

**ISLAMIC NURTURE IN THE WEST:
APPROACHES TO PARENTING AMONGST
SECOND GENERATION PAKISTANIS AND
KHOJAS IN PETERBOROUGH**

Sarah Margaret Vivian Smalley

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

The University of Leeds, Department of Theology and Religious Studies
May 2002

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate
credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped me along the path towards the completion of this thesis. My supervisors Kim Knott and (for the second half of my period of study) Sean McLoughlin have been unfailingly responsive, honest, interested and supportive. I feel very fortunate to have been supervised by them. Norma Wildman, Muhammad Afzal, Mahmood and Naznin Hooda, and Zulfikar and Sukaina Manji all gave me generous help in finding people to interview and in answering large numbers of questions. I should like to thank all the mothers and fathers, teachers and community leaders who gave me interviews and information. I have on a number of occasions had cause to be very grateful to Jonathan Bowman for his willing assistance on the computer front. My family were a wonderful support, and I should particularly like to thank my mother, Lucy Roe, for her inspiring example as a proponent of life-long learning, my children Rachel Roe and Davey Smalley, for never failing to be interested in and ready to discuss what I was doing, and my granddaughters Molly and Rosa for re-engaging my own sense of family continuities as well as for the sheer pleasure of their company. Most of all I should like to thank my husband Martin Richards for his unfailing willingness to enter into the world of my research and be interested, engaged, challenging and kind for four and a half years. Working for a doctorate would be a very solitary activity without the support and help so freely given by others, friends and colleagues as well as family. Thank you all.

Abstract

Literature on South Asian migration to Britain points to the continuing importance of religion to migrants, particularly to Muslims. Religious continuity depends on effective transmission of beliefs, practices and values to younger generations. South Asians account for around three-quarters of British Muslims but within this group there is wide variation as regards socio-economic status, education, migration and settlement history, cultural norms and sectarian affiliation. This study considers the impact of migration on the religious nurture provided by two groups of second generation parents of South Asian Muslim origin in Peterborough: one group's background is in Pakistan, and the other group, the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri, are East African Asian Muslims. This qualitative study is based on interviews with parents about their approaches to the religious nurture of their children and the ways in which this was similar to or different from their own upbringing. In each group twenty-four parents, mostly mothers, took part in semi-structured interviews. These were supplemented by ethnographic observation to give a detailed account of religious nurture in the two communities.

The study investigates both formal and informal nurture as well as the family background contexts and the impact of children's schooling. Similarities and differences between the two communities are described and an explanatory framework in terms of transnationalism and diaspora is suggested; the use of the concepts of 'community' and 'culture' is discussed with reference to the groups studied. Transgenerational differences in approaches to nurture are discussed in the context of changes attributable to migration and those linked to aspects of modern life at a global level. The analysis suggests that differences are linked to socio-economic status and migration history, particularly as regards the 'once-migrant' and 'twice-migrant' character of the communities. Differences are also related to the conflation of religion and culture in the Pakistani families and to community support networks and the nature of the Shi'a religious calendar in the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri ones. The study highlights the extent of Muslim diversity within the two communities as well as differences between them.

Parents showed very high levels of commitment to the transmission of religious values and practices to the third generation. Levels of religious observance were variable but had not declined overall across one generation. Most parents did not aspire to educational success for their children if it was to be achieved at the expense of religious continuity. They negotiated ways of maintaining Islamic requirements as they interpreted them whilst trying to 'fit in' with mainstream life in Britain.

Contents

Page no.

Introduction

6

Chapter 1. Literature review

Part A. Migration and settlement

8

I. South Asian migration to Britain

8

II. Islam and Muslims in Britain

12

III. Ethnic identities, religious identities

19

IV. Transnational families, diaspora communities

23

Part B. Religion, culture and family life

27

V. Family structures

27

VI. Cultural values and attitudes

33

VII. Islam and family values

37

Part C. Nurture and education

VIII. Religious nurture

41

IX. Muslim families and the secular education system

51

Chapter 2. Methods

Introduction

59

I. Fieldwork choices

60

II. Fieldwork process

62

III. How the material was analysed

72

Chapter 3. The two communities

Introduction: a brief history of Peterborough

75

I. The Pakistani community: migration and settlement

76

II. The Pakistani community: introduction to the interview families

79

III. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community: migration and settlement

85

IV. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community: introduction to the interview families

87

Chapter 4. Family and relationships, values and behaviour: Pakistani families

Introduction

94

I. Demographic data

94

II. Nuclear family households, extended family lives

96

III. Transnational family patterns

98

IV. Hierarchical relationships: gender

100

V. Hierarchical relationships: age

103

VI. Values and behaviour: *pardah*

109

VII. Values and behaviour: the dress code and *hijab*

111

VIII. Values and behaviour: *izzat*

114

IX. Transgenerational change

115

Chapter 5. Family and relationships, values and behaviour: Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families

	Introduction	116
I.	Demographic data	116
II.	Nuclear family households, extended family lives	118
III.	Transnational families, diasporic community	121
IV.	Hierarchical relationships: gender	121
V.	Hierarchical relationships: age	123
VI.	Values and behaviour: <i>pardah</i>	131
VII.	Values and behaviour: the dress code and <i>hijab</i>	135
VIII.	Values and behaviour: <i>izzat</i>	138
IX.	Transgenerational change	140

Chapter 6. Muslim parenting: informal nurture and home life

	Introduction	142
I.	Creating an Islamic environment	143
II.	Informal nurture: some shared issues	144
III.	Parenting issues: Pakistani families	147
IV.	Parenting issues: Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri parents	154
	Conclusion	160

Chapter 7. Formal religious nurture: Pakistani families

	Introduction	162
I.	The Qur'an	162
II.	The Five Pillars of Islam	167
III.	The mosque, juma' prayers and the role of the imam	173
IV.	The cycle of the religious year	176
V.	Visits to Pakistan	178
VI.	Transgenerational change	179
	Conclusion	183

Chapter 8. Formal religious nurture: Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families

	Introduction	185
I.	The Qur'an	187
II.	The Five Pillars of Islam	190
III.	Mosque and community	196
IV.	The cycle of the religious year	199
V.	Transgenerational change	206
	Conclusion	208

Chapter 9. School education and Muslim parents

I.	Pakistani families	210
II.	Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families	218

Chapter 10. Conclusion	
I. Summary of research findings	225
II. Research conclusions	228
Glossary	234
Appendix i Fieldwork letter	236
Appendix ii Interview schedule	237
Bibliography	239

Introduction

This thesis is a qualitative study of how second generation migrant parents from two Muslim communities in Peterborough approach the religious nurture of their children. My intention was to investigate transgenerational change related to migration and to modernity. The research was based on interviews with members of twenty-four families from each community. The depth of ethnographic detail gives an insight into the roles of men and particularly of women as parents. A summary of the content is as follows. Chapter 1 is a review of literature on South Asian migration to Britain, including settlement patterns and outcomes, Islam and Muslims, family structures and values amongst Muslim and other South Asian families in Britain, issues such as identity and community, the relationship between religion and culture, religious nurture and the relationship of British Muslims to the state education system. Chapter 2 gives an outline of the research method and procedures used. Chapter 3 introduces the Pakistani and the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri communities in Peterborough. It gives an overview of the twenty-four interview families in each group. Chapters 4 and 5 give first for the Pakistanis then for the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheris the family background information that sets out the context in which parents approach religious nurture. This includes family demography, structures, broad cultural attitudes and values and more specific religious ones. Chapter 6 looks at informal religious nurture in the two communities, examining the way that everyday actions and decisions within the home impact upon and contribute to religious nurture. Chapters 7 and 8 give first for the Pakistani then for the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri groups an account of formal religious nurture through religious and community institutions and events, and considers the extent to which there is continuity of Islamic religious practice in the migration context. Chapter 9 considers the impact of school education and the extent to which it is seen as undermining children's nurture within home and community. Chapter 10 summarises the similarities and differences of approach between the two communities, and considers in the light of the data how far any transgenerational changes are attributable to migration or to other factors. It concludes that a religious identification is of central importance to both groups of families in the study, but that the pre-migration character of the communities and their migration experiences have had a strong influence on the ways second generation parents approached the religious nurture of their children in Britain.

My work as a religious education adviser with a local authority had for a number of years caused me to be interested in the religious nurture of children within a range of faith traditions. I was aware that the theme of cultural and religious identity had generated a considerable amount of academic research. Much of the focus had been on the viewpoints of young people within minority ethnic communities, but there was little work which articulated the perspectives of their parents. Within the South Asian context there was research on the religious nurture of Sikh and Hindu children. However there was very little on the religious experience of Muslim children in Britain, in spite of the observation that they tended to know more about their religion than those from other South Asian backgrounds. I was also conscious of the very partial representation of Islam and Muslims in many school text books; the characteristically scriptural and belief-

oriented emphasis tended to include few references to family life and to gloss over aspects such as the fact that many mosques were rarely used by women. Stereotyped and essentialized representations of Islam were also commonplace in the mass media (Richardson 1997). One of my objectives was thus to contribute to an understanding of the diversity of Islam and Muslims. Through working with schools in Peterborough I knew that there were two substantial Muslim communities in the city; this offered a potentially fruitful research opportunity in terms of exploring patterns of commonality and difference within and between groups of Muslims who shared a similar experience (living in Peterborough and bringing up children in the late 1990s), shared a cultural background (both South Asian), but were different in terms of migration history, socio-economic status and sectarian affiliation within Islam.

My personal interest in and sense of affinity with Islam and Muslims stemmed from a childhood spent in Algeria and Egypt, reinforced by a number of visits to Muslim majority countries in adult life. I felt strongly that the representation of Muslims, particularly Muslim women, in public life, suffered from an absence of voice - people did not see beyond the *hijab* to the ordinary person behind it. I aimed to produce research which in a small way contributed to an understanding of the family lives of Muslims in Britain.

The Pakistani origin population of Britain has been the subject of a considerable amount of research, but the other community on which this study is based is much less well known and I shall therefore give a brief introduction to its members here. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri are a caste-like grouping of Gujarati origin, Muslim by religion, with a strong presence in East Africa until the 1970s when many left for Britain, North America and other parts of the world. The community is introduced in more detail in Chapter 3.

A brief note on words of foreign origin. I have transliterated Arabic terms but have not made a distinction between the forms of 's', 't' or 'd' that occur in the originals. With the exception of those in common usage in an English context, words and phrases from Arabic, Urdu and Panjabi are italicised for the first two or three times they occur, and those used more than once are included in the glossary. I have followed the usage of most of my interviewees and anglicized plural forms rather than using the Arabic ones. For ease of reading I have used the abbreviation 'KSI' to refer to the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri in much of the thesis.

Chapter 1. Literature review

Introduction

This first chapter will start with a consideration of themes and issues in the literature on South Asian migration to Britain in the second half of the twentieth century. It will focus mainly but not exclusively on groups of people who are Muslim by religion - that is, the great majority of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants and some from an Indian background - since the question of the perpetuation of Islam in a migration context is at the heart of this study. The literature review is divided into three sections; Part A covers migration and settlement, including the pre-migration experience, the migration process and the settlement outcomes for people of South Asian origins who came to live and work in Britain, and who shared a broad cultural background and a frame of reference rooted in the Indian subcontinent. This part focuses primarily on Muslims and Islam in a British context, addressing issues of religious and ethnic identity, community and transnationalism. Part B explores demographic, structural and attitudinal aspects of family life (as the context in which religious nurture takes place), and the impact of migration on the religious and cultural frameworks that shape family patterns and values. Part C considers approaches to religious nurture in a migration context, and the impact of a secular state education system. These three broad areas of research provide a backcloth for this study of approaches to parenting amongst second generation migrant Muslims in the city of Peterborough.

The breadth of approach makes it difficult to fit research on migration, child rearing, religion and culture into a single theoretical mould. The study involves a number of interlinking conceptual frameworks rather than a single overarching one. This literature review covers a broad field, and considers scholarship from a number of areas, including anthropology, sociology, psychology, geography, religious studies, race and ethnicity studies, philosophy and history. Concepts such as identity and community are considered, although they do not constitute the central focus of the study. All of these elements contribute to the understanding of the lives of transnational and diasporic families of South Asian origins and Muslim religion in Britain.

Part A: Migration and settlement

I. South Asian migration to Britain

The first section of this chapter gives an overview of research on the migration and settlement history of members of South Asian communities who came to Britain after the Second World War, including the two communities from which the groups in this study are drawn. This gives some background on the experiences shared by these groups, as well as illustrating aspects of diversity and exploring some of the reasons for differences in post-migration outcomes.

i. Patterns of migration and settlement

During the 1950s and 1960s Britain, like other European countries, experienced severe labour shortages in the period of reconstruction following the Second World War and encouraged labour migration from former colonies and from the poorer countries of Europe. In the case of Britain, these migrants came first from the ranks of people displaced after the war, then from the Caribbean, then from certain parts of the Indian subcontinent (Rex and Moore 1967). Many of the latter migrants followed earlier pioneers who helped them find jobs and accommodation, and who formed the first links in a chain of further migration by kin and acquaintances from their towns and villages in India and Pakistan. Nearly all were men; they included Hindus, Sikhs and a small number of Christians as well as the Muslims featured in the present study (Jeffery 1971; Dahya 1972, 1974, 1988; Anwar 1979; Saifullah Khan 1979; Carey and Shukur 1985; Robinson 1986; Adams 1987; Alam 1987; Shaw 1988; Clarke, Peach and Vertovec 1990; Ballard 1994; Brah 1996). The process of chain migration meant that settlement was often clustered, with groups from a particular village or area seeking to live close together in cheap old houses in Britain's industrial heartlands (Rex and Moore 1967).

Most such families subscribed to the 'myth of return', believing that when the men had made enough money through hard work and frugal living in Britain, they would go back to Pakistan on a permanent basis (Dahya 1972, 1974; Anwar 1979). Wives and children of migrants had in most cases stayed in the subcontinent while it was still easy for men to travel back home quite frequently. However by the early 1960s it became clear that the British government was intending to restrict entry (through the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962) and this led to a rush of further immigration before the door was closed. From 1962 onwards the bulk of immigration to Britain from the Indian subcontinent consisted of the wives and other dependents of earlier male settlers, despite fears over the potentially damaging effect of life in Britain on the cultural and moral well-being of women and children (Robinson 1986). Through the 1980s and early 1990s family reunion accounted for most of the declining trickle of immigration.

