of village-kin group, by those immigrants in Britain. Therefore, the emergence of such sub-national ethnic communities was not a deliberate attempt to maintain ethnic or national segregation, but was a consequence of socio-economic support necessitated by the migration process. Since ethnicity and nationalism are secular phenomena, which did not take firm root among the masses of Muslim countries, religion it seems became the overriding bonding force for many immigrants. For example it is noteworthy that Muslim ethnic groups did not join in

³⁴¹ Gerholm, T. and Lithman, Y.G. *op.cit.* p.37.

the ethnic riots of the fifties, sixties, or seventies, but joined forces when religious sentiments were disturbed, as in the case of the Satanic Verses.

In terms of commitment to Britain, it would appear in the light of the motives for immigration in the first place, that the relationship between the Muslim subnational ethnic groups and the state is merely utilitarian. Recognising this and without sacrificing ethnic identity, but approving it to be a source of strength for coping with socio-economic insecurities, and maintaining national loyalties for political security,³⁴² Muslim revivalists see their task as effecting change in the existing religio-cultural contexts so that a new religio-cultural pattern can emerge more reflective of the new environment; "We need to answer in particular the question: How can we live as Muslims in multi-cultural and religiously diverse society?"³⁴³

³⁴² Speaking at an International Conference in London in 1979, the Dr. Ahmadou Gaye, at that time the Secretary General of the Islamic Conference, Jeddah is quoted to have said: "The power and the financial resources of the Muslim world today are immense. This can give rise to high expectations on the part of the Muslim minorities of receiving extensive assistance and support from the Muslim countries. Such expectations would not be without justification. But such assistance cannot be a substitute for action by minorities themselves." Muslim Communities In Non-Muslim States, London, 1980, p.5.

³⁴³ Abedin, S.Z. "The Study Of Muslim Minority Problems: A Conceptual Approach," in Muslim Communities In Europe, op.cit. p.22.

This means taking advantage of the fragility and adaptability of ethnic identity, and the functional relationship with Muslim countries, to confront the central challenge of the Muslim by making a distinction between the ideals and values of Islam, and the cultural mores of a particular time-space milieu. For them the relationship of the *ummah* to the world is the enduring challenge of Islam; central to this, is the problem of nationality and culture. Yet Muslims have an almost irresistible tendency to identify their faith with their own national sub-ethnic group. In doing so, they threaten to confine its expression within the narrow limits of a single national sub-ethnic milieu, and ultimately destroy the universality which enables life and God to be meaningful to humans of all times and all nationalities. Therefore, one important need of the Islamic *ummah* in Britain, and every sub-group within it, is to distinguish that which is essential to the Faith, and that which is its transitory ethnic, national and historic expression. This would mean not only in relation to faith, but in relation to ideas, interests, political objectives and now, particularly, in relation to education.

Underpinning this concern lies a distinction between two human states: the state of quiescence - of passive maintenance of an achieved uniformity - and that of a

creative advance into the unknown - a turning away from the customs of the ancestors into new, still uncharted, unformalised ways of life. It is by such transition that new cultural milieux grow. By growth is meant the transference of the scale of action and challenge from external challenge to internal: a progress towards self-determination, a tendency for the personality of a community to become its own field of action. It occurs when a community is presented with a challenge, but also generates in itself the energy to meet a further challenge. To cope with this challenge and so give strength to a growing community, Muslims will not only have to provide a theological response to their new situation but also an intellectual dialectic between their enriching heritage and the heritage of British culture.³⁴⁴

Therefore, Muslims must be prepared to be permanently rooted, both psychologically and spiritually, in Britain; they should live as full participants and not as pseudocitizens. It is anticipated that by so doing they will generate and evolve a new pattern of life, in consonance with the values and norms of Islam but in the context of local conditions. This is not a new process for Muslims because historically, they have demonstrated that in every region of the world where they have settled, the eternal principles of Islam

³⁴⁴ Abedin, S.Z. *op.cit.* p.25.

have operated upon the local cultural stock to produce new artifacts of life - utilising the local material to realise the moral and cultural ideals of Islam.

Within this framework Muslims have attempted to re-define the concept of religion and Islam. Whereas Ninian Smart has sought to define religion within the context of secular Britain as based on six dimensions: doctrines, myths, ethics, ritual, experiences, social.³⁴⁵ Muslims see these as working out in a cultural context, therefore for them Islam is much broader than religion in so far that it includes the political, economical, social, educative dimensions of life. "...Islam is a religion of broader spectrum than is the case with other religions. It provides a complete and comprehensive code for the conduct of human life from cradle to grave...Islam does not divide life into what is sacred and what is secular. Every aspect of life has been taken into consideration and guidance has been provided in all fields."³⁴⁶ Islam is also described as a *dīn* by which is meant that it is a "... is a complete way of life."³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ Smart, N. "What Is Religion?" in New Movements In Religious Education, London, 1975, pp.14-16.

³⁴⁶ Ahsan, M. Islam: Faith and Practice, London, 1977, p.21.

³⁴⁷ Sarwar, G. Islam: Beliefs and Teachings, London, 1992, p.13.

This description perceives Islam as a synoptic field which integrates all realms of meanings. Integration in history is achieved by the consideration of events in time. The reenactment of these events requires meanings from all realms. In Islam the common element uniting all realms is ultimacy.³⁴⁸ The content of religious meaning may therefore be anything at all, provided it is regarded from an ultimate perspective. Or it might be better said that Islamic meanings comprehend or include all things, and that a religious attitude with respect to any given thing is to consider it in the light of all that is, i.e. from the standpoint of the Whole. It is the light that shines from the Whole, where the Whole is not simply the sum of everything within the finite realms, but the Comprehensive that comprehends *and* holds together all things in a transcendent unity (*tawhīd*), and is itself comprehensible within any finite entity.

In this way Muslims converge with the definition of religion postulated by Milford Spiro who defines "religion as an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings." By Institution Spiro implies that

³⁴⁸ "The term ultimacy is a general designation for such ideas as infinitude, absoluteness, the unlimited, transcendence, perfection, completeness, all-inclusiveness." Phenix, P.H. Realms of Meaning: A Philosophy Of The Curriculum For General Education, U.S.A. 1964, p.244.

religion is an attribute of social groups, comprising their cultural heritage; its beliefs are normative, its rituals collective, its values prescriptive. Interaction refers, on the one hand to activities carried out with the will or desire of superhuman beings or powers; and on the other hand those activities which are believed to influence superhuman beings to satisfy the needs of the believers, these contribute to the formation of the value system of the faith. Superhuman beings are beings which are believed to possess power greater than humans, beliefs concerning the existence and attributes of these beings constitute the emergence of a belief system.³⁴⁹

Much of the literature by Muslims in Britain reflect in their description the religio-cultural moorings of Islam. Emphasis is placed on the *'aqīdah* (convictions) and *arkân* (pillars);³⁵⁰ the first are the foundational beliefs or the epistemological foundations, and the latter the *akhlâq*-ethical foundations through ritual practice. Both the *aqīdah* and the *arkân* are the universal and eternal components of Islamic culture which binds the *ummah* (community)

³⁴⁹ Kilborne, B. and Langness, L.L. (ed.), Culture and Human Nature: Theoretical Papers Of Melford Spiro, U.S.A. 1987. pp.197-198.

³⁵⁰ Rahman, A. The Essentials Of Islam: Faith and Worship, London, 1980. pp.166.

together irrespective of the sub-national ethnic group, and therefore forms the basis for the taxonomy of Islamic Universalism. The *sharī'ah* regulates the cultural evolution of the community in that it brings together a body norms and law drawn from the epistemological foundations and the totality of human experience, thus bringing divine knowledge and human experience into one framework.³⁵¹

Having determined the doctrinal basis of Muslim identity, what may be referred to as the culture frame,³⁵² through this frame a person is

³⁵¹ In addressing the Muslims in the West a contemporary revivalist advises: "The affliction of humanity lies in the separation of the West from the East, in the separation of science from faith, a separation which has proved disastrous for mankind. Faith had been making strides and growing for long ages in the East, while in more recent centuries, science has been making strides and growing in the West. And faith continues to wait for the companionship of science, while science stands lost in the need of the guidance of faith. Humanity is waiting for the two to come together and co-operate in order to produce a new generation; and there can be no hope of peace and true happiness without this blessed co-operation between peace and science." Nadwi, S.A.H.A. Muslims In The West: The Message and Mission, London, 1983, p.37.

³⁵² Cultural frames consist of a subset of cultural propositions that are neither confirmed nor disconfirmed, because, they are arbitrary, being grounded in neither logic nor experience, and by so being they are neither rational nor irrational, but nonrational. There are two implications relating to explanation and evaluation: cultural frames fall beyond the sweep of logical and scientific evaluation, so the most that can be done is to document the differences among cultural frames of different cultures and explicate internal rules of coherence of those comprising the same culture; there are no standards worthy of universal respect dictating what

psychologically and spiritually shaped under the influence of religion and culture; it becomes the way of life; it influences thought and behaviour, feeling and meaning; it influences those associations and sentiments which set off a person's spontaneous reactions to others, and to words and to perceptions. It gives meaning to the spiritual and the material.

Its operationalisation within the Muslims depends on cognitive salience at five levels: the believers learn the doctrines; they understand them through their traditional meanings as they are interpreted in authoritative texts, for example, *táfsír* (exegesis); through this process of understanding the believer, believes the cultural frame to be true, correct, or right, and by so doing effects the manner in which they conduct their lives; the cultural frame is not only held to be true but it informs the behavioral environment of the believers; the cultural frame not only guides the believers, it also instigates action, because it possesses motivational in addition to cognitive properties.

The cultural frame incorporates ethnic diversity by operating on their behavioral traits so that customs,

to think or how to act, so that alternative frames are neither better nor worse but only different. Shweder, R. and Levine, R. (ed.) Culture Theory: Essays On Mind, Self, And Emotion, London, 1984, pp.27-66.

habits, food, dress become subordinate or subsidiary to the overarching beliefs, values, and norms of the culture. "This would require that we seek a new definition of Islamic culture which spells out clearly the doctrinal base, that we make this the core of our identity and adapt ourselves in those behavioural aspects of our lives which do not compromise or isolate this core."³⁵³ This approach allows the Muslims the freedom to apply the mechanism of *ijtihâd* to absorb new religious material from the environment in which they now live; this requires looking within the community self-critically constantly to determine what characteristics of their culture need to be changed. But at the same time by participating in the wider society, creating and being in search for new ideas and experiences which could enrich the cultural frame of Islamic *ummah*, resulting in a new Islamic synthesis.

This imperative does not seem to compromise the idea of a universal *ummah*, because the Muslim identity is shaped by a universal world-view within a cultural frame of shared beliefs, values and norms, and the *sharî'ah* being the self-critical yet creative mechanism rooting these, and assisting them, to respond to changing time-space situations.

³⁵³ Abedin, S.Z. *op.cit.* p.25.

In contrast to the traditional characteristic of the concept of community: geographical locality and physical territoriality; the Islamic concept of community differs in that it transcends territorial boundaries.³⁵⁴ The *qur'ân* identifies the Islamic *ummah*, under the eternal sovereignty of *allâh*, "in whose membership alone the believer obtains prosperity in this world and salvation in the next."³⁵⁵ In Islam, the *ummah* does not take its name after the name of any leader or a founder or an event, the axis of the *ummah* and the pivot of the Islamic faith is *tawhîd* - belief in the oneness of God. The chief role of the *ummah* is the service (worship) to *allâh* by advocating what is good, demanding what is right and eradicating what is wrong.³⁵⁶ The right performance of this role requires the Muslim to participate in a commonwealth of his co-religionists to realise this ethical mission.

When Muslims refer to the *ummah* as being a universal

³⁵⁴ "The Arabic Islamic term of community is *ummah*, derived directly from *umm*, meaning mother. *Ummah* in Islam means more than the mother-land in its geographical-territorial limitation. It means FAITH and CREED. *Ummat-ul-Islam* encloses the entire collectivity of Muslims living anywhere regardless of their geographical boundaries." Elkholy, A.A. "The Concept of Community in Islam," in Ahmad, K. and Ansari, Z.I. (ed.) *op.cit.* p.177.

³⁵⁵ Khadduri, M. War and Peace in the Law of Islam, U.S.A. 1955, pp.3-4.

³⁵⁶ *qur'ân*: *surah al-î-imrân*, verse 104.

community they refer to a world community whose values are held to be universal by members of a particular cultural frame and civilisation, however, those values may not necessarily only be held by Muslims, but may apply to all human beings, independent of their cultural frames. Essentially because Islamic values are fundamentally humanistic values shared by others, particularly^l by other religions. However, these basic world-related values may be seen as a symbolic base; between societies, the range of symbolic variation in the expression of these humanistic core values is vast. Thus Pakistani, Turkish, Arab, Malaysian, societies can express these underlying universal values symbolically in different outward forms, creating in this way different "worlds", which are united in their commitment to an underlying humanism and its core values or absolutes.

From this position it quite possible to argue, that to the extent that the symbolic structure of a particular "world" faithfully expresses a humanistic substratum, to the extent will it cease to be nationalistic. The concession that different "worlds" are possible in the symbolic signata of different societies, is in no way a concession to nationalism; it is rather, on the other hand, a reaffirmation of humanism, for the concession assumes that the different signata signify the same valuational signans

or core values.³⁵⁷

In Britain the Universal *ummah* will absorb the new British Muslim sub-national ethnic group because it is not a subculture of a different ethnic or regional group, but the subjective cultures of individuals interacting with a universal cultural frame. Within the boundaries of Britain it is the individuals that are brought together, and the critical relationship is between the universal cultural frame and the individual culture. There will be an inward and outward movement away from particularistic ethnic traits; the inward movement will be toward individuality and critical evaluation, which will allow for creative persons who, in their interactions with others, or even with themselves, generate the subjective cultures that will become the raw material upon which the universal *ummah* will draw. This process allows the minority British Muslims to retain their unique national and ethnic identities which are subsidiary to the universal cultural frame, but by so doing they identify with the identity of the majority; the universal *ummah*.

Traditionally, throughout the Muslim world, and particularly now in Britain, the institutions which

³⁵⁷ Attar, A.A.G. Humanism Of Islam, n.p., 1980, pp.91-109.

perpetuate and keep alive the Islamic heritage and history, are the family and *masâjid*. They are essential religio-cultural continuities. When a religious culture changes slowly these continuities stand out as stabilisers which permit change without serious dislocation. They relate in particular to the moral fibre; a community which loses these will suffer disintegration. The value system itself is another. When any of these breakdown, the community passes into a state of stress. Related to this desire for stability is the importance of institutions such as the family and *masjid*, primary social institutions in Islam. If the quality of the family is low, then a whole complex of personal relationships, enculturative education, interdependence, security and responsibility will suffer. The second level institutions are those through which enculteration takes place, the educative institutions. The community has been preoccupied with this issue since its arrival in Britain.

Education is seen as the major channel through which the maintenance of Islamic identity can be encouraged, and a new synthesis of Islam emerge. This next chapter will review the developments that have taken place within the community for the education of Muslims in Britain.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN BRITAIN.

4.1. Introduction

Muslim revivalists believe that the essential process for forging unity is education and that demands perpetuating the Islamic cultural frame from one generation to another. Yet they are also aware, as outlined in the last chapter, that in Britain, Muslims are living within a complex web of identities. Therefore a special role of education is to widen the horizons of Muslims, to deepen insight into relationships, and to counteract the provincialism of customary existence which they brought with them on coming to Britain, to engender an integrated outlook; a new Islamic cultural synthesis.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁸ "In regard to social institutions, what is envisaged is a united and integrated Muslim community within which there is solidarity and constructive competition for the individual and collective good. In such a community, the barriers of caste, colour, ethnic origin, culture, language, socio-economic class, and provincial loyalties would be broken down,

The diversity into sub-national ethnic groups is not the only challenge confronting the community, there is no doubt about the desire to promote universalism, but there is also the concern for providing a hedge against secularism, and meeting the demands of living in a multi-cultural, multi-racial, and multi-faith society.

Though for Muslims in Britain this is not a new situation, it is complicated by the poor socio-economic backgrounds from which they have come. Although, many Muslims have lived in an urban situation, the social world from which the great majority of Muslim immigrants have originated, has been that of the village, and, though not all have arrived from the poorest parts of the world, the majority do come from agricultural areas; they also tend to be more traditional and less educated.³⁵⁹ Life in rural areas is one of insecurity, hard toil and lack of good medical and educational facilities for all. The disorientation this causes in the movement, for instance, between rural Pakistan and urban industrial Britain has been well documented by

and property and education would not be so unequally distributed as to represent social monopolies." Wasiullah Khan, M. Education And Society In The Muslim World, London, 1981, p.10.

³⁵⁹ Sonyel, S.R., The Silent Minority: Turkish Muslim Children In British Schools, London, 1988, p.38.; Joly, D. *op.cit.* p.46.

