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BRITŠTÍ MUSLIMOVÉ – PROBLÉMY S IDENTITOU A JEJICH PŘÍNOS PRO BRITSKOU SPOLEČNOST

Lucie Nawaz

University of West Bohemia

Faculty of Education

Undergraduate Thesis

BRITISH MUSLIMS – PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO BRITISH SOCIETY

Lucie Nawaz

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this bachelor thesis is to find attitudes and opinions of British Muslims on issues regarding their identity. The theoretical part deals with topics such as *social*, *individual*, *national identity*, *Britishness* and *multiculturalism*. As the creation of one's identity is among other things strongly influenced by current events, the thesis also deals with topics such as the *London bombings in* July, 2005.

The second part of the bachelor thesis presents results of a survey which was carried out in the form of a questionnaire where British Muslims, mainly of Pakistani origin, were asked to answer questions regarding their relationship to Britain, 7/7 London bombings and their contribution to British society.

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INTRODUCTION

According to UK national statistics in 2001, the total Muslim population in the United Kingdom was around 1.6 million. In 2010, The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life announced their results estimated it at 2,869,000 which is an increase of 74 %. Since more and more attention has been paid to issues regarding Muslims and Islam in recent years, I chose this topic to learn what it is like to be a Muslim living in a country where the majority of society is of a different religion and mostly secular. The thesis will discuss British Muslims and their feelings towards their British identity. Also, since September 11, 2001 and the 7/7 London bombings in 2005, words like *terrorism* and *radicalisation of Islam* seem to be heard on television and radio broadcasting more often, this thesis will discuss how they feel about this. Furthermore, as many of them come from a different cultural background having different habits, food and traditions the thesis will deal with obstacles which they face in the terms of education and employment and on the contrary how they contribute?

The thesis consists of a theoretical and practical part. For the practical part a survey was carried out in the form of a questionnaire which contained personal details such as gender, age and a series of open questions. Questionnaires were given to British citizens of Islam faith to fill in. Most of the respondents come from a Muslim community in Birmingham with Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin; for that reason this thesis is mostly focused on them. The open questions included matter of national identity; furthermore, questions regarding the London bombing in 2005 were also included. All of these questions are analyzed in the practical part.

1. MUSLIMS IN BRITAIN

In the United Kingdom, "there are Muslims from all over the Islamic world: from South Asia, the Middle East, West Africa, Malaysia and Cyprus" (Thomas, 1988, p. 139). They speak different languages and it is possible to divide them into different ethnic groups. Also, their concentration in Britain is not the same. They are concentrated in communities in certain parts of the country such as in Birmingham (150000), Bradford (80 000), London (700 000). The largest group has its roots in Pakistan and Bangladesh. During and after the Second World War cheap labour was needed, so the British government supported immigration from its colonies and later from the Commonwealth (Bari, 2005). "On gaining independence in 1947, India and Pakistan joined the Commonwealth - the first countries with a strongly non-European population to do so" (Wignall, 2002, p13). Pakistanis usually came from the Mirphur district and Bangladeshi from Sylhet and Campbellur. Until the post-war Commonwealth immigration to Britain immigrants had not established firm ethnic minority populations which were able to keep their language, culture and religion, for such a long time.

According to Coleman and Salt (1992):

A distinction should be made between 'immigrants' and 'ethnic minorities'. An 'immigrant' is readily defined demographically, conventionally as a person who, having been absent for at last a year, enters a country with the intention of staying at least a year. An ethnic minority is usually defined as a group of people self – consciously aware of membership of a culturally defined group at least nominally claiming descent from common ancestors and distinguish from the majority of the national population by characteristics such as language, religion or other value system, social and family structure. (p. 472)

Apart from Jews, previous migrants who came from European countries, had similar economic and demographical conditions and were not racially recognizable from other people in the country. For that reason, it was easier for them to assimilate (Coleman, Salt, 1992). According to Bari (2005), there was a difference in attitude towards immigrants from European countries such as Irish or East European workers and those who he calls 'coloured colonial workers'. He claims that discrimination was accepted and people could refuse a person from applying for a job because of his/her colour. However,

various anti-discrimination actions were gradually taken by the British government. The most influential may be the Race Relation Act (1976). "An Act to make fresh provision with respect to discrimination on racial grounds and relations between people of different racial groups."

1.1 Problematic Issues

Laqueur (2006) thinks that like German immigrants from Turkey, some difficulties of British Muslims may be caused by social background. Most of them came from provincial villages with insufficient education and they are unprepared for life in secular society also due to their strong religious belief. The fact that they live in segregated communities and very often choose a wife or husband in their native village is not helpful. Common reasons for their dissatisfaction include poverty, bad health, unemployment, insufficient accommodation and education as well as race discrimination. "However, Muslims who have been successful in their business or professionally say almost with no exception that their ethnical identity was no problem". (Laqueur, 2006, p. 35) According to British national statistics in 2004, British Muslims had inferior results in areas of unemployment, health and education. The unemployment rates were the highest especially among Muslims aged 16-24 years. Bari (2005) claims, that one of the reasons for substandard educational achievement is the lack of insufficient facilities for teaching their faith and culture. Therefore Muslim parents are worried that their children won't be able to learn about their religion at state schools.

Discussing education, British national statistics in 2004 showed that 33% of Muslims of working age were without qualifications. However, it is apparent that Muslims who were born in the UK were more likely to have a degree than those who were not born there. Furthermore, British Muslims are more likely to have the largest households and usually live in segregation from different communities in city centres across Britain. In 34%, more than 5 people shared one household. British Muslims also had also the highest illness rate. According to the statistics in 2001, 13% of male and 16% of female Muslims stated that their health was 'not good'.

2. IDENTITY

2.1. Social and Individual Identity

The word *identity* could be understood in many ways, one of the definitions in the Collins Cobuild English language Dictionary describes identity as "all the qualities, beliefs, and ideas which make you feel that you are different from anyone else or that you belong to a particular group". (1994)

According to Tesař (2007), people are naturally sociable and want to feel happy therefore they need a community as they have a natural need to belong to a particular group. However, there is no evidence that people are born with the need of a certain type of identity for example ethnic identity. People can belong to more than one group which suggests that they can have more than one identity. One can be British but at the same time a Londoner and a teenager. It means that identities can overlap, co-operate and compete with each other. They are also of different importance.