Many of the early migrants went to work in old established centres of industrial production. This soon led to the growth of settlements inhabited by people who had come from the same village or area in Pakistan or Bangladesh, a pattern strengthened further by family reunion (Anwar 1979; Ballard 1994). Places of worship, shops, businesses and community centres were built up around them; encapsulated patterns of settlement made it possible for many people to live entirely amongst their fellow migrants (Dahya 1974; Anwar 1979; Robinson 1986).

ii. Twice migrants

A second impetus to the growth of South Asian origin communities in Britain was given in the 1970s by events in the newly independent states of East Africa. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania all pursued Africanization policies which threatened the economic and social position of the Asian communities there (Bhachu 1985b; Robinson 1986; Twaddle

1990; Brah 1996). These communities had grown up over centuries through trade between the east coast of Africa and the west coast of India, and later through the employment of Asian workers as indentured labourers (Bharati 1972; Twaddle 1990; Mattausch 1998). The Asian community had come to dominate the mercantile and commercial sectors of the economy, occupying an intermediate social stratum between the British colonialists and the indigenous African people. When the African states won independence in the 1960s, long simmering resentment of this commercial dominance resulted in pressure for members of the Asian community either to take national citizenship and stay, or to retain their British citizenship and leave. Many took the latter course and left for Britain or North America; smaller numbers went back to India (Bhachu 1985b; Robinson 1986; Clarke, Peach and Vertovec 1990).

Those who came to Britain from East Africa differed from the earlier migrants of South Asian background in several important ways. Many East African Asians came to Britain as complete families with all generations represented. They were effectively refugees so there was no 'myth of return'; on the contrary it was vital for them to settle and make new lives in Britain as soon as possible. Compared with labour migrants of the 1950s and 60s who came direct from the Indian subcontinent, many settlers of East African background characteristically had more fluent English, and were likely to have had more education including formal qualifications (Bhachu 1985b; Twaddle 1990). Predominantly town dwellers, they were also more likely to arrive with some professional or business experience and capital; some had sent family members on ahead to explore business, employment and educational options beforehand. This all had a positive impact on their life trajectories after arrival in Britain; Bhachu's characterization of these groups as 'twice migrants' suggested that their previous experience of establishing themselves in a migration context helped them to make best use of their talents in the new situation (Bhachu 1985b). Many settled in towns like Leicester where there were good economic opportunities in the form of dilapidated and therefore cheaply acquired factories and housing which might be revitalised. Government attempts to disperse the refugees to areas where there was little existing Asian settlement were resisted by the new arrivals, many of whom quickly moved to places where they already had family or friends (Robinson 1986).

A dearth of research on subdivisions within East African Asian Muslim groups makes it difficult to assess cultural commonalities and differences between the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri and migrants of Pakistani origin. In one very specific study, Nagar's (2000) research on the KSI community in Tanzania indicated that families were characteristically prosperous, and had a reputation as the most socially and religiously conservative members of the Asian mosaic in East Africa.

iii. Socio-economic outcomes

Labour migrants from the Indian subcontinent had in most cases obtained employment as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in the manufacturing sector (Anwar 1979). From the mid 1970s onwards the growing economic depression led to a steep decline in the

availability of jobs of this type. Increasingly the migrants were in competition for scarce jobs with unskilled white workers (Robinson 1986). Racial discrimination excluded many from better work opportunities even after it had been outlawed (Modood, Berthoud et al. 1997).

The coalescence of unemployment in the mainstream with the potential for niche marketing opportunities in ethnic enclaves, added to cultural values which favoured trade and enterprise, and the further factor of disadvantage due to racial discrimination, all interacted to make self-employment an attractive proposition for many people of South Asian origin (Robinson 1986).¹ This flowering of self-employment was not always a positive development in the long term, however, as in some cases apparent success masked underemployment in family-run enterprises, or the employment of women doing home working for minimal wages (Afshar 1989b).

Some scholars took a broadly optimistic view of the migrants' situation by the mid 1990s, based on analysis of progress rather than achievement in absolute terms. Iganski and Payne (1996) showed how ethnic minority workers collectively were much closer to the white mainstream employment distribution (including the professions) than twenty-five years previously, when there was more active and measurable exclusion from jobs. However this overview masked the great differences between particular South Asian communities.

The 4th Policy Studies Institute survey underlined the way in which diversity of origin (education, level of pre-migration prosperity, rural/urban experience) had a strong impact on the outcomes for migrants' lives (Modood et al. 1997).² Allowing for the fact that there was a considerable range within any one national or ethnic group, some overall patterns were evident. By the mid 1990s, migrants of East African Asian origin had achieved broad parity with the white indigenous population in terms of education, housing and employment. Those of Indian origin more often occupied a middle position, and people from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds were consistently at a disadvantage. Four-fifths of the latter families lived in poverty (Modood 1997: 343). In seeking to account for this, Berthoud and Beishon (1997) suggested the reason might lie in a combination of factors, including high unemployment for men, low rates of economic activity for women, low wages for those in employment, and larger families to be supported.

Some of this diversity appeared at first glance to be associated with religious difference. For example, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups were both less prosperous, and both were predominantly Muslim, whereas Indian groups, predominantly Hindu and Sikh,

¹ For example 50% of retail outlets in Britain in 1997 were said to be owned or managed by people of South Asian origin (Anwar 1998: 27)

² The PSI's work provides more detailed quantitative data on ethnic minority groups than any other sources, with more appropriate categories than the Census, and with a less racially constructed framework and more acknowledgement of diversity within national/ethnic groupings. For a critique of the construction of the 1991 Census ethnic categories, see Ballard (1997).

were more financially successful. Several studies argued however that Islam itself was not a causal factor in keeping people poor. Brah found that it was neither religion nor culture but duration of residence in Britain which was the main determinant of economic activity outside the home for Muslim women (Brah 1993). Ballard stressed the important influence of regional characteristics in people's pre-migration history, comparing both the geographical contexts and cultural factors such as marriage patterns and burial practices of Mirpuris in the north and Jullundur in the south of the Punjab; their specifically religious beliefs and practices had little impact (Ballard 1990). Rafiq's (1992) study of success rates of migrant Hindu, Sikh and Muslim businesses concluded that factors like the Muslim prohibition on usury and the seclusion of women were less important than initial socio-economic status of the group concerned. This was borne out by Janmohamed's (1997) study of factors associated with the success of Khoja entrepreneurial activity. So although poverty was a feature of the lives of a majority of Muslims in Britain, it was clearly associated with a range of premigration experiences and characteristics rather than with religion *per se*.

How far did factors such as pre-migration history, migration process, parental education, employment, experience of racism and level of prosperity have an impact on the lives, values and aspirations of the younger generations? This emerged as a key research question even though the central focus of the study was on religion and culture.

II. Islam and Muslims in Britain

i. Muslim migrant communities

I shall next consider some of the literature on Islam and Muslims in Britain, making a distinction between the religion itself and the communities of Muslim people in different parts of the country. Britain's Muslim population is a mosaic representing many geographical backgrounds. About three-quarters are from Indian sub-continental origins in Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and also include those from South Asian backgrounds who came via East Africa (Peach and Glebe 1995). The remainder include Muslims from a wide range of countries and regions; for example small but long-established Yemeni communities exist in a number of port towns (Halliday 1992). Other groups include labour migrants such as the Turkish Cypriots clustered in parts of north east London (Nielsen 1995). There are also refugees and political asylum seekers fleeing war zones or political oppression (Lewis 1994a; Nielsen 1995; Weller 2001). The diversity of Muslim ethnic backgrounds is reflected in a survey of languages (in addition to English and Arabic) used in mosques in Britain which listed over thirty different languages and dialects in regular use (Weller 2001). As well as the settled communities there are fluctuating groups of businessmen (predominantly Arabs) and students from a variety of nationalities who are represented in most British universities and colleges. There is also a small but steady stream of British converts to Islam, estimated at about 5,000, a low number compared with the 30-50,000 French converts estimated for France (Nielsen 1995; Kose 1996).

From the mid 1970s onwards a series of studies on groups of South Asian Muslims in particular parts of Britain charted key issues such as the impact of family reunion, interaction with local government and the politics of community, institutional development especially as regards religion, and campaigns at local and national levels for facilities such as burial plots, *halal* meat in schools and hospitals and so on. Research was carried out on Pakistani communities in Bradford (Dahya 1972; Saifullah Khan 1979; Lewis 1994a, 1994b; McLoughlin 2002), Bristol (Jeffery 1971), Manchester (Werbner 1981, 1985, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1996a; Scantlebury 1995), Rochdale (Anwar 1979; Wilkinson 1988), Oxford (Shaw 1988, 2000a) and Coventry (Ellis 1991). Work on Bengali communities (Bangladeshis after independence from Pakistan in 1971) included a number of studies on east London (Carey and Shukur 1985; Adams 1987; Eade 1989, 1990, 1993; Gardner and Shukur 1994) as well as fieldwork based in Bradford (Barton 1986) and Birmingham (Alam 1987).

The origins and composition of Muslim populations in Europe are very diverse, but they share some of the experiences and concerns of Muslims in Britain, not least those relating to the perpetuation of Islam in a non-Islamic context (Leveau 1991; Nielsen 1991b, 1995; Rath, Groenendijk and Penninx 1991; Sander 1991; Shadid and van Koningsveld 1991a, 1991b, 1995, 1996a; Waardenburg 1991; Balic 1993; Kepel 1994, 1997; Peach and Glebe 1995; van der Lans and Rooijackers 1996; Nijsten 1996). The diversity of national and ethnic backgrounds is partly a reflection of former colonial relationships (e.g. Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan migrants in France, Moluccan ones in the Netherlands). Their situations vary not only because of their pre-migration experience and reasons for migration, but also because the European countries in which they settled have different approaches to and expectations about questions of citizenship, political participation, state support for community institutions and projects and so on (Gerholm and Lithman 1988; Nielsen 1988; Shadid and van Koningsveld 1991a, 1991b, 1995, 1996a; Kepel 1997; Liederman 2000). For example, Denmark requires all new migrants in receipt of state benefits to attend Danish language classes; Britain at present does not (Husain and O'Brien 1999). Some sending countries have recognized the danger of migrant support for political opposition movements and have taken steps to control institutions such as mosques in migration countries. The Turkish government contributed to the provision of mosques and *madrasas* in Germany, and the Moroccan government provided similar support in France. The aim of this was to undermine a perceived potential political risk (Nielsen 1995), but it had an impact on the level and nature of institutional support for the religious nurture of migrant children.

ii. Islam and diversity

In spite of the theoretical unity conferred by membership of a single *umma* or world community of Muslims, there have, since the earliest days of the Islamic polity following the death of the prophet Muhammad, been divisions within the family of Islam. Early

sectarian differences coalesced into the majority Sunni and minority Shi'a divisions.³ The development of theology and law from the first century of Islam led to the emergence of four Sunni law schools as well as Shi'a ones for each of the Imami sects (Richard 1991; Glasse 2001). In the succeeding centuries, splits and reform movements have brought about further subdivisions (Lapidus 1988; Glasse 2001). Sufi brotherhoods were instrumental in the spread of Islam and the development of the mystical tendency within the faith (Sirriyeh 1999). More recently, the nineteenth and twentieth century reform movements in the context of British India led to divisions in subcontinental Islam (Metcalf 1982; Sanyal 1996). All of these global and regional divisions and streams of influence within Islam are reflected in Britain's Muslim population (Weller 2001).

The Deobandi and Barelwi influenced reform movements originating in India suffer the disadvantages, in the British context, of being very much oriented towards South Asia, and of using the Urdu of the older generation rather than the English of the younger British-born settlers (Lewis 1994a). The Ahl-i-Hadith, committed to purifying Islam of non-Sharia influences, represent a further grouping and form part of a history of sectarian dispute and dissent in the South Asian context which has been perpetuated in the British situation (Metcalf 1982). In contrast to these movements, there are more recently established groups which have a strong focus on political Islam and a modernist outlook. Jama'at-i Islami was founded in 1941 and has a political wing in Pakistan; its members attempt to use the tools of modern life to spread Islam in a form that relates to the experiences of urban educated people (Robinson 1988; Geaves 1996). In Britain this has involved publishing texts in English, using modern technology to communicate effectively, and being systematic in reaching out to those whose commitment to Islam might otherwise fall by the wayside in what the Jama'at-i Islami sees as a secular and immoral society. They have founded and worked through the Islamic Foundation, based in Leicester, which runs weekend schools and summer camps for young Muslims and new converts. They produce their own teaching materials, rejecting textbooks from the subcontinent which reflect an agrarian Indian way of life with little meaning for many Muslims youngsters growing up in Britain (Andrews 1993; Nielsen 1995). The Islamic Foundation, Young Muslims UK and the Muslim Educational Trust, all inspired and influenced by the Jama'at-i Islami, 'consciously promote an Islamic identity over and above ethnic or national identity, and their programmes actively seek to move away from South Asian customs and traditions' (Geaves 1996: 209). They have engaged with the question of the perpetuation (and indeed expansion) of Islam in the west with a sense of practical urgency not yet shared by other groupings, for example by providing a support network for new converts to Islam, and some activists have shifted away from links with Jama'at-i Islami (Bunt 2000). However they have not yet attracted the mass

³ There are further subdivisions within Shi'a Islam. Shi'a Muslims differ from their Sunni co-religionists in seeing Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's nephew and son-in-law, as the rightful Caliph/Imam or Muslim leader after the Prophet's death. Imam Ali was succeeded in the eyes of his followers by other Imams - a total of seven according to Isma'ili belief, twelve according to the Ithna'asheri group (giving rise to the names 'Seveners' and 'Twelvers' by which they are sometimes known). It is believed that the last Imam in each case disappeared from earthly view and will come again to usher in an era of universal peace and justice, but as 'hidden' is in fact deemed to be present on earth - hence there is no closure on theological development in the present (Richard 1991).

support of the longer established reform movements (Robinson 1988).

These streams of Sunni reform such as the Deobandi and Barelwi movements, and groups associated with them such as Tablighi Jama'at and Ahl i Hadith, as well as Jama'at-i Islami and its linked organizations, are all represented in Britain alongside traditions less specifically rooted in the Indian sub-continent. Other politically radical Muslim groups have attracted some young Pakistanis in Britain. Organizations like Hizb ut-Tahrir, Al Muhajiroun and Nation of Islam (from the United States) made their presence felt on British university campuses from the early 1990s onwards (Kepel 1997; Weller 2001). Such groups appeared to have a particular appeal to some of the younger generation, especially those who had little sense of belonging to their parents' Islamic traditions rooted in South Asia. Part of the attraction of these and other radical groups is that they tend to explain all social evils by anti-western rhetoric, appear to have a clear practical agenda, and give a place and a role to the rootless (Richardson 1997: 17).