Verity Khan, who reports in her research:-

"The physical movement between these two worlds and the ongoing emotional attachment to the home land produces another form of stress, which is related essentially to the different rates of social change in both countries. Even rural migrants moving to cities in Pakistan are subject to stress, but it is inevitably more intense in a movement from rural Mirpur to a Western city. This involves telescoping two major movements into one: the movement from a rural to an urban area and from east to west."³⁶⁰

The religious experience of many Muslim immigrants, before arriving in Britain, was highly restricted to the oral tradition, which was past down from one generation to another through elders or *imâms* in the community. Their lives had been religiously oriented in countries where the sacred and the profane, the secular and the spiritual were inextricably bound together by the unifying force of Islam.

Islam had entered the stream of life of many countries which have sizable Muslim populations over a time span of fifteen hundred years, and had to negotiate itself in a new milieu. It is not surprising, therefore, for the religious experience of many Muslims to include in their practice of Islam strong elements drawn from local traditions of the pre-Islamic culture, as well as primal religions.

³⁶⁰ Khan, V.S. Minority Families In Britain: Support and Stress, London, 1979, p.48.

This is because Muslims were originally converts, and over the centuries a synthesis of local customs ('urf) were absorbed into Islamic practices and belief. For example in Africa the witch doctor of those tribes which converted to Islam became the medicine-man (*tibb*). In India, a practice which was carried over into Pakistan and Bangladesh, was the arranged marriage system. It was incorporated into Muslim culture, although, it was based originally on the idea of partners continuing the practice of the 'Caste System' derived from Hinduism. The recent research published by John Bowen, on the Gayo in Sumatra illustrates the process well:-

"We were looking for local knowledge and for cultural diversity, neither of which would we find, we thought, in a world religion that aimed to regiment society around a universalistic pretense.

I soon learned, however, that Gayo, who had been Muslims since at least the seventeenth century, had developed much of their "local" knowledge about the world by elaborating, transforming, and adapting elements from broader Muslim traditions. They elucidated the powers of the place spirits and ancestors using the Muslim idea of sainthood; they explained their abilities to hunt and farm through Muslim narratives about Adam and Eve, and their children; and they explained how healing worked by describing how God, through the prophet Muhammad, had created the universe. Underpinning these specific accounts was a general conception of the relation between the inner, spiritual, world and its outer, material, counterpart - a conception derived from a widespread Sufi Muslim tradition."³⁶¹

³⁶¹ Bowen, J.R. Muslims Through Discourse, U.S.A. 1993, p.3.

Central to all these ethnographic studies is the discovery that the adherents have a strong belief that all events have a place within a supernatural logic. The precise concepts in terms of which this is structured vary between different ethnic groups and theological schools within the community.

The very movement from one country to another has witnessed a change in the life of the first generation Muslims, however, it is with their children, the second generation, that the challenge is to be faced. The second generation has participated in the British educational system and they have been exposed to the values of their peers. A gulf between them and their parents was inevitable, but, it was neither so wide nor clear cut as the outsider had assumed. The educational system was conferring upon the young Muslims a new set of expectations and values, which resulted in conflict between them and their parents in relation to their socio-economic aspirations. It also affected their approach to the practice of Islam, for in most cases parents continue to draw heavily upon the traditions and customs which they brought with them from their countries of origin, much of which has little relevance or meaning to the young Muslims growing up in Britain. Jennifer Williams referring to the role of teachers in Sparkbrook schools,

Birmingham, highlights the problems:

"The teachers see their role as putting over a set of values (Christian), a code of behaviour (middle class) and a set of academic and job aspirations in which white collar jobs have higher prestige than manual, clean jobs than dirty...and interesting responsible jobs are higher than just 'good money' jobs."³⁶²

This change in psychological orientation to which the educational system was directing young Muslims caused the Muslim leadership to conclude that they should put forward certain proposals that would meet the educational needs of Muslims. They also recognised that the future of the Muslim community in Britain depended on an effective new leadership, and that leadership needed to evolve a new Islamic synthesis as mentioned in chapter three (3.4.). This task, it was felt, would best be undertaken by the new Muslim generation.³⁶³

This chapter will therefore focus on the development of Islamic education in Britain, particularly on

³⁶² Rex, J. and Moore, R. Race, Community and Conflict, London, 1967, Chapter 10.

³⁶³ "Side by side with the inculcation and strengthening of these basic values, Islamic education must create in the minds of Muslim youth a resilience, an adaptability and a mechanism for adjustment to worldly matters other than the fundamental Muslim beliefs." Khusro, S.A.M. "Education in Islamic Society", in Wasiullah Khan, M. Education And Society In The Muslim World, London, 1981, p.83.

policy, supplementary schools, and the Muslim justification for full-time Islamic schools.

4.2. Muslim Education Policy.

Muslim education policy in Britain is inseparable from those developed in the heartland of Islam, as outlined in the previous chapter the universalist perspective of the Islamic ummah includes Muslim minorities within its boundaries. "...I consider a person "socially" Muslim as long as he feels to be part of the overall Muslim *ummah*, wherever he might be...As for the expression "Muslim minority", it signifies a group of Muslims living in a political entity in a state of numerical inferiority in comparison to the non-Muslims. However, it is difficult to be rigidly consistent in the use of this expression, since there are cases in which a Muslim community might be numerically inferior but superior politically or socially."³⁶⁴

The relationship between Muslim minorities and the Muslim world is more ideological, because of a common cultural frame, than structural, however the policy relationship was highlighted by Abedin in his paper

³⁶⁴ Kettani, M.A. "The Muslim Minorities", in Islamic Perspectives, op.cit. p.241.

delivered at the minorities conference in London:-

"Therefore, realistically speaking, no interpretation of religious principle and no statement of Islamic policy can have wide acceptance unless it reflects some consensus of the major constituents of the Muslim world. If minorities are becoming aware of this real need, one only hopes that the Muslim world is also willing to realistically acknowledge the true dimension of this problem and is willing to play its rightful role towards its resolution."³⁶⁵

Significantly, a number of papers were presented at the First World Conference on Islamic Education at Makka on Muslim minorities in Britain. The particular paper by Muhammad Anwar confirmed the anxieties of the community on the ground. But before moving onto that, it would be worthwhile to draw attention to his definition of the Muslim community. Typical of the sociological confusion of his time he refers to the Muslim community in Britain as an ethnic community, when in fact it is a mosaic of sub-national ethnic communities, and when the Race Relations Act of 1976 does not recognise Muslims in ethnic terms.

This naive mis-placed categorisation was to have its own influence on government perceptions, but, in relation to the social structure within British society, Anwar believed 'plural integration' to be the

³⁶⁵ Abedin, S.Z. *op.cit.* p.22.

most appropriate process.³⁶⁶ As discussed in the last chapter, this diminishes the possibility of members of the community having their own individual relationship with the wider society without compromising their religious identity, Anwar, in the same paper, confirms that in fact Muslims are embracing the wider society without this compromise, which contradicts the perception that they wish to remain an isolated unit with only utilitarian relationships with the wider society.³⁶⁷

Recently, Anwar has published a revised version of his paper in which he emphasised more distinctly the religious underpinning of the Muslim community, although, he still has the tendency to use religion and ethnicity as though they are two interchangeable terms.³⁶⁸

Notwithstanding this conceptual confusion, the paper

³⁶⁶ Pluralistic integration results in a group maintaining itself as a unit on its own, but accepted by the majority as part of the society. "This would mean that a group such as Muslims, integrated in this sense, would keep its own distinguishing features such as religion, language and family patterns but its children would go to state schools and its members would work with the majority." Anwar, M. "Young Muslims in Britain: Educational Needs and Policy Implications", in Wasiullah Khan, M. *op.cit.* p.105.

³⁶⁷ *ibid.* p.116.

³⁶⁸ Anwar, M. Young Muslims In Britain: Attitudes, Educational Needs and Policy Implications, London, 1994, pp.44.

provides some important pointers about the educational life of Muslims in Britain. The first is the difficult task which young Muslims confront living between two cultures. Most second generation young Muslims have been brought up by parents whose upbringing was in the rural parts of the Muslim world. In their countries of origin households were often large and several adults shared responsibility for making decisions affecting the family, for running the household and family economy, in addition to caring for the children.³⁶⁹

For most children, education was acquisition through formal teaching of basic skills in reading, writing and arithmetic. Boys were trained to run the family farm or to practice their hereditary craft, and girls learned domestic skills expected of a good wife and mother. They learn, gradually, increasing participation in the work of the household, and by their early teens they play a significant part in the domestic economy. Relationships within the family are affectionate but patriarchal and hierarchical; emphasis is placed on the respect for elders, on restraint in relations between the sexes and on

³⁶⁹ "Adult illiteracy is high and fewer children are enrolled in schools. Life expectancy of men is low and of women still lower. Many more infants die after birth...In most Muslim nations, only about one-fourth or less of the population is literate." Wasiullah Khan, *M. op.cit.* pp.6 & 16.

maintaining the honour and good name of the family.³⁷⁰

Life in Britain, dictated by the motive for migrating, was at first envisaged to be temporary, therefore it was expected that economic considerations were uppermost in the minds of parents, father would work long hours to acquire the necessary financial resources to return back home to live a better life. However, as families became more entrenched in society life in Britain became a permanent reality.

Education being much more formalised and structured, young Muslims spent longer time in education than their parents would have done in their countries of origin; whereas there, education was a preparation for a rural economy, here it was preparation for an industrial urban society. The contradictions between the assumptions on which their family relationships are based, and many of the values with which they become familiar at school and through television, magazines and newspapers, inevitably sharpen as they get older. They become less willing to accept the unquestioning beliefs and assumptions of their parents, particularly as their education encourages

³⁷⁰ Khan, S.V. Minority Families In Britain, *op.cit.* p.42.

them to demand explicit rationales for everything.³⁷¹

Well educated, intellectually enquiring children may be able to obtain only an unsatisfyingly fragmented understanding of their own religion. They soon discover that many of their parent's beliefs and values do not stem from the tenets of Islam, but are a matter of local convention and have little meaning outside of the village setting.³⁷² Parents found this threatening, but, for the task of Islamic revival and developing a new Islamic synthesis, it is precisely this mind set which was required. In fact two of the seven principles for an educational rationale proposed in a paper by Dr. Sageb, delivered at the education conference at Makka were: (1) "With this confidence, it should embark upon a kind of intellectual iconoclasm 'to clear the ground of all idols which clutter the contemporary scene'. There should be no acceptance of alien concepts, lifestyles and institutions without a critical scrutiny..."; and (2) "With the critical approach must also emerge the spirit of readiness to accept the universally recognized principles of conduct which are common to

³⁷¹ Anwar, M. Young Muslims In Britain: Attitudes, Educational Needs and Policy Implications, 1994, pp.23-28.

³⁷² Ally, M.M. "Strangers Exiled From Home," in Cohn-Sherbok, D. The Salman Rushdie Controversy In Interreligious Perspective, London, 1990, pp.136-137.

all mankind. There is no taboo against learning from others their sciences, technology and skills."³⁷³ The fear is the lack of the appropriate methodology, processes and skills by which the young can achieve a new religio-cultural matrix.

The second point in Anwar's study draws attention to the fact that many parents and children (80%) interviewed by him "agreed that there is not sufficient formal teaching of Islam in English schools. Many Muslims felt that there should be facilities within the school system for religious instruction."³⁷⁴ Parents (47%) were fearful that the absence of strong Islamic convictions would result in their children being influenced by Christianity.³⁷⁵ 41% of young Muslims interviewed thought they were being influenced by Christianity whilst attending school with a Christian service.³⁷⁶ These responses are interesting because the period during which Anwar's survey was being undertaken, Christianity was being phased out of many syllabuses, and with a more overt secular curriculum, as extensively reviewed in

³⁷³ Saqeb, G.N. *op.cit.* 55-56; Dr. Saqeb was Assistant Secretary to the First World Conference on Muslim Education.

³⁷⁴ Anwar, M., in Wasiullah Khan, M. *op.cit.* p.112.

³⁷⁵ This was to be found in the research on Turkish immigrants. Sonyel, S.R. *op.cit.* pp.56-57.

³⁷⁶ *ibid.* p.112.

chapter two of this research, the comparative study of religion was being introduced, in which Islam would be studied.

It would seem from Anwar's study that Muslims were not so much objecting to the teaching of Christianity in schools, but were insisting that their religion should also be included in the curriculum along side other faiths.³⁷⁷ As highlighted in chapter two, the study of religion was subject to the struggle for an educational consensus resulting from new communities entering Britain, but also because secularism was beginning to impose its self on the school curriculum, which meant that the study of religion shifted from the confessional to the phenomenological.

It can be argued that Muslims were caught in the conflict due to the pace of change at two levels: the educational change occurring in Britain in response to a secular ideology; and their own process of change as a consequence of moving from the pre-literate environment to an environment where educational egalitarianism was being professed. It also confirms the impression that, because most Muslim immigrants were from Muslim majority areas, where religion was pervasive throughout their society, the infiltration

³⁷⁷ Nielson, J.S. "Muslims In Britain and Local Authority Responses," in Gerholm, T. And Lithman, Y.G. *op.cit.* p.66.

of secularism was limited to the urban centres.

The survey brings out a third point, that young Muslims in spite of the pressures of a secularised education, two-thirds of those interviewed attended religious services out of their own volition, though, admitting that they were less religious than their parents.³⁷⁸ Quite clearly there was a reservoir of attachment to the Islamic cultural frame but its consolidation suffered from the absence of more religious teaching.

A fourth issue arose out of the study, it discovered that Muslim parents believed that permissiveness in British society was a direct result of co-education, therefore, they demanded single-sex education to protect the honour of their female children; some parents were even prepared to send their daughters back home to avoid them being educated with boys.³⁷⁹ In this respect Muslim parents were unable to appreciate that honour and dignity was just as much a concern of British parents generally in maintaining the moral fibre of society as it was for them. They did not appreciate that they had moved into a society

³⁷⁸ Anwar, M. *op.cit.* p. 112-113.

³⁷⁹ *ibid.* pp.114-115; Jeffery, P. Migrant and Refugees: Muslim and Christian Pakistanis Families in Bristol, London, 1976, pp.76-77; Ghuman, P.A.S. and Gallop, R. "Educational Attitudes Of Bengali Families In Cardiff," *op.cit.* p.140.

which was according more freedom to women, particularly, since the rise of the feminist movement, women's liberation groups, broader educational access, and equal opportunities in employment, and that it was inevitable that young Muslim women, having been educated through the same system would wish to share in these opportunities also.

Over and above these more religious matters, Muslims were also concerned about their children's general achievement in schools. In section 2.4. it was noted that immigrant parents had high expectations of their children, and as one researcher on Pakistanis observed, education is highly valued by Muslim parents, and they confess that the quality of education is better in Britain than in Pakistan; and they also do not have to pay school fees which can prevent their children from attending school in countries of origin.³⁸⁰ A comparative study by Dosanjh also concludes that, although, Muslim parents in Nottingham were more educated than their counterparts in Derby, both groups shared a strong desire for upward mobility for their children, and saw education as the route to achieving this.³⁸¹

A study on Bengali families in Cardiff suggests that,

³⁸⁰ Jeffery, P. *op.cit.* p.105.

³⁸¹ Dosanjh, J.S. *op.cit.*

in general terms, 66% of respondents expressed satisfaction with the education of their children, but, like most parents in the population, were concerned that at primary level children were not "pushed" sufficiently, and that secondary schools spent too much time on non-academic subjects.³⁸² Another study draws attention to the fact that many Muslim parents have high but unrealistic hopes for their children, and they interpret low achievement with the suspicion of racial prejudice.³⁸³

Recent evidence suggests that Muslims, like other new communities, are more likely to be in education longer than those of the general society. Yet, there is a high level of under achievement, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men in the 25-44 year age range are particularly poorly qualified at all levels when compared with other groups; 70% of women in both groups have no qualifications at all.³⁸⁴ A number of

³⁸² Ghuman, P.A.S. and Gallop, R. *op.cit.* p.143; a similar study carried out on Mirpuris in Saltley reflect the same attitude. Joly, D. The Opinions Of Mirpuri parents In Saltley, Birmingham, About Their Children's Schooling, CSICMR, Research Report No.23. 1984, p.9.

³⁸³ Bhatti, F.M. "Young Pakistanis in Britain: Educational Needs and Problems," New Community, Vol.6 Part 3, 1978, p.244.

³⁸⁴ Jones, T. *op.cit.* pp.31-60. "...the parents' educational ambitions for their sons are generally not parallel to their aspirations concerning the daughters of the family. 19 (54%) of the parents did not wish their daughter to continue school after 16 and only 5 out of 35 (14%) envisaged that she could train for a

factors could lie behind this apparent disadvantage: the majority of Muslim young people are in a period of transition, therefore, they are still in the process of acquiring the cognitive and language skills, the tradition and discipline of learning, and the culture capital for academic study.