Tesař (2007) further suggests that identity is not stagnant but it changes in time and space and is closely connected to a certain context. For instance, Protestants from the Northern Ireland were once closely linked with terms like modernity, rationalism and triumph while now terms like *fear*, *anxiety*, *tradition* and *chaos* are more likely to be mentioned. Also, being an Irish protestant in London is something else than in Dublin. The need to belong somewhere is not rare as it also appears in the animal kingdom. The feeling of similarity within a certain group is called *social identity* and on the contrary, differences inside a group are reflected in *individual identity*. In some groups personal behaviour is more evident while collective behaviour is in others. (Tesař, 2007)

Tesař (2007) thinks that both, *social and individual identity* cannot be defined separately. They both have meaning only when they are compared to other identities because to state what is 'normal, people need something 'different' to compare it with. He also mentions that in the case of two groups, members of one group tend to judge their group better than the other one and they are threatened by the existence of the other group. According to Sedláčková (2010), prejudices towards other groups in society are quite common. They are presented, because there is a fear of different things and unknown things.

Bari (2005) claims, that "Individuals achieve a sense of identity depending on their upbringing and environment. The manifestation of this identity becomes clear through

various attributes, e.g., how they talk, behave and dress". (p.107). Bari also claims that there are several aspects of individual identity, some of them are irreversible like ethnicity and gender but other aspects depend on one's choice, for example; religion, citizenship, language, job, hobbies and so on. He also makes a difference between one's broader identity which is influenced by family, community and society and micro - identity, which depends on several factors: assimilation vs. integration; identity and citizenship; faith, identity and post modernism.

2.2 National Identity

Speaking of identity we also need to consider the term *national identity* or nation. Paul Wignall explains the term nation in 3 different ways. At first, it may be used when speaking about people who share the same history, feelings, language, religion and law. Secondly, it may be some kind of illusion which is mentioned during 'hard times' so it would encourage people during wars, a fight for freedom etc. Finally, it could be used to exclude other people; one group of people feel superior to another group in terms of a nation. As an example, the Nazi attitude towards German Jews during the Second World War may be used (Wignall, 2002). Trying to define the term *national identity* from what has been written here, connecting the explanation from the dictionary to the first definition, it could said that national identity may be the qualities, beliefs and ideas which make 'you' feel that you belong to a particular group of people who call themselves a nation, people who can understand each other because of a common language, attitudes, laws, history and religion.

According to F. L. Rusciano (2003), the construction of national identity deals with two matters. The first one is the common image of a country which is shared by all people living there and the second one is the international image in the world. The measures here are national consciousness and pride and perceived international image and orientation. Interesting results came out of his study; the measures for pride and state relationship were quite high for the Great Britain comparing to other 22 countries. The factors included: citizenship, language, respect to the political institutions and laws, and dominant religion in the country. Rusciano also questioned if religion plays a role in building national culture; "the findings of his study suggests that religious tradition does indeed seem to impact the applicability of the model for the construction of national identity".

3. BRITISHNESS

Bradley (2007) thinks that to understand what it is like being British, defining the meaning of *Britishness* may help. There are several approaches to *Britishness*. The first approach is concerned with ethnicity, ancestry and territory. Being British in the territory terms means to simply inhabit Great Britain and from the ethnic point of view; to belong to British race.

Another approach is related to civil identity where the political concept of identity is emphasised. Sir Bernard Crick, a British political theorist, was one of the people who tried to define *Britishness* 'in the context of preparing immigrants seeking naturalization for life in the United Kingdom'. (Bradley, 2007, p. 34) Crick believes that *Britishness* has pure political and legal background and people actually feel to be more English, Scottish or Welsh. (Bradley, 2007)

Crick has written:

Britishness is, to me, an overarching political and legal concept: it signifies allegiance to the laws, government and broad moral and political concepts-like tolerance and freedom of expression-that hold the United Kingdom together. But there is no overall British culture, only a sharing of cultures. (Bradley, 2007, p. 34)

He means to say that *Britishness* is a more or less political term and there is no real British culture and he feels that people feel more English, Scottish and Welsh. According to the national statistics 2004, majority of White British citizens called themselves rather English (58%) than British (36%) but from the non-White group 78% of Bangladeshi said that they were British rather than Welsh, Scottish or English (5%).

However, there is another definition of Britishness given by Sir Bernard's working party:

To be British seems to us to mean that we respect the laws, the elected parliamentary and democratic political structures, traditional values of mutual tolerance, respect for equal rights and mutual concern; that we give our allegiance to the state (as commonly symbolized by the Crown) in return for its protection. To be British is to respect those overarching specific institutions, values, beliefs and

traditions that bind us all, the different nations and cultures, together in peace and legal order (as cited in Bradley, 2007, p.34).

Clearly, this definition emphasises values and traditions rather than the civil context and as Bradley claims, another approach to Britishness is through these values, customs and traditions. He also claims that there are many reasons for the non-white group's members to call themselves rather British and one of them is that it does not have the strong connection to ethnicity. From his point of view, immigrants and their descendants in the last 50 years are very proud to be British due to the lack of opportunities and freedom in their country of origin. They feel British more enthusiastically and indicate British values such as respectability, restraint and constraint than a large number of white British people. (Bradley, 2007)

According to James O' Driscoll (1995), there are some differences among people who live in Scotland, England, Northern Ireland and Wales but due to the long-lasting contact they have many things in common; the way they look, they speak the same language, eat similar food, have the same religious background and have the same or similar attitudes to certain things. Most British people with Scottish, Irish or Welsh ancestors have been living in England most of their lives or were even born there would never describe themselves as English and only small number of them would describe themselves as British. They would probably support the team which used to be supported by their parents and grandparents living outside England. The same applies to people whose roots lie outside the United Kingdom; people with Caribbean or south Asian origin for example. However, for them, the situation is a little different and comparing to white non-English groups, they "cannot choose when to advertise their ethnic identity and when not to. For them ethnic identity is more than a question of deciding which sport team to support." (O'Driscoll, 1995, p.45)

O'Driscoll also believes that people who originate from outside the British Isles, especially from the south of Asia have completely different traditions, religion and language and because they create communities and usually marry within these communities, these habits are retained. This may create problems for the second generation and young people who were born in the UK, but these experiences create part of their identity and most of them are proud of their roots. Furthermore, because most of them are British citizens, it appears that their pride is increasing as these habits and attitudes slowly become 'less distinctive' 'they are on the way to developing the same kind of division of

loyalties and identity that exists for many Irish, Scottish and Welsh people.'(O'Driscoll, 1995, p.45)

4. MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism, one of the corner stones of British society, is the idea of encouraging different cultures to integrate within the same state or land. After many years of attempts of integration, this was put into question when the attacks of September 11 and the 7/7 London bombings happened.