About ten per cent of the world's Muslims are Shi'as. In Britain Shi'a Islam is represented by a number of mosques and centres, many of which have links to Iran and Iraq (Weller 2001). Most of these are Ithna'asheri (or Twelver) Shi'a establishments, but Isma'ilis and other Sevener groups are also represented. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri exodus from East Africa led to the emergence of communities in Europe and North America during the 1970s. Three main factors provided an impetus for change within the KSI body globally; these were the growth in influence of the Jama'at (the community's international co-ordinating body), the impact of the Iranian revolution and the socio-economic changes in the fortunes of the community (Nagar 2000).

The presence of all these groupings meant that for migrant parents bringing up children in the west, there were competing models of what it meant to be a Muslim in Britain at the start of the twenty-first century. The diversity of interpretation made it possible for young people to question received truths about their parents' understanding of their religion in a way that was less likely in a previous generation when Islam and Islamic institutions were less established in the United Kingdom.

iii. Institutionalization of Islam in Britain

One positive outcome of the increasing propensity for South Asian Muslims to identify themselves in religious terms (see below, section III) was that it provided a spur to the development of organizations and institutions which served Muslims as a group. In 1999 the Registrar General listed almost six hundred mosques certified as places of worship in England and Wales (Weller 2001: 433). Groups of Muslims had campaigned, often successfully, to obtain public service provision for specifically Islamic needs such as burial plots, *halal* food for hospital patients, prisoners and school pupils, recognition of Muslim festivals in prisons and schools, provision of imams as hospital or prison visitors, and so on (Nielsen 1995). Vertovec (1996) pointed to the routine local government agreement in such cases, and the regular consultations regarding community relations matters, which suggested a reasonably high level of community acceptance of

Islam and Muslims in the social mainstream. Greater familiarity with local government and legal procedures and growing confidence on the part of the younger generation ensured success for an increasing number of such campaigns, the most notable of which was the obtaining of state funding for two Muslim primary schools in 1998, followed by a first secondary school in Bradford two years later (Jackson 2001).

Many national organizations were established for particular interest groups, such as the Federation of Societies of Islamic Students (FOSIS), alongside professional associations, for example the Association of Muslim Doctors (Weller 2001). At a local level some organizations worked effectively to represent all Muslim groups; these included the Bradford Council of Mosques and the Leicester Federation of Muslim organizations (Vertovec 1996). The improvement in local representation and understanding was also observable in news media reporting on Islam and Muslims at a local level (Halliday 1999). It proved much more difficult to bring together representative national organizations, but the Muslim Council of Britain was established in 1997 (Weller 2001). Evidence that some progress was taking place at a national level was demonstrated by the consistent attempt by most British politicians in their press briefings and many journalists in print and other media to draw a clear distinction between 'Muslims' and 'terrorists' during the war on Afghanistan following the attacks on New York in September 2001 which were assumed to have been carried out by an Islamic terrorist group.

Muslim organizations at a national level were able to perform a lobbying role, but increasingly Muslim individuals participated in mainstream electoral politics as well. The combined effect of a 'first past the post' electoral system, residential clustering and the citizenship rights enjoyed by most South Asian migrants to Britain, meant that Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims had the potential to make an impact both locally and nationally (Werbner and Anwar 1991; Nielsen 1995; Purdam 1996; Ellis and Khan 1998).⁴ By 2001 there were several Muslim members of the two houses of parliament and enough local councillors to form the Association of Muslim Councillors (Richardson 1997). This electoral potential strengthened campaigns aiming to bring about legal changes on issues which affected British Muslims, such as an extension of the outlawing of discrimination on racial grounds to include religion, a review of the blasphemy laws, and the adoption of Muslim personal and family law for some cases involving Muslims in the UK (Nielsen 1991a). There was also a series of legal challenges on religious issues, such as whether or not women had the right to wear *hijab* at work (Richardson 1997).

By the late 1990s, then, Islam was in the process of becoming institutionalized in Britain through a population drawn from many parts of the Muslim world, with its own religious establishments, regional and national organizations, and with some recognition of specific Islamic requirements in aspects of public life. On the other hand there was also a fair degree of mistrust and suspicion, combined with considerable socio-economic disadvantage amongst the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups which comprised the

⁴ A Runnymede Trust report listed eighteen parliamentary constituencies where Pakistani and Bangladeshi voters made up at least 8% of the electorate in the 1997 general election, thus potentially holding the balance of power (Richardson 1997: 14).

largest part of Britain's Muslim population.

iv. Islam, modernity and the west

The main focus of this section of the literature review is the theme of migration, but I shall write briefly here about a related dimension of relevance to Muslims in the Islamic world as well as the west, that is, the question of modernity. Modernizing nationalist leaders such as Kemal Ataturk of Turkey in the 1920s, Jinnah of Pakistan in the late 1940s and Nasser of Egypt in the 1950s, advocated mass education, industrial development and social change, for example in the roles of women (Ruthven 2000). The subordination of religious tradition to modern thought appeared necessary in order to harness modernist optimism, belief in progress and the power of mechanization to the development of newly independent states (Ahmed 1992). However modernization was also closely associated with dominance established first through colonial rule and subsequently through neo-colonial cultural hegemony (Ruthven 2000). 'Orientalist' views, which constructed the east and its peoples as exotic but backward, had been used to justify the assumption of authority and domination by western colonizers (Said 1978). The long-lasting consequence was, according to Ballard (1996), a bipolar, oppositional construct in which the European side presented itself as modern, liberal, governed by reason, progressive, civilized, gender-equal and democratic, in contrast to the Muslim 'other' which was seen by the west as its antithesis - traditional, fundamentalist, fanatical, backward-looking, uncivilized, gender-oppressive and authoritarian.

Berger's (1973) confident assessment that the traditional social order legitimated by religion was fatally undermined by Enlightenment rationalism, and that the forces of secularization, pluralization and subjectivization would ineluctably shape religion during the last part of the twentieth century, was only partially realized in the case of the Muslim world. Ahmed noted the question of Giddens as to whether modernity was fundamentally a western project, and believed the answer was 'Yes' (Ahmed 1992). The failure of both westernizing capitalist development and communist influenced state centralization in the second half of the twentieth century to deliver anticipated benefits led to disillusionment with what came to be seen as imported models of change and development that took little account of Islamic traditions or social patterns. In particular the notion that secularization was an inevitable concomitant of modernization was challenged. According to Gellner (1992) the world of Islam was the exception to the general application of the secularization thesis to modern society. The cyclical pattern of reform characteristic of traditional Islamic societies (and already identified in the fourteenth century by Ibn Khaldun) was modified in the twentieth century as a result of widespread urbanization, but religion continued to offer a means of integrating modern conditions with

traditional beliefs and values.⁵ 'Self-reform in the light of modern requirements could be presented as a return to the genuinely local ideal, a moral home-coming, rather than a self-repudiation' (Gellner 1992: 20).

Gellner's characterization of 'high' Islam - sober, scriptural, urban - had much in common with the 'strict' Islam described by Clarke (1998), who identified a move away from a communal, collective approach to religion towards an individualized and privatized one, with three strands or types of response to modern conditions: a trend towards diversity, a move towards the strict but far from backward-looking Islam noted above, and the development of secularization in the sense of the setting of limits around the area in which religion was expected to provide answers. However a neo-traditionalist like Ashraf (1985), who might be seen as a representative of that second strand of 'strict Islam', highlighted the difficulty of harmonizing belief in modern scientific method with the acceptance of revelation as a basic source of knowledge. His answer was that 'man ... must worship his Creator and not his own achievements' (Ashraf 1985: 18) and that the solution was to 'Islamize' the concepts of modern science in order to provide an alternative to a scientific paradigm that was inextricably bound up with secularization and westernization. Raza (1991) proposed the necessity of recognizing the anti-Islamic character of the west but also of accepting the need to discard 'reactionary Islam', for example in relation to attitudes towards women. Akhtar attacked Muslims for failing to engage adequately with the challenges of modernity; according to him theologians had characteristically seen the contest for supremacy between reason and revelation as a disease of the west, and one with which they did not need to concern themselves. This led to a schizophrenic attitude where people 'entertain a general religious view about the nature of life and the world, but simultaneously a secular view about daily life in practice' (Akhtar 1990: 9). He stressed that a rejection of the supremacy of reason was entirely different from rejecting the importance of reasoning as an activity. The question of disaggregating westernization and modernization was addressed by Sayyid who analysed Islamism as 'an attempt to articulate a modernity not structured around Eurocentrism' (1997: 103).

Globalization and mass communications technology mean that the pressure to find answers to the question of how Islam and modernity relate to one another are faced by Muslims in every corner of the world and not only by those who are resident in Europe and North America. Some of the social and cultural changes which might initially appear to be the product of migration are to be found in Muslim majority societies as well, because they are features of modern society generally and are not restricted to the lives of those resident in the west.

⁵ Ibn Khaldun formulated an analysis of societal reform based on the concept of *asabiyyah* or group solidarity. Such solidarity allowed a strong rural or nomadic group to be capable of achieving dominance and rising to power e.g. by conquest of a city. The vigour of the newly dominant group encouraged the development of settled urban life. However it also carried the seeds of its own destruction in that the dominant group, becoming accustomed to the luxury of city life and the opportunity to rule by economic power rather than by personal exertion, declined and became subject to destructive internal rivalries. The group reached the point where its cohesion was easily undermined by the next rural group whose *asabiyyah* was strong and uncorrupted by city life (Hodgson 1974).

III. Ethnic identities, religious identities

i. Ethnic identities and identifications

Many of the studies of specific migrant groups were carried out against the backdrop of theoretical work on ethnicity generally. The influential work of Barth (1969) sets out the argument that ethnicity consisted not of fixed islands of content but lay in the boundaries that groups of people set up between themselves and others. This thesis was supported by Robinson (1981) who analysed the way that ethnic identification was encouraged in the UK by factors such as the myth of return and the economic and emotional investment people had in their sending country; this encouraged encapsulation and boundary maintenance. Watson dismissed what he characterized as the Marxist view of ethnicity as 'false consciousness': 'Ethnicity cannot be reduced to excess baggage that will somehow disappear on the road to a 'rational' or classless society' (Watson 1977: 13). In the view of Wilpert (1989), ethnicity was a form of identification replacing class in a post-industrial society and strengthened by anti-colonial liberation struggles. There was an important distinction to be made between self-defined and other-defined aspects, the former involving a belief in a common ancestry with biological and linguistic characteristics not shared by other groups (Liebkind 1989). In the context of research in Britain, scholars distinguished between race and ethnicity, whilst North American researchers did not (Barot 1993). John Rex (1993) argued that a key difference was that ethnic relationships are not necessarily hierarchical or exploitative whereas racially determined ones are. The question of power was also emphasized by Werbner (1991) and taken up by Jenkins (1994). The latter suggested that social anthropologists who celebrated ethnicity as a social resource underplayed the political and power dimensions and paid too little attention to ethnicity as a social liability or stigma. Cornell (1996), writing from a revisionist standpoint vis-a-vis Barth, reasserted the importance of content in ethnic categorization, but suggested that the key process was the interaction between external conditions and internal characteristics. Ethnicity was different from other collective identities because of its presentation in terms of its roots.

How relevant was this theoretical work on ethnicity to issues of identity amongst Britain's South Asian migrants? Early research on young members of these communities in Britain worked on the hypothesis that because there were some differences in cultural attitudes and values between migrants and host society, the children of the former growing up in the UK would inevitably be pulled two ways, suffering from psychological conflict in terms of identity and experiencing struggles over practical issues with their parents (Taylor 1976; Watson 1977). Some Muslim writers concerned about religious continuity argued a very similar position (Ashraf 1985; Raza 1991; Akhtar 1993).

Such views were modified, at least in the academic context, by a considerable body of research which found little evidence to support the 'between two cultures' thesis.

Saifullah Khan (1979) found that the flexibility of individuals enabled young people to cope, particularly if they were able to maintain a degree of separation between the different social worlds they inhabited. Gardner and Shukur (1994), in a paper tellingly entitled, '“I'm Bengali, I'm Asian and I'm living here”', argued that young Muslims in Tower Hamlets were well able to manage the variety of strands of influence which made up the fabric of their lives. Ballard described such young people as 'skilled cultural navigators' (1994: 31). In the context of her studies of Manchester Pakistanis (of all generations, not just young people) Werbner compared the situations in which different facets of people's multiple identities might be expressed and reflected: 'Punjabi' in relation to fun, dance and music, 'Pakistani nationalist' in relation to fundraising, 'Muslim' in identifying with co-religionists in Bosnia, and 'women' when acting as citizens demanding equality (Werbner 1996a). Dwyer made a similar point in her study of the identities of Muslim adolescent girls in Watford: 'Identities are articulated within particular discourses, within particular social relations and at particular moments' (Dwyer 1997: 45). In the context of research on young Hindus in Britain, Nesbitt (1998a) argued that a simple binary model was inadequate, and that self-identity might be expressed in terms of Britishness, Asianness or religious affiliation according to context. Ostberg suggested that the young Pakistanis in her Oslo study did not show signs of internal conflict, describing them as having 'integrated plural identities' (2002). Other studies explored the theorization of 'new ethnicities' - 'hybrid' or 'syncretic' identities - that have emerged in studies of the youth cultures in some British cities (Gillespie 1995; Baumann 1996; Dwyer 1997). Gillespie characterized identity 'not as an essence but a positioning', the articulation of a space in which the identity of deterritorialized groups could be created (Gillespie 1995: 11). The key points emerging from this debate are that ethnic identities should be seen as salient within particular contexts, but not as fixed, static or predetermining of attitudes and behaviour. Early suggestions that young people were torn between two cultures appeared to overstate the problem, and more recent research has emphasized the way that people's identities are processual, experienced and expressed through many strands of life, involving both change and continuity.