There has been a variety of research which demonstrate that parents support and encourage their children to stay on for further education and training. Both Gupta and Joly's studies concur that parents "did exert a clear -cut influence over their children's educational and subsequent occupational choice".³⁸⁵ However, they relied heavily on schools and teachers to inform them about school processes. Indigenous parents, although they may have left school at the minimum leaving age, at least have the advantage of having been through the school system, and have some working knowledge of its intricacies.

From the evidence derived from the above research, as a resource for the future development of the Muslim community in Britain, it would appear that the second generation young Muslims, who are already becoming the

profession. In both cases the ones who would let their daughter stay on at school a little longer or prepare for a job frequently imposed a number of conditions." Joly, D. *op.cit.* pp.10-11.

³⁸⁵ Gupta, *op.cit.*

parents of the third generation, are intellectually immature and theologically ignorant of their faith to make any substantial contribution to a new Islamic synthesis.³⁸⁶ However, it is quite likely they form an important base for the third generation to play a more pro-active role in evolving a new Islamic cultural milieu.

The first phase in this direction, Islamic revivalists would argue, depends upon the emergence of a consensus amongst Muslims about the place of Islam in a multicultural society. In this respect the Muslim response to the Swann report provides the framework for the future development of the community's education policy. It is significant that the response was co-ordinated by the Council of Mosques for UK and Eire, which meant the feelings of base communities, across all theological and ethnic boundaries, were, for the first time, being expressed.³⁸⁷ Considerable

³⁸⁶ In a piece of research on Turkish Muslims this was an important reason for the development Turkish supplementary schools: "By the early 1970s it became apparent to the members of the Turkish Muslim community, and to British educationalists, that even second generation Turkish children, who were born in Britain, were not only underachieving in British schools, but were also growing up in a different culture, ignorant of their own culture: language, religion and traditions, and becoming strangers to their own ethnicity and religion." Sonyel, S.R. The Silent Minority: Turkish Muslim Children in British Schools, London, 1988, p.25.

³⁸⁷ Two hundred and thirty five mosques took part in the response and was published entitled: The Muslims and Swann: Education and the Muslims in U.K.,

attention was placed on presentation, and the responses were well thought out and put together; the Muslims, maybe, were the only community which responded to the Swann report so thoroughly.

Though the respondents generally commends the Report, there was the feeling that some aspects of it reflected the agenda of those previous policy documents which vacillated between the assimilation and integration of new communities (see 2.3.). The fact that Swann recognised the essential role of religion in cultural identity was an important corrective to the mis-placed categorisation in much of the literature, governmental as well as ethnographic and sociological, published during the seventies.³⁸⁸ The respondents were also impressed with the move away from the minority-majority dichotomy of the past. They acknowledged the multifaith and multicultural environment in which all communities in Britain found themselves. But emphasised that Islam should be perceived as a *dīn*, a way of life, therefore they found the secularist position in the debate about "the

London, 1986, pp.56. The Sub-Committee co-ordinating the response included: Mr. M. Akram Khan-Cheema, Multicultural Education Advisor to Bradford Education Authority; Mr. Yusuf Islam, Islamia Schools Trust; Dr. G.N. Sageb, Institute of Education, London University; Prof. Syed Ali Ashraf, Islamic Academy, Cambridge; Dr. Hasan Alkatib, Sheffield Islamic Centre; Mr. M. Shamsul Haq, Muslim School, London; Mr. Shabbir Ahmad.

³⁸⁸ *ibid.* pp.1-2.

role of schools in relation to 'religion' as a major hinderance in achieving a reasonable multi-faith intercultural understanding."³⁸⁹

The conflict here is epistemological, between those who believe in revelation as a legitimate source of knowledge and those who do not. Whilst conceding that the phenomenological or undogmatic approach to the study of Religion was more acceptable than any other, the respondents felt that the epistemological issue could be counterbalanced provided the 'task force'³⁹⁰ for the teaching of the subject included Muslims as well as people from other faith communities rather than relying only on Christian and secularists inputs.³⁹¹

This being accepted, there was general endorsement by the respondents to the view, in the Report, that the intention of religious education "is to help pupils to understand the nature of religious questions and religious affirmations and to develop a personal and intellectual integrity in dealing with the profoundest aspects of their own experience now and in adult

³⁸⁹ *ibid.* p.5.

³⁹⁰ Teachers, advisors, officers, trainers and others in supporting the educational system. *ibid.* p.8.

³⁹¹ *ibid.* pp.7-8.

life."³⁹² Although, it was the responsibility of the family and the religious community to nurture and instruct a child into a particular faith, it was the role of the school to teach each Religion in the spirit of equal respect and understanding, not in comparison with Christianity, but as valid belief systems in their own right.³⁹³

In the light of the Swann report the respondents were keen that changes should take place in the 1944 Education Act. In particular, the use of religious instruction should be replaced with religious education. That if the Act of collective worship is to remain then the right to withdraw should also continue as a basic exercise of freedom of choice.³⁹⁴ However, there was support for the Act of Worship to be Christian, provided that this right was also extended to other religious communities. In the case that assemblies be primarily multifaith, then faith communities, it was suggested, should be involved and consulted to ensure that authentic material was being used.³⁹⁵

On matters relating to the religious education teacher

³⁹² *ibid.* p.5.

³⁹³ *ibid.* 24 pp.9-10.

³⁹⁴ *ibid.* p.14.

³⁹⁵ *ibid.* p.16.

and curriculum resources, the respondents agreed with Swann that the R.E. teacher could be an effective influencing agent in other areas of the curriculum, such as history and geography, in reducing the negative stereotype of non-Christian communities, but, it was felt that this would be enhanced through teachers from other faith communities joining the profession. Improvement in curriculum resources, it was suggested, would occur when faith communities were actively involved in assisting in the selection of curriculum materials.³⁹⁶

The respondents move onto taking issue with Swann on the negative attitude it presents on voluntary aided schools, their concerns are the subject of section 4.4. in this chapter.

It is evident from the review above that Islamic revivalists received the Swann Report positively and they used it as a catalyst to initiate debate within and beyond the Muslim community on the future focus of education for young Muslims in Britain. They recognised that Muslims were living in a global village, and that the sympathetic but radical approach of Swann provided the community with the opportunity of working out its own policy on education.

³⁹⁶ *ibid.* pp. 23-24.

At one level, whilst disagreeing with the confused approach of multi-racialism and multi-culturalism of the seventies to which they were excluded in making any input, the document put forward by Swann enabled them to address issues which were specifically of their concern but also the concern of other communities. In addressing Swann they were able to broaden their own views on religious education in schools; the recognition that Muslims were one of many religious communities was an important step; that the interactive relationship between pupils of different faiths and cultures in the school environment would be mutually rewarding and enriching was another. The fact that on many occasions whilst responding to Swann the respondents included and supported the rights of other communities is significant.

At another level they recognised that state schools were crucibles for change and development, and provided the education establishment was sincere in their efforts to combat racism, and genuinely supporting the rights of all, and according equal opportunities to every pupil without a hidden agenda, the system offered broader intellectual opportunities for future generations of young Muslims. There is also the possibility that the respondents were resigned, for the time being, to the strong grip which secularism had on the curriculum generally, and

therefore, were more concerned in minimising its influence in the field of religious education, and supporting retention of that subject on the curriculum.

But they were also convinced that the state system could not equip young Muslims with the Islamic orientation required for evolving a new Islamic synthesis, this they concluded was the responsibility of the community itself. Community education among the Muslims became established over a period of forty years, since the arrival of Muslim families in the early sixties. It was during this period that legislation (1962) was enacted to restrict immigration and it caused large numbers of dependants to enter Britain between 1962 and 1967; from Pakistan alone, 13,554 were women and 29,841 children.³⁹⁷ Thus, the tightening of control had a decisive effect on the pattern of migration: it shifted the balance of migration, after 1962, from the economically active to the economically inactive, from men to women, from adults to children and within the small number of men still entering, from the unskilled to the professionally qualified.

It was from amongst the professional members of the

³⁹⁷ Eversley, D. and Sukhdeo, F. The Dependants of the Coloured Commonwealth Population of England and Wales, London, p.19.

new arrivals that a strategy for the religious education of the young Muslims was formulated. Appreciating the culture conflict and the new psychological orientation to which the British educational system was directing them, certain members of the Muslim community presented a framework for the education of the embryonic community.

Two prominent individuals, Dr, Muhammad Naseem³⁹⁸ and Mawlana Habibur Rahman,³⁹⁹ both of whom delivered the first papers on the issue at the FOSIS⁴⁰⁰ winter camp of 1965, put forward four problems which the community had to consider in the education of their children: (i) the majority of Muslim children were receiving a religious education which was different from what their parents would like them to have; (ii) there was a need for a contemporary concept of Islamic education; (iii) most of the Muslim settlements were scattered; (iv) the need for properly

³⁹⁸ Currently Chairman of the Birmingham Central Mosque Trust.

³⁹⁹ Former Chairman of Muslim Educational Trust.

⁴⁰⁰ Founded in 1962, The Federation of Students Islamic Societies see itself as representing the ideals and sentiments of both the *jam'ât-i-Islâmî* and *ikhwân-al-muslimîn*. the FOSIS recognised that the Muslim students studying in Britain were the future leaders of the Muslim world. Therefore "it is a worthwhile, indeed imperative, effort to see that they are guided on the right path, that their aspirations and ideals are steeped in the Islamic ethic." The Muslim, July, 1970, pp.219-222.

trained teachers.⁴⁰¹

In light of these problems Naseem could be considered to be the first person to outline a practical and comprehensive plan for Islamic education in Britain, which was expanded and built upon by those mentioned above. He not only provided a conceptual framework but he also identified the priorities which Muslims would have to take into consideration if they want to design a satisfactory education for their children.

There are four principles upon which Naseem's ideas were based: Firstly that Islam is a distinct ideology based on the sovereignty of God, humans, being His creatures; secondly, human beings are God's *khalifah* (trustee) whose responsibility it is to see that the will of God prevails; thirdly, for a person to carry out the trusteeship, knowledge (*'ilm*) is required; fourthly, all knowledge other than divine knowledge must conform to the basic concepts of Islam, therefore sciences must be studied.⁴⁰² These principles were no different from the educational policy of the four revivalist movements discussed in section 3.3. of the last chapter, and they were consistent with the

⁴⁰¹ Naseem, M. "The Education of Muslim Children in the United Kingdom - 1," Risalâtul Akbar, May, 1966, pp.6-8; Rahman, H. "The Education of Muslim Children in the United Kingdom - 2", Risalâtul Akbar, May, 1966, p.9.

⁴⁰² *ibid.*

rationale proposed by the subsequent World Conference on Islamic Education held in Makka in 1977. The common thread can be accounted for in Naseem's revivalist background, he was one time member of the *jamî'-ât tulaba*, the student wing of Maududi's *jamâ'tî-islâmî*, and a close associate of the United Kingdom Islamic Mission.

Within this framework Naseem identifies two levels at which Muslims must set their sights: "The ideal solution of the problem lies in having our own comprehensive schools with residential wings and located on a zone basis. These schools should follow their own syllabi and should have their own books of instruction written on all subjects." He goes on to propose "the interim measure which offer different possibilities, but the foremost in this respect is the writing of a syllabus catering for different age groups and then writing books in accordance with it which can be supplied to both the teachers and the students. This is especially important when we consider that most of our teaching at the moment is by part-time workers."⁴⁰³

Naseem also proposes that the community should liaise with educational authorities "then perhaps it will be possible for them to allow use of their buildings for

⁴⁰³ *ibid.*

the purposes of a Muslim Sunday school."⁴⁰⁴ He suggests that properly qualified teachers should be employed for the teaching of Islam and that such teachers should also make arrangements with local schools so that Islamic education could be provided in the state system. He stressed the importance of keeping parents fully informed about the effects that non-Islamic education could have on their children and the problems that would ensue.

Six components can be delineated from Naseem's strategy: (i) in the long term Muslims will have to establish their own schools; (ii) in the short term they will have to improve the mosque schools; (iii) compliment them with education in the state schools; (iv) design syllabuses; (v) develop educational aids; (vi) improve the quality of teachers.⁴⁰⁵ The subsequent debate revolves around these issues.

Elaborating on Naseem's ideas, Khurshid Ahmad⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ *ibid.* These proposals reflects Naseems insight into the needs of the community at the formative stage of its development. Naseem is a medical doctor, therefore he saw the needs of the community at very close range.

⁴⁰⁶ Professor Khurshid Ahmad is one of the very close associates of Maududi, and presently the *naib-'amir* of the *jama'âtî islâmî*. He is founder of the Islamic Foundation in Leicester. He is considered to be the founder of the discipline, Islamic Economics. He is one of the leading voices in Islamic Revival.

focused upon the need for Islamic education in state schools. In 1969, he published his proposals in *The Muslim*, "the Education of Muslim Children: Blue Print for Action."⁴⁰⁷ Acknowledging the four principles put forward by Naseem, Ahmad rooted his ideas in the multi-faith structure of British society. He maintained that "a really integrated society can be founded only on the principle of religious and cultural co-existence and of tolerance and co-operation between different groups, and not by supplanting or ignoring minority religious and cultural entities."⁴⁰⁸ He believed that just as religious education was being provided to Jews and Christians, so such facilities should be made available to Muslims who now constituted a sizable proportion of the immigrant population.⁴⁰⁹

Ahmad's ideas were hinged on six points: (i) there should be an education policy which entitles children belonging to different religious groups to proper religious instruction in their faith on schools premises; (ii) in schools where Muslims constitute a sizable number, at least one Muslim teacher should also be responsible for religious instruction; (iii)

⁴⁰⁷ Ahmad, K. "Education of Muslim Children: A Blue Print for Action," *The Muslim*, December, 1969, P.52.

⁴⁰⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ *ibid.*

in all schools Muslim communities should be given the opportunity to impart Islamic religious instruction to Muslim children, at least (a) two to four periods per week, and (b) by being allowed to send their own Muslim teachers, and which (c) is subsidised or financed by local authorities; (iv) a Muslim Educational Advisory body should be established from among representatives of the Muslim community and its educational institutions, who would act as advisors to the Department of Education; (v) local education authorities should have small advisory bodies for religious instruction from among religious groups; (iv) the Muslim community and its educational institutions should be responsible for preparation of books and the Department of Education and County Councils should help in the financing.

From the pen of a leading Islamic revivalist, Ahmad's opinion was to resonate throughout the community. He firmly placed the Muslims in a multifaith context, he recognised the experience of other religious minorities, and believed Muslims should broaden their use of resources, and to be in partnership with the state. The result of both Naseem's and Ahmad's ideas was the creation of the Muslim Educational Trust (MET), which was established by a Pakistani school

teacher Afzalur Rahman⁴¹⁰ in 1966 as an educational charity.⁴¹¹ The Trust⁴¹² appointed Afzalur Rahman as its Chairman and later in 1974 he was joined by a Bangladeshi, Ghulam Sarwar, who has since been its Director.⁴¹³

The MET recognised a need to provide educational facilities for the newly arrived Muslim children in the school system. It also realised that there was a dearth of teachers to provide teaching in the mosque schools. As its objectives therefore, it set out to provide suitably qualified teachers who would impart Islamic knowledge in the state schools, as well as to provide teachers who would supplement, and support,

⁴¹⁰ Afzalur Rahman is also an author of several books published by the MET: Prayer, its significance and Benefits; Muhammad Blessing for Mankind; Banking and Insurance; Muhammad as a Military Leader; Muhammad the Educator of Mankind; the five volume work entitled the Family Encyclopedia of Islam published by the World Muslim League.

⁴¹¹ "Muslim Educational Trust", Impact International, Vol. 6, No.7, 1976, p.42.

⁴¹² In 1978, the trustees of the MET were Mawlana Habibur Rahman, its Chairman since the retirement of Afzalur Rahman; Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui (currently President of U.K. Islamic Mission); M.H. Faruqui (currently editor of Impact International); A.R.B. Shaikh; M.Yasin, Khurshid Ahmad (currently Chairman of Islamic Foundation). The offices of the Trust is presently 130 Stroud Green road, London, N.4.

⁴¹³ Sarwar has published a number of important policy documents on the education of Muslims in Britain the relevant are: Syllabus And Guidelines For Islamic Teaching, 1984, pp.64; British Muslims And Schools, 1991, pp.42; Sex Education: The Muslim Perspective, 1992, pp.34.

the classes run in the evening and over the weekends in the mosque. Based on statistical details provided by the Trust, in 1980, it was sending 13 teachers to 56 county schools in nine cities. Usually the Trust would arrange with an appropriate group of schools, in a city, to send a teacher to each to teach the Muslim children there. The periods could last up to 1/2 hour to an hour, one to three times a week.

