The politics of identity and citizenship has assumed increasing importance as our polities have become significantly more culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse. Different types of scholars, including philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and historians make contributions to this field and this series showcases a variety of innovative contributions to it. Focusing on a range of different countries, and utilizing the insights of different disciplines, the series helps to illuminate an increasingly controversial area of research and titles in it will be of interest to a number of audiences including scholars, students and other interested individuals.

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Dedicated to my children, with love
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The integration of migrants and their children is one of the most topical and contentious concerns in contemporary Western society and is likely to remain so for some years as demographic change will inevitably lead to an even more diverse society. However much some politicians (and their supporters) talk about reducing immigration, we cannot turn the clock back even if we wanted to. There is a growing proportion of young British-born citizens from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds (although by no means as high a proportion as in some other Western countries), especially in our major metropolitan areas. Their futures will form a major part of the continuing story of Britain.

We have a moral responsibility towards the future of these young people – many are here because the British government and employers actively wanted their parents or grandparents to come and work in the expanding post-war economy, or had recruited their forebears for service in the British military. Others came as refugees, often following the turmoil of British withdrawal from its imperial possessions and the conflicts in the newly independent countries of South Asia and East Africa where Britain had not perhaps managed the transition to self-government as well as it might have done. More recently our interventions, however well intentioned, in the Middle East and Afghanistan have led to new waves of refugees.

Apart from the powerful moral case for working for the successful integration of Britain’s minority populations, I would argue that diversity is a potential source of creativity and social progress, bringing benefits to the wider society as well as to the migrants and their children. The world’s most diverse societies such as Australia, Canada and the USA are also some of the most impressive for their dynamism and social cohesion. While we cannot be sure of cause and effect, levels of diversity much higher than the current British level appear to be entirely compatible with maintaining a rich and stable society.

But it would be foolish to deny that rapid social change – whether it is demographic change resulting from immigration or the collapse of mining and manufacturing industries during the de-industrialisation of the 1980s – brings challenges for society. There will be economic losers as well as winners. And it takes time, both for the migrants and for established members of the British majority group, to adjust to the
new conditions and character of British society. So there will inevitably be some frictions or tensions, just as there were at the time of earlier migrations of Jewish refugees or Irish workers escaping economic hardship.

A great deal of the quantitative survey-based work that has been carried out on minority and majority populations suggests that adaptation and integration follows either a life-course or generational pattern. (See for example the articles in the special issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2014) on generational change.) In particular we find that younger generations of white British citizens, who have grown up in a multicultural society, feel less prejudiced or xenophobic than older generations, who grew up and developed their attitudes and expectations about life in Britain at a time when migration from Commonwealth or European countries (other than Ireland) was still relatively rare. Similarly we find that recent arrivals from abroad, whether from Africa or Asia, are less likely to speak English, to have British friends, to have British citizenship or to think of themselves as British than migrants or their children who have lived in Britain for longer. It can hardly be surprising if recent arrivals are not especially ‘integrated’ in the sense of speaking English, having a British identity or engaging in British civic and political life. Much more concerning, from a policy point of view, would be a failure of integration on the part of the ‘second generation’ – that is, of the children of the migrants.

In this important book Dr Mustafa focuses on the identities, experiences and political repertoire and engagement of young second-generation British Muslims. As we have argued elsewhere (Heath and Demireva, 2014), a focus on the second generation is critical for a proper understanding of the dynamics of integration and possible future scenarios. And a focus on Muslims is timely since they have become one of the largest faith communities in Britain and are often seen, rightly or wrongly, by some Western commentators as having values and interests which may be unusually difficult to accommodate within a Western European and notionally Christian context.