After the terrorist attack on 11 September, 2001 in New York which was carried out by members of Islamic terrorist organization al-Qaeda, and the London bombings on 7 July, 2005 which were carried out by British born Muslims the question of identity was often raised. It caused debates about Britishness and multiculturalism and Muslims and their relationship to western values were often discussed by politicians and in the media.

At the Munich security conference on 5th February, 2011 David Cameron, the British Prime Minister said:

Multiculturalism in Britain has failed to provide a vision of society in which members of all ethnic groups feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values. In the U.K., young Muslim men, children of immigrants, find it hard to identify with the traditional Islam practices at home by their parents. But at the same time they find it hard to identify with Britain. Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, Mr. Cameron notes, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream.

In his speech, Cameron suggests that multiculturalism has not been successful due to not having a sense of belonging. Discussing national identity, Cameron also mentions that Britain and its people need a clear sense of shared national identity that is open to everyone. But others like Ian Bradley (2007) may argue that British Muslims may feel more deeply about their identity than the rest of the non-Muslim society. As an example he mentions the NHS (National Health Service) which was in one survey nominated by ninety

-one percent respondents as an example of *Britishness*. Almost one-third of doctors working for the NHS are from the Indian subcontinent. As Britain is still 'a nation of small shopkeepers' (p. 172); other example are small grocery shops or newsagents which are owned mainly by shopkeepers of Asian origin who do not hesitate to work long hours and fight against the competition of huge supermarkets.

4.1. Sport

Another example is sport which is an important part of British everyday life. Millions of British people do sport at least one a week and many others watch it at a stadium or at least on TV. O' Driscoll (1995) thinks that Britain is known not only for good sport results but for the sense of *fair play* and a lot of different kinds of sports when sport competitions are not just sport events but they are also a good opportunity to socialize and to show the latest fashion.

Among the most popular belong without doubt football, tennis, rugby and cricket. Cricket is definitely not as viewed as rugby or football, because many people do not understand its rules but is more popular due to the message it carries. "It symbolizes a way of life-a slow and peaceful rural way of life". (O' Driscoll, 1995, p.194) It is worth mentioning Nasser Hussein, who was one of the cricket test captains from 1999 to 2003. Hussein's brother and father (an Indian Muslim) were both cricket players.

4.2. Food

George Mikes once stated "On the continent people have good food; in England people have good table manners" (as cited in O'Driscoll, 1995, p.184). He pointed to the fact that British people pay more attention to how the food is served and how it is eaten than what is eaten. To be more specific here, due to British history, food which is often considered to be typically British could be only English. In general, typical British food is regarded as bland and tasteless. It usually consists of meat such as beef, lamb, pork and chicken usually served with potatoes together with another type of vegetable. Traditional dishes such as fish and chips (which is very popular fast-food in Britain), cottage pie (made from mince beef, vegetables and mashed potatoes) or roast beef with yorkshire pudding (batter made of flour, milk and eggs which is baked in the oven in hot fat) can be still found on the restaurant's menu together with many foreign dishes such as Chinese

stir-fry or Indian Curry. Thanks to multiculturalism, "the shops are full of sauces and spices from other countries as the British are now extremely open to the cuisines of other countries" (O'Driscoll, 1995, p. 185).

Robin Cook, former British foreign secretary stated in his famous Tikka Masala speech:

Chicken tikka masala is now a true British national dish, not only because it is the most popular, but because it is a perfect illustration of the way Britain absorbs and adapts external influences. Chicken tikka is an Indian dish. The Masala sauce was added to satisfy the desire of British people to have their meat served in gravy. Coming to terms with multiculturalism as a positive force for our economy and society will have significant implications for our understanding of Britishness. Cook claims, that Chicken tikka masala is not only a typically British dish but it provides an example of the flexibility of Britain to accept foreign influences.

5. 7/7 LONDON BOMBINGS IN 2005

On the 7th June at 8.50 a.m. there were three explosions on the London Underground. The first bomb exploded just outside Liverpool Street station, second outside Edgware Road station and the third one between King's Cross St. Pancras station and Russell Square. One hour later there was an explosion on a number 30 bus in Tavistock Square. These explosions were co-ordinated terrorist suicide attacks which were committed by British citizens of Muslim faith. During these attacks, fifty two people were killed and more than 770 injured. The terrorists, who all died during their attack, were as follows;

Hasib Hussain, an eighteen year old young man, was the Tavistock Square bomber. He was described as a quiet student with few friends. He was born in Britain to parents of Pakistani origin. He grew up in the suburbs of Leeds and was still living with his parents when he died.

Thirty year old Mohammad Sidique Khan was the Edgware road bomber. He was the eldest of the group and was born in Leeds to parents of Pakistani origin. According to the government investigation, he was the leader of the group. He worked as a teaching assistant was married and had a daughter.

Germaine Lindsay was the Russell Square bomber who was born Jamaica. He converted to Islam in 2000 and lived West Yorkshire, not far from the other bombers. He was nineteen years old when he died.

Twenty-two year old Shehzad Tanweer, the Aldgate bomber, was born in Bradford but later moved with his family to Leeds. His parents also came from Pakistan. (BBC NEWS, 7 *July Bombings*)

The key motive was according to the British government the participation of British soldiers in the war in Iraq. A videotape was found after the attack where Mohammed Sidique Khan accuses "western citizens of electing governments that committed crimes against humanity. Other motives were economic deprivation, social exclusion and disaffection with society in general as well as community elders". (Townstead, 2006)

The terrorist attacks, the fact that all of them were British citizens who were raised and educated in Britain and the follow up discussion and political agenda led quickly to islamophobia (fear or prejudices against Islam and Muslims) where the question of identity and loyalty to British citizenship was often the main topic in the media.

5.1. Media

As it was previously mentioned, people can have different identities; with some of these identities they are born, some of them they can choose and some of them are given to them by society. Sedláčková (2010) suggests that "these categories do not reflect any particular facts" (p.45). Some of them are problematic as they may lead to systematic discrimination because members of one group tend to evaluate their group higher than different ones. The fact that one piece of news appears on television or in newspapers does not match its significance. The piece of news does not have to reflect reality because it is the work of many people working in the media. Also prevailing opinions and standards of society influences the news.