As a contribution to teaching materials the Trust published two Islamic Primers in English which introduce the pupil to the basic beliefs and practices in Islam.⁴¹⁴ In addition to this it submitted a Memorandum on Islamic Education to the Secretary of State for Education detailing fully the problems being faced by Muslims parents not only in terms of omission but, in addition, the problems and stresses caused by lack of understanding shown at times by some educational authorities in enforcing existing rules such as in respect of school uniforms for Muslim girls.

The most innovative and practical contribution which the MET has made to Islamic Studies in schools is its design of the Mode 3 - Religious Studies (Islam) module for the London East Anglia Group GCSE that came

⁴¹⁴ The First Primer, Feb. 1969, pp.32; The Second Primer, 1969, pp.16.

into effect in 1990. The syllabus for the first time reflects an analytical and exploratory approach to the study of Islam in schools, but, draws on a traditional Islamic subject areas which would help pupils relate them to the contemporary situation in which they find themselves.

4.3. Muslim Supplementary Schools.

The anxiousness among Muslim parents and community leaders about the Islamic identity of their children, and the increasing conflict between the Muslim perceptions of religious education and the secularised system in schools, gave rise to the supplementary school movement established throughout by a network of *masajid* within the community. Therefore, the supplementary system was sponsored by the community because it believes that local provision cannot meet the needs of its children: state schools are variously perceived as having low expectations of minority group children, as sustaining a moral climate not considered desirable by parents, and as providing conditions in organisation and content in teaching, inappropriate or inadequate for children of a particular religio-cultural background. At the same time the supplementary system is a response to individual aspirations that exceed those achievable within the

school day.

However, the history of supplementary Islamic institutions of learning is inextricably linked with Islam's religious history, and their development was associated with the interaction of the religious movements, legal and theological. It has been the mode through which Islamic revivalists have been able to nurture identity after the example of the Prophet Muhammad.

As emphasised throughout this research the teachings of Islam are essentially gnostic in nature, all forms of knowledge, even the most external, take on a sacred character, so long as they remain faithful to the principles of the revelation. It is not accidental that the first verses revealed to the Prophet Muhammad were those of the Chapter "The Clot," in which the primacy of knowledge is affirmed in the following words: "Read! In the name of thy Lord who created; Created man from a Clot; Read! and your Lord is Most Bounteous; Who teaches by the pen; Teaches man that which he knew not."⁴¹⁵

Many of the verses of the *qur'ân* that were to follow

⁴¹⁵ Surah 'alag is considered to have been the first revelation received by the Prophet Muhammad. it is one the chapter most Muslims have memorised by heart. "Read", "teach", and "pen", are epistemological symbols for knowledge and education in Islam theology.

affirmed the sacred nature of knowledge (*'ilm*), one of Gods name being the "He who knows" (*al-'alim*).⁴¹⁶ The Prophet himself - although unlettered from the standpoint of human knowledge⁴¹⁷ - was at the same time the channel of the revelation of the *al-kitâb* (the Book) which is considered by all Muslims to be the quintessential sum of all knowledge, both human and divine. Moreover, he reaffirmed the teachings of the *qur'ân* by stressing that the acquisition of knowledge to the limits of a persons abilities is incumbent upon every believer, male or female, as part of his/her religious duties.

The Prophet Muhammad belonged to a noble family in Makka. Such families counted a few literate persons among their members.⁴¹⁸ But illiteracy was almost universal in Arabia before Islam. The literate exceptions lived in the cities and smaller settlements. The merchants of Makka could scarcely

⁴¹⁶ Muslims believe that Allah has ninety-nine beautiful names - *asmâ'-al-husnâ* by which they can know Him, *al-'âlim* is one of them. But the *qur'ân* constantly refers to Allah as the all-knowing.

⁴¹⁷ All biographies of the Prophet and the *qur'ân* (7:157) agree that he was an *ummî*, an unlettered person, Muslims believe that this is one testament to the miracle of the *qur'ân*.

⁴¹⁸ "It is said that at the time of the advent of Islam, there were only seventeen persons in Makka who knew how to write. This figure appears to be an underestimate and the statement strange in view of the fact that Makka was a cosmopolitan city, a barter-market and a junction of caravan routes." Azmi, M.M. Studies In Early Hadith Literature, Beirut, 1968, p.1.

conduct their domestic and foreign trade without the rudiments of reading, writing and reckoning. Some of such men were among the first converts to Islam, and served as scribes to the Prophet or later as high officials in the Islamic state.⁴¹⁹ But in pre-Islamic Arabian society the tradition of knowledge was passed on orally, and it was through this process that its rich heritage in poetry was transmitted. There is little or no evidence that literacy was a necessary qualification in a poet or in the transmitter of his poems. Indeed, the *qur'ân* itself, revealed over a period of twenty three years, was first proclaimed orally and transmitted by word of mouth, then written down by the Prophets scribe, Zayd bin Thabit (d.45 A.H.).⁴²⁰ Not until a few years after the Prophets death was an authorised version available.

To an illiterate environment, and in the face of an oral tradition, the *qur'ân's* message was radical. Apart from its purely religious content proclaiming the unity of God and humankind (*tawhîd*), the message insists on the high value of learning, and associates

⁴¹⁹ Amongst the companions of the Prophet who could read and/ or write were: Abu Bakr al-Siddiq (d.13 A.H.), the first successor; 'Umar b. Al-Khattab (d.23 A.H.), the second successor; 'Ali b. Abu Talib (d.40 A.H.), the third successor; 'Aishah (d.58 A.H.), the Prophets wife; Fatimah (d.11 A.H.), the Prophets daughter. *ibid.* pp.34-60.

⁴²⁰ He learnt Hebrew and other languages and used to write for the Prophet in Arabic and non-Arabic languages as well. Azmi, M.M. *op.cit.* p.59.

it with wisdom (*hikmah*). People of knowledge are placed in a position second only to Prophets. But this was of course, concerned with the divine revelation, its understanding and its propagation by preaching and teaching. The *qur'ân* represents the Prophet Muhammad as a teacher of this divine message, but a teacher who, unlike others, expected no reward for his labour except from God.⁴²¹

In the discharge of his mission the Prophet provided both exegesis (*tafsîr*) on the revelation and precedents for the future action of his community. Thus preaching the new faith was accompanied by two practical measures of special educational significance: literate believers were required to teach illiterates,⁴²² and only literate preachers were sent out to new communities that embraced Islam.⁴²³ Such men became the first teachers, it would be equally true to say that the *qur'ân* was the first textbook, just as places of worship, the *masjid*,

⁴²¹ Tibawi, A.L. Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems, London, 1972, pp.23-26.

⁴²² "He ordered the illiterate and literate to cooperate with each other and admonished those who did not learn from their neighbours and those that did not teach their neighbours. Furthermore, he threatened with punishment those who would not learn." *ibid*, p.4.

⁴²³ Sending teachers outside Madinah was one of the main features of the policy of the Prophet; many teachers were sent Najran and the Yemen. Azmi, M.M. *op.cit.* pp.4-5.

became the first schools in Islam.

The first place in which teaching was carried out in Islam was the *masjid*,⁴²⁴ and ever since the very first decades of Muslim history, the institutions of learning have remained for the most part inseparable from the *masjid*, and have usually been supported by religious endowments. But all the enthusiasm for the acquisition of learning was by its nature confined to adults. No formal and universal provision appears to have been made for the prerequisite of teaching the elements to children. Thus, the second successor (Caliph) after the death of the Prophet, 'Umar ibn Khattab, who established a working system of administration in which religious education was as hitherto entrusted to the administrators or leaders of the community, neglected to make specific provision for elementary education. To him, however, is ascribed the injunction to the Arabs outside the Arabia: "Teach your boys swimming, archery, horse-riding and appreciation of poetry."⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ "After his arrival at Madinah, the Prophet, first of all built a mosque, part of which was meant for a school, and from the very early days 'Abd Allah b. Sa'id b. Al-'As was appointed to teach the pupils how to write... In the second year of the *Hijrah* at least one new school was opened. There were nine mosques in the city of Madinah, and most probably they were used as schools as well." *ibid.* p.4.

⁴²⁵ Quoted in Tibawi, A. L. Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems, London, 1972, p.25.

It was through 'Umar that the *masjid* began to serve as a school, he appointed "narrators" (*qass*, sing.) to the *masâjid* of such cities as Kufa, Basra, and Damascus, for the purpose of reciting the *qur'ân* and the *hadîth* (Prophetic traditions). Gradually, instruction in Arabic grammar and literature became incorporated into this simple and rudimentary form of education, which became the nucleus for the later and more fully developed institutions of learning.⁴²⁶ Out of this early instruction in language and religion, there grew both the popular elementary school (*maktab*),⁴²⁷ and the advanced centres of learning which were to develop into the first universities of the Middle Ages, subsequently they were to serve as models for the early European universities during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

At first, after the death of the Prophet, private teachers taught in their homes, where individual

⁴²⁶ It is supposed that the subjects taught within the first century of the Muslim community were: *Non-Religious Subjects* - Poetry, Proverbs, Pre-Islamic History, Genealogy, Medicine, Mineralogy; *Religious Subjects* - Qur'an, Tafsir, Ahadith, Arkan, Inheritance Law, Zakat and Taxation, Biography of the Prophet, and the early history of the Caliphs. *ibid.* pp.6-7.

⁴²⁷ "The *maktab* was the institution of learning where elementary education took place and the studies of which led to the level of higher education, such as specialization in law." Makdisi, G. The Rise Of Colleges: Institutions Of Learning In Islam And The West, Edinburgh, 1981, p.19

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community and also for the formation of Islamic identity.

The evolution of the supplementary school movement is a mirror image of these early developments of Islamic education in the Muslim world. One of the major features of the post-war Muslim community in Britain has been the development of their *masâjid* which organises their religious life.⁴³⁰ Though no quantitative studies have been undertaken, it is estimated that there are approximately 1,500 such designated places in Britain, and their growth has taken place over two stages between 1950 to the present: firstly, the conversion of houses for use as local *masâjid*,⁴³¹ leading secondly to the building of purpose designed congregational or *jami'* *masâjid*.⁴³² This development is a natural outgrowth

⁴³⁰ The word *masjid* is derived from the Arabic *sujud* - to prostrate. It is not only open for the official five daily prayers, but it is also open for meditation, study and spontaneous prayer. The prototype of the *masjid* was simple, usually a small building in a village or town. As community needs, such as education and social welfare increased, so the *masjid* were further developed and expanded. Gibb, H.A.R. and Kramers, J.H., Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam, pp.331-353.

⁴³¹ "According to my survey all of the mosques own their own premises and in 80 per cent of the mosques, those premises are a converted family house or perhaps two terraced houses together." Joly, D. Making a Place for Islam In British Society: Muslims in Birmingham, *op.cit.* p.35.

⁴³² During the early phase of Islamic development the use of the term *jami'masjid* was distinct from the ordinary, everyday *masjid*. The term *jami'* was

of the two stages of migration - from predominately male immigration between 1949-1959 to the settlement of families between 1960-1981.

During the first stage the fundamental concern of Muslim immigrants was, as mentioned before, economic rather than religious. Psychologically as well as physically, these Muslims considered their presence in Britain to be very much of a temporary nature, and this determined the type and function of their places of worship - temporary, "make shift", lacking any semblance of institutional permanence. Once families began to arrive from 1960 onwards, so a new phase in Muslim institutional development occurred. The transition from being migrants to settlers gave rise to the *jami' masjid* which would cater for the wider religious needs of the community.⁴³³

Through the *masjid* members of the community were able to share their religion and culture with their fellow countrymen and co-religionists. They were able to affirm and reaffirm their beliefs and values and to cope, for a time, with the loneliness of missing those back home with similar beliefs and meanings about how

originally the adjective in the phrase *al-masjid al-jami'* - the mosque that brings together, unites, the congregation of the faithful. Makdisi, G. *op.cit.* p.12.

⁴³³ Joly, D. *op.cit.* p.35.

the world is and should be. In this way, the *masjid* provided a network of moral reference points and social mirrors through which members of the congregation would know themselves, the lack of which would leave most in a state of anomie. Therefore, the *masjid* is a culture crystal in so far it symbolises the setting down of roots, and in the life of a religious community there is the need for stabilising institutions, the family is one, and the place of worship another. ⁴³⁴

Both of these are essential for the formation of identity because they provide a structure and process for socialisation, and dissemination of ideas, beliefs, values and norms of the culture; education is an imperative in this process. Just as in the time of the Prophet the *masjid* was the preserve for initiating adults into learning about the new faith, in Britain

⁴³⁴ Reporting on the *masjid* in Nottingham, the Evening post made the following observations: "Settling down in a strange land with a completely different culture can be a worry. This can particularly apply to Pakistani women, who have to find out about schools, hospitals, doctors and other services with perhaps only a smattering of English. So it is not surprising that their thinking, feeling and social actions are different from women of the West." The article finds the following reasons to justify the establishment of the *masjid*: "In this respect the Islamic Centre can bridge the gaps between two worlds. For the first time Muslim women will have a place to go in Nottingham, where they can have a chat, or learn more about the local way of life." Regarding children, it had this to say: "There will also be religious education for the children and an opportunity for all age groups to widen their educational and social knowledge." Nottingham Evening Post, 8th. July, 1970.

it preserved its primacy as the ideal institution for religious preservation and learning for the young. "Correct education should inform moral action as well as satisfy the material and mundane needs of people. Such an equilibrium cannot be established, unless the family, the mosque, the school, the university and the media play their parts."⁴³⁵

There are six factors which underpin the development of the *masjid* in Britain. The first has been the growing concern among leaders of the community to provide better educational facilities for their children and more space to meet this requirement. The second has been to meet the more ceremonial demands of the community; marriage services (*nikah*), burial services (*janâza*), and the larger numbers attending the two 'id festivals. The third, to cope with the social and religious isolation of the youth and women. The fourth, to act as a point of contact between Islam and the local indigenous community. Fifthly, there has been the desire to bring a variegated community together on occasions of the annual festivals or on social occasions. Lastly but more indirectly, the *masjid* symbolises for many, the Muslim resolve for survival, as a mark of greater stability, greater security.

⁴³⁵ El-Tom, B. "Education and Society," in Wasiullah Khan, M. *op.cit.* p.33.

While co-existing with the state system of education since the 1960's, and as the spearhead and spine of Islamic revival, the establishment of the *maktab* in the *masjid*, allow Muslims to compensate for the inadequacies of the British school system, and for its refusal to teach their children about Islamic history and culture. By so doing the *maktab* fosters a positive identity and self-esteem as well as a consciousness of cultural, language, and religious experience and heritage to those children attending the school. This would in effect enable them to understand the identity that their heritage confers upon them as they seek to establish themselves in a multicultural and multiracial Britain.⁴³⁶

Little attention has been focused on the pupils who attend these schools, or their parents and teachers. Since they are not part of the compulsory state system, they rely on a high degree of voluntarism, willingness, and self-motivation.⁴³⁷ This in turn characterise pupils' attitudes and these may differ from their attitudes towards state schools. On the one

⁴³⁶ Private ethnic education is not new in Britain, for the same reasons which Muslims give for the establishment of supplementary schools, the Chinese, Italian, Japanese, Jewish, and Polish communities give for the establishment of their schools. Tomlinson, S. Ethnic Minorities in British Schools: A Review of the Literature, 1960-82, London, 1983, p.15.

⁴³⁷ Joly, D. *op.cit.* p.36.

hand children attending these schools may find them oppressive, on the other hand they may find them conferring academic confidence. Both experiences will definitely contribute to their performance in the state system.

The *maktab*⁴³⁸ emerged out of three phases of development: the embryonic phase, private tuition in homes where an individual voluntarily takes in a small group of students;⁴³⁹ the intermediate phase, the weekend school, which was organised in rented accommodation (community hall, or local school), with a strong confessional basis and offers doctrinal and moral education based on *qur'anic* teaching; these were attended by both children and adults. The evening school which operates from a local *masjid* every evening, is notable for their teaching of Islamic subjects and languages. Each of these phases are ongoing because each component of the Muslim community is at a different stage of development, and there is no co-ordinating body for supplementary education in

⁴³⁸ This research prefers to refer to supplementary schools as *maktab* than *qur'ân* schools or *madrasâhs*, because the former limits the range of activities which actually takes place in these schools, and the latter has traditionally been of broader import. The *madrasâh* was the Muslim institution of learning par excellence, it was more likened to a College of law, which is certainly not what takes place in the supplementary schools in Britain. Makdisi, G. *op.cit.* pp.27-32,

⁴³⁹ Joly, D. *op.cit.* p.44.

the community. In addition, the majority of *masâjid* is controlled by one of the four revivalist groups discussed earlier, and their boundaries are quite sharply maintained.