Scholars such as Gerd Baumann and Pnina Werbner have drawn attention to the way in which 'culture' and 'ethnicity' have been essentialized and seen as having explanatory power; Werbner (1991c) noted the way ethnicity has sometimes been reified and fetishized to produce a constructed and commodified notion of culture.⁶ Baumann (1996), whilst condemning 'essentialist multiculturalism', argues that the very notion of conflict between two cultures arises from a view of cultures as entities of a fixed nature. He acknowledges that his informants in Southall did seek a sense of cultural continuity, a firm sense of cultural oneness or identity and claims to community rights based on this. However he stresses that this is not a case of 'a patchwork of five or ten cultural identities but an elastic web of cross-cutting and situational identifications'

⁶ Berger and Luckmann's definition of reification is useful here:

'... the apprehension of the products of human activity as if they were something other than human products - such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will. Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world ... through reification, the world of institutions appears to merge with the world of nature' (Berger and Luckmann 1967: 106-8)

(Baumann 1999: 118). Baumann's reservations notwithstanding, ethnic identity clearly mattered to people in migration contexts and could not simply be dismissed as 'baggage' which migrants carried around with them.

ii. Muslim identities

For a variety of reasons, there seemed to be a trend amongst some young Muslims towards an identification of choice which privileged religion over ethnicity or culture.⁷ This was a different issue from that of whether identities were shifting and situationally determined. Some of these reasons related to external political factors; others were linked to an emerging distinction between religion and culture. Several studies found a trend for some young people to identify themselves as Muslims rather than as Pakistanis or Asians (Sharif 1985; Mirza 1989; Ali 1992; Knott and Khokher 1993; Jacobson 1997a, 1997b; Gilliat 1998). In effect, Islam was used by some young people as a resource in managing disagreement with their parents. In such cases members of the younger generation (and indeed some older writers) deployed religious arguments to support their own views, discounting their parents' version of Islam as culturally bound and inauthentic, and substituting for it a scriptural, universalistic version stripped of 'cultural' features; this they presented as 'true' Islam (Mirza 1989; Akhtar 1993; Currah 1995; Clarke 1998).

The question of whether Muslims in Britain were to be identified by themselves or others by their religion rather than by nationality (e.g. Pakistani), regional background (e.g. Punjabi), or broad cultural origins (e.g. Asian) became a political issue as well as a subject of academic debate in the 1980s and 1990s (Modood 1992). A number of factors contributed to this. In the early years of South Asian settlement in Britain, most people in the 'host' society were unaware of diversity amongst migrant groups and individuals, in terms of country of origin, language, rural or urban background, and religion. It was not until the late 1980s that there was much systematic reference to Muslims in terms of their religion (Modood 1993). Five main factors led to this change. First there was an issue of racist prejudice and discrimination. The Race Relations Act 1976 and the subsequent development of the 'race relations industry' categorized people's identities in relation to their skin colour and presumed experience of racism. According to this view, all non-whites were 'black' (Modood 1993). This was resented by many Muslims who felt their religious identity was marginalised, and that sensibilities in relation to dress, diet, school curriculum and other matters were often not taken seriously in social work, health care and education contexts (Joly 1987, 1989; Modood 1992, 1993).

The second factor was that family reunion reasserted the importance of religion. When the male labour migrants were joined by their families, as settlers, it became more obviously necessary to make provision for education of the young in their faith, and for

⁷ Nesbitt (1998b) found a similar trend towards religion becoming an increasingly important identifier amongst young Hindus, but in their case for reasons of transgenerational continuity rather than for the making of a distinction between religion and culture.

the establishment of mosques and *madrasas*. Such institution building activity and concomitant fund raising initiatives led to a greater awareness in the host country of the religious differences between the South Asian origin communities (Knott 1991; Lewis 1994a; McLoughlin 1998).

A third factor was the sequence of political events in Britain which galvanized a specifically Muslim consciousness in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These included the Honeyford case, when a Bradford headteacher published an article in the right-wing 'Salisbury Review' criticizing aspects of the lifestyle of his school's mainly Pakistani families (Lewis 1994a). Not long after, the Rushdie Affair united virtually the entire British Muslim community in condemnation of Salman Rushdie over his novel 'The Satanic Verses' (Lewis 1994a; Ruthven 2000).

Fourthly, these developments were taking place in a world context in which religion was becoming more significant in politics generally and was resurfacing as an ideological force after some decades of apparent decline and expected secularization. The Iranian revolution of 1979, the re-emergence of pro-Islamic political activism, the demise of the Soviet bloc with its Cold War alliances and secularizing influence, the growth of religious fundamentalism in many parts of the world: these all contributed to a global pattern in which religion, far from being a spent force as the secularist view had anticipated, had a considerably increased prominence in world affairs. This included Islam (Kepel 1994, 1997, Ruthven 2000).

Finally, events in Britain and other countries coincided with a strengthening of Islamic influence globally in economic terms. From the mid 1970s onwards, the rapid rise in oil prices had increased the economic and political power of all oil-exporting states, most of which were Muslim majority ones; this led to a general perception of Islam having a voice in global affairs which it had previously lacked.

Being a Muslim in the west was not only a question of positive self-identification. For many Muslims life in Britain involved the experience of implicit or overt hostility for a number of reasons. These included the racist prejudice and discrimination directed at members of all non-white ethnic minority groups to greater or lesser extents (Werbner and Anwar 1991; Modood 1993). Additional factors specific to Islam included resentment of the economic power of the oil-rich states of the Gulf, and the association between terrorist activity and groups which purported to have Islamic roots (Halliday 1999). Media coverage of Islam and Islamic issues was for many years unrelentingly negative and the disunity of the Muslim community in Britain had meant that countervailing moderate voices were not very strongly heard (Lewis 1994b). A report published by the Runnymede Trust in 1997 argued that there was a growing trend in Britain towards 'Islamophobia', that is, 'dread or hatred of Islam' and 'fear or dislike of all or most Muslims' (Richardson 1997: 1). The report's key findings were that Islam was essentialized and seen by many as a single monolithic system, that media coverage of Islam was often distorted and negative, that many Muslims were disadvantaged in public life, employment, housing and health, that Muslims were vulnerable to physical violence and

harassment and that the needs of Muslim children in the education system were not fully met. This had profound implications for the experience of Muslim parents bringing up children in Britain in the 1990s although the situation was a dynamic one, as I shall argue below.

IV. Transnational families, diaspora communities

i. Community

Early studies of post-war migrant groups in Britain used the word 'community' with little sense of its being a problematic term. In Anwar's (1979) study it reflected a number of common dimensions in the lives of Pakistanis in Rochdale: despite their differences, people often had a shared history, interests, social structure, religious belief and value system, territorial nuclei in Britain, networks of friendship and kinship, behavioural norms and language. Stephen Barton's (1986) research on Bengalis in Bradford defined the term operationally as 'nothing more precise than the very broad ethnic, religious and geographical factors' common to the subjects of the study (1986:10). The use of the term 'community' became increasingly prevalent from the late 1970s onwards when successive governments sought to develop the concept of a multicultural society rather than advocating the goal of assimilation for migrants (Brah 1996). Eade (1989), in his detailed research on institution-building and political participation amongst Bangladeshi migrants in East London, showed how closely the use of the term 'community' was linked to political considerations of representation and of access to publicly funded resources. Groups which could represent themselves as a 'community' with particular needs might obtain access to funding for advice centres or other group facilities.⁸ However it was precisely the process of group self-definition in such contexts that contributed to the consolidation of essentializing tendencies within a 'dominant discourse' about ethnic minority communities (Baumann 1996: 10).

The criteria used by local authorities for recognition of groups for funding purposes were linked to ideological presuppositions about the desirability or otherwise of encouraging certain forms of identification; for instance in Ellis's (1991) study of Coventry it was found that whilst differences of language were seen as valid reasons for groups to identify themselves as defined communities, religious differences were not. The development of such groupings had arisen in part through the desire of early migrants to establish networks for mutual support with their fellow migrants, but this early fusion of those from roughly similar backgrounds was quickly followed by fission as the communities became big enough for significant cleavages to emerge and consolidate (Dahya 1974; Robinson

⁸ The term 'community' appears to have been used much less in North American studies of migrant groups, which is partly a reflection of a difference in political expectations - there, communities had to be self-financing and self-reliant generally and there was no imperative to identify oneself in a particular way in order to gain access to resources (at least not from public funds); it also reflected the difference in background of migrants who in most cases went to North America as individual settlers rather than through the chain migration as labour 'sojourners' (Haddad 2000b).

1986). 'Imagined' communities had a functional reality both for local authorities in terms of allocating resources and for leaders who claimed to represent them, according to Werbner (1991b).⁹ She argued that state funding had some negative effects in that it divided immigrant communities into discrete ethnic groups, created dependency, allowed the emergence of systems of patronage and was open to manipulation by the unscrupulous (ibid.). Local authorities assumed, often wrongly, that community members were in agreement; in some cases there were bitter factional disputes and rivalries over control of community centres and mosques (Nielsen 1995). A number of studies emphasized the cleavages which cut across shared experience and history. These included differences of interest, for example in the first generation between businessmen and those who acted as intermediaries between their fellow migrants and mainstream society, or in the second generation between businessmen and political activists (Eade 1989). Other divisions cut across generations, gender differences, localities, political allegiances or religious orientations (Saifullah Khan 1979; Ellis 1991; Werbner 1991b; Scantlebury 1995; Lewis 1994b).

Baumann (1996) took issue with the conflation of 'community', 'culture' and 'ethnic identity' in his study of young Punjabis in Southall, particularly when it was applied in a reductionist way as a straightforward explanation of behaviour. He noted the everyday and unproblematized use of 'community' by many of his informants, but drew a distinction between the 'demotic' and the 'dominant' discourses of community, presenting the former as situational, processual, self-chosen and separating 'culture' from 'community', whilst the 'dominant' use he portrayed was one which conflated community, culture and ethnicity in rigidly connected and ready-made configurations. Knott (2002) gave a comprehensive overview of the use of the term 'community', similarly distinguishing between the discussions within social scientific discourse, and the much looser notion used by the general public; in this latter form it had become a key concept in western social and political life towards the end of the twentieth century. She pointed to the importance of decoupling community and culture, and also community and locality, at least in terms of *a priori* assumptions about any connections between them.

The concept of the *umma*, the worldwide body of Muslims, has always provided for Muslims wherever they lived an 'imagined community' of faith. This is reflected in the central practices of a believer's life: each time *salat* is said, Muslims the world over face towards Makkah, perform the same actions, and pray in the same language; they all aspire to visit Makkah on *hajj*. McLoughlin (1996) explores in a recent study a context and situation in which Muslims in Britain have identified themselves as members of this worldwide *umma* rather than as members of groupings within it, but stresses the importance of situationality; membership of the *umma* and of other groupings are not to be seen as mutually exclusive.

Ron Geaves' (1996) study on the concept of *umma* in relation to sectarian influences within Islam in Britain, considers some sociological interpretations of community. He refers *inter alia* to Tonnies' conceptualisation of two types of social community:

⁹ Werbner uses the term 'imagined communities' in the sense first proposed by Benedict Anderson (1983)

Gemeinschaft, a type of organic natural community in which social relationships are based on interdependence, with authority and law based on communal customs and common ancestry, and *Gesellschaft*, a formation consisting of a body of individuals who live for themselves and their own advantage, whose social interaction is based on the exchange of commodities and whose members are isolated individuals living in a constant state of tension with other members. Geaves suggested that some migrant groups in Britain were *Gemeinschaft* like groups living in *Gesellschaft* like surroundings.

There is thus a distinction to be made between the social scientific and the everyday uses of the term 'community'. For the purposes of this study I shall use it in the everyday sense to refer to the Pakistani and Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri groups, taking it operationally to refer to the broad cultural, religious and geographical factors which allow a distinction to be made between these two Muslim populations in Peterborough. The one exception to this will come in Chapters 4 and 5 which includes discussion of how far the two groups use the term 'community' themselves.

ii. Minority

Saeeda Shah suggested that the early history of Islam meant that migration 'has connotations with a better life and is perceived as an act favoured by God' (Shah, contributing to Haw 1998: 51). However migration has often led to a situation where Muslims have found themselves in the condition of a minority, religiously speaking. The debate on how far it is permissible for Muslims to live in non-Muslim societies and outside '*dar al Islam*' is beyond the scope of this study, but a wide-ranging account of interpretations, in theory and in practice, is to be found in an account by Shadid and van Koningsveld (1996b).

The issue of minority condition is an important one in an Islamic context, both from the point of view of Muslims living as minorities in non-Muslim societies, and also from the perspectives of non-Muslim peoples living under Muslim rule. In Islamic societies the notion of special treatment for some minority groups has a long history. There was from the early days of the Islamic empire a concept of religious community which allowed for people of certain religions - Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians - to live under the law of their own tradition (Glasse 2001). These people were known as *dhimmi*, or protected groups of minority status; each such community was a *millet*. This was in the context of the concept of *umma*, or Islamdom, as the worldwide community of Muslims who recognized certain minority groups in their midst (Lapidus 1988). This historical precedent has led some campaigners in Britain to press for a similar recognition of Islamic family law in the UK (Johnstone 1986).

iii. Transnationalism and diaspora

One factor in the experience of migrant groups and their settlement outcomes has been the intention which underpinned their moves to Britain or other parts of the west, and its consequences for their relationship to their country of migration. Anwar (1979)

developed the thesis of the 'myth of return' to highlight the ambivalent relationship between Pakistani labour migrants and their lives in Britain. In an earlier study, Jeffery (1971) contrasted the behaviour of Pakistani Christian migrants, whom she characterized as refugees, with the more boundary-maintaining attitudes of Pakistani Muslims, who saw themselves as labour migrants. The former maintained fewer links with Pakistan, had more favourable attitudes towards life in Britain, were more prepared to make adjustments of lifestyle and had more contact with people outside their own cultural group, than her Muslim informants. For the latter, links with Pakistan continued to be central and the new relationships they made in Britain were more often with other migrant members of their own *biraderi*, or kin-group, than with indigenous Britons. Robinson's (1986) study - 'Transients, settlers and refugees' - which suggested a typology of South Asian settlement in Britain, made a similar distinction between the 'transient' labour migrants (who might in the course of time become 'settlers') from India and Pakistan, and the Asian 'refugees' from East Africa, who had a settled orientation to life in the west from the outset.

Those who maintained continuing strong links with their country of origin came to be characterized as 'transnational' or 'transcontinental' families and communities, in the sense that such groups maintained traditional kin obligations as regards mutual financial and other support, marriages and shared decision making, despite the fact that family members no longer all lived in the same country. Vertovec (2000) argues for the importance of clarifying distinctions between transnationalism, migration, minority (a condition which may follow from migration but does not necessarily do so), and diaspora. He suggests that transnationalism refers to actual, ongoing exchanges of information, money and resources, and often involves regular travel and communication. Members of a diaspora may be engaged in transnational activities but will in addition have a globalized ethnic consciousness, 'an imagined connection between a post-migration population and a place of origin and with people of similar cultural origin elsewhere' (Vertovec 2000: 12). A key feature is this triadic relationship between 'a collectively self-identified ethnic group in one particular setting, the group's co-ethnics in other parts of the world, and the homeland states or local contexts whence they or their forebears came' (Vertovec 2000: 7); other characteristics may include a collective story of origins, a dispersal from the ancestral lands sometimes following traumatic events and a sense of solidarity with members of the group in other countries of settlement (Cohen 1997). Vertovec stresses the ethnic component of diasporic identity. He rejects the looser use of the term as applied by Hinnells (2001) to the 'religious diaspora' of people who feel they are living away from the land of their religion. As far as the rest of this study is concerned I shall use the terms 'transnational' and 'diaspora' in the specific senses put forward by Vertovec.