Dr Mustafa’s work complements the usual quantitative survey-based research that my colleagues and I have conducted with in-depth qualitative work which allows young people to speak for themselves, in their own words. This kind of research adds a more fine-grained and more dynamic analysis than the snapshot which our typical survey provides. Perhaps most importantly it brings out the diversity of Muslims’ experiences, views and reactions to life in Britain. The typical move in survey research is to show that, on average, British Muslims are more likely to
practise their faith and to have a strong religious identity than do British Christians. But a focus on average differences between Muslims and Christians runs the risk of ‘essentialising’ both Muslims and Christians, treating them as immutable and homogeneous communities. As Dr Mustafa skilfully brings out, however, young British Muslims are far from a homogeneous group and there are crucial variations in their strengths of religious and national identities, their orientations towards British society and their modes of political engagement. A key emphasis in her research is on the differences between four different sorts of young Muslim – those who downplay their Muslim identification and retain simply a symbolic ethno-religious identity; those with a cosmopolitan, internationalist and multicultural identity; those with a dual identity, thinking of themselves as British Muslims (the largest single group); and finally a small group who prioritise their Muslim identity and for whom a British identity is at best secondary and purely pragmatic, with little emotional attachment to Britain.

I would add that similar distinctions could almost certainly be found within other faith communities such as Jewish, Sikh and Christian communities. We need to recognise that there is diversity within the overall religious diversity of British society. Understanding this diversity within the broad Muslim community is central for informed policy-making, just as understanding the diversity within Christian and agnostic populations of Britain is also crucial for understanding that there is not one single set of British values or British way of life to which Muslims or other faith communities might wish or be expected to adapt. Simple stereotypes about either Muslims or about Britain are not a helpful way of thinking or policy-making.

Once one has understood the diversity within all our faith communities, it is a natural second step to attempt to understand the variety of processes which are implicated. The varied experiences people have in their encounters with other members of society, and the messages they hear from politicians or the media, will be important in influencing whether some of these four groups increase or shrink in size. (And similarly, encounters and experiences of other British citizens with their Muslim compatriots will have reciprocal consequences too for patterns and profiles of sympathy and social distance.)

Their experiences of life in Britain will also shape the patterns of political engagement of these young British Muslims. Feelings of frustration, anger and discontent, often about the way in which one’s identity group is unfairly treated or marginalised, are powerful stimuli for engaging in a range of political activities, broadly defined – consumer boycotts or
non-violent demonstrations, for example, although also conventional electoral participation and campaigning for mainstream political parties. This is, I suspect, the same kind of political repertoire as we would find among other young British citizens, but what may be more distinctive among young Muslims is the feeling that they belong to groups who are at one and the same time unfairly treated and have little chance of securing effective redress through conventional channels. These are by no means always complaints about political opportunities in Britain: the situation of Palestinians in the Middle East and their perceived inability to make progress through conventional diplomacy worries young Muslims too as members of the world-wide ummah of the faithful. What comes out particularly strongly from Dr Mustafa’s interviews is the sense that young Muslims’ concerns are not narrowly selfish ‘pocket-book’ concerns but instead derive from subjective identification with a wider community and are in that sense altruistic. Similarly, much of their political action has to be seen as expressive rather than instrumental; it is intended to signal their concerns to political authorities who too often seem not to be listening.

It is also important to understand, as Dr Mustafa again clearly demonstrates, the dynamic nature of these processes. Whether we like it or not, British communities of all faiths or none are experiencing processes of continual change, sometimes faster, sometimes slower (though we probably wrongly tend to see current changes as proceeding faster and past changes as proceeding slower). As Tancredi says in The Leopard, ‘If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change.’

The challenge, however, is to work out what aspects of British society one wants to stay as they are, and what things will have to be changed in order to achieve this. British traditions of tolerance, open-mindedness and a pragmatic willingness to compromise are some of the things I would wish to preserve, while the ‘othering’ and negative stereotyping of Muslims (and of other non-Christian faith groups) will need to be changed. Readers of Dr Mustafa’s book will find a rich and suggestive account, which I trust will lead us to think more deeply about how best to overcome the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities which increasing diversity is bound to entail.