The location of the *maktabs*, because they operate in the premises of the *masâjid*, are usually within the catchment area of the community, as are the state schools. For instance the Sparkbrook Islamic Centre in Anderton Road, Birmingham is a conversion of six houses in a busy residential area nearby local Muslim shops with a Muslims population of 80%. Similarly, the five *masâjid* in Leicester are within a one mile radius of each other, Highfields, and in a catchment area of 5,000 Muslims. Originally, when Muslims first arrived, their housing conditions were poor, therefore they could only find housing in the run down inner city areas evacuated by most of the indigenous population who preferred the new housing estates on the outskirts of the city. But since the urban renewal programme of the seventies, these areas have substantially improved. In addition, since Muslims have become more economically stable and the second generation have become young parents, there is evidence to indicate that they are moving out to the better areas as well.⁴⁴⁰ This results in the family breaking up into smaller units because the houses in the new areas were

⁴⁴⁰ Jones, T. *op.cit.* pp.139-142.

built only for nuclear families. It also means that children have to be bussed or transported to the *maktab*.⁴⁴¹

The administration of the *maktab* would usually reside with the *imâm* of the *masjid*, or by a member of the education sub-committee. There was no "Head" for the school, and the system can best be described as participatory management, those who taught were also the managers. The *imâm*, or those given responsibility for the school have ill-defined roles, therefore, their roles were more in the nature of 'caretaking' rather than positions of hierarchical authority over the rest of the teachers and pupils. Clearly, they were empowered to take decisions over the day-to-day work in the schools but, in general, they informally consulted the staff over all decisions that had to be made.

In all *maktabs*, there was informal liaison with parents, and there were regular meetings of the sub-committee to review the progress of the school. The avenues for discussion on a pupils progress was usually restricted to when young children were brought to the school by a parent, who may take the opportunity of exchanging a few words with the teacher whilst the class was being organised. Another occasion

⁴⁴¹ Joly, D. *op.cit.* p.44.

may arise during one of the prayer times in the *masjid*, when, as a member of the congregation, the parent would apprehend the teacher to enquire about his child's progress. Most *maktabs* have annual prize giving events which was another possibility when a parent could assess how the child is developing.

Pupils were invariably recruited by word of mouth, but parents keen for their children to attend the *maktab* would apply formally to the education sub-committee. Some schools may require parents to fill up a form which would give the committee background information about the child or children. A member of the committee would meet with the parent to discuss the syllabus and identify the educational level of the children so that they can be placed in the appropriate *halqa* (circle). In most cases the school may have a long waiting list, consequently, it is not unusual for parents to approach a number of schools in the locality to register their children. Should a child or children be accepted into a *maktab*, there were no elaborate induction programme, he or she was required to begin lessons without much fanfare.

Attendance at the *maktabs* are consistently high. When pupils stay away, their parents would invariably pass the word to the school and provide an explanation for absences. Thus, there was strong parental support for

school attendance. To account for regular attendance most pupils would admit that it was due to subtle or coercive parental pressure. In general those pupils at the upper level of the school appeared to be able to work autonomously and attended supplementary schooling without much persuading, they were usually pupils who were learning to recite or memorise the *qur'ân*. Those at the lower levels had not yet begun to study independently and expressed some resentment over their parents' insistence on *maktab* attendance - yet many saw it as an opportunity to share more time with their neighbourhood friends.

Teaching staff are usually recruited from within the community, and they have obtained qualifications (*ijâzahs*) through apprenticeship under *ustâdhs* (teachers) from a Muslim country. The value of the *ijâzah* depends upon the prestige of the teacher who issued it.⁴⁴² They are not the final qualification, the teacher has to prove himself as a worthy leader of his pupils. Because of his role in the community, and in the field of education, the teacher acts not simply as a guide to better knowledge, but also as an example to better conduct. Teaching is therefore not a

⁴⁴² *Ijâza*, the authorization to teach was tied primarily to the book. It guaranteed the transmission of authoritative religious knowledge. The authoritative character of the transmission derives ultimately from the Prophet, the seal of prophets, chosen by God to receive the revelation, the religious knowledge (*'ilm*). Makdisi, G. *op.cit.* p.140.

profession to be sold but a role to be fully and completely performed. That is why many teachers in supplementary schools offer their services voluntarily, or in return for a small stipend.⁴⁴³ Though making important sacrifices, many of these volunteers have not had the opportunity to receive formal teacher training, nor the necessary orientation for working in Britain.

The operational environment of the teachers in a *maktab* is complex; in a supplementary school they teach within an ethos and landscape that is religious, but they address pupils who spend most of their time in the secular school. From a revivalist perspective the Muslim teacher is required to perform an instrumentalist role, in assisting the pupil to draw from the culture capital of both educational experiences, and to evolve a synthesis to form a new cultural milieu, the reality in the *maktab* is that the teacher is also struggling to grapple with his new religio-cultural background. Far from being a facilitator for spiritual growth and development in a new environment, the teacher can be more of an

⁴⁴³ This was consistent with historical precedent, many teachers of the early period were reluctant to take fees for the teaching of religious sciences. Makdisi, G. *op.cit.* p.161.; Ally, M.M. "Muslim Supplementary Schools," Islamia: National Muslim Education Newsletter, No.15, April 1991.

hind rance.⁴⁴⁴

As in the case of pupil recruitment, the teacher of a *maktab* was recruited by word of mouth. The average number of teachers (male and female) in a *maktab* would range from six to twelve. The typical school will be providing education to an average of 300 children - male and female, within a teaching space of 100 to 1,000 square yards.⁴⁴⁵ The *tablighî jam'ât* are now able to attract recruits from their *dar 'ulûm* in Bury, Lancashire, the Barelwis continue to bring teachers from Pakistan, and the UKIM draw on teachers within the community in Britain.⁴⁴⁶ It is not uncommon for the *maktab* to recruit volunteers from amongst the parents, particularly, from those who are unemployed.

The teaching resources of many *maktabs* are very basic, in most cases children receive their education by

⁴⁴⁴ Ally, M.M. "Muslim Teacher In Secular Britain", Islamia: National Muslim Education Newsletter, No.16. October 1991, pp.6-7.

⁴⁴⁵ Ally, M.M. "Muslim Supplementary Schools", Islamia: National Muslim Education Newsletter, No.15. April 1991, pp.5-6.

⁴⁴⁶ The UKIM has 25 weekend and supplementary schools; 4,050 children being educated through them; eight schools specialise in the memorisation of the *qur'an*, with 71 boys and girls attending; the UKIM has a total of 150 teachers. Annual Report, 1993-1994, UKIM.

sitting on the carpeted floor,⁴⁴⁷ no chairs or desks are supplied, modern technology is non-existent, teachers of advanced classes may have access to a blackboard. Reading and exercise books are bought by parents.

It is difficult to obtain financial records for supplementary schools because they are included in the general education budget of the *masjid*. But the running costs are entirely supported by donations from within the community, and from parent fees which are extremely low. Therefore, it is not surprising that teaching resources are not available.⁴⁴⁸

None of the contemporary theoretical models - 'compliance model', 'total institutions', are particularly suitable to help explain how supplementary schools function. The exception however, is perhaps the work on charismatic authority⁴⁴⁹ in

⁴⁴⁷ Though sitting on chairs is not prohibited, the sitting on the floor is considered a practice which emulates the early teaching practice. Makdisi, G. pp.91-92. It is also to be remembered that most *maktabs* in Britain are run in *masajid*, which would not have tables and chairs. In addition the *maktab* had to accommodate large numbers of pupils, chairs and tables would occupy more space.

⁴⁴⁸ UKIM Annual Report 1993/94, although the accounts provides details of expenditure for all departments, there are figures for the education sub-committee.

⁴⁴⁹ "Charismatic domination is characterized by obedience, not to rules or traditions, but to a person of imputed holiness, heroism or some extraordinary

that the *imâms* or 'co-ordinators' are able to attract teachers to the *maktab*, who are prepared to offer their services voluntarily, and to maintain a good working relationship with them. Additionally, the ethos of the schools represent the community's conception about the purpose and the functional operation of the supplementary school. The *imâms* are able to persuade parents to send their children to the school and also ensure that regular attendance is maintained by the children. The school co-ordinators, are thus, the anchor behind the school, and although they have to teach in spite of other duties, they attend regularly to ensure the school works satisfactorily, and they are available to parents and teachers, in order to promote cohesion and consensus in the running of the schools through their personal attention and commitment.

The methodology of teaching and the structuring of the curriculum is a major source of contrast between the *maktab* and the state school. Chapter two of this research covers in detail the changes in education policy and methods during the 1960's and 1970's, when educationists began to argue for a more egalitarian secondary school system, and when the school curricula gradually became less sharply subject-bound. Attention

quality." Weber, M. "Charisma and the Origins of Islam", in Turner, B.S. Weber And Islam, London, 1974, p.23.

shifted from an emphasis on the most desirable selection of subjects within a curriculum, to that of organising a curriculum according to desired objectives and a consideration of the way school subjects could be integrated within the school curriculum. The view appears to be taken by this stage that an integrated curriculum essentially draws together the different curriculum patterns which had taken root when schooling became widely available since the beginning of this century.

Together with the child-centred curriculum at primary school, the traditional teaching of subjects, gave way to the concept and practice of the integrated day for young children in which the interest in a topic, project or issue played a central part in the teacher's orientation of work to be undertaken in the classroom.

Many Muslim parents who were brought up, before coming to Britain, on a traditional subject-based curriculum in their own primary and secondary schooling, which was linked to an earlier traditional model of British schooling following the intrusion of Western educational theory in Muslim countries, found the new approach very difficult to understand. At first they kept their reservations to themselves, but gradually became critical on the grounds that work undertaken in

their children's primary school was excessively 'play-centred' or based on the principle of 'discovery learning,' when they felt that a more rigorous academic style was more appropriate. These changes in pedagogy and school organisation in the 1960's were a source of much concern for Muslim parents as they felt that their children's underachievement at schools may be caused by largely untested methods of teaching.

However, the teaching methods in the *maktab* has also come under criticism, because of its dated techniques. The development of the memory has been a constant feature of education in Islam, and repetition was favoured as the best way to commit texts to memory. Memorisation, not meant to be unreasoning rote learning, was reinforced with intelligence and understanding. Consequently, a distinction was made between those who could merely reproduce a text, and those who also understand it. In relation to the process of learning, the *mudhâkara*,⁴⁵⁰ exemplified the system where by an *ustâdh* and pupil, or two pupils, would aid each one another to memorise, to commit to memory a text, whether a *hadîth* or *qur'ânic* verse. Committing materials to writing was recognised as most important in the process of learning. Memory alone was not to be trusted.

⁴⁵⁰ Makidisi, G. *op.cit.* pp.103-105.

For the *maktabs* in Britain the continuation of this system was seen to be the only way of coping with limited resources in terms of time, human resource, and technology, available to the supplementary system. In addition there were already complaints that extra lessons over and above normal school hours and homework were overburdening the children.

The curriculum was another contentious area, the lack of a unified programme of studies should not be a cause for surprise, because in most cases the sub-committee and those responsible for the day-to-day operations of the *maktab* were not educationalists, therefore, their ignorance of educational planning was reflected in the teaching method and content. The content of Islamic education in the *maktab* was related to the desire of the Muslim community to maintain its identity by nurturing the young into the faith. As an instrument of the community the curriculum of the supplementary school would reflect the ideals, knowledges, and skills that are believed to be significant, or that are related to the common activities of the members of the community. The curriculum is, therefore, interwoven with the social fabric that sustains it.

Since the education of young Muslims is concerned with the problem of maintaining the community as a close

knit and well-integrated unit, it is only natural, therefore, that the rules and knowledges by which the community as a whole regulate their conduct and anticipate the behaviour of one another should be its principal content. The curriculum of the *maktabs* therefore concentrated on the universal elements of the religion, such as the core beliefs, values, sentiments, and skills, that provide the community with stability and vitality and individuals with the motivations and deep-lying controls of conduct.

The inclusion of the *'aqīdah* (convictions) in the curriculum is related, in content, form and expression, to the attempts of individuals to secure coherence in their universe of relations, both physical and social. As the subjective side of judgement, it is a set of ideas more or less integrated by reason but held with a conviction that they are true, that they are meaningful in relation to reality. They become important tools in the process of adjustment to change in external circumstances by the person who holds them.

Together with the *'aqīdah*, the *arkân* (pillars) gives rise to values, which when studied, helps the pupil find meaning of action because they give reality to structural concepts within the faith. The notion of values is clearly complex because they involve a

grading of things and actions in terms of their relative desirability, which in turn implies systematic behaviour, not simply random choice. The values which emanate from both the *aqīdah* and *arkân* have a cognitive aspect, they may be conceptualised, have a shape in ideas. They also have an emotional charge which guides conduct, and the ethical judgement that ensue are calculated to arouse feeling and so to stimulate action, this is important for the exercise of choice among alternatives to action, and provide the force and integration for action. As stimuli to action, values operate from the early years of childhood, once there is some systematic organisation of experience into forms which perpetuate motivation.

By concentrating on the *aqīdah* and *arkân*, the *maktab* nurtures those universals by which the pupil decides what is right and wrong, good and evil, beautiful and ugly, true and false, appropriate and inappropriate in all sorts of activities. These standards constitute the moral content of the *ummah* (community). Next to them in importance are the knowledge and skills that have to do with the control and improvement of the common activities of the people such as their socio-economic and political behaviour.

The sequence of courses appears to have proceeded in the following order: the recitation and memorisation

of the *qur'ân*, the study of *ahadîth*, the learning of languages. The study of the *qur'ân* was essential as the first epistemological source. Ibn Khaldun in his Introduction to History contains an extensive study on education in the Muslim world, especially the study of the *qur'ân*, which he believes is the first and most important subject to be taught to the young.

"It should be known that instruction of children in the Qur'an is a symbol of Islam. Muslims have, and practice, such instruction in all their cities, because it imbues hearts with firm belief (in Islam) and its articles of faith, which are (derived) from verses of the Qur'an and certain Prophetic traditions. The Qur'an has become the basis of instruction, the foundation for all habits that may be acquired later on. The reason for this is that the things one is taught in one's youth take root more deeply (than anything else). They are the basis of all later (knowledge). The first impression the heart receives is, in a way, the foundation of (all scholarly) habits. The character of the foundation determines the conditions of the building. The methods of instructing children in the Qur'an differ according to differences of opinion as to the habits that are to result from that instruction."⁴⁵¹

The teaching method in many *maktabs* in Britain of the *qur'ân* rely on the rote system and children are taught simply to recite it without understanding the meaning of the text itself, let alone discussing it. However, children are able to learn to recognise the script of

⁴⁵¹ Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History, translated from Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, U.S.A., 1958, Vol. 3. pp.300-303.

the Arabic language and acquire the necessary skills to perform the liturgy of the faith. But the area of dissatisfaction between the state system and the *maktab* is at two levels: on the one hand pupils do not develop the cognitive conversation with the subjects they are learning in the *maktab*, when compared with the learning method in state schools; on the other, the more serious, is the epistemological conflict between the authority, status and legitimacy of revelation (*wahī*) and that of the secular knowledge acquired in the state system.

Islamic revivalists would argue that there is a convergence between the two sources of knowledge,⁴⁵² in so far that they agree that generalisations about right conduct can be made on rational grounds; there are certain self-evident truths about conduct that can be justified with certainty by rational reflection - natural law of morality, they would also concur that the natural law of fact discovered in empirical inquiry is authoritative, although the former is a law of obligation which may be disobeyed, while empirical laws describes what necessarily occurs, without any possibility of disobedience; the natural law of science is a factual, descriptive law in the domain of

⁴⁵² The Al-Attas gives an elaborate exposition of the sources of knowledge in Islam and the relationship between revealed and rational knowledge. Al- Naquib Al-Attas, S.M. The Concept Of Education In Islam, Malaysia, 1980, pp.46.

necessity; whereas natural moral law is a normative, prescriptive law in the domain of freedom. But moral intuitions of the most earnest, reasonable, and well-intentioned people differ, and the fact of persistent disagreement on moral questions, makes natural moral law unreliable on its own. Revelation, authenticates on the basis of supernatural circumstances, not only natural moral law and natural law of fact, but provides overarching doctrines and values which gives meaning and stability to what human experience has discovered to be universal.

The goal of universal consensus is itself an ideal deeply rooted in the moral consciousness of the *ummah*, therefore, in addition to the study of the *qur'ân*, the *maktab* includes in its curriculum the study of exemplars of the faith, the Prophet and his companions (*sahâba*). As mentioned above this corpus of literature is known as the *sunnah* which represents Muhammad's interpretation of the *wahî*- revelation, and his ongoing relationship with the prophetic mission, a role which is now the responsibility of the *ummah*.