Part B: Religion, culture and family life

Many features of the family life patterns and values discussed below are to be found amongst South Asian families irrespective of religion. However there are also particular aspects which apply mainly within the context of Islam, and form part of that tradition for Muslims in many countries and cultures, not South Asian ones alone. The interwoven nature of religion and culture, and the extent to which these can be disaggregated, is one of the central themes of this section.

Part B of this literature review aims also to provide some background context for the study in terms of family life. Since the study is concerned with religious nurture in a broad sense, including informal as well as formal dimensions, family life is relevant in that it constitutes the framework within which nurture is provided. I shall look here at demographic data, then at family structures and how these have an impact on the socialization of children, and thirdly at how religious and cultural values and attitudes about family and social relationships contribute to children's learning about religion and to the development of their sense of identity.

V. Family structures

i. Demography

What was the context into which South Asian migrants came when they arrived in Britain? Family life for the population as a whole, as elsewhere in the industrialized world, was going through a period of profound change during the second half of the twentieth century (Pullinger and Summerfield 1997). This included a trend towards later marriage, a steep increase in cohabitation as an alternative to marriage, a more companionate style of relationship between spouses, a significant rise in the rate of divorce, an increase in numbers of families headed by a single parent, a decline in the birth rate, and a greatly increased number of women taking on paid work outside the home even after the birth of children.

In a study of changes in family life, Elliot (1996) points to the way that South Asian and white British families have sometimes been constructed oppositionally, as having fixed characteristics which distinguished them from each other. Indeed the use of a very broad term such as 'South Asian family' carries the risk of stereotyping and essentialization (Donald and Rattansi 1992).¹⁰ However in some respects South Asian families in Britain and 'host society' populations were undergoing changes in a similar direction in the last quarter of the twentieth century. In both groups relationships between parents and children had in general become less hierarchical and more informal, and those between marriage partners more egalitarian, with increased expectations of individual fulfilment (Husain and O'Brien 1999). Fertility rates, though still well above the national average

¹⁰ a danger this thesis sets out to avoid, since one of its main themes is the diversity within South Asian groups generally and within the Muslim religious sub-group in particular.

amongst South Asian families, were dropping both for the latter and in the population as a whole (Modood 1997). Nevertheless the context of family life for these groups diverged in significant respects. A number of key differences between South Asian and white British family structures were suggested by Berrington (1994) in her paper based on the 1991 census data: people from South Asian backgrounds generally demonstrated a much higher propensity to marry; marriage was almost universal, and women were relatively unlikely to be involved in cohabitation; age at marriage was rising for both men and women, the great majority of marriages were to others within people's own ethnic group, rates of separation and divorce were relatively low and couples started having children earlier. Berthoud and Beishon (1997) drew attention to the small proportion of South Asian families headed by a single parent; these stood at just 8%, compared with 21% of 'white British' ones.

Another major change was in the number of women in paid employment, which might have both positive and negative effects in terms of gender equality (Werbner 1981; Westwood and Bhachu 1988; West and Pilgrim 1995; Modood 1997). Nevertheless, Elliot (1996) suggested that marriage and particularly motherhood were given primacy in South Asian women's lives by women themselves in the second and third generations as well as the first.

These demographic changes and associated features of family life applied not only to South Asian families broadly speaking, but also to Muslim ones in particular. Such changes were not due to transcontinental migration alone. A generation ago, changes in Pakistani society were already undermining the patriarchal *status quo*; for example the introduction of women's right to vote, as well as changes in the law on landownership and female inheritance had already threatened traditional hierarchies by the 1970s (Saifullah Khan 1979). Shaw noted more recent developments in the sub-continent similar to those taking place amongst migrant communities in Britain: changes in female education and employment, and a greater choice in marriage, were 'parallel processes already underway among certain sections of the population in Pakistan' (Shaw 1997: 152).

ii. Extended families and households

Under this heading I shall look at extended families and households, the influence of kin networks, and the role played by *purdah*. Whilst not constituting a structure as such, *purdah* has a highly significant role in structuring family and social relationships in Islamic contexts.

One difference between South Asian families and those in the British population as a whole is the prevalence in the former of extended families in a range of forms. According to national data, both East African Asian and Pakistani families are two to three times as likely to live in complex households (that is, with more than one adult generation represented) than white families, with grandparents or other adult relatives sharing the home of a couple and their children (Berthoud and Beishon 1997). Traditionally parents

from these groups would expect to follow a patrilocal pattern, and to live with and be looked after by their eldest son and his wife, or at least to receive financial support from them. This pattern did not usually apply to daughters who were seen as becoming part of their husband's family support network after marriage (Ahmad 1996). However multigenerational joint households of this type were declining in numbers in the British context (Kathane 2000).¹¹ One reason was the dearth of suitable housing: Gardner (1998) found that many elderly Bangladeshis in East London were living on their own because their adult children's homes were simply too small to accommodate elderly parents. Another material factor was the availability of state benefits, which made family interdependence of a traditional kind less necessary (Bose 2000). Many young Pakistani origin couples were in a position which would formerly have been unusual, that of having to set up a home themselves rather than move into an established one with parents or parents-in-law (Shaw 1997).

The decline in extended family households was seen as a loss by some who cited this as evidence of low levels of commitment to family life and of the negative impact of western influences (Wilkinson 1988). A study of depression amongst Asian women identified lack of availability of family support as a factor contributing to mental illness (Fenton and Sadiq 1993). More recently, Shaw (1997) suggested that the situation had changed markedly since the early days of family reunion; family members often lived close to one another even if they were not in a single household. 'Unlike earlier isolation, (women) may now have mother- and sisters-in-law, their own mother and sisters, and often relatives from the same village or area in Pakistan' (1997: 145). Attitudes to joint households were in any case not uniformly positive: families were capable of providing support but also of being sources of stress (Saifullah Khan 1979). The view that the older migrant generation had a universal preference for extended family households and the younger generation for nuclear ones was refuted by Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1991). In a study of South Asian parents and adult children, they found a majority in the younger generation preferred living in a nuclear family household, but so did one-third of their fathers and 40% of their mothers, although the vast majority in both generations upheld the concept of the extended family as an ideal. Ahmad's (1996) study supported this view; he asserted that the reality of extended family life was not always as comfortable as the harmonious stereotype suggested, singling out in particular relationships between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law as legendary in their potential for conflict.

Household composition was not the only criterion by which the extent of change in family arrangements might be assessed; people might live as nuclear families but behave as joint ones in relation to pooling money and resources and undertaking reciprocal responsibilities, just as joint families might live together but behave autonomously with regard to resources (Anwar 1979). People might act as joint families even if they lived in different continents, being involved in transnational exchanges of communication, resources and personnel (Vertovec 2000). Other studies suggested

¹¹ The traditional rural Punjabi extended family in a strict sense was also becoming less common in the Punjab itself (Ballard 1990).

that traditional attitudes concerning the value of the family, mutual support and obligations were maintained but with the immediate family replacing the extended one (Ahmad 1996; Anwar 1996).

The move away from traditional joint family living arrangements undermined the control of elders over younger family members. For example, young married women living only with their husbands had more autonomy than would have been the case had they lived with the husband's parents. Summerfield (1993) described how the traditional ability of older women to gain from their own age-related hierarchical positions might be undermined by migration; some Bengali mothers-in-law wished their sons to bring 'properly submissive' girls from Bangladesh as brides so that they could do the housework and allow the mothers-in-law to retire, and feared that young women brought up in Britain might not be so amenable. As seen above, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1991) found that there was more support for joint households in theory than in practice in both first and second generations, and also that there was a marked gender difference. More than two-thirds of the younger women preferred a nuclear family arrangement, whilst two-thirds of the young men expressed a preference for the extended family. It may seem self-evident that women would be more favourably disposed than men to cultural changes which gave them more autonomy, but the finding is interesting in that it illustrates a cleavage of views on family life where the dividing factor was gender rather than culture or religion.

In summary, patterns of extended family living continue even though extended households have declined. These broader networks of relationships form part of the context in which many South Asian migrant families are bringing up a third generation in Britain.

iii. Kin networks

One structural feature specific to Pakistani families is that of *biraderi*. A flexibly defined grouping, this might consist of a person's closest relatives living locally, or all other relatives in Britain and Pakistan, or all caste members; the key features are patrilineal descent and ties between contemporaries (reinforced by intermarriage), with the latter being more important in practice (Shaw 1988). Such networks are not unique to Pakistani Muslims, but they do seem to be a particularly important phenomenon amongst families in north-west Pakistan. Jeffery pointed out that 'migration does not necessarily detach the migrant from his family ties and obligations to kin in Pakistan' (1971: 101). Indeed the fulfilment of such obligations is a defining factor which helped to characterize such families as transnational ones. In a migration context, kinship networks providing mutual help and support may be more important to working class than to middle class families, whose members may have easier access to institutions such as banks, and who are also more likely to move out of areas of Pakistani residential concentration and away from kin (Ahmad 1996).

Normative expectations about *biraderi* endogamy were reflected in the widespread

practice of cousin marriage, prohibited to Hindus and Sikhs but favoured in many Middle Eastern and South Asian Muslim societies. Arranged marriage within the *biraderi* sustains the latter as a kinship group, and is part of the system of reciprocal obligation and mutuality expressed through gift exchange or *lena-dena* (Shaw 1988; see also Werbner 1990). Cousin marriage appeared to have become more rather than less common following migration amongst some Pakistani groups (Shaw 2000a). Shaw suggested three possible reasons for this trend: firstly, the difficulty of migrating from Pakistan to Britain in any other way, secondly, the repayment of obligations, and finally, the desire to maintain strong ties with Pakistan. The majority of parents in Basit's (1996) study wanted their daughters to marry kin; cousin marriage was described as having advantages of security and protection for a woman because there would be much more prior knowledge about the family than was the case with marriage to non-kin.

During the period of research the issue of spousal choice amongst Pakistani families in Britain was given much media coverage, through a focus on forced marriage (as distinct from arranged marriage), and the regular awareness in the communities concerned of young people who had 'done a runner' to avoid marrying the partner of their parents' choice (Yaqub 1999); in 2001 a House of Lords working party was set up to examine the issue. Parents whose children had grown up in Britain saw the benefits of an injection of heritage language and culture into the new family (Bose 2000), but were themselves becoming more aware of the increased chance that such marriages might end in divorce. This was not a phenomenon attributable solely to transcontinental migration; the opposition of young people to their parents' wishes was by no means an issue confined to Muslims living in the west. A study of Muslim family law documented cases of this kind in Pakistan (Pearl and Menski 1998).

In Basit's (1997b) study, the parents and daughters were aware of a girl's right to refuse a potential marriage partner. However this could be interpreted in different ways; Stopes-Roe and Cochrane found that 25% of young people in their study thought they had had no choice over the question of their marriage partners, whereas their parents believed they had given them such a choice (1991: 32). Shaw (1988) suggested that for these young people both in Britain and in Pakistan the loss of choice was to some extent offset by a sense of fulfilling their role in family, *biraderi* and community, because individuality was not prized in the same way as it is in western society.

In summary, an important aspect of kinship for Pakistani families was the *biraderi* network and the increased prevalence of cousin marriage in the second generation. This resulted in the strengthening of relationships between family members in Britain and their relatives in Pakistan instead of the decrease and decline of such relationships that might have been expected.

iv. Purdah

As noted above, purdah is not a structure in itself but has a structuring impact on the way relationships are conducted both within and outside a Muslim home. Purdah is a

central concept in the regulation of relations between the sexes in most traditional Islamic societies. It was never an exclusively Islamic phenomenon, having also been a feature of Hindu society in northern India, for example, but has been strongly associated with Islam (Ahmad 1976; Jeffery 1979). Its absolute form involves the physical and social separation of women from men after puberty, apart from those with whom they had a close relationship by blood or marriage. Men traditionally took care of the public dimensions of family life, and women the domestic ones. Apologists for purdah sometimes present it as a system in which men and women have separate but equally important spheres of activity (Abd al Ati 1977; Helms 1995). Against this it has been argued that the system is an asymmetrical one because in terms of Islamic law men have responsibility overall, and have control over the physical movement of women beyond the household (Ramazanoglu 1986). On the other hand some scholars have pointed out that whilst the requirements of purdah bear down heavily on women in theory, there has always been a divergence between the theoretical and legal perspective on one hand and the lived reality of Islamic societies on the other.¹²

The rationale for purdah is that whilst sex is viewed positively in Islam as a blessing between husband and wife, it is strongly condemned outside marriage (Abd al Ati 1977). In all cases it is the formal and legal structure of marriage alone which sanctions sexual relations within a framework of clearly delineated rights and responsibilities.¹³ Purdah is presented as necessary because of the belief that men are weak and easily succumb to sexual temptation. It is therefore the duty of women not to tempt them and when women go outside their own homes they should dress and behave in such a way as to avoid attracting men (Jeffery 1979). Observance of purdah was traditionally far more characteristic of the wealthier strata of society whose members could afford to support economically inactive female family members (Ahmad 1973). Strict observance of purdah has been associated with upward mobility (including caste mobility in some societies) in terms of both socio-economic status and respectability; this is sometimes referred to by anthropologists as 'ashrafization'.¹⁴

The interpretation of purdah in South Asian origin Muslim families was affected by migration to Britain. The association with respectability, together with fears about the potentially corrupting influence of Western sexual *mores*, led some scholars to conclude that women were expected to observe purdah more strictly in Britain than in Pakistan (Saifullah Khan 1979; Bose 2000). On the other hand, general conditions of life in Britain

¹² A collection of studies on Muslim family life in a range of contexts in India bore out the great diversity of interpretation even within one country (Ahmad 1976).

¹³ Canonically in Islam there is some latitude in sexual relations, mostly for men, in allowing up to four wives provided they can be treated equally, and in Shi'a Islam, sanction for the practice of *muta'* (temporary marriage); neither polygamy nor *muta'* find large numbers of supporters in modern Islamic circles. See Nagar (2000) on the reintroduction of *muta'* in Dar es Salaam, Pearl and Menski (1998) on the decline in support for polygamy, and Roald (2000) on the diversity of interpretation of traditions as regards polygamy amongst Muslims living in the west.