In her work Sedláčková states that there are various numbers of events going on in the world. The selection of one depends on preferences of journalists and also on the ideology of society. The ideology in Europe includes more or less 'western standards' such as secularism, democracy, materialism and others. Media has power. It represents one of the most influential sources of information. The aim is to sell its product to as many people as possible. One of the 'news values' besides frequency, geographical and cultural

closeness is negativity. Negativity sells and is wanted in tabloids as well as in serious newspapers which leads to an imbalance when negative news dominates. Generally, Muslims feel scepticism and distrust towards media as they are not able to face the rumours and negative information which are being spread about them. Some statements are often deprived of primary meaning, put in a different context or twisted and opinions of the second side are not presented. Also, media sometimes work with unproven prognosis where the main topics concerning Islam are mainly violence, terrorism, not enough of political freedom in Islamic countries and inequality of women. It results in xenophobia towards anything Islamic in society. Muslims themselves point to the fact that there is lack of information about Islam in society and the things which are known come mainly from the media. How Sedláčková mentions, the authors of the book *Islam v Srdci Evropy* point out that representatives of Muslims communities are often seen in media in order to correct or explain the half- truth stories about Islam and Muslims but they also point out that these representatives should not only respond and try to explain the stories but try to spread true information themselves. (Sedláčková, 2010)

6. METHODOLOGY

The theoretical part deals with topics such as *Britishness* and identity. Also, the history of Muslims in Britain and problematic issues are described there. After the terrorist attack in America in 2001, followed by bombs explosions on the London underground and bus in 2005, the background of London terrorists is briefly described as well as the reaction of the media and the attitude of Muslims towards the media.

For the practical part a survey was carried out in the form of a questionnaire. The questionnaires were taken to Birmingham by a British citizen who knew this area very well and was asked to give them out to as many people of Muslim faith as possible and to collect them afterwards. Birmingham has, besides London, the largest Muslim Community in the United Kingdom. The questionnaires were given to people mainly of Pakistani origin. Out of 40 questionnaires which have been handed out, only 15 came back. The unwillingness to fill in the questionnaires may be due to the sensitivity of some questions. A sample of a questionnaire is a part of this bachelor thesis and it could be found in the appendix. In the practical part, each question is briefly described. Common and interesting responses are analyzed in detail in follow up discussions where common patterns are pointed out and differences between female and male answers are mentioned too. The fact that only fifteen questionnaires have been collected may have an influence on the results.

6.1. Measures

The questionnaire consists of three parts. The first part contains a brief explanation about the purpose of the research and instructions about how to fill the questionnaire, presumable time of filling it in and instructions on to whom and where to hand it in.

As the answers may have varied widely depending upon age, gender and other data, in the second part the respondents were asked to fill in basic data about themselves such as their gender, age and ethnicity. They were also asked to write if they were British born or not.

The third part consisted of one closed question and eight open questions which were created to find out the feelings regarding the sense of national identity. Three out of the eight questions contained one sub question. These questions are analyzed in the practical part.

Generally, there are three areas of questions in the questionnaire, questions which are concerned with Muslims and their relationship to the state (questions 1-5), questions concerned with London bombings in July 2005 and the media (questions 7-9) and one question (6)is concerned with the contribution of Muslims to the British society.

7. RESULTS

7.1. Personal details

As stated previously out of 40 questionnaires, only 15 returned. Despite the effort to interview people of different ages the average age of the respondents who returned the questionnaire was twenty-eight years. The youngest one was nineteen years old and the oldest was thirty-eight years old. It may have been due to the fact that the younger people were used to filling in questionnaires at school so they were more open to do it or some questions may have been too sensitive. Three people did not state their age. Eight respondents were males and seven females. According to the questionnaires thirteen people were born in Britain and two outside of Britain. Also, thirteen people circled their ethnicity as Indian Pakistani, one as Asian Indian and one as Asian Bangladeshi.

7.2. Question number 1

How would you describe yourself if you were to choose from these?

The first question is a closed question where the respondents were to choose from the following: Irish, British, English, Welsh, Scottish and other. The majority of the respondents which was twelve circled British. One person wrote 'not applicable', one wrote Muslim and one British Pakistani.

Discussion

It is clear from the results that a convincing majority (87 % of the respondents) preferred the word 'British' rather than 'English'. The result is similar to the results of the national British statistics in 2004 where 78 % of non-white respondents chose also the word 'British', and on the other hand, 58 % of white citizens chose the word English. It seems from this survey that the respondents consider British a form of identity. An interesting fact is that the respondent who answered "no" to British- born question was the same one who wrote "Muslim" in the following question regarding national identity. It may point to the fact that British Muslims who are not born in Britain have the urge to emphasise their religious background in contrast to the second and third generations who are British born.

7.3. Question number 2

Are you proud to be British? What makes you proud?

These questions were asked to find out respondents' feelings towards their British identity. Were they all proud? If the answer was yes, what was the reason?

It is very surprising that none of the respondents answered negatively. One answered "non - applicable", three answers were "sometimes" and eleven respondents answered "yes" or "I am proud". The most interesting answers to the second question were; "I am proud to be British Pakistani as it is a part of my identity" or "People are judged on their merits and not on their background. Another interesting answer was "America makes me proud to be British". Other answers included common words such as opportunity, equality and fairness for all, good social services and the NHS. Also, multiculturalism and diversity were mentioned.

Discussion

It is worth mentioning that the respondent whose answer was "I am proud to be British Pakistani as it is a part of my identity" also wrote "England is where I was born and raised. It is obvious that she (female was stated in gender) is very confident and sure about her identity. From this example it is apparent that two identities can overlap and coexist with each other. She belongs to the British group and also to the Pakistani group and both of her identities creates one big identity. This co-existence is also mentioned by Amar Latif in 2006, who is a spokesman for an umbrella group representing 90,000 Muslim university students in the UK.

In his interview for British newspaper The Guardian he claims;

To ask "are you Muslim or British?" forces people to make a false choice. We asked our members if they felt there was a conflict between Muslims values and British values and the majority said no. The issue is difficult, however. Dar, the cricket fan, is supporting Pakistan in the test match. 'It is about roots,' he said. 'It's about not forgetting where you are from. But if someone asks me, "Are you British?" the answer is definitely yes. I was born here; I have had every opportunity

in this country and have never really personally experienced any exclusion. (Burke, 2006)

Another interesting thing can be noticed in the rest of her answer "I was born in England". There she does not mention Great Britain as a place of birth but England which may be on purpose and she tries to emphasise the geographical and cultural difference between Wales, Scotland and England or she does it unwittingly and she regards Britain more or less English, as many foreigners often do.