The special office of Muhammad as *rasûl* (messenger) from God, required not only the deliverance of the revelation, but, to mediate it in the social fabric of the community so as to reveal the general human relevance of this knowledge; as an exemplar and

teacher to be a humaniser of knowledge. In this capacity he did not only act as an authority himself, but as one whose task was to make available and vital to his followers, the understandings developed within that context. The value in the study of the *sunnah*, therefore, rests not only in becoming familiar with the historical figures of the mission, but, in pupils studying them to internalise the values, norms, and ideals they lived by. In this way the Prophet Muhammad and the *sahâba* became role models, and pupils are able to identify with those who were eventually responsible for shaping and expanding the frontiers of the faith.

In continuation of the expansion of this frontier, the *qur'ân* and *ahadîth* must be studied in Arabic, the language in which both is written, and though at one time it was the *lingua franca* of the Muslim World,⁴⁵³ in the curriculum of the *maktab* it is restricted to learning the correct skills in the recitation of the *qur'ân* - *tajwid*.

The importance of Arabic in the life of the *ummah* can only be understood in relation to the Muslim attachment to the *qur'ân*; to be closer to Arabic, and

⁴⁵³ Today Arabic is the vernacular language of some 150 million people. Under the influence of Islam, it has determined the Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Malay, Hausa, and Swahili languages, giving them 40-60 percent of their vocabularies and affecting indelibly their grammar, syntax, and literatures.

hence closer to the *qur'ân* means for all Muslims to be closer to God. This caused Muslims, Arab as well as non-Arab, to preserve Arabic, to make it the language of daily discourse in order to maintain and increase their familiarity with its idioms, its figures of speech, its eloquence, the more to appreciate the beauty of the *qur'ân*. Therefore, the learning of Arabic is regarded as a paramount duty; in handling its words and phrases, the Muslim believe they are in contact with the divine.⁴⁵⁴

However, the rise of nationalism in the Muslim world and the concomitant rise in ethnic languages resulted in Arabic losing its place as a *lingua franca*, but, it still continued its important role as the religious language of the Muslims around the world, recited by them in daily rituals; used in every greetings and mannerisms. Etiquettes are an important part of good mannerisms for Muslims, and daily greetings are said in Arabic.⁴⁵⁵ The symbolisms employed in such nondiscursive⁴⁵⁶ forms of

⁴⁵⁴ " Arabic was nothing else besides the language of the Quran. The two were equivalent and convertible since neither was possible without the other. Both remained alive, always co-present and mutually reinforcing each other." Faruqi, I.R. and Faruqi, L. L. The Cultural Atlas Of Islam, London, 1986, p.106.

⁴⁵⁵ Islahi, M.Y. Etiquettes Of Life In Islam, Lahore, Pakistan, 1979, pp.520.

⁴⁵⁶ Nondiscursive languages are in contrast to discursive languages such as Arabic which means that it is the customary speech for communicating ideas in

expression-symbols are elaborated into the more complex languages of manners and customs, that are essential for strengthening identity by re-enforcing social cohesion and harmony. For instance, it is unlikely that when two Muslims meet they will greet each other with the customary hello, but more likely, invoke the name of God, such as in the following greeting:- *assalâmu 'alaikum wâ rahmatullâhi wâ barakatûhû* - peace and blessings of God be with you. When beginning any activity a Muslim would recite, in Arabic, the invocation, *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate*. When sneezing the invocation - *Praise be to God*.

Closely related to gestures, manners, and customs are the languages of ritual. All religious ritual are performed in Arabic and in accordance with the method taught by the Arab Muslims to non-Arab Muslims, in addition, rituals provide members of the *ummah* with a common identity. Ritual is intended to express through symbolic acts meanings at a somewhat deeper level than those arising out of everyday experience. Some rituals are individual and private such as routines of *ghusl*

a consecutive, connected fashion, following the principles of common logic. It is intended as a means of effective cohesion and practical action within the community. Nondiscursive languages are symbolic forms used in all arts and for the expression of feelings, values, commitments, and insights in the domain of personal knowledge, metaphysics, and religion. Phenix, P.H. Realms of Meaning: A Philosophy Of The Curriculum For General Education, U.S.A. 1964, pp.81-82.

and *wudhû* (bathing and ablutions). Other rituals are communal and have to do with matters of large human import. For example, every momentous event in a person's life - the recitation of the *adhân* (call to prayer) in the ear of a new born child; *nikâh*, the ceremony of marriage; *janâzah*, the ceremony of death. The meaning of the community's life is symbolised in 'îd celebrations at the end of *ramadân* and *hajj*, and the ultimate values and purposes of existence are expressed in the many varieties of Islamic rituals.

Through the *maktab* discursive language and language of ritual are learned both by participation and by observation, and their meanings are enriched by interpretations using ordinary language, even though such explications can never fully interpret the meanings conveyed by the rituals themselves. Yet, their place in the curriculum of the *maktab*: emphasise the abiding importance of ritual symbols in the nurture of the Muslim personality and in conservation and enrichment of Islamic cultural values.

Notwithstanding the importance of the Arabic language in the *maktab*, ethnic languages of sub-national groups are not ignored, but, in fact they are recognised as valuable in their own right. Therefore, it is not unusual to find the ethnic language spoken in the catchment area of the *masjid* being included in the

curriculum. Little recognition, at first, was given, to the issue of mother-tongue teaching because parents and *masâjids* assumed that their languages would naturally be maintained within the family and ethnic community. As minority families settled and felt more secure, however, they began to recognise that the pressure from the dominant culture and English language posed a threat to the maintenance of their language, ethnic identity and self esteem.

Minority communities were also experiencing increased racism and institutional discrimination, the fear that ensued, followed a need to maintain strong ethnic boundaries for security of their children. The establishment of mother-tongue teaching in the *maktab* would also go some way toward protecting and insulating the children from discrimination, prejudice and covert racism; it was security reserved for the time when they may have no alternative to return to their countries of origin.

Despite the fact that Arabic is taught to all children in the *maktab*, the inclusion of sub-national ethnic languages was not considered to be in conflict with religio-cultural identity because in the countries from which Muslims come, bilingualism, and in some cases multidialectal, is the norm. This view is confirmed by Grosjean in his exhaustive work on

bilingualism in which he highlights the attitude in some countries that hold bilingualism with some caution:-

"But if we question a citizen of an African or Asian nation, Tanzania or Malaysia, for example, we would get a very different answer: bilingualism is the norm; most people speak two or more languages, and a large proportion of the world's population is bilingual."⁴⁵⁷

However, for a long time educational policy in Britain, as discussed in chapter two, operated within the assumption that bilingual children were likely to have problems at school. The mother-tongue is defined as chronologically the first language a child speaks, and thus, the one in which he/she feels most fluent and at ease.⁴⁵⁸ The major impetus towards mother-tongue retention in Britain was the obligation placed on her by the EEC directives concerning the education of immigrant workers' children.⁴⁵⁹ The purpose of this directive was to assist the movement of migrant workers and their families through Europe, and it dealt with both language tuition in the dominant language, and tuition in mother-tongue. The DES

⁴⁵⁷ Grosjean, F. Life With Two Languages: An Introduction to Biligualism, U.S.A. 1982, p.1.

⁴⁵⁸ Brook, M.R.M. "The Mother-Tongue Issue in Britain - Cultural Diversity or Control?", British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1:3, 1980, pp.237-256.

⁴⁵⁹ European Economic Community 1977.

interpreted the directive that "for local education authorities it implies that mother-tongue teaching might be provided, during or inside school hours but not that they are required to give such tuition to all individuals as a right."⁴⁶⁰

Research reveals that up to the end of the 1970's that neither the LEA'S nor schools generally accepted that the mother-tongue should have a place in the curriculum. Verity Khan wrote "the first perspective is that of the mainstream school which in Britain is monocultural and monolingual. It does not recognise nor accord value to the culture and languages of children of minorities."⁴⁶¹ She noted the prevailing feeling in schools that minority pupils should integrate into the majority society.

This lack of response from the authorities, but the support from the EEC, encouraged Muslims, as it did other minority communities, to continue to retain their mother-tongue even though they had to resource it themselves. The argument for the mother-tongue to be included in the curriculum of the *maktab* was to ensure that the various ethnic communities could

⁴⁶⁰ D.E.S. Directive of the Council of the European Community on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers, Circular 5/81, HMSO, 1981a, p.2.

⁴⁶¹ Khan, V. Bilingualism and Minority Languages in Britain, London, 1978, p.5.

retain an important human resource which would be a necessity for those young Muslims who may wish to return to their parents' country, a Muslim country, should life in Britain become difficult. Since the objective use of language is communication, the retention of Urdu, Turkish, Gujurati, is seen as a binding force in within a sub-national ethnic community that wished to exploit this resource sometime in the future. It is a means of helping the young in establishing human relationships with ethnic compatriots, because through maintaining the language, ethnic customs are created and sustained.

While monolingual children rarely learn life skills at an early age, multilingual children often become translators for their families in negotiations with various bureaucratic agencies: Schools, doctors, hospitals, social services, the tax department, housing office, and so on; multilingual children are, therefore, the transitive link between their ethnic group and wider society.

Another factor for the support in the retention of ethnic languages by the *maktab* is related to its use in code-switching which enable the *ustâdh* to use the ethnic language, invariably a language which has Arabic lone words, as a base to communicate to pupils more accurately an idea or concept of the faith. The

reason for the code-switch is that there is a lack of facility in one language when talking about a particular topic. The switch occurs when they cannot find the appropriate word or expression or when the language being used does not have items or appropriate translations for the vocabulary needed. Code-switching from the mother-tongue to understand a word from another language, fulfils an important momentary need, it is a very useful communication resource. It is not surprising, therefore, to find many *maktabs* making use of bilingual *qur'âns*.⁴⁶²

Since Islam is concerned with universals, these need to be rooted in a society, therefore, the teaching of English in the *maktab*⁴⁶³ is seen as its contribution towards preparing young Muslims for their place in the wider society, as well as evolving a new language code which can be used for the new religio-cultural synthesis.

The language teaching was restricted to assisting pupils in grammar, spelling, and reading from books supplied by the state system. This language work was not part of the *maktab* curriculum, but was recognised as essential to helping pupils overcome underachievement in the state system. Most parents

⁴⁶² Joly, D., *op.cit.* p.45.

⁴⁶³ *ibid.*

realised that their children perceive Britain as their home, therefore, the support for transitional English was seen as important because the strongest motive for learning a language is the primordial urge to belong to the wider society. In a plural society the desire for acquisition of the dominant language is related to the deepest of all human needs is to be understood and accepted by others.

Despite the rudimentary facilities of the supplementary schools they have been the backbone of Islamic Education in Britain, and they will continue to do so inspite of the Muslim desire to establish their own full-time schools.

Islamic revivalists, though appreciating the importance of the *maktab* feel that as a evening activity, it suffers from a number of constraints. As instruments of community education, the service they provide is very basic, in most cases there is very little time for an inner understanding of Islam. The *qur'ân* taught through the rote system is not understood by most young people. The knowledge base of the curriculum omits some of the salient features of Islamic History and theology.

The time factor which allows children to psychologically and spiritually transfer from the

statutory school system to the supplementary school programme is believed to be inadequate. Compounded by the fact that the average day of a young Muslim child is very long when compared with their non-Muslim counterpart. In addition, they are fluctuating between different cultures environments, and expectations.

In most cases there is very limited contact between teachers of the statutory system and the supplementary school. Yet, since *ustâdhs* have had no teacher training, therefore, they lack the appropriate communication and teaching skills, the statutory system can contribute to enhancing the development of such skills by allowing the *ustâdhs* to participate alongside the professionally trained teachers. Consequently, the acquisition of teaching skills would be received, and the use of teaching aids improved.

Though, *masâjid* wish to offer more facilities to expand the supplementary school, they are restricted by the limitations of finance and manpower. The LEA s could encourage, through their recognition that the *maktab* makes an important contribution to community development, and is a resource to society bridge-building, some part of it should be located within the state school. This would be achieved by making available a few classrooms to the local *masjid* so that the younger children can learn in comfort, and not be

too far removed from the environment which they experience during the day. This would allow for the *masjid* to improve the classroom situation for those in the upper school, where the *qur'ân* is being taught, and where a more spiritual ethos and atmosphere required.

The establishment of pastoral and welfare provision for the needs of young Muslims is another dimension of the work of the *maktab*. A major rationale for these support services is that their activities can actually improve home-school relations and the educational progress of children. This would mean the training of teachers in youth and community care.

The ethos of the supplementary school or *maktab* was established as a primary institution for re-socialisation. It is required because members of the community do not begin life in the new environment *ex nihilo*, as a result it must cope with the challenge from the wider society for the dismantling, disintegrating the preceding nomic structure of subjective reality, and replacing it with the one referred to as the British way of life. But it must also cope with the demand to retain or evolve an identity which includes both of some of the past and some of the present in preparation for the future. The *maktab* provides a religious ethos that has had to

maintain this transition, it provides the indispensable plausibility structure for the new reality. The new reality however must appreciate that young Muslim can only remain Muslim in the context of the *ummah* that recognised him/her as such and confirmed the new being in which he/she now located this identity.

4.4. Voluntary - Aided Schools.

The shortcomings of the *maktabs*, and the revivalist movements' preoccupation with the preservation of Islamic identity forced the leadership to consider establishing full-time Muslim schools. Many of such projects are in their embryonic stage, therefore, this section reviews the justification by Muslims for such endeavours. The first move in this direction was as a result of local government policy on education reorganisation, which would have caused a large number of single-sex secondary schools to merge into co-educational institutions. Most of this development occurred in those catchment areas where there were large numbers of Muslims.

In an attempt to focus upon the long term educational needs of Muslim children, a working party on "The

Education of Muslim Children" emerged out of a National Conference on Islamic Education, held in 1974.⁴⁶⁴ The working party produced a report by Dr. M. Iqbal on Islamic Education and Single Sex Schools.⁴⁶⁵

Iqbal's ideas for single-sex schools are firmly placed within the framework which assigns separate roles for men and women, and which places limitations upon the "sex relationships outside marriage." He believes the role of women should be restricted to the home and in the upbringing of children. He does not go into how he sees the role of men in society, in fact the whole tenor of his report is restricted to the protection of girls, whom he feels should be educated for motherhood and nothing else.

Of the ten recommendations put forward by Iqbal, the first two are the most important:

⁴⁶⁴ Organised in London on 6th. July, 1974 by Union of Muslim Organisation.

⁴⁶⁵ Islamic Education and Single Sex Schools, U.M.O., London, 1975, pp.332. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was lecturer and Advisor to Overseas Students at the then Polytechnic of Huddersfield. The recommendations of this report was underlined by events which had occurred in Bradford in 1974. A certain Mr. Abdullah Patel was taken to court by Bradford Education Authority for not sending his child to school. It transpired that Mr. Patel withdrew his child from the education system because the authority would not allow him to send his daughter to a single-sex school. Mr. Patel later sent his daughter to Pakistan to be educated, after being convicted and given conditional discharge of one year.

1. That single -sex schools should be maintained and preserved where such exist. Muslim parents should join and collaborate with English parents asking for single-sex schools.⁴⁶⁶

2. That the Department of Education and Science looks into the setting up or helping to set up separate schools for Muslim girls and boys where a sizeable need is indicated.⁴⁶⁷

Iqbal's recommendations came under heavy criticism particularly because he does not place his proposals within an educational context and he does not provide sufficient Islamic support for his argument.

However the UMO's proposals did for the first time, publicly open up discussion by Muslims, and the education establishment, on some of the practical concerns which Muslims had about the education of their children in State schools. Those issues were initially restricted to the conflict between the norms in Islam about modesty and those of, by now, secular schooling. Co-education resulted in mixed swimming, mixed physical education, and mixed outings. Parents were not only concerned about the Islamic implications of this, but also worried that their children would

⁴⁶⁶ *ibid.* p.22.

⁴⁶⁷ *ibid.* p.23.

become tarnished by the promiscuity that may result. Consequently, many parents withdrew their children from such school activities. Although, many local Muslim community leaders attempted to put forward strategies to overcome these difficulties, they were not encouraged by the indifference of Headteachers who look upon the Muslims' requests as being unreasonable.

The Islamic Foundation in Leicester⁴⁶⁸ was the first Muslim Institution to comprehensively put forward a number of strategies for a whole range of issues faced by the establishment in their interaction with Muslims, in coping with their unique needs. The Foundation published The Muslim Guide⁴⁶⁹, focusing on administrators of state institutions, the Guide covers a range of institutional situations in which Muslims are to be found, from schools to prisons, and suggests ways that can be found to accommodate their needs by those managing such institutions. It has been a useful aid for teachers and its recommendations have influenced the way that schools are now responding to

⁴⁶⁸ The Islamic Foundation was established in 1968 and was registered in 1971 as a religious and educational trust. It was founded upon the basis that Muslim policy could not be effective if not supported by appropriate data and literature. It was therefore with this concern in mind that a group of Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi Muslims, inspired by the work of Mawlana Maududi, and under the leadership of one of the jamâ'at's prominent members Professor Khurshid Ahmad, set out to establish the Foundation.