¹⁴ The term is derived from the word *ashraf* - 'respectable'. Shaw (2000a) gives an illuminating discussion of this concept in 'Kinship and Continuity', Chapter 4.

as regards housing, shopping, the universal requirement for children to attend school and so on, all militated against the continuation of a lifestyle rooted in very different material circumstances. There were also many families for whom economic exigencies meant that women as well as men had to undertake paid work. This has often been a factor in the interpretation of the *purdah* ideal. For studies of South Asian contexts where *purdah* was modified or disregarded, see Ahmad (1976), Jacobson (1976); for an example of strict observance related to Islamic status, see Jeffery (1979). For Muslim societies more broadly, see el Solh and Mabro (1994), and for a range of interpretations amongst educated Muslim migrants and converts in Europe, see Roald (2000). A recent example in a U.S. context is discussed by Goldwasser (2000), who compared poor Ethiopian refugees with prosperous professional Pakistani migrants, and concluded that economic factors played a strong part in determining the extent to which Muslims in the west were able to carry out religious requirements.

Summerfield (1993) argued that the intention behind *purdah* was maintained in a different way through female circumcision. In a study of women from Somali and Bangladeshi backgrounds in East London, she found that whilst Bangladeshi women were unlikely to work outside the home, the Somali women were much more likely to participate in public life and activity, and she attributed this to the fact that they had undergone radical circumcision as young girls and their sexuality was seen as 'under control'.

In Britain, women contracting marriages with men they wished to bring over to the UK from the sub-continent had to prove to immigration authorities that they could afford to support them, so families which might have preferred to keep young women at home were obliged to consent to their taking on paid employment (Lewis 1994a).

Nevertheless, types of employment sought by them often reflect *purdah* considerations (Basit 1997a). The relevance of the question of *purdah* to this study is that as far as the nurture of the young is concerned, and diversity notwithstanding, it probably constitutes the single greatest difference between young Muslims and their non-Muslim peers in terms of expectations about behaviour and relationships outside the family circle.

VI. Cultural values and attitudes

i. South Asian family lives

A further contrast between the experience of South Asian Muslim children and their white British peers lay in the expectations people had about relationships within the family. As seen above, for the former, the family was likely to constitute a wide-ranging web of relationships with people to whom they were related by birth or marriage, and which involved reciprocal expectations which children would see in operation from an early age and would learn to emulate (Lau 2000). An extended family might include a child or young person's wider kin including, for many, a network of relationships in different parts of Britain and the Indian subcontinent and across the world. In general their white British classmates would by contrast be growing up in settings where family relationships were

much more limited numerically and were negotiated individually rather than forming part of a clearly recognized set of social expectations (Finch and Mason 1993).

This difference was not only a question of sheer numbers of relatives, but also of attitudes and values. One study distinguished 'Asian' from 'western' families on three counts: the primacy of family over individual (illustrated for example in the expectation that people would sacrifice their own personal advancement to fulfil their family responsibilities), the greater part religion played in the lives of Asian families, and the normative practice of arranged marriage (Ghuman 1993). Another study recognized diversity but saw underlying contrasts between indigenous British socialization of children and that of Asian families. It suggested that in the former case the aim was to bring up children to be independent, self-motivated, self-reliant adults, whereas for Asian families it was to produce adults who would cooperate with, strengthen and live within the group (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1991). Lau (2000) also stressed the issue of family dynamics, including an emphasis on connectedness, as opposed to separation, as a common psychological dimension. These attitudes and goals were shared by Sikhs and Hindus as well as Muslim families (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1991; Basit 1997a; Nesbitt 2000). Nesbitt's (1993) research on Hindu children pointed to the large amount of time families spend socializing with kin, and to the hierarchical nature of the family, including gender aspects of this.

Knott (1991) raised questions about the possibility of less visible effects on the lives of South Asian families which might result from transnational migration and the concomitant decline in the number of multigenerational households. For example in the subcontinent grandparents and other relatives would be on hand to tell stories, give explanations and answer questions; traditions were reaffirmed by repetition rather than being constantly challenged. Another change Knott identified was the possible effect of parents being out at work, with a consequent likely reduction in time people were able to spend together as families. The first issue was however of gradually diminishing concern given the increasing number of children who had grandparents in Britain rather than Pakistan (Basit 1997a).

ii. Hierarchical relationships

Another feature commonly ascribed to South Asian family relationships was the tendency for them to be markedly hierarchical in relation to both age and gender (Saifullah Khan 1979; Werbner 1981; Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1991; Ghuman 1993; Shaw 1997; Basit 1997b; Bhatti 1999; Husain and O'Brien 1999; Kathane 2000; el Hadi 2000). Culture and tradition support such hierarchies regardless of the religious background of families, but religion has been used to endorse age and gender

hierarchies in specific ways.¹⁵ The hierarchical structure of family life, including respect for elders and their authority, continued to have a strong effect on the ethos of family life, migration notwithstanding (Kathane 2000; Shaw 2000a). I shall consider first the concept of hierarchy related to age, then how it applies in the case of gender.

In a study of traditional values and the family life cycle, Lau illustrated how children were socialized into an understanding of patterns and expectations.

'Through regular participation in family rituals such as meals, outings, festivals, religious events, the child learns its place in the kinship system and the rules governing relationships and expected behaviour. For example, in a well-functioning South Asian extended family, the young child will have grown up noticing that respect for the grandparents will be shown not only by terms of address, but also by the fact that one often waits for the grandparents to be seated before the meal begins, and that as the elders they have an assumed right to the choicest pieces of food.' (Lau 2000: 37)

Asian children were seen as having more respect for parents than white children did (Anwar 1998). There did not seem to be a significant decline in standards of deference expected from the younger generation of South Asians (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1991). Children's respectful behaviour was sometimes misinterpreted by those not accustomed to it. For instance, school teachers sometimes saw Asian children's unwillingness to question them as denoting a lack of interest or intelligence, rather than a respect for their authority (Parker-Jenkins 1995).

This observance of traditional codes of deference by the young towards the old had nevertheless been to some extent structurally undermined by migration. For example in some families roles were reversed if mothers or fathers had little knowledge of English. Some parents became dependent on their children for translation, not only in the latter's schools but in medical situations or in dealing with officials where adult interpreters were not provided by institutions. This gave children a power and authority they would never have held in the past (Saifullah Khan 1979; Ahmad 1996; Bhatti 1999).

On most questions, however, there was little evidence in the research literature that conflict between the generations was widespread. Brah (1996) argued that there was no more dissension amongst her South Asian origin informants than was usual between teenagers and their parents in British society as a whole, and further, that intergenerational difference did not always amount to conflict. Two other studies also found high levels of harmony between parents and their adolescent children (Stopes-

¹⁵ Hierarchical principles have traditionally been expressed through social stratification in Indian society generally. Social stratification along caste lines is also a key element in some contexts in subcontinental Islam, notwithstanding the theoretical equality of believers within the faith. Caste does not come within the scope of the present study, but for caste and Mirpuri Pakistanis see Shaw 2000a, and for Muslims in India, Ahmad 1973. Ballard (1994) argued that practices such as caste distinctions might be shared across religious boundaries by members of a regional group such as Punjabis, even when such distinctions were theoretically opposed by religious teachings.

Roe and Cochrane 1991; Basit 1997b).

Ethnographic studies of family life in traditional Punjabi settings have emphasized the strength of patriarchal tradition, and the extent to which this continued to shape expectations about family relationships amongst migrant communities (Eglar 1960; Jeffery 1971; Saifullah Khan 1979; Shaw 1988, 1997, 2000a; Ballard 1990). Women's and men's social worlds amongst rural Punjabi Muslims were separated to a large extent.¹⁶ Relationships between spouses were not expected to involve close companionship (Eglar 1960, Shaw 1988). Shaw (2000a) delineated status relations within the traditional Punjabi family structure, in which a bride had the lowest status and this slowly increased after she had children, particularly if they were boys.

Patriarchal families, governed in theory by an ideology of submissiveness and obedience for women and authority for men, were the norm to a greater or lesser extent for people across the range of religious groups and social classes. Respect for age was combined with respect for men, so that the arbiter in family decision making was generally the eldest male member (Shaw 1988). Western feminists have been accused of pathologising the Asian family and of blaming it for enforcing a restricted and damaging life on women (Brah and Minhas 1985). It was not only western feminists who took this view; Sharma (2000) interpreted statistics on rates of self-harm, depression and suicide as indicative of the levels of stress for girls and young women in British Asian families. Another reflection of this gender hierarchy had been the strong traditional preference for the birth of sons and the consequent undervaluing of daughters, linked to patrilineality (Shaw 2000a).

In summary, hierarchical attitudes were a common feature of social patterns in Asian families both in the subcontinent and in Britain following migration. The clear traditional hierarchy in gender terms was not complete in that it was cross-cut by hierarchies of age and social status.

iii. *Izzat*

Many studies have identified expectations within Asian families about the importance of family honour and reputation linked particularly to the conduct of women (Wilson 1978; Bhachu 1985b; Mirza 1989; Raza 1991; Basit 1997b; Haw 1998; Bhatti 1999; Hennink, Diamond and Cooper 1999). The concept of *izzat*, the ideal of family honour, reputation and respectability, was closely linked to the 'honour and shame' values of traditional societies around the Mediterranean and in Western Asia (Ahmad 1996; Shaw 2000a). It devolved much more saliently on women than on men, and a family's *izzat* has traditionally been judged very much in relation to the conduct of its female members (Kathane 2000). It was also expressed through the status derived from and maintained by practices such as *lena-dena* (ritual gift exchange), by the making of respectable

¹⁶ However economic necessity may override *purdah* considerations and cause the acceptance of women and men working side by side in certain contexts; see above section V.iv.

marriages, and by the reputation for high levels of religious observance (see, for example, Werbner 1981, Shaw 1988). *Izzat* was thus not associated solely with the control of women's sexuality but that was one of its main components, especially in the western context. According to Mirza (1989) the expectations on religious grounds amongst Pakistani families would be for high standards of behaviour from both sexes but the second generation women she interviewed in Bradford felt there was very much a double standard in practice, and Raza (1991) agreed. For Amrit Wilson, *izzat* was sometimes 'just plain male ego' (1978: 5).

VII. Islam and family values

i. Gender issues

With the exception of *purdah*, the broad demographic, structural and attitudinal aspects of family life outlined above were in many ways common to South Asian families in Britain irrespective of religion. I shall end Part B of the literature review by giving an overview of some of the literature on family life within Islam. This focuses in particular on relationships between husbands and wives; the relationships of parents and children are discussed in section VIII on religious nurture.

Nearly one third of the Qur'an is devoted to family matters and relationships. Islam recognises the value of sex, strongly discourages celibacy, advocates marriage and views it as 'a divine institution' (Abd al 'Ati 1977: 58). This is the case even though legally marriage is basically a contract, and not sacramental in character (Hewitt 1997). Some scholars have argued that whilst both men and women have complementary and reciprocal rights and duties within marriage, relations are asymmetrical because men are seen as having overall control and responsibility (Jeffery 1979; Dahl 1997). The injunctions of Qur'an and *hadith*, which Muslim apologists have defended as improving the position of women in the context of seventh century Arabia, have often been interpreted to women's disadvantage in later Islamic law according to Pearl and Menski (1998), who drew attention to the wide diversity of interpretation in terms of sectarian division, schools of law and regional variation. In many instances however there has been a divergence between the 'idealistic principles of the Qur'an' and the reality of everyday life (el Hadi 2000: 185). Some scholars argue that cultural traditions of patriarchy which predated conversion to the faith were endorsed by Islam (Abd al Ati 1977; el Droubie 1996). Muslim feminists and other researchers have pointed to the range of possible interpretations, and to the importance of not over-emphasizing the role of Islam in maintaining oppressive cultural traditions (see, for example, el-Hadi 2000 for a summary of feminist arguments by el-Saadawi, Kabbani and Ahmed. See also Mernissi 1987; Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Mirza 1989; Basit 1997a, 1997b; Shaheed 1999; Bose 2000; Roald 2000). Another study suggested that Muslim women did not perceive family ties and kinship as a hindrance to their lives, and often resented the western construction of 'the problem' as a religious one. The authors highlighted the contested nature of Islamic tradition: modernist Muslim feminists 'hear the ethical, egalitarian voice of

Islam' rather than 'the legalistic establishment version' (el Solh and Mabro 1994: 17).

As seen above, hierarchical patterns of relationships were culturally normative in South Asian families irrespective of religious background; in the case of Pakistani and East African Asian Muslim families these were given added sanction by religion, so that patriarchal attitudes were particularly marked. Nevertheless, traditional Muslim male roles had been undermined by the power shift associated with migration; some men were disempowered through unemployment and a consequent weakening of their male authority (Husain and O'Brien 1999).¹⁷ Women had in many ways more to gain than men from the trend towards change in gender relations, and were more positive towards it than were men and boys (Ghuman 1993). The painful position in which some men found themselves generated tensions and sometimes overt conflict. Ali disparaged the attitudes of some Pakistani men in northern England and what she saw as their 'apparent obsession with the social control of women and girls' (1992: 113). Two further studies found girls resenting the authority their brothers tried to exert over them (Sharif 1985; el Hadi 2000). However Ahmad (1996) stressed the existence of differences between working and middle class Pakistani families. Raza (1991) suggested that Pakistanis (both in their home country and latterly in Britain) had used religious arguments to legitimize a particular patriarchal order which was not intrinsic to Islam. In a powerfully argued critique of socio-economic explanations of male violence, Macey (1999) pointed to the use of Islam as a resource in the oppression and control of Pakistani women in Bradford. Basit, on the other hand, believed the negative aspects of patriarchy were over-emphasized:

'Respectfulness is seen as shyness or submissiveness, protectiveness is viewed as oppression, and modesty is construed as traditionalism. Patriarchy is only perceived in negative terms as despotism, and its loving, supportive and guiding role is underestimated' (Basit 1997b: 163).