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Acknowledgements

Over the years, I have received generous support which made possible the preparation of this book. I am grateful to the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (OCIS) for offering me my first academic post as Research Fellow, which gave me the opportunity to complete this book.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Anthony Heath, CBE, whose unwavering support and guidance have been invaluable. His patience and commitment were reassuring throughout the many years of academic development and achievement. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Mohammed Talib from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oxford, and OCIS, for his auspices and advice over the years.

The development of this book has been aided by numerous people. Special thanks to Professor Tariq Modood for engaging with this proposal from the start, and for his enduring academic support. I would also like to thank the illustrator Arub Saqib who took my thoughts and words and turned them into such beautiful images for this book.

This research would not have been possible without the help of the many friends and well-wishers who assisted in approaching respondents. To the interviewees themselves (who, though remaining anonymous, know who they are) I am inordinately appreciative. I hope the material you have provided will shed a wondrous light upon being young, British and Muslim for years to come.

I must dedicate this book to the people in my life who have been with me from the start, during the late nights, fieldwork away from home and numerous meetings. To those who have financially, emotionally and academically supported me throughout, without whom this book would be but a dream. To my dearest parents, Basil and Najwa; to my loving siblings Bara, Maysa and Rashed; and to my treasured husband, Mohanned, whose guidance and support has been invaluable – and with whom this long path was steadily walked.
Abbreviations and Acronyms

Engage  Campaign group for Muslim political participation  (since become MEND)
FOSIS  Federation of Student Islamic Societies
Himmat  Himmat project, more information:  http://www.himmat.org/
HMC  Halal Monitoring Committee
HT  Hizb ut Tahrir
ISB  Islamic Society of Britain
MAB  Muslim Association of Britain
MCB  Muslim Council of Britain
MPac  Muslim Public Affairs Committee
MYH  Muslim Youth Helpline
OCIS  Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies
PET  Preventing Extremism Together
PRC  Palestinian Return Centre
UKIM  UK Islamic Mission
# Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abaya</td>
<td>Ankle-length cloak or dress, usually black and single piece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abid</td>
<td>Servant or worshipper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allah</td>
<td>God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayah</td>
<td>Sign or miracle. Verse of the Quran.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deobandi</td>
<td>Individual who follows the Deoband Islamic movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eid</td>
<td>Islamic festival.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fast</td>
<td>Abstaining from food, liquids usually during Ramadan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatwa</td>
<td>Islamic religious ruling or legal opinion by an Islamic scholar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fiqh</td>
<td>Knowledge and explanation of Islam through its laws.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hadith</td>
<td>Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hajji</td>
<td>Pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia (Pillar of Islam).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Halal</td>
<td>Permitted/sanctioned in Islam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hanafi</td>
<td>One of the four schools of Islamic law, founded by Abu Hanifa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haram</td>
<td>Prohibited or unlawful within Islam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijab</td>
<td>Headscarf.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hijabi</td>
<td>Female who wears a headscarf.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hokum</td>
<td>Religious juristic ruling.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>Religious leader, leads prayer in mosque.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inshallah</td>
<td>God willing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jihad</td>
<td>Struggle.</td>
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<tr>
<td>jilbab</td>
<td>Long ankle-length cloak or dress.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jummuah</td>
<td>Friday. Usually referring to Friday prayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalifa</td>
<td>Successor. Leader of Muslim ummah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khilafah</td>
<td>The caliphate system – leadership system of Muslim nation (ummah).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masjid</td>
<td>Mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td>Muslim place of worship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujahid</td>
<td>Fighter for Islam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Munkar</td>
<td>Wrongdoing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafs</td>
<td>Soul or self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasheed</td>
<td>Religious songs or music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab</td>
<td>Female veil usually covering the face (or partly covering).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>PBUH</em></td>
<td>‘Peace be upon him’, said after ‘Prophet Muhammad’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quran</td>
<td>Islam’s holy book.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramadan</td>
<td>Muslim month of fasting (Pillar of Islam).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salah</td>
<td>Prayer (Pillar of Islam).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salwar kameez</td>
<td>Ethnic long shirt and trousers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharia</td>
<td>Islamic law.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shaytan</td>
<td>Devil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sufi</td>
<td>Muslim mystical order.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sunnah</td>
<td>The practice and example of the Prophet Muhammad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sura</td>
<td>Chapter in Quran.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWT</td>
<td>Subhanahu Wa Ta’ala (‘Pure is He and He is exalted’).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tablighi Jamaat</td>
<td>Religious movement for spreading Islam, founded in India.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ummah</td>
<td>Global Muslim community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakat</td>
<td>Alms-giving (Pillar of Islam).</td>
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Introduction