One respondent to the questionnaire mentions 'America'. It is well known that America due to its 'war on terror' in Iraq and its other foreign affairs in Afghanistan has become very unpopular not only among Muslims. This may be why one respondent answered 'America makes me proud to be British'. She probably feels that being British is better than being American due to its bad reputation regarding foreign policy.

As there are seven female and eight male respondents. Some common answers for each gender are presented too. Men mostly mentioned equal treatment and justice in terms of law. Furthermore, they pointed out that people are being looked upon their own merits and success and not upon their background or wealth. Women's answers included mostly words like help, even help for other countries, good social services and NHS.

7.4. Question number 3 What do you find typically British?

One respondent wrote nothing. Surprisingly, ten respondents stated either the word food or some specific food. Out of these, six answers contained 'Fish and Chips' and one contained 'tea'. Three answers were the weather or cold weather. Four respondents mentioned a kind of sport (two wrote football, one cricket and one Wimbledon). Other single phrase answers or multiple answers contained words such as: Royal family, Bank holiday and Remembrance Day, attitudes and the phrase 'stiff upper lip'. One respondent stated "In the modern age of globalised village it's hard to see a cultural trait, saying that I'd say a sense of fairness has always been here and fish and chips". There he stresses equal treatment again which is similar to the respondents' answers to question number two.

Discussion

Only three out of ten answers regarding food were female answers. Male answers were often broader and more specific. It is not clear if the respondent who wrote 'tea' meant tea as a cup of tea and perhaps a biscuit around five o'clock or tea as an evening meal eaten around six o'clock which is more common expression for the urban working class as well as for the wider population in Scotland and Ireland.

None of the answers mentioned tikka masala as a typical British dish but 40 % of respondents mentioned fish and chips which comparing it to tikka masala has a much longer history. The first shop selling this meal was opened in London in 1860 and the meal soon become popular among working classes and later also among the other classes too. Fish and chips consists of a deep fried fish covered in breadcrumbs which is served with chips. "In the 1960s, it was reported that the first British package tourist in Spain not only insisted on eating fish and chips all the time but also on having them, as was traditional, wrapped up in especially imported British newspaper". (O'Driscoll, 1995, p. 185)

Fairness was mentioned as a sign of *Britishness* too. As well as in the previous questions the respondent expresses that fair treatment is common in Britain or that the British people have the 'sense of fair play'.

7.5. Question number 4 Are you satisfied with the British law system? If not, is there anything you would change?

One respondent did not answer the question at all but had some comments about the form of the questionnaire. Eight respondents wrote 'yes' or 'I am satisfied' which is 53%. Out of these, one answer is 'I am satisfied but it is very inconsistent'. Two answers are strictly 'no' and contain more comments. Four answers contain a statement explaining why the respondent is dissatisfied with the system so they are being looked at as negative ones. The most interesting negative answers are: 'I would like to change the way the government handles its dealing with terror suspects' or 'I would like to change the way Muslims are portrayed for all the bombings and crimes 'or I would make it more strict on dangerous criminals, rapists, paedophiles etc.' or 'The British system is made by criminals for criminals' and finally 'More Muslims in law'.

Discussion

Four of the six negative answers were female answers which, as could be seen above, are mostly concerned by the way criminal offenders are treated. Respondents think that criminals should be treated more strictly. The female respondent who wishes there were more Muslims in law apparently points to eight Muslim members of the British Parliament. Compared to the population average there should be more than 20 Muslim members of Parliament. Furthermore, the same respondent was not born in Great Britain and to question number one where she was supposed to choose from the given identities she wrote Muslim. It is probable that she intends to show her strong bond to Islam more than the others. Her feelings may be stronger due to the fact she was born in not such a secular country as UK.

On the other hand, according to a survey which was published on 29th January 2007 by the European Knowledge Urban Network whose aim was to describe the British Muslim relationship towards the religion and the British state; 59 % of British Muslims would rather live under the British law than 'Sharia law', which is Islamic religious law. This almost matches the result of this bachelor thesis and its 53% of satisfied respondents.

Humayun Ansari (2002), in his report on *Muslims in Britain*, claims that some issues of Muslim law are in contrast to the British law: for example things such as abortion, contraception are forbidden in Islamic law but allowed under the British juridical system and on the contrary things like arranged marriage and polygamy are allowed in 'Sharia' but banned by the British law. Although there are some groups which try to enforce 'Sharia' as the legal law for the Muslim community, most Muslims are quite satisfied with the current situation and they do not need dual legal system. As British system seems to be liberal enough in the way 'everything which is not clearly forbidden is allowed', British Muslims appear to find ways how to solve their issues within the frame of the British legal system. (Ansari, 2002)

However, other results which come out of the survey which was carried out by European Knowledge Urban Network were a little alarming. Out of the 28% of people who would prefer to live under 'Sharia law' 37% were people from 16 to 24 years of age, presumably British born and 17% were people who were 55 + years old. In addition, 74 of the respondents who were in the 16-24 year group preferred their women to wear a veil while from the 55 + group it was only 28%. So EKUN survey shows that younger possibly second or third generation of British Muslims tend to establish stronger Muslims identity

than older generations. (EKUN, *Living apart together – British Muslims and the paradox of multiculturalism*)

7.6. Question number 5

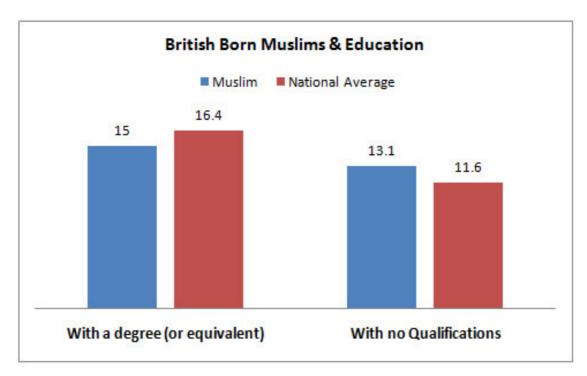
Are there any obstacles for you as a Muslim in the U.K., especially in terms of education and employment?

Ten respondents, which is 66%, stated that there were no problems for them in terms of education and employment, of the rest there were five negative answers, three from females and two from males. The negative answers were; "Sometimes, progression in companies are limited", "Covert discrimination", "There are a few stereotypes at work which can make it slightly uncomfortable at times". One answer was more specific "Generally there is a perception from employers and others if someone comes in with a beard or hyjab – otherwise the work credentials for the individual do speak for themselves". A female respondent wrote "There are many obstacles for me because I am a woman".