⁴⁶⁹ Ahsan, M.M. and McDermott, M. The Muslim Guide, London, 1978. pp.78.

the special needs of Muslim pupils. Such changes were recognised in the Swann report: " For example some schools already allow for single sex teaching groups for physical education or for sex education, and such provision could, where there is strong concern and if it is felt to be necessary, with sensitivity and imagination, be extended to other aspects of the school's work, such as drama, dance, extra-curricular activities, field trips and even organised school outings and holidays, to encourage the participation of girls."⁴⁷⁰

The adaptability of schools to these concerns did not prevent some Muslim individuals moving towards establishing full-time schools. The support for such a development among Muslim revivalists was seen within a much broader educational context, than the narrow matter of roles between the sexes, and single -sex education. The burning issues were related to identity and underachievement. Full-time Muslim schools is seen to be one of the options to pursue, if Muslims are to cope with religious discrimination and preservation of identity. Halstead succinctly highlights the dilemma:-

"The conflict between the two objectives appears to be a fundamental one. The safeguarding of cultural identity, which frequently involves

⁴⁷⁰ Swann. *op.cit.* 2.15.

supplementary schooling, is justified in terms of rights, which are in turn justified in terms of justice and equality. The aim of social integration, on the other hand, is justified primarily on the utilitarian grounds of expediency - the achievement of a broad social stability and cohesion and of bureaucratic efficiency - as well as being facilitatory of common values and moral understanding. The difficulty in such a debate between conflicting educational goals is to find a way of weighing one set of claims against the other; otherwise, the moral debate is in danger of becoming 'a matter of pure assertion and counter-assertion.'⁴⁷¹

As discussed in section 4.2. Muslim policy makers perceive Islam as a *dīn*, and because it permeates every fibre of a person's existence and, as such, it moulds and shapes the total personality of an individual, full-time Muslims schools are seen by some to be the best process by which this can be achieved. Professor Ali Ashraf in his introduction to Halstead's work points to the challenge:-

"The Muslim community thus has a big task to perform. On the one hand they have to fight at the intellectual and academic level with those who are preaching secularism dogmatically and trying to justify it as the only rational philosophy of life in a multi-cultural society. on the other hand, they have to get their own children trained and disciplined to think in terms of Islam. The first task is what academicians are doing and what we have undertaken to do. The second task can be performed in various ways. The establishment and running of supplementary schools is one of these ways and the Muslim community in Britain is engaged in that task. Teaching Islam in schools

⁴⁷¹ Halstead, J.M. The Case For Muslim Voluntary Schools: Some Philosophical Reflections, London, 1986, p.5.

by competent Muslim teachers is the other method. There should be some hours set aside in a week for that purpose. The third method is to set up voluntary-aided Muslim schools. The last method is to set up independent Muslim schools."⁴⁷²

The major drawbacks of the *maktabs* have been mentioned above, and Ali Ashraf concurs with those,⁴⁷³ but the absence of appropriately trained Muslim teachers for the State system, precludes Muslims from providing the service in meeting the second option. Therefore, he envisages the third method as the best solution:-

"A major solution is the setting-up of voluntary-aided schools. When such a school is headed by a competent Muslim headmaster, there is every likelihood of guiding teachers to teach not merely RE but also other subjects from a more appropriate religious point of view. This of course needs a lot of research and rethinking so that the teaching method may at the same time enhance pupils' imaginative sympathy and perception and realisation of truth, sharpen and deepen spiritual insight into religious (and moral) codes of life and its relevance to the world of disaster and corruption today and discipline their intellect. As Islam does not deny truth to other religions, there is no reason why other religions will not be taught properly and adequately."⁴⁷⁴

The Muslim schools' essential concern is to assist the pupil to confront the challenge of human life and

⁴⁷² Halstead, J.M. *op.cit.* p.vii.

⁴⁷³ *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ *ibid.* p.viii.

society, in relation to one's individual relationship to 'Divine Guidance'. Since the human being is not self sufficient: there is a need to have a correct perception of Reality⁴⁷⁵ and to fashion life, individual as well as collective, in that light. It claims that the person unaided by 'Divine Guidance', is incapable of solving all the riddles of creation, of having a world view based on Reality as it is, or of deriving those values and principles whose application in life can produce peace and harmony in a person's soul and personality, create equilibrium and balance within human society.⁴⁷⁶ The following verse from the *qur'ân* is usually quoted to exemplify the point:-

"We have set you up as a balanced community so that you may act as witness for mankind, as the Messenger is a witness for you." (2:143).

To assist in the search for Reality and ultimate values, all means of knowledge are available to the person: instinct, habit, reason, intuition, experience; all sources of guidance, developed over the ages, philosophy, history, law and science, are, in addition to 'Divine Knowledge', to support in this

⁴⁷⁵ The word Reality is the meaning of *haq* which is used to describe the *qur'ân* as well as being an attribute of God.

⁴⁷⁶ Al-Naquib Al- Attas, S.M. *op.cit.* pp.13-18.

quest.⁴⁷⁷

The important contrast between Islamic education and secular education lies in the different conception which each has about the status of the person. Islam sees the position of the human being as central to its message because Allah (God) established him/her on the earth as His representative, His *khalifa* (trustee). Muslims believe that the human is endowed with the capacity to know and to judge. This ability is possible through the constitutive of five parts of the human: body, heart (*qalb*), mind (*'aql*), self (*nafs*), and soul (*rûh*). The *rûh* is the pure self which is the breath of God. The *rûh* is believed to be eternal and a source of knowledge because it comes from the source of absolute knowledge. It is also that which is the basis of a persons honour and dignity. The *rûh* affects the *qalb*, the *'aql*, and the *nafs*; influencing them to do good, re-enforcing *imân* (convictions) and strengthening *taqwa* (God-consciousness).⁴⁷⁸

The *nafs* is the apparent self which is determined by the *rûh* and also by the environment and the interactions with other humans. It is also a source of

⁴⁷⁷ Hussain, S.S. and Ashraf, S.A. *op.cit.* pp.90-91.

⁴⁷⁸ Quasem, A. The Ethics of Al-Ghazali: A Composite Ethics in Islam, Malaysia, 1975, pp.273; Al-Naquib Al-Attas, *op.cit.* pp.13-32.

desire. It is the *nafs* which is believed to determine the uniqueness of each person. The *nafs* affects the *'aql* and the *qalb*, therefore, it is the source of good and bad (*ma'rûf* and *munkar*). Consequently, there is a constant tension between the *rûh* and *nafs*; when the *nafs* approximates to the *rûh* then there is a high level of equilibrium (*wast*), and also *imân* and *taqwa*. When there is a dissonance between the *rûh* and the *nafs* there is disequilibrium (*fitnah*) in the person, a cause of schizophrenia. This also affects a person's *imân* and *taqwa* both of which are diminished.⁴⁷⁹

The *'aql* draws knowledge from the *rûh* and from the *nafs* as it interacts with the environment and other creatures, therefore, it becomes the source of experience and reason, which is able to rationalise both divine knowledge and experiential knowledge. The *qalb* is the source of conscience; and the *'aql* is the source of reason and discernment. The *qalb* being the source of a persons consciousness and emotions is triggered by the *nafs*, and the *rûh* tempers it. The role of education is to bring the potentialities of these mechanisms within the pupil to discover the Reality of things.⁴⁸⁰

The curriculum design to meet this framework was

⁴⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ *ibid.*

presented to the World Conference on Islamic Education at Makka by Professor Ali Ashraf.⁴⁸¹ The aim of Islamic Education "is to produce a good Muslim who is both cultured and expert-cultured in the sense that he knows how to use knowledge for his spiritual, intellectual and material progress, and expert in the sense that he is a useful member of the community."⁴⁸²

The planning of education is based on the classification of knowledge into two categories: (a) "perennial" knowledge derived from the *qur'ân* and *sunnah* meaning all *sharî'ah* - orientated knowledge relevant and related to them, (b) "acquired" knowledge, susceptible of quantitative and qualitative growth and multiplication, limited variations and cross-cultural borrowing as long as consistency with the *sharî'ah* as the source of values is maintained.⁴⁸³

Ashraf divides the school age of children along the lines of those which are prevalent in Britain: primary

⁴⁸¹ Ashraf, S.A. "Religious Education for Muslim Children in Great Britain: Guidelines and Syllabus." in Al-Afendi, M.H. And Baloch, N.A. *op.cit.* pp. 100-112. Professor Ali Ashraf is the Director of the Islamic Academy, Cambridge.

⁴⁸² Ashraf, S.A. New Horizons in Muslim Education, London, 1985, p.35.

⁴⁸³ Conference Book, Jeddah, 1978, p.78.

infants - 5 and 6; primary-junior - 7 to 11; secondary - 11+ to 16; 6th.form - 16 to 18.⁴⁸⁴ For each of these levels he proposes a range of areas to be covered. In the primary stage - level one, he suggests that children should learn through example more than through precept, the basic beliefs of Islam - 'aqidah. Methodologically, at this stage, Ashraf applies a half-way house, between child-centred learning and rote.⁴⁸⁵ At level two - junior stage, he suggests concentration on concepts and ritual (*arkân*). The concerns at this level is no different than those that are taught in the supplementary schools, and there is the question mark whether, as he suggests, that learning, should be based on the emulation of parents and teachers. As pointed out in previous sections the educational background and self-understanding of Islam among parents is highly limited.

The curriculum at secondary level, Ashraf suggests, should be placed within the framework "making children see religion as a historical and spiritual reality, by showing that the basis of our culture is in absolute values that religion alone enunciates and provides, and by presenting Islam as a natural and psychological acceptable reality may we build up within children the

⁴⁸⁴ Ashraf, S.A. in Al-Afendi and Baloch, *op.cit.* p.101.

⁴⁸⁵ *ibid.* p.102.

force that will resist evil powers and strengthen the forces of the good. They should be made to realize that if they choose relativism in place of absolute values, they will become morally, spiritually and intellectually thoroughly confused."⁴⁸⁶ He then recommends that the study of historical events in the *qur'ân* should be the basis for drawing out the values from which the young Muslim must live by, and initiated into the revivalist framework outlined in chapter three. The *qur'ân* and *hadîth* is suggested to be studied analytically so that pupils can tease out the normative basis of Islamic life.⁴⁸⁷

In later years at secondary level, Muslim civilisation is recommended to be studied, specifically its institutions - religious and social, political and economic, education and art. In the study of other religions his suggestions are very similar to the claims made by Muslims against the method adopted in State schools when teaching about Islam, the comparative method, to suggest the superiority of one faith over the other, in this case "Islam is superior to all other religions and ideologies..."⁴⁸⁸ The major criticism about Ashraf proposals are that he does not suggest a methodology by which his

⁴⁸⁶ *ibid.* p.105.

⁴⁸⁷ *ibid.* pp.106-107.

⁴⁸⁸ *ibid.* p.107.

suggestions can be related by the pupil to the environment in which they live.

Sixth forms studies builds on the historical facts and social evolution that were presented in previous years and goes beyond into the conceptual analysis of religion. "They should see the importance and relevance of Islam for the modern man."⁴⁸⁹ There are four phases to this stage: Islam as a religion - conceptual analysis; social moral foundations of Islam; Islam as a bulwark against modern atheistic concepts; final realisation of man's own greatness through Islam.⁴⁹⁰ Once again the absence of any method by which a new Islamic cultural milieu could evolve out of pupils' study is glaring, which must presumably mean that this framework is incomplete because it does not include the remaining components of the curriculum, which is that of the sciences, languages, and the technological developments of recent history.

Those full-time schools which have been established by Muslims have followed a variation to Ashraf's proposals, in most cases because they are still in the experimental stage, and more crucially because the community has yet to generate the teachers required to

⁴⁸⁹ *ibid.* pp.110-111.

⁴⁹⁰ *ibid.*

service such a system. Therefore, the debate has yet to take place within the community about how it wishes to pursue this issue. It is quite clear that the resources of Muslims in Britain are not sufficient to support private schools, and no real survey has been undertaken as to how much moral support there is for such a move. One solution is for those schools in operation to seek voluntary-aided status, which is being taken up.

The attempt by Muslims to establish their own schools within the voluntary - aided framework has been fraught with difficulties and so far has been unsuccessful.⁴⁹¹ There are those among the leading spokespersons of the leading parties who believe that for the state to support separate schooling for any group in society, especially, as in the case of Muslims, when membership of that group is drawn mainly from a particular minority, is simply a way of worsening community relations and hopelessly dividing society.

However, the idea of a modern democratic industrialised state subsidising schools with their own distinctive beliefs is not untypical when taken in a

⁴⁹¹ In 1986 the Islamic Academy reported that there were eleven independent schools registered in England, accounting for about 1,000 pupils. Halstead, J.M. *op.cit.* p.1.

European context. There are education systems in the European Community where individual educational enterprise is welcomed and parents are encouraged financially to establish schools in accordance with their beliefs. Such schools are in no way exclusive in terms of social class and are sufficiently well-subsidised by government to place the small fees that they charge well within the range of all but the poorest families.

In the Netherlands 41% of Dutch children attend Catholic schools, 26% Protestant schools, and 7% state-subsidised 'private' schools run on other specific philosophical lines. The situation in Denmark is even more encouraging to parental enterprise. The state pays 85% of the running costs, the salaries, resources, materials and maintenance and also a substantial proportion of capital costs. In Scotland all Roman Catholic schools receive a grant 100% while retaining considerable autonomy in the organisation of the curriculum. In fact, in England voluntary schools⁴⁹² account for one third of the total 24,500

⁴⁹² A voluntary school is any school that is maintained in whole or in part by a local education authority (LEA) but which is not the property of that education authority itself. Voluntary-aided means that a voluntary foundation group - a religious grouping or some group with a common educational philosophy - has a majority interest in the governing body which in turn has responsibility for appointing all staff and, within the limits of the new national curriculum, to decide the school's curriculum.

maintained schools in England and Wales; the City of Westminster voluntary-aided schools for 62% of the total state provision, Camden 51%, and in Kensington and Chelsea for 55%.⁴⁹³

The refusal by the authorities to grant voluntary-aided status to Muslim schools in England is seen as a denial of rights within a democratic system and the strong opposition to such developments by the Swann report re-enforces that view. In response to Swann Muslims deplored the use of 'separate' when referring to denominational schools because they believe its use blurs the issue and re-enforces stereotyping. The Muslim request for voluntary-aided status for its schools should not be perceived as a *special status* but a normal move legitimated by the law.⁴⁹⁴

Those Muslims who are calling for separate schools are happy to participate in the political and economic processes of the wider society, but wish to preserve religion at the centre of their social and cultural experience and to initiate their children into this most important element of their cultural heritage. The sort of discrimination which believe they are subjected to has led them to be suspicious of the

⁴⁹³ Bell, R. The Right To Be Different: Becoming a Voluntary School, London, 1991, pp.12-13.

⁴⁹⁴ The Muslims and Swann, *op.cit.* pp.30-32.

rhetoric of multicultural education and to recognise that if cultural pluralism is to be more than a kind of impotent benevolence or vague tolerance of cultural diversity on the one hand, or a disguised form of cultural domination on the other, it must be accompanied by structural pluralism.

This entails the freedom to establish separate institutions to serve the distinctive needs of minority communities; in the case of Muslims, it means the freedom to establish schools that will provide something other than a purely secular education.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This research has so far highlighted that the changing social composition of British school's from the early 1960's has been reflected in a speedy output of official reports, books and research papers which now comprise quite a substantial literature (section 2.3. and 2.4.). It is a literature which reflects, on the one hand, a continuing concern about the nature and extent of the provision in schools about religious education. The confusion of overall aims and the consequent controversy in relation to policy and provision will appear and reappear, because whatever the state has been trying to do, whether to assimilate the new citizens or to feel a way through achieving a pluralist ideal, it is profoundly depressing to find the same kinds of recommendations for action appearing time and time again.

The failure to undertake even the beginnings of a rational clarification of aims, has given the impression of drift and may have contributed to the

growing intractability of the problems in multicultural education. Undoubtedly, the slowness of education to respond to the changing social composition of the schools, has been related to the uncertainty about aims referred to above.

It would seem that the tension in the debate lies between the first statement by the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council in 1964,⁴⁹⁵ and the statement in the Swann Report.⁴⁹⁶ Many critics have pointed out that although these statements indicate a move from crude assimilationism to a more sophisticated notion of integration and cultural pluralism, the Swann approach was maintaining the majority culture intact. Though the Swann statement was describing the relatively genteel processes of adjustment amongst the more middle class of immigrant communities, it had little relevance to the situations of identity conflict and oppression in which most immigrants found themselves.