There are international events that have such a resounding impact on people’s lives that imagining a world in which they had not occurred would be difficult. For many Muslims, that ‘moment’ was the 9/11 terrorist attacks. There has been considerable pressure placed on Muslims since then – through media coverage, local and national government policies, regulations regarding security and laws preventing extremism.

The young Muslims in this book have experienced constant scrutiny of their identity. The focus on ‘belonging’, citizenship and identity has intensified as a result of actions such as the 7/7 London bombings, wars and conflicts (Iraq, Afghanistan and Israel/Palestine among others), and the attention given to the issue by policy-makers, think tanks and government initiatives (e.g. CONTEST strategy and PET – Preventing Extremism Together). This pressure on young Muslims is exacerbated by the results of opinion polls and surveys, the banning and burning of religious clothing and other symbols (hijabs, face coverings, mosques and Qurans) and the experiences of discrimination, Islamophobia and prejudice. These incidents, events and actions have been ongoing for over a decade, and have shaped the mindset of young Muslims who have lived through these experiences.

The critical focus on Islam and Muslim identity is perceived as a threat to one’s deepest identity and to one’s belief. When people feel pressured, inspected, judged and targeted, it potentially breeds dissatisfaction, frustration, perceived inequality and double standards. When it is asked why young second-, third- or further-generation Muslims identify so strongly with their religion, it could be argued that their perceived alienation from being ‘British’, ‘European’ or ‘American’ is pushing them further towards the only group identity they are familiar and comfortable with – their religious one.

Identity is a delicate, fluctuating and fluid concept. If we want to understand what makes religion a salient ‘political’ identity for these
young Muslims (over any other identity), then we must explore and understand how they identify themselves and how they perceive their surroundings. Muslim identities are not unified and singular; there is richness in the narratives of difference and diversity, even among the young. If identity is actively moulded and redefined, then the experiences, thoughts and feelings of these young Muslims must be understood in essence before exploring how and why this identity impacts their political world.

While race, ethnicity and political participation have been heavily linked in literature on migrant communities (Dawson, 1995; Saggar, 2000; Hechter, 2005), religion has until recently been given less attention. So it is vital that questions are posed – does the identity of young Muslims impact on political issues, concerns and action? Does a global identification with ummah (a worldwide religious community) manifest itself in global transnational political activity?

Not only have British ethnic minorities not united under a single identity capable of mobilising them all, but the number of identities that generate intensity of commitment and community mobilisation grows all the time... These identities are pragmatic moves, and they all define the field in which the moves are made. And yet all this leaves unanswered the question, why is it that ethnic (i.e. regional and national origins) and religious identities have come to be politically prominent among south Asians in Britain instead of other group identities, most notably, a colour-based identity? (Modood, 2005: 158)

Through exploring concepts of identity(ies) and their relationship to the political sphere, one can eventually gain an insight into integration. Political engagement is a significant method of gauging integration and belonging; it is a key means for minority ethnic and religious groups to express their preferred choices and to attempt to lobby to achieve them. Political participation is also important to religious minority groups because of government authority over legal frameworks. These laws may infringe on the right to practise one’s chosen religion or culture, as has been seen in France owing to the ban on religious insignia.