Discussion

It is obvious that the common patterns in negative answers are discrimination and perception stereotypes. 26% of respondents feel that due to their religion employers or colleagues have preconceptions, however, considering the words 'sometimes or 'few' in the answers it is not so frequent and finally, the level of work is the deciding factor. The European Employment Directive which was enforced in December 2003 may have helped to reduce discrimination of Muslims and other groups at the workplace. Regulations in the Directive aim to protect people against discrimination at the workplace and promote equal treatment and 'positive actions' in employment.

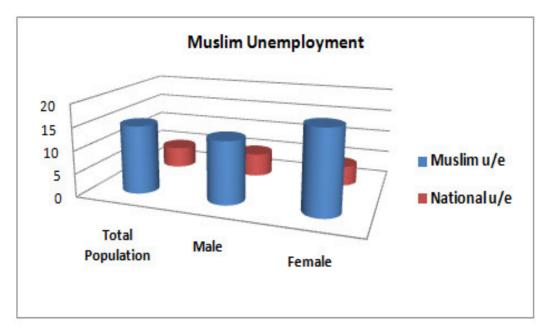
From the negative answers, no respondent specifically mentions problems with gaining education; mostly the answers were related to work, although 'covert discrimination' could be taken in general terms. According to British Muslim statistics in 2004, the national average of people of working age in Britain without qualifications was 11.6% while the percentage of Muslims without qualification was 13%. Also, 15% of Muslims had a degree in comparison to 16.4% of the national average. (See graph below)



(Retrieved from http://www.1stethical.com/about/british-muslim-statistics/)

Bari (2005) claims that Muslim children have a lower than average achievement rate but it has slightly improved over the years. Pakistani children achieved 40 % good grades (A-C) compared to the 51 national average in 2002 which may affect the employment market (p. 13). In 2004, 15.8% of British Muslims were unemployed compared to the national average of 4.7%

Referring back to the female respondent who claims that there are many obstacles for her as a woman, 20% of Pakistani women of working age are unemployed. It may be due to their cultural background where women are mainly housewives who look after the home and a larger number of children or to the fact that a large number of them come as wives from Pakistan and have problems developing adequate language skills. (See graph below)



(Retrieved from http://www.1stethical.com/about/british-muslim-statistics/)

7.7. Question number 6

What is in your opinion the contribution of British Muslims to British society?

The answers are quite brief and usually consist of one or two words. Four respondents commented on the extent of contribution, the answers were on the scale from very good to vast. Incidentally all of them were male. Two respondents stated that Muslims are hardworking people (male answers). Two similar answers of two female respondents were food and culture. Other single responses were Islamic faith and teaching, health care and medicine. The longest and most interesting answers were "They offer a different level of discipline by working hard and having a strong family structure" and "British Muslims need to engage much more and try and forge a good balance between following tradition and engaging more within society". One person thinks that the contribution is not as significant as is should be.

Discussion

From the whole questionnaire, the answers were the shortest and repetitious. Especially both respondents who were not born in the UK had a single word answer each but they were very brief in all the answers across the questionnaire, maybe because it was more difficult to formulate responses in English.

All of the answers were positive or neutral; there was no negative answer. Men commented more on the amount and did not go much into details except for a few answers. According to this survey, the contribution is huge and it appears in various aspects of life. In their own opinion, Pakistani people contribute by their hard-work, by their culture which includes fashion, food and religion.

Referring back to the answer which singles out hard work, discipline and a strong family structure, something similar is mentioned by Bradley. He claims that Britons of Asian origin as well as African Caribbean or the 'new Britons' as he calls them are bringing back some of the British values, for example they respect their elders more than the majority of white British people and are more loyal to their communities. Also, British Muslims somehow challenge British society in terms of living their lives religiously and speaking openly about religion in the same way which was natural for Britons in the past.

The answer where the respondent states that a balance is needed between following tradition and following British society is also very interesting. The respondent is only 23 years old. She implies that there is a certain distance between British people and the distance should be narrowed.

7.8. Question 7

Why do you think the 7/7 London bombing happened? Do you think it was completely wrong, just, justifiable or other?

This question, together with question number 8, is the most sensitive question of the whole questionnaire. All respondents expressed their opinion. Seven of them used one word or short phrase answers and the rest were more detailed. All of the respondents agree on the fact that the bombings were wrong or completely wrong and it was not justifiable at all.

Male answers are quite similar. The majority think that the terrorists were brainwashed or that they were "messed up or confused Muslims who were easily influenced like so many British Muslims today". One male stated: "Totally wrong. Not representative of the law abiding Muslims in Britain, definitely a minority view. The female answers usually do not comment on the personality or minds of the terrorists but the comment on problems in society or on international affairs: "Many Muslims feel marginalized and therefore can react in a negative way, however killing others in the name of Islam is extremely wrong"."Happened because Muslims are dissatisfied with the actions

of the west. But still wrong". Another interesting answer is: "I think it was wrong because it portrays yet again Muslims in a bad light because no one has any idea who really did it but assumptions are always made".

Discussion

The most similar trait of this question is surely the agreement on the wrongness of the whole 7/7 episode. Men seem to be quite indignant at the people who carried out the terrorist attack. They are convinced that they must have been strongly influenced by a third party and they were confused. The responses show that the majority of British Muslims do not agree with these terrible acts.

Also, marginalization is mentioned by a female respondent, she thinks that many British Muslims can feel as if they have been looked down on which may lead to extreme behaviour such as the London bombings. A similar thing is mentioned by Bari when he claims that British Muslims feel like "second class citizens" and they also feel that their parents who came to Great Britain to seek work tolerated prejudices and discrimination. He states that young Muslims today do not seem to accept that.

Finally, actions of the West are mentioned here. The respondent probably means the war in Iraq and in other largely Muslim countries. The war in Iraq was also stated as the reason for the 7/7 bombing in London by the leader of the terrorist group Sidique Khan.