The impact of migration on traditional interpretations of gender roles was less than the impact of modernity. Trends towards greater equality in gender relations and in participation in public life were not purely a function of migration to the west (nor of internal migration from village to city in Pakistan), but were also evident amongst those living in other predominantly Muslim states. Some factors contributing to this change included such features of modern society as the spread of mass education, the participation of women in paid work outside the home, the greater degree of choice in marriage and the influence of the mass media (see Dahl 1997 for discussion of Egypt, Shaw 1988 and 2000a for Pakistan, Kabir 1994 for Bangladesh). On the other hand Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) chronicled the process through which the issue of women's rights, assumed as a natural corollary of modernization by Jinnah at the time of Pakistani independence, became a contested and politicized question in subsequent decades. One example of change which was influenced by migration specifically as well as modern life in general comes in Nagar's work (2000) on the Khoja Shi'a

¹⁷ This was not always the case. For example, one study of Palestinians in Berlin found that men's loss of status and occupation had led to increased rather than decreased male control of women's lives (Abdurrahman 1993).

Ithna'asheri community in Tanzania, where women campaigned for increased participation in the community's affairs as a result of awareness that KSI women's organizations in the west had a more substantial role.

In summary, the family has been and remains a core social institution within Islam. However in recent years a number of factors including the impact of both modernity and migration have led Muslims, especially but not exclusively women, to reinterpret traditional patriarchal attitudes within an Islamic framework.

ii. Religion and culture: Islamic dress

Such controversies within and outside Islam as to how doctrines about family life and gender relations should be interpreted were linked to a separate but related debate about the extent to which a distinction could be made between religion and culture. This has already been introduced as a theme in section III.i above, but Islamic dress will be discussed here as a case which exemplifies some of the salient issues in a family life context.

Young Pakistani Muslims in Britain have often characterized their parents as being unaware as to whether the practices they expected their children to follow were religious requirements of Islam or cultural traditions from the subcontinent (Akhtar 1993; Jacobson 1997b). Several studies of Asian Muslim women in Britain identified a greater emphasis on the wearing of traditional dress amongst poorer working class families than amongst middle class ones (Afshar 1989a; Currah 1995; Dwyer 1997). For some families, according to Afshar, the willingness of daughters to wear traditional Punjabi *shalwar kameez* was seen as an indicator of their moral worth, with far more importance attached to it than any more 'religious' as opposed to 'cultural' aspect of Islamic practice (Afshar 1989a; Jacobson 1997b). Dwyer (1997) explored the way some young women of Pakistani background deployed arguments based on the teachings of Islam to justify their adoption of loose and modest versions of western dress rather than the *shalwar kameez* favoured by their parents. Such readiness to use Islamic arguments as a resource in this way was itself a product of modern education (Shaw 2000a).

However this was not a simple playing out of 'traditional' versus 'modernist' perspectives. A complicating factor was the role that hijab had acquired as a badge of self-identity; self-consciousness about this latter was itself a feature of modernity.¹⁸ For centuries a taken-for-granted element of Islamic dress, it came to be seen as a symbol of the stultifying hand of tradition that had to be abandoned if women were to take their place alongside men in the modern world (Kabbani 1989). In the anti-colonial and later anti-western struggles for political and cultural independence, many Muslim women whose mothers had long since stopped covering their heads in public, reaffirmed their

¹⁸ Roald (2001) explores in some detail the injunctions in Qur'an and hadith on women's dress and the diversity of interpretations of these in the present-day western context. She also discusses the regional variants in terminology for different elements of Islamic dress. In this thesis I use the term 'hijab' as it was used by my informants to signify the head-covering of whatever type worn by them as Muslim women.

religious (and sometimes political) identity by wearing hijab (Ruthven 2000). Amongst Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri Muslim women in Dar es Salaam, the impact of visiting preachers from Iran in 1982 was such that 600 women were said to have 'embraced *hijab*' in the course of a single week (Nagar 2000: 673). Similar transformations took place to some extent in urban contexts all over the Islamic world during the last quarter of the twentieth century and were associated with the rise of Islamism as an ideological force opposed to the perceived defects of both communism in the east and capitalism in the west.¹⁹ Thus a woman's action in covering her head might mean different things according to context; as Ramazanoglu (1986) pointed out, hijab-wearing might be assertive in the context of the Iranian opposition to the Shah and his regime, but oppressive when imposed on the same women by post-revolutionary clerics.

Religion, culture and family life: a summary

Considerable change has taken place in the late twentieth century in family demography, structures and attitudes amongst both South Asian Muslim migrant families and amongst Muslims more generally. Modernity in both cases, and migration in the case of families in Britain, has meant that the social patterns which framed the lives of pioneer migrants were less likely to be maintained in the lives of the second and third generations. Some of the key changes were as follows. In terms of household size and composition, family and household size were declining, but extended family living was maintained to some extent in spite of this. The number of mothers in the workplace was increasing. There had been a 'reworking' of arranged marriage amongst some South Asians, including the KSI but not the Pakistani community. Marriages were characteristically postponed to a later age. Many of these trends were observable in Pakistan as well as in Britain.

As far as the religious influence of Islam was concerned, a sense of hierarchy was particularly marked in Muslim families. There was some change in interpretations of *pardah*, most visibly in the increased wearing of hijab as a projector of Islamic identity. There had also been considerable change even across a single generation in attitudes towards the education and employment of girls and women; these changes had consequences for family relationships. Migration had not undermined the centrality of the family in the lives of South Asian Muslims; if anything it had enhanced it.

A key difference between Pakistani and East African families related to marriage patterns. For the former, arranged cousin marriage combined with the importance of *biraderi* meant that the interests of the group continued to be put before those of the individual in many instances.

¹⁹ The designation 'Islamism' came increasingly to replace the term 'Islamic fundamentalism' during the 1990s. Sayyid, in a detailed discussion of the semantic associations of these terms, rejects 'fundamentalism', asserting that such a concept can only operate within the discourse of the liberal-secularist Enlightenment world-view. He suggests as a definition of 'Islamist', 'someone who places her or his Muslim identity at the centre of her or his political practice' (Sayyid 1997:17).

Part C: Nurture and education

VIII. Religious nurture

i. South Asian families in Britain and religious nurture

As seen above, migrants to Britain with origins in the Indian subcontinent were influenced by broad cultural, specific regional and universal religious criteria in terms of their values, attitudes and priorities in the context of family life. A question which then arises is that of how far South Asian Muslim parents who have themselves grown up in the west aspire to transmit the beliefs and practices of Islam to their third generation children. Religion has continued to be of great significance to South Asian migrant families generally, not least in terms of self-identification (Modood, Berthoud et al., 1997). This was found to be particularly marked amongst Muslims. In response to the question, 'Religion is very important to how I live my life', 74% of Muslims, 46% of Sikhs and 43% of Hindus gave an affirmative reply (Anwar 1998, 121).²⁰

Section VIII of this literature review considers first some literature on South Asian religious nurture. As seen above, some research has been done on child-rearing and socialization amongst South Asian families generally, but without a focus on religion in particular. Other studies explore the experience of children and adolescents growing up in the west, particularly with reference to identity, but there has been a dearth of work on the experience of parents. There is little research on the issue of religious nurture amongst Muslims in Britain, but a number of studies on the religious nurture of Hindu and Sikh children are illuminating because of the issues they raise and the experiences they describe (Drury 1991, Nesbitt 1993, 1997, 1998b; Jackson and Nesbitt 1993; Hadwen 1994). Most of these studies address a similar question to the one which is at the core of this thesis, about the transmission of religious and cultural beliefs and practices, but do so from the perspectives of children rather than parents.

Jackson and Nesbitt's (1993) study of Hindu children growing up in Britain reviewed some of the contrasts for Hindu children between life in India and in the west. In India religious nurture tends to take place informally through the home, temple, worship and festivals, street processions and religious dramas, symbols, concepts and rituals which pervade everyday life. In Britain not only are some of these avenues of learning absent, but non-Hindu influences are present - school, media, peer groups - and may be hostile to the Hindu way of life; celebrations are more formalized with organized cultural programmes at places of worship which provide opportunities for the

²⁰ This compared with only 11% of people identifying themselves as 'Church of England' who answered positively. One problem about the question is that it does not address the issue of how people interpret 'religion'; as seen throughout this study, many older Pakistanis used the term to mean their broad values which outsiders might describe as 'culture' rather than 'religion'.

transmission of culture. The general conclusion was that Hinduism in Britain for the children concerned was becoming more a discrete area of experience rather than a whole way of life.

Three studies of Sikh children and young people drew attention to further issues. Drury's (1991) study of young Sikh women of the second generation in Nottingham found quite strong adherence to certain religious requirements. However fewer than one-third had received formal religious education at the temple or from their parents, and a further one-third described themselves as being very ignorant. This suggested that their parents had had clear expectations about religious practices but many had not communicated the knowledge and understanding which would have allowed such practices to make sense to their daughters. Hadwen's (1994) work on Sikh religious nurture in Bradford suggested that at least a few gurdwaras had come to realise that the kind of provision needed for Sikh youngsters in Britain was very different from what had been provided in the Punjab. Nesbitt (1997) explored a further issue, the tension between normative orthodoxy and 'popular' religion and the interaction between the two, as exemplified in the experience of Sikh children. Another study by the same scholar makes two central points: firstly, that nurture consists not only of formal instruction but of 'an infinity of individual decisions by the children and their elders' (Nesbitt 2000: 254). She also pointed out that the distinction between the social and the religious was meaningless to Sikhs, at least until they were influenced by western culture and education; Nesbitt therefore treats informal nurture as indivisible from Punjabi culture, a point I shall return to below.

Dosanjh and Ghuman (1996) corroborated the greater emphasis on religion amongst Muslims found by Anwar (see above); although parents from all three religions said they wanted to hand on beliefs and values to their children, formal religious nurture was less widespread amongst Sikh and Hindu families than Muslim ones. This supported the earlier finding by Ghuman (1993) that Muslim children were more knowledgeable about their faiths than young Sikhs or Hindus, and he attributed this in part to greater parental effort.

ii. Muslim parenting

As noted above, there has been a dearth of research on Muslim parenting in practice, particularly in a migration and minority context. A few studies have included it as a partial focus. Clearly the degree to which parents were themselves devout and practising or nominal Muslims would influence the level of concern over their children's religious and moral welfare. According to Abd al Ati (1977), the traditional requirement of parents was that they should ensure that their offspring started to practise *salat* at the age of seven, did so consistently by the age of ten and at puberty become responsible for their own actions.

For some parents economic considerations took precedence over religious ones. In Bhatti's (1999) study almost half the Pakistani and Bangladeshi mothers spontaneously

raised the issue of dowries for their daughters as a major source of concern and worry. However many also felt as a pressure the difficulty of trying to transmit Islamic beliefs and practices to the younger generation in a western context. Lack of knowledge limited the ability of some parents to bring their children up as Muslims. Ipgrave (1996) found some who felt their children knew more about the religion than they did themselves, giving the example of a couple who bought weekly tickets for the National Lottery until their children told them that gambling was unIslamic. Woodward's study of young (mainly Pakistani) Muslims in Birmingham found that 'the morality of Islam they pick up as they go along' (Woodward 1996: 159). The children were taught formal aspects of practice and belief such as how to perform the ritual prayer and to recite the Qur'an, but were expected to internalize other aspects of values and behaviour by the example of those around them. This was not easy to achieve, however; in a Muslim majority context role models could be taken for granted to some extent, but in the west it was necessary for Islamic norms to be made explicit (Joly 1987). As Barazangi (1991) pointed out, this was not an issue for Muslims alone, since adherents of all faith traditions in Britain were now minorities in trying to give children a religious upbringing in a largely secular society.

Berger and Luckman (1967) drew attention to the emotional dimension of socialization: without this highly charged motive force, the learning process would be difficult or impossible. Several writers emphasized the need for love and tenderness which they felt was not always stressed enough in Islamic nurture; this view might have reflected a western cultural context with more child-centred attitudes (Currah 1995; Beshir and Beshir 1998). Sahin (1996) argued in his study of Islamic faith development that traditional teaching methods were ineffective in terms of generating a balanced and rounded Muslim personality. For such effective nurture to take place, according to Currah (1995), it was vital for parents to practise what they preached, and to be fully conversant with Islam and its teachings themselves. Other writers presented a pessimistic view of parents' capabilities, arguing that many of them had too little time to be able to attend to their children's Islamic nurture effectively, and equally, that many had too little knowledge of Islam themselves to educate their children in the religion into which they were born (Raza 1991; Akhtar 1993).

Nearly all the studies cited above had as their focus either the overall aims of Islamic nurture, or attitudes to and concerns about this, but there was very little exploration of what parents actually did. This lack of ethnographic material gives particular significance to some indirect insight provided by books on Islamic approaches to parenting. Issues associated with bringing up children as Muslims in an 'alien cultural milieu', to use the evocative phrase of Burghart (1987), are highlighted in three parenting manuals, written in English, for the use of Muslim parents in the west. These books reflect different Muslim perspectives, but all aim to provide guidance for young parents living in Muslim minority contexts, particularly those without older family members to support them in raising their children.

The first represents a traditionalist approach, as reflected in its title, 'Muslim Parents:

Their Rights and Duties' (Husain 1999). Published in Delhi and on sale in the bookshop of the East London Mosque, it is an English translation of a book first issued in 1979, and was not written exclusively for a transcontinental migration context; it attacks 'western family values' but assumes these are a threat in the subcontinent, through the influence of television and other mass media, as well as for people of Asian origin living in the west. The book consists mainly of collections of *hadiths* on topics related to the upbringing of children, starting off with what parents have a right to expect from their children in terms of obedience, respect, service and support, followed by teachings on the value of children, their sustenance and care, the treatment of daughters, the importance of expressing love towards children, the provision of education and training and the teaching of religious duties. There are also insights and exhortations which might be found in parenting manuals of any type, Muslim or not, and which might simply be seen as sound child-rearing advice in any context.²¹ The book includes examples which connect the traditional teachings with the modern world context; for example breast feeding is advocated on Islamic grounds but the argument is supported with corroborative reference to western scientific research findings on its benefits. Husain also stresses that whilst Islam is not opposed to the cultivation of material success and prosperity, parents should never allow ambitions for their children in this respect to detract from the inculcation of Islamic moral and ethical standards.

This book does not address the practical and immediate dilemmas faced by mothers and fathers whose children are invited to birthday parties of non-Muslim classmates, are expected to go on school residential trips or want to watch 'soap operas' on television. Husain's universalistic Islamic approach to religious nurture would be equally valid for Muslim parents living anywhere in the world, but by the same token does not address specifically the particular situation of those in Britain or the west at the end of the twentieth/start of the twenty-first centuries.