This book tackles unanswered questions about British Muslims and political participation: Can blogging be considered as a political activity and how is music related to political engagement? Do young Muslims advocate political violence as depicted by the media? Do those who do not vote fail to do so because they feel less British, or because they are
doubtful of the electoral system? Do British Muslims donate to political parties? Do they canvass for political campaigns? Does anyone view political graffiti favourably? Can flag burning ever be justified? These are some of the varied questions which are answered in the following chapters, providing a fascinating insight into the political participation of young British Muslims.

It is important to highlight at this point that the political engagement referred to during this book is not limited to the electoral field, as electoral activities alone do not define political engagement. Quantitative large-scale studies that confine their participatory definition to electoral activities are ignoring a large part of the social picture. Other forms of political participation should not be undervalued, since the conventional methods of participation may be inefficient, ineffective or inappropriate for certain citizens. It may also be that new forms of political activity go undetected if only conventional and traditional formats of political action are analysed, thus affecting participation rates (White et al., 2000; O'Toole, 2003).

Aside from discussions relating to political participation, this book also delves into questions of citizenship. Citizenship and civic engagement are terms that are difficult toconcisely define owing to their breadth. In brief, civic engagement is the estimated needs of the political community and one’s active participation within it to fulfil those needs. Because it is linked to the political arena and citizenship, the premise of this book is highly relevant to the debates that recurrently flare up across Europe and North America about multiculturalism, integration and belonging and/or difference. Debates over assimilation versus integration are ongoing both in academic literature as well as in the policy arena. Some argue that ethnicity and religious identity weaken through the generations; but other research has highlighted that this is not necessarily the case. If we take a look at North American examples, the future of Muslim group identity could follow a ‘symbolic’ route as described in the work of Waters (1990). For young Muslims in the West, religious practice and identity may become ‘optional’ – some practices are retained and cherished, while others are allowed to wither away – as in the example of American white second- and third-generation migrants, who assimilated through the generations.

Similar to the experience of African Americans, where politics and race are inextricably linked (Dawson, 1995), Muslims may choose religious group identity over other identity facets – cutting across ethnic and class divisions. Just as race was regarded as the uniting factor for African American politics before the 1960s, and is significant in African
American politics today, religion may potentially play an influencing role in the political participation of British Muslims.

[the Fourth National Survey] found that minority ethnic individuals, including those born and raised in Britain, strongly associated with their ethnic and family origins; there was very little erosion of group identification down the generations.

(Modood, 2005: 194)

Statistically, Muslims belong to the second largest faith group in Britain, numbering 2.7 million according to the 2011 census. Muslims have the youngest age structure – over 50 per cent are under the age of 24. Nearly 45 per cent of British Muslims are born in the UK and thus constitute the second or third generation. Research on Muslims has been conducted on such diverse aspects of life as housing, employment and education (Sarwar, 1991; Modood et al., 1997; Sellick, 2004; Abbas, 2005). However, little research exists regarding Muslims and the wider political sphere, especially concerning the role that identity and belonging play in influencing political engagement.

It is important to study the second generation because they can relay much more to us about integration and cultural transmission than the first generation. It is with research based on the second generation that we can understand and prepare targeted social and public policies for the coming minority ethnic and religious generations. Research on the second generation is also vital in understanding cultural transmission. This is because members of the second generation gain a sense of cultural identity from their parents, as well as being socialised in the wider context (through schools, social media, sports clubs, etc.). The second generation explore and respond to both their context and their socialisation, and make choices based on their perceptions and experiences.

This book is concerned with hearing the voices of young British Muslims, discussing the intricacies of identity, local community and their place in society. It explores how these individuals understand their place in both British society and the wider world; it examines the debates on the nature of citizenship and belonging, on what engaging politically means to them, and asks how young British Muslims are politically engaged and to what degree their engagement is focused on ethnic, national or religious issues.

The research and fieldwork contained in this book are based on doctoral research conducted at the University of Oxford, using qualitative methods. Qualitative methodology was chosen because the research objectives required vivid descriptions of individual attitudes, values