$\begin{tabular}{ll} 7.9. & Question number 8 \\ In your opinion, what caused the recent growth of Muslim Radicalism in the UK? \\ \end{tabular}$

This question already implied that there has been a recent growth of radicalism in the UK but no respondent tries to disaffirm it. Only one respondent stated "I don't know". Six respondents blamed foreign policy; especially actions in Iraq, Afghanistan and Gaza were mentioned. Four respondents stated that young Muslims are influenced by foreign radical Imams as in this answer "Lack of education and culture. Many British Muslims do not have the sense to educate themselves. They listen and instead of following Islam by reading and learning themselves, they take what a person has said to heart" or "Foreign imams who have corrupted the minds of vulnerable people" or "The use of the internet,"

inability to communicate and home access to radical news. They are influenced by imams and radical Muslims leaders in high profile Mosques e.g. Finsbury mosque" or "Radical teaching from Saudi Arabia and impressed kids who have no direction in life." One female respondent stated that Muslim Radicalism in the UK has grown since the shariah law was introduced. Other answers were "lack of understanding" "misinpretation of Quran" "watching news and society"

Discussion

According to Bari (2005), it is important to know if discussing individual Muslim identity that collective identity needs to be considered also, as it is very important in a global context. Collective Muslim identity *ummah* means that if something happens to Muslims in other countries it affects Muslims all over the world. The community is very important in Islam that any doubts about one's community or even abandoning one's group is a sin. Although nowadays, due to certain categorization, extremist, moderate and so on a certain distance is apparent among them.

Nevertheless, Bari also claims that "Muslim identity is guided by a spirit and not merely by the rituals of Islam. One can be a confident Muslim but at the same time be British or Egyptian". (p. 123) Knowing this, it is not surprising that about 40% of respondents stated that foreign affairs, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan, caused the recent growth of radicalism in the UK. There is a question if it is enough to be just dissatisfied with foreign policy to become a radical (except for the situation when extremist views are shared by the whole family). Looking back at the rest of the answers above which are rewritten from the questionnaire, they may carry that message. Four people blame mainly foreign imams who as is apparent from the answers, teach Islam in a wrong way and may provoke extreme and radical behaviour. The situation is even worse when it happens in high profile mosques, which can be visited by young Muslims out of curiosity. Fred Halliday, professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and a respected author on Islamic affairs, shares a similar view "Young people from a relatively calm backgrounds can be radicalised very quickly. It is about who they come into contact with, about being in a radical context, about being influenced", he says and adds 'The internet can play a key role." (Burke, 2006)

The Internet together with access to radical news was mentioned by one of respondents of this survey as well. Furthermore, one respondent mentions quite openly that

the problem lies in education and maybe willingness to learn when young Muslims, instead of learning and reading about Islam, prefer to listen passively to other people and accept extraneous opinions very easily. They should be led by their values and by reason and not by the extreme ideas of radical Islamists. This matches Bari's words when he states, that Muslim should be led by his spirit, in other words his soul.

7.10. Question number 9

Are you satisfied with the way how Muslims are portrayed in the media? (Do you think they are portrayed negatively, positively, other...)

Here, the responses were quite long and all of the respondents feel that British Muslims are mostly portrayed negatively; "I disapprove of the way Muslims are portrayed in the media because it is always negative, such as Muslims are described as strict and tyrants who blow up people and buildings. Yet they have no idea about what Islam is really about which is peace and people living among each other in harmony". As in the previous question, there was no difference between female and male answers. Certain newspapers such as Daily Mail and The Sun appear three times each as negative sources of information but one respondent stated that the BBC is better; "Certain newspapers such as The Sun don't seem to portray Muslims in a good way. Nearly all their stories are negative and they categorize all Muslims as unpatriotic who have extreme views on other groups or religions". Two respondents state that the reason why media portrays Muslims mainly negatively is probably due to the terrorist attacks in September 2001 in the USA and in July 2005 in London. One of the respondents also believes that "it will change after the wars have finished". Other interesting answers are "It will take a long time before we are seen as equal again". One female respondent writes that she is not satisfied with the roles of media in the face of representing Islam, especially when it comes to the role of women.

Discussion

It is apparent that all of the respondents are extremely dissatisfied with the way they are described by the Media. They think that media spread mainly negative information about them and some information is not based on the truth. According to the questionnaires, it is probable that British Muslims sense that the media is something like an

enemy that tries to derogate them. They feel that the newspapers do not distinguish among moderate and extreme groups of Muslims. As it is apparent from one answer above, Muslims assume that they are seen as very strict and violent people who do not respect other groups or religions and have no sense of Britishness. They also feel that people do not understand the concept of Islam. The Daily Mail and the Sun, both tabloids (red top newspapers) were mentioned several times as newspapers whose stories are, negative almost all the time. Both newspapers belong to the bestselling ones in Great Britain and are published on a daily basis. BBC was mentioned once as a better source or neutral source.

Two respondents are convinced that the negative portrayal of Muslims by the media started after the terrorist attacks in 2001 in New York which was carried out by Muslims from the outside and in 2005 in London, which was carried out by British born Muslims. The fact that the attack in Britain was made by people who were raised in the country caused an even bigger fear of Islam and xenophobic feelings among people. The subsequent media campaign did not help to decrease the dislike and fear of Muslims but did quite the opposite. It resulted in 'islamophobia' and negative newspaper headlines on an almost daily basis caused an even more tense situation where many young Muslims may have become confused due to the antagonistic environment around them. The question of loyalty towards the British state has been often brought up. Furthermore, some people of the non Muslim society could form the impression that Islam is a religion which proclaims violence. Yet, as another respondent claims, people do not have the right conception of Islam; it is a religion of peace. Professor Kropáček states "Suicide terrorist attacks do not belong to Islam; actual hate against the West is felt only by a small group of Muslims and the rest which is considerably larger want peace and co-operation". (Kropáček, 2002, s. 136)

Another negative impact may also be the feeling of inequality; according to one respondent, it is possible that Muslims do not feel equal. She feels that it will take a long time before they are seen as equal again. As the situation was caused by the attacks which were followed by the 'war on terror', there is a certain feeling that when the 'war conflicts' are over, everything will improve.

8. CONCLUSION

According to the results of the questionnaire, 87% of respondents described themselves as British, which almost matches the results of the British statistics in 2004 where the result was slightly lower at 78%. One female respondent describes herself as British Muslim so she stresses both her British and Muslim identity. This is an example that both identities can co-operate and co-exist and create a larger identity. One respondent describes herself as a Muslim where she stresses her religious identity more. However, she was not born in Britain so her feelings of belonging may be somewhere else. It is apparent that the majority of the respondents consider British a form of identity. This is proven by the responses to the second question where none of the respondents answered negatively; on the contrary, most of the responses were quite positive. What is more one respondent stated "I am a British Pakistani as it is a part of my identity" where she stresses two identities which overlap and create one larger identity, of which she is quite confident. Other responses included words such as equal treatment, opportunity to succeed regardless of one's background or wealth. Also, question number three contained the word fairness where again equal treatment is stressed as a typical sign of Britishness.