However, the critics of the Swann statement have posited an alternative to its general vision which is highly unrealistic. The claim put forward is that it is possible to establish in Britain a completely multicultural society in which the various immigrant

⁴⁹⁵ Refer to pages 51-52 of this research.

⁴⁹⁶ Refer to page 85.

cultures and languages come to have equal status with traditional English culture, and, indeed, that this culture itself should change and adapt so as to include foreign elements. It is not to deny that this aim is a worthy one, and that it is rewarding and enriching to live in a society with a complex culture of this kind. But, if it is seriously suggested that cultures should enjoy equality in Britain, and coexist equally, then such a situation will rest upon a political balance underlying them which, for the time being at least in Britain, is inconceivable.

It is by no means to suggest that multiculturalism has no place in Britain or in its educational system, or that what has already been achieved is satisfactory. But three aims are yet to be addressed, before society in Britain can move on to anything radical as put forward above. Firstly, consideration must be given to what is involved in giving children the real equality of opportunity to which Swann refers. Here it is suggested that without some considerable adaptation of the British system to ensure that someone not proficient in English culture is not put at a disadvantage at the out set, there can be no serious discussion of equal opportunity. Secondly, it may be necessary to consider the status and importance of ethnic groups in Britain. It is not required to argue that ethnic groups should have full equality with that

of the majority in the larger context, in order, for example, that the Gujurati language, culture and history should enjoy the same support and respect as is accorded to Welsh language, culture and history in British schools; or that English culture would be profoundly enriched through the assimilation of elements from ethnic cultures. It is also true that cultural maintenance amongst ethnic groups is important for individual identity and psychological survival. Finally, if there is an official commitment in Britain to anti-racism and against religious discrimination, then that should be built into the curriculum at all levels, both in that part of the syllabus which is supposed to deal with education for citizenship, and through the elimination of such discriminatory elements from textbooks and courses in other subjects.

Therefore, the challenge still remains for policy-makers, given that Britain is a multicultural society, then all else should flow from that: its laws, its institutions, its schooling and its curriculum. This is precisely the debate that Islamic revivalists perceive to be the essential problem. The systems denial of their right to establish Muslim schools is directly related to this ambiguity in educational aims.

Islamic revivalist in Britain on the other hand have presented an innovative set of policies which recognises the multicultural/multifaith dimension of British society but believe that "the quality of participation of the Muslims, as indeed of others, in British society will depend on the quality of rights and opportunities they are accorded as human beings, and as a religious community. While we acknowledge that we have responsibilities to the society we live in, we feel that these responsibilities will be better discharged if the community's need to preserve its ethos is recognised and if the facilities and where necessary the legal provisions for doing so are accorded, not grudgingly or as a result of a process of attrition, but willingly and in a spirit of goodwill and harmony."⁴⁹⁷

Though, they aspire to participate in the development of a society which is "genuinely pluralistic" and both "socially cohesive and culturally diverse" as envisaged by the Swann Committee.⁴⁹⁸ This vision is impeded by a number of discriminatory factors. The first of these arises through ambiguity in the definition of terms, which can lead to distortions; difficulties arise because terms such as culture,

⁴⁹⁷ The British ^{Muslim} Response to Rt. Hon. Mr. Patten, Secretary of State, UKACIA, July 1989.

⁴⁹⁸ The Need For Reform: Muslims and the Law in Multi-Faith Britain. UKACIA, April 1993. p.5.

race, and religion tend to be given meaning only through indirect references to situations which are frequently coloured by ethnically oriented perceptions.⁴⁹⁹

Another cause of the injustices that have been and still are perpetrated against Muslims in Britain is believed to be the readiness to resort to negative stereotyping, since this reduces individuals with a few characteristics in common to a mass that is regarded as homogeneous in many respects. Negative stereotyping asserts that the common characteristics of a group are inferior and when they are associated with supposedly racial characteristics there is the implication that the attributes are genetically determined and cannot be changed regardless of the alterations that may be made to the circumstances in which those people live.⁵⁰⁰

There are always at least two parties to a social exchange and the behaviour of each party is usually partly initiatory and partly responsive. In a social interaction three basic responses may be induced in a minority group. In the first place they may be so devastated by the discrimination to which they are subjected that they withdraw as far as possible from

⁴⁹⁹ The Need For Reform, *op.cit.* p.30.

⁵⁰⁰ *ibid.*

asserting themselves in the interchange, physically and psychologically, to the extent where they establish ghettos. Or they may try to lose their ethnic identities and become assimilated into the dominant group. Alternatively they may overcompensate and become belligerently assertive.

Muslims have certainly not become belligerent nor have they followed the other two paths either. Their vision of a new Islamic synthesis drawn from a reformulation of the Islamic epistemological framework seeks to cope with the serious internal challenge, which on the one hand respects the ethnic and sub-national diversity of the *ummah*, "but they regard various racial cultures as subordinate to an overall Islamic culture. For example, Egyptian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Turkish, Malaysian and Indonesian cultures have some independent roots but they are predominantly and fundamentally rooted in the same Islamic traditions. It is sociologically an incorrect statement if we call these Muslims 'an ethnic minority'."⁵⁰¹

Revivalists have sought to resolve this dilemma through the process of education. But the educational strategies they have evolved in Britain have been more related to the internal concerns of identity than with the broader relationships of the wider society. The

⁵⁰¹ Ashraf, S.A. in Halstead, *op.cit.* p.v.

policy has been preservative not progressive. "That is why Muslims want to set up their own schools and want the government to support the setting up of voluntary-aided Muslim schools. They want their children to grow up as good Muslims and they find the secularist state schools creating non-believers in spite of religious education. All subjects are taught from a secularist point of view. Children are encouraged to be critical of their own traditions and values and even of faith. Doubts are encouraged. Whereas a Muslim teaches a child to pray to God for forgiveness and to strengthen his/her faith, the rationalist teacher teaches the student to explore on his own or with reference to other faiths and ideologies. The Islamic method of removing doubts and the strengthening of faith is completely ignored. It is desirable for a Muslim child to be open-minded and be ready to admit the truth in other religions and ideologies, but it would be wrong to be critical of one's own religion without any norm to judge which is true and which is false. Who will provide the child with that norm? Parents? Teachers? Their own unguided reason?"⁵⁰²

This quotation from Ashraf sums up what is at issue, the conflict between the relativism of secularism and the absolutism of Islam. The fear that the dominant society has about this dichotomy is that voluntary-

⁵⁰² *ibid.* p.vi.

aided and supplementary schools may be a means by which the community insulates itself from the rest of society. The struggle between a dominant majority and a dominant minority. The non-integrated immigrants are resented by the dominant group which attempts to consolidate its power and control. However, the minority group might turn social closure to its advantage as the ensuing minority group solidarity becomes a source of strength; in this case such social closure will be resisted by the dominant group.

In a pluralistic society multiculturalism/and multifaith means the acceptance within society of differences in religious and non-religious beliefs, values and traditions to which members of that society have a commitment. In this respect Muslims have no objections, but, when it comes to the process in reconciling different allegiances three basic principles determine choice. The first principle proposes that Muslims with several allegiances will, whenever possible, seek to reconcile the varying interests implied in their separate allegiances by appealing to the overarching values of their faith. Thus the individual will, ideally, want ethnic, class, culture, and status to harmonise with each other and, wherever possible, to complement each other.

As such, it becomes highly possible that where there

is a clash between religious and other interests, the individual will act against his/her other interests in favour of the integrity of his/her religious interests. Muslim response to the Rushdie affair and the two gulf wars challenges the view that the quintessence of ethnicity is the primordiality and near primeval intensity of involvement with and allegiance to their ethnic group. Individuals will be most intensely involved with those allegiances that are in their own best social and economic interests.

This leads to the third principle which is that where a plurality of allegiances involves a conflict between class interests and religion, Muslims *in the long run* will choose religious allegiance over all other allegiances, including ethnic allegiances. Individuals whose very existence is threatened by a hostile majority on purely religious terms will, in such crisis situations, temporarily suspend all other allegiances in favour of the one in which they are being threatened.

The main source for determining these choices are the reservoir of shared values. It would seem that within the Muslim community there is operative a process of dynamic pluralism, which are the actual values shared by the various sub-national ethnic groups which make up the *ummah*; "they view the shared values empirically

as the highest common factor of the different value systems held by the different groups."⁵⁰³ But in relation to the wider society there exists what may be referred to as integrational pluralism. "In this view, shared values must satisfy criteria of rationality which establish their justification as universal principles, whereas in dynamic pluralism the shared values are not justified on any other grounds other than that they are in fact shared. Dynamic pluralism thus opens the door to the possibility of the transmission of shared values which are irrational (but only if there is general acceptance of them)."⁵⁰⁴

Within this paradigm dynamic pluralism allows the *ummah* to retain for its own use all the values it holds that are not shared by the broader society of which it is part, but through integrational pluralism maintain a functional relationship with society as a whole. This would also enable the securing of alliances with other component communities that aspire to similar goals, in the case of Muslims having operational alliances with Christian and Jewish communities. Further, the distinctive Islamic identity of the Muslim can be sustained whilst participating and sharing in the socio-economic welfare of the

⁵⁰³ Halstead, J.M. *op.cit.* p.7.

⁵⁰⁴ Halstead, J.M. *op.cit.* p.7.

nation-state.

Returning to the role of education outlined in section 2.1. Integrational pluralism would mean, in a cultural plural society, putting emphasis on certain forms of rationality, by re-enforcing the task of education as being to encourage commitment to the shared values and understanding of the rational principles on which they are based, and at the same time to provide objective knowledge about a range of non-shared cultural values, to give pupils the tools with which to determine their own individual identities free from preconceived or imposed stereotypes of their place in society, and thus to encourage the development of individual autonomy.

Multiculturalism therefore would allow "the retention of existing values and modes of behaviour, yet there is a recognition of the contribution that each culture can offer the others to their mutual enrichment and benefit. The positive interaction of people of all cultures is sought so that their beliefs and customs become part of the common currency of society as a whole. Through this reciprocal process greater tolerance of unfamiliar views and practices will emerge and the existing norms of both dominant and

minority group cultures will be healthily challenged."⁵⁰⁵

Since as mentioned above, Britain at the present time is in a state of social and political ambiguity it is, arguably, desirable to aim for mutual accommodation within a multicultural model as this permits the retention of contact by minority group members with their cultural roots, while allowing them to benefit from the indigenous culture. For the indigenous population contacts are also afforded through which exchanges can be negotiated. The alternatives of assimilation through the melting pot and segregation through the pluralist models can lead to the dissolution of contact with one or other cultural pool for all minority groups, and this may restrict future possibilities for growth.

If integrational pluralism would mean that the British Muslim *ummah* is functionally related to the wider society then it must look upon education, and therefore the school curriculum, as the good of the community, to the provision of economic health and to the freedom and creativity of the individual. This would mean that the school has to prepare young Muslims to take their places in society as citizens,

⁵⁰⁵ Saunders, M. Multicultural Education, McGraw-Hill, 1982, p.13.

as workers and consumers, and as innovative persons, working for progression and change (2.2.).

A multicultural society is particularly demanding in regard to the selection of valued cultural capital, both because of the richness of capital on offer, which in turn demands cultural overlap to an extent which is necessary for effective knowledge, understanding and inter-communication. To make way for that common ground, and because there is a limit to the capital which can comprise a curriculum, a hierarchy of functionality, rationality and universality has to be identified. To totally absorb all available cultural capital is not viable because it would result in overload in the educational system; and it would not allow for sufficient overlap or common ground to secure social cohesion.

This was already recognised by Islamic revivalists such as Dr. Naseem and Professor Khurshid Ahmad when they put forward their proposals to the *ummah*.⁵⁰⁶ The Religious Studies syllabus in Islam designed by Ghulam Sarwar of the Muslim Educational Trust is an example which recognises the limitations in the area of the study of religion of the range of culture capital that can at any one time be offered in a state school. Therefore he has restricted the range of topics to be covered on Islam to the bare minimum

⁵⁰⁶ See pp.254-259 of this thesis.

without sacrificing the context within which the ideas of the faith is lived.

The course objectives meet the standards and criteria for all faiths studied in a state school and recognition of this is demonstrated through validation by the Secondary Examinations And Assessment Council. This is a good example of integrational pluralism which broadens the access for the study of the faith to both Muslims and non-Muslim pupils by taking advantage of the state institutional mechanism to ensure quality and creditability.

Recognising that in state schools the culture capital is limited, the overall curriculum, including learning processes which will enable teachers to address the aims of multiculturalism will deliberately have to seek to embrace and respond to the diversity of society whilst at the same time emphasising and reenforcing the common core values. The major dimensions of this task, which can be characterised for the moment as special needs for all against a background of cultural diversity within a unitary society, represents an interacting network of factors which are fundamental to curriculum construction in a multicultural society. Each should seek to make provision for special needs related both to the diversity and to the underlying unity of society.

Mother-tongue teaching and learning is clearly not of importance to all pupils but it is an aspect of legitimate culture which it is desirable for economic, political and not least cultural reasons to seek to perpetuate. English is the indispensable medium through which the common culture is transmitted and regenerated and therefore all pupils, including Muslims, must have a high level of communicative competence and this may imply a special need for those whose mother-tongue is not English. For the Islamic synthesis which the Islamic revivalists have in mind, it would seem the quality of the native tongue of the environment in which young Muslims now live is essential for the realising of such a vision. Maybe instead of insisting on Muslim ethnic languages to be taught in state schools, the source language of the Islamic epistemological framework, Arabic, should be encouraged, which would mean a wider audience of access to the study of a language of much universal importance.

The core curriculum which might be suggested for a multicultural school are: communicative competence; numeracy; political and economic competence; moral and social education; environmental awareness. Each of these areas can be broken down into subject areas. Allied with this core curriculum would be enrichment electives, such as music, drama, creative arts and so

on. Then there can be academic electives, which are more utilitarian which enable pupils to survive in a highly competitive society, for example economics, sciences etc.

Simultaneous with integrational pluralism is the dynamic pluralism taking place within the *ummah*, through the efforts of educational strategies within the Muslim community a discourse is going on which is resulting in an interdependency among the various Muslim sub-national ethnic groups. This discourse should also take place between those providing specialist education, such as supplementary schooling or private full-time education, in the community with those of the state system. An essential part of the effective development of a real multicultural education, and where the nodal points for its development may be identified in the present provision includes an acceptance of equality of the parties concerned, in negotiation and co-decision about real issues of power and access to resources in society.

Given that multicultural education implies that many cultures and religions are regarded as legitimate in society and that such an equality has impact on the curricular offerings of an education system and a school, the provision of valued knowledge should to the highest degree possible be a selection from all

faiths and cultures, although not necessarily equally. Most teachers and educationists, and of course the politicians and administrators whose role is in the field of education, cannot have first hand acquaintance with all cultures represented in society. They therefore need to engage in dialogue to discover and agree that capital which needs to be valued to the extent that it is included either in the common core of all schools or in the wider enriched curriculum of the school, available differentially to different pupils. As in the example cited above, is the place of mother-tongue teaching in relation to Arabic. Schools could negotiate with the *maktabs*, whether Arabic should have more priority than Punjabi, and therefore, not only should it be provided in the supplementary school but also in the state system.

The school is clearly seen as responsible for reflecting the knowledge capital of the local Muslim community and even enhancing it. Community involvement is seen as a high priority and such involvement is envisaged as taking place at a potent and influential level. Finally, a distinction is made between what is available for all in a multicultural society and what is available for some in the community.

This requires Local Authorities to take the initiative in recognising the valuable contribution which *maktabs*

are making in community development, and supporting schools of the state system in the sharing of resources in a spirit of partnership. It would also mean a re-evaluation of attitude towards voluntary-aided Muslim schools and the structural relationship which they can have in the wider society.

For this partnership to be effective, new kinds of management practices and new relationships are essential and it will be up to each school to work these out in conjunction with its community. There can be four phases towards such an interactive relationship. The first is in the sharing of information between the *maktab* and the state school, and the application of that information to both schools, both curriculums, and to both organisations. Secondly, a process of consultation between those responsible for the running both the state school and the *maktab*. Additional to this process there can be advisory councils which would include representatives from the *maktab*, the state school, and from full-time Muslim schools should there be one nearby. The third phase is the active and potent involvement by personnel from all three types of educational institutions in curriculum development of each others school. Finally, is that of codetermination or partnership decision-making with the Muslim leadership of the locality and the state school, across the range

of issues which are of mutual concern.

The new, equal relationship which has been suggested above has now become imperative as the Muslim community is becoming more and more polarised from the wider society, and when their educational programmes are fragile and their insecurity is mounting. Initiatives such as these do involve substantial change both within the Muslim community and the wider society. Islamic revivalists in Britain are pragmatic enough to realise that to achieve their goal of a new Islamic synthesis within a British context there has to be a merging of both the integrational and dynamic pluralism. In the meantime they have a transitional strategy, but they are not sure that the state can reciprocate.

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