To find out the obstacles for British Muslims, questions regarding British law were asked as well. 53% of the respondents are happy or satisfied with the British law and they would not change anything. This result almost matches the result of the survey which was carried out by the European Knowledge Urban network in 2007 where 56% of British Muslims would like to live under British law instead of 'Sharia' law. The reasons for dissatisfaction with the British law system were expressed mainly by female respondents. The respondents are not happy with the way criminals are treated; they wish there were more Muslims in government. One respondent expresses his dissatisfaction with the way Muslims are portrayed by the media and he would probably want the government to take some action. The dissatisfaction with the media was very high. All respondents clearly stated that they are extremely dissatisfied and almost angry with the media. They feel that the information which is reported is not always correct and mainly negative. According to the responses it may be due to lack of information about Islam. The negative campaign after the terrorist attacks in September 11, 2001in New York and July 7, and 2005 in London probably intensified

negative and xenophobic feelings towards Muslims in the British society. This may have resulted in a situation where some of British Muslims feel as 'second-class citizens' which could have an impact on their identity, especially with the younger generation. As the creation of one's identity is highly dependent on one's environment, British Muslims could feel unwelcome in the country they were born in and the danger of being negatively influenced by a third party may increase. Also, due to frustration and discrimination the number of crimes which are committed by British Muslims could increase.

Other problems could be seen in the area of employment where 26 % of respondents stated that there were some obstacles. The reason for dissatisfaction was mostly discrimination and perception stereotypes. However, the number of negative answers was low and the answers contained words like 'sometimes' and one respondent mentioned that wok is the deciding factor. Also, with regard to the second question where equal treatment was often mentioned, the obstacles in the area of employment are not frequent.

The questions regarding the 7/7 terrorist attack in London were asked to find out respondents' views on the subject because the attacks influenced them immediately afterwards due to the follow up islamophobia. All of the respondents stated that the attacks were completely wrong. It is apparent from the answers that the respondents seem to be even angry with the terrorists and they strongly disapprove of the attacks. Majority of respondents thinks that the terrorists must have been brainwashed or that it happened due to British actions in the west; mainly the war in Iraq and Afghanistan.

According to the respondents, the main reason for the growth of radical Islam is similar to the reason which was stated by the 7/7 London terrorists themselves. Forty percent of respondents think that it was due to British foreign policy, especially the participation in the war in Iraq. The second most stated reason was that Muslims are easily influenced by imams who belong to the extreme Islamic groups. One respondent think that it is caused by lack of education and unwillingness to learn.

Discussing contribution of Muslims to the British society the majority of respondents thinks that the contribution is vast and it appears in various aspect of life. The most common words are: hard work and culture including food, fashion and religion. The most significant answer stresses out that British Muslims contribute by a different level of discipline and strong family structure. The respondent indicated that

there are strong bonds between the family members, elders are respected and family gatherings take place very often. One interpretation for 'different level of discipline' might be the number of religious events and praying times as well as the high number of Muslims who attend mosques compared to the rest of British people of different religion.

Some differences between the female and male answers could be seen in the responses to question one, where women mention mainly help and service and men mention equal treatment. Furthermore, female are more dissatisfied with British law according to this survey. They feel that criminals should be treated differently. Also, as the reason for the growth of radical Islam, men comment on personality and 'strange influences' while women feel that foreign policy is to blame.

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APPENDIX A

1.

Lucie Gregorova

Questionnaire

University of West Bohemia
Faculty of Education
Czech Republic

This survey is a part of a bachelor thesis and its aim is to find people's attitudes and opinions on issues regarding identity of British Muslims. Filling the questionnaire shouldn't take more than 20 minutes. Your answers will be strictly confidential. After you have completed the questionnaire, could you please give it to Mr. Vaqas Nawaz (43 Maidstone road, Perry Barr, Birmingham), by the 20th November the latest. Thank you very much for your time and support.

Gender: male female

British born: yes/no

Age: 3

Ethnicity

White/British... White/other.... Black/African Caribbean.... Black/other....

Asian/Indian.... Asian/Pakistani.... Chinese.... Mixed Race... Any other.....

- 1. How would you call yourself if you were to choose from these:

 Irish, British, English, Welsh, Scottish any other.
- 2. Are you proud to be British? What makes you proud?

yes, a sense of taimess and justice for all

3. What do you find typically British?

The weather, the food, sense of humour

- 4. Are you satisfied with the British law system? If not, is there anything you would change?
- 5. Are there any obstacles for you as a Muslim in the U.K, especially in the terms of education or employment?

NO

6. What is in your opinion the contribution of British Muslims to British society?

Vast, the ar honest, hardwalking people

7. Why do you think the 7/7 London bombing happen? Do you think it was completely wrong, just, justifiable or other?

Completly wrong, there was no justification for it

8. In your opinion, what caused the recent growth of Muslim radicalism in the U.K

The wor in Iraq and afghonista

9. Are you satisfied with the way how Muslims are portrayed in the media? (Do you think they are portrayed negatively, positively, other...)

Certain newspapers Such as the Sch don't Seen to potres mulins in a good way. Nearly all their stones are negative and they catagorise all mulinis as un patriotic who have extreme views on other groups and have extreme views on other groups

SUMMARY IN CZECH

Tato práce se zabývá britskými muslimy, jejich přínosem pro britskou společnost a poukazuje na možné problémy při vytváření identity člověka.

Práce je zaměřena na malou skupinu muslimů zejména pakistánského původu v Birminghamu. Práce je rozdělena na teoretickou a praktickou část. Teoreticka část se snaží definovat identitu jako takovou a zabývá se tématy jako *britství* a *multikulturalismus* a naznačuje přínos muslimů pro britskou společnost. Dále jsou v ní popsány události okolo teroristického útoku v Londýně 7. července, 2005 a následné mediální kampaně, která také ovlivnila život muslimů v Británii.

V praktické části jsou popsány a analyzovány výsledky z dotazníku, který se skládá z jedné uzavřené a osmi otevřených otázek. První okruh otázek je zaměřen na identitu a vztah britských muslimů k Velké Británii, druhý okruh se zabývá jejich přínosem pro britskou společnost a třetí teroristickými útoky.

Dle výsledků studie je většina dotazovaných pyšná na to, že jsou Britové, kdy mezi hlavní udávané důvody patří 'rovnoprávnost a pomoc ostatním'. Dále, všichni dotazovaní odsuzují teroristické útoky v Londýně a z části viní i sdělovací prostředky, která dle jejich slov šíří hlavně negativní zprávy o muslimech. Přínosem pro společnost jsou zmiňovány hlavně cultura, jídlo a práce.