The second manual, by contrast, addresses itself directly to Muslim parents in Britain and contains reference to specifically British phenomena such as the nature of the education system and the problems that might be encountered in relation to it. Entitled 'The Muslim Parents' Handbook: What Every Muslim Parent Should Know', Shabbir Akhtar's book has on its front cover a picture of a Muslim girl looking at the blackboard menu for her school dinner, which appears to give a choice between pork pie, ham salad, gammon steak and black pudding (Akhtar 1993). This book was published by the Islamia Schools Trust and the author was himself a parent bringing up four children in Britain. His basic thesis was that the religious needs of Muslim children were not adequately recognized in state schools, and that many Muslim parents had neglected their responsibilities for the Islamic education of their offspring. His solution was for parents to become active in their children's schools by exploring ways of harmonizing statutory requirements and Islamic needs (e.g. requesting permission for children to wear modest dress for PE lessons), by offering themselves as school governors and by lobbying local authorities and members of parliament to ensure Muslim needs were met

²¹ See, for example, Brazelton and Greenspan (2000) as a recent example which focuses on the broader social and moral needs of children as well as their physical and psychological ones.

more effectively. Akhtar argued strongly in favour of 'voluntary aided' Muslim schools as a means of resourcing better quality Islamic nurture.²² Such schools would be state funded, staffed by qualified teachers, be provided with adequate buildings and equipment, teach the National Curriculum, but be free to do this within the framework of an Islamic ethos.

Akhtar's emphasis on the need for pressure group politics and campaigning activity seemed to stem in part from doubts over parental competence. He mentioned the apathy of some Muslim parents and also the inability of some migrants, imams as well as lay people, to 'distinguish between Islam as a universal faith, on the one hand, and the narrow cultural interpretations of Islam prevalent in the Indian sub-continent' (1993: 69). For Akhtar, therefore, the campaign for state provision of Islamic nurture through voluntary aided schools was based on a conviction that neither Muslim parents in the home, nor immigrant imams in the mosque, could be relied upon to provide an appropriate Islamic upbringing for children in Britain.²³

The third parenting manual took a completely different approach. 'Meeting the Challenge of Parenting in the West: an Islamic Perspective' was produced for a North American market and to some extent reflects the differences in the situation there, both in terms of North American society and in the make-up of its Muslim population (Beshir and Beshir 1998). The book is directed at parents within an individual family context; there is no assumption that they will necessarily have a Muslim 'community' to interact with, and there is certainly no expectation of state aid or support for the task of bringing up young Muslims.

The book starts with basic objectives and principles, followed by a chapter on the impact of social environment on children:

'Parents have to realize that the environment that their children face is a completely different environment from that which they themselves faced when they were children. This must be taken into consideration in any *tarbiyah* (nurture) plan' (Beshir and Beshir 1998: 44).²⁴

²² Christian schools since the nineteenth century, and Jewish ones since 1944, had been able to take on 'voluntary aided' status, in which the most of the curriculum is the same as for maintained schools but the school ethos is determined by the denominational foundation, as are the character of collective worship and religious education. Nearly 7000 Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Jewish schools had this status nationally by 1998, when the first Muslim schools received state funding (Jackson 2001).

²³ To an extent this campaign was successful in that the Labour government elected in 1997 endorsed in principle the establishment of state-funded schools of Muslim ethos on grounds of equity and also because the perceived popularity of faith-based schools with parents, particularly in inner-city areas, led to a policy decision to increase substantially the number of faith-based schools all over the country. The issue remained controversial, not least because of fears in some quarters that such schools would be socially divisive (Jackson 2001).

²⁴ 'Plan' is the operative word here, suggesting to parents that they ought to have a systematic and well thought out approach to children's nurture.

The Beshirs suggested finding 'buddy' families of people with a similar understanding of Islam to themselves as a substitute for extended family support if necessary (1998). They also advocated positive support for children through parents volunteering time for school activities, sending notes explaining Islamic occasions and events, organizing camps for children and young people especially during Christmas and summer holidays, organizing boys' and girls' clubs, holding sleepover parties with other Muslim children, organizing sports activities and so on. The importance of parents as role-models was strongly emphasized. The book was liberally illustrated with examples and quotations from the authors' own experience.

A long third section set out some case studies of everyday events in the lives of parents and children, giving an Islamic perspective on the dilemmas and issues involved. They would be instructive for Muslim families in any cultural setting because the authors use Islamic principles to address the issues, but the contexts are western ones. Although this book relies just as much as more traditional manuals on the Qur'an and the *sunnah* of the Prophet, it roots all its examples in the everyday experiences of children in North America, and addresses the real problems, conflicts and options for families living there.

Parenting manuals such as the three discussed above are useful in providing insight into a range of Muslim perspectives. More detailed information on sales, distribution and use would be necessary before coming to any conclusions about how far they have had any impact on the practice of Muslim parents in Britain. However the very existence of such manuals reflects a situation where parents may be unable to call upon traditional sources of support such as their own older family members, and further, where rapid social change, a migration context and a minority condition mean that the wisdom of the elders might not be equal to the problems and dilemmas experienced in a western context. The existence of these books also suggests a reasonable number of Muslims with a middle-class 'self improvement' orientation who would be likely to purchase volumes of this kind and who were self-consciously identifying the goal of transmitting their faith to the next generation. All of them address a universal Muslim audience (rather than any culturally specific sub-group) and treat the issues from a religious perspective. This throws into sharp relief the cultural and regional nature of some of the concerns described in other sections of this chapter; there is little or no mention in these manuals of regional dress, arranged marriage, heritage languages or other such issues.

iii. Maintaining Islamic practices

How much substance was there for the fear that Muslim parents confronted by the twin challenges of modernity and of living in the west would be unable to transmit their religious values and practices to succeeding generations? There has been little systematic research on the extent to which elements of Islamic practice are observed in Britain, but a number of studies highlight the diversity which appears to exist.

Afshar's (1989a) West Yorkshire study of Pakistani Muslim families over three generations found that almost none of the third generation knew the correct way of performing the required daily prayers and she suggested that general values were being given more attention than formal religious practices. Girls said that from their mothers' perspectives, 'being a good Muslim' was more to do with their daughters' dress and behaviour than their knowledge about religion (Afshar 1989b: 219). Mirza (1989) made a similar point. Lewis found that young people in the sixteen to twenty-five age group were under-represented at Friday worship and in processions for the Prophet's birthday (Lewis 1994a).

As yet there have been no large-scale quantitative studies to provide reliable data on the extent of Islamic practice amongst second and third generation migrants. However some more recent research has suggested that Islamic requirements continue to be met by many younger Muslims. Jacobson's respondents amongst young Pakistani Muslims in Waltham Forest included about a third who were 'devout by most criteria', 10% whose religious commitment was minimal, and well over half who were quite observant as regards restricting themselves to halal meat, avoiding alcohol, fasting at Ramadan, and male mosque attendance, but who gave rather less priority to prayers and to reading the Qur'an (1997b: 106). Bauer's (1997) study of Muslim children in Birmingham found that most of the boys prayed two or more times during the day, some four or five, but that the requirements were treated flexibly. The girls were less observant than the boys. There would be a similar diversity in many parts of the Islamic world. It is also noteworthy that all the studies cited were of young people. Whilst there is obviously a question to be asked about whether members of the second and third generation are as devout as those of the first, it is not possible to make any definitive judgement given the propensity of young people worldwide and in many faith traditions to be less devout than those in middle or old age.

There was nothing in the literature to suggest that there were insuperable difficulties in the way of Islamic observance in a western context. Currah (1995) argued that so long as parents were clear and diligent, and practised what they preached, their children should be able to carry out basic requirements such as daily prayers and fasting. Indeed Ostberg (2002) suggested that it was the embodied nature of Islamic rituals and notions of purity that facilitated the perpetuation of Islamic practice and thus of Islam as a source of identity. Barazangi (1991) put forward the view that the maintenance of Islamic practice in a non-Muslim context was less difficult than the task of bringing young people to an awareness of the differing assumptions implicit in western and Islamic views on life in general.

Islamic practice was partly a question of doing those things that are required by Islam, but it also raised issues about how far Muslim children took part in activities which were not Islamic. Aspects of life in the host society generated questions about how far it was legitimate for them to take part in 'non-Islamic' activities. Yalcin-Heckmann, in her paper 'Are fireworks Islamic?' (1994), explores syncretism in the celebration of the New Year amongst Turkish Muslims in Germany. Nesbitt (1995) described how some South Asian

children's birthday parties incorporated traditional celebratory forms from both the subcontinent and from other elements of traditional British mainstream parties.

iv. Formal Islamic nurture

A number of studies of Islam in Britain have touched on aspects of formal nurture. For many children their main experience of this is the teaching at a *madrasa* or supplementary school, often held on mosque premises.²⁵ There was wide variation in reports of the proportion of Muslim children attending in a given area, ranging from under 20% (Johnson 1985; Shadid and van Koningsveld 1995) to nearly 95% (Ipgrave 1995b). It was not clear in the studies reporting low attendance whether these figures referred solely to classes held at a mosque or to all forms of Qur'an teaching; the latter might include neighbourhood classes in private homes or teachers hired by individual families for lessons at weekends and during school holidays. Bhatti (1999) found almost 100% attendance in her sample of families, though girls often had to stop at puberty because there were no facilities for women at the mosque. Currah (1995) in a slightly earlier study of young women, found that they were quite negative about the madrasa teaching and preferred being taught at home.

In Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities, mosque committees have been at the heart of the nurture debate, since they have in very many cases organized the madrasa teaching, most often given by an imam. The mosque committees have experienced conflicting demands. On one hand they wish to be sure that Islamic teaching is accurate and authentic, which suggests the need for imams trained at recognized institutions, usually in the Indian subcontinent (though this is changing - see Lewis 1996). They characteristically aim for devout recitation rather than understanding; their aspirations for their pupils are therefore different from the ones pupils experience at their British day schools (Akhtar 1993). Because most of the imams do not speak English (and also perhaps because of ideological differences) they rarely use the books available in English from organizations like the Muslim Educational Trust and the Islamic Foundation (Lewis 1994a). Parents often complain about this, but still send their children (Akhtar 1993). It is worth quoting at length here the view of one Muslim teacher:

'Mosques and madrasas are set up in terraced houses to give instruction to our youngsters but sadly, due to lack of educational training, few basic resources and a limited knowledge of English (which does not meet with the expectations of children born and brought up in Britain), the teachers' expertise is neither acknowledged nor appreciated by the pupils. The pupils cannot relate to these teachers and surroundings, especially when they are compared with the relatively high standard of the facilities in the state school system. This initiates and catalyses a lack of interest

²⁵ I have throughout the thesis used the term 'madrasa' to refer to formal classes for children held at mosques and teaching Qur'an recitation and sometimes other Islamic subjects. Strictly speaking, the term has in the Islamic world been used for institutions that provide more advanced study, but I have followed the usage universally adopted by the parents in the fieldwork interviews and by many researchers from Muslim as well as non-Muslim backgrounds.

in their Islamic studies; any learning that does take place under the sorry conditions of most madrasas is often short-lived and is either easily forgotten or is put to the back of the mind and regarded as simply not worth remembering. These are the opinions of young teenage girls when they are provided with an informal atmosphere and frank, open and free discussion can take place. They ridicule the madrasa system and cannot find anything positive to say about it' (Maria Hanifa, contributing to Haw 1998: 80).

These religious supplementary schools were almost universally criticized by Muslim and non-Muslim commentators alike (Wilkinson 1988; Lemu 1991; Raza 1991; Akhtar 1993; Lewis 1994a; Waghid 1995; Scantlebury 1995; Geaves 1996; Ipgrave 1996; Kucukcan 1998). Parents were described as having lost confidence in them, and as wanting qualified Muslim teachers with some understanding of life in the west, not imams who sometimes have only the slightest awareness of mainstream educational patterns and expectations in Britain (Lewis 1994a).

Some recent studies have suggested that provision is improving (Lewis 1994a; Geaves 1996). Particular groups such as the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri had developed youth provision to a high level, and had demonstrated awareness of the need for monitoring quality of teaching, nature of resources, a common syllabus and pedagogical training (Erricker 2001a, 2001b). Parker-Jenkins and Haw (1996), in a study of teenage Muslim girls in the East Midlands, found that all of them had been to madrasa and often felt they knew more about Islam than their parents because of this.

The provision of this formal teaching, particularly for girls, may represent a transgenerational change. For example Afshar found that older generation women, who had grown up in Pakistan, knew how to perform the daily prayers and fasted at Ramadan, but had never learned to recite or read the Qur'an, nor had they experienced any formal religious instruction (Afshar 1989b). On the other hand many parents were said to value the opportunity to take children 'back home' for long holidays, and felt this was an extension of their religious and cultural education in the fullest sense - a positive view not shared by their teachers (Bhatti 1999). This appeared to be an example of parents continuing to treat the cultural and religious aspects of their children's experience and knowledge as an indivisible whole, and of continuing to see the issue as one of transmitting 'religion-in-culture' rather than the specifics of Islam as a universal faith.

v. Social life and lifestyle

Friendships and the influence of peers were particularly likely to be an issue once children reached adolescence. Woodward (1993) found that children of primary school age were more likely to have non-Muslim friends than were young people in their teens. The adolescent informants in Basit's (1997b) study did not meet their non-Muslim friends outside school as many had anxieties about potential pressure to conform to peer norms. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1991) similarly found that very few of the parents they interviewed had white friends, and amongst their Asian informants, Muslim young

people were considerably less likely to do so than Hindus or Sikhs. Much mainstream social activity involving young people included features such as alcohol, night clubs and discos and, for girls, the ever-present pressure to think about boyfriends, which were not merely undesirable but completely unacceptable from a Muslim perspective.

Some writers identified the need for provision of sources of informal learning, opportunities for meeting with other Muslim young people, avoiding anti-Islamic aspects of social life and, for older children, being in a gender-segregated environment (Murad 1986; Raza 1991; Ashraf 1993). Some activity of this kind already existed; for instance summer camps and holiday trips were run by some mosques (Joly 1987; Lewis 1994b; Cajee 1996; Erricker 2000a, 2000b). Some activities were more Islamic than recreational, but nonetheless fulfilled a valuable function; Currah (1995) described how a Young Muslims UK group provided a legitimate and gender-segregated social outlet for the young women she interviewed.

At university level, Islamic student societies were of enormous importance in making available social outlets where the activities did not revolve around alcohol (Gilliat-Ray 1999). Another significant feature of such societies was that they drew members from Islam globally - Pakistani, Bangladeshi, African, Arab, Malaysian, Turkish, white convert and many other backgrounds - and thus highlighted for the young people concerned the distinction between the universal faith and the cultural versions of it which many of them had experienced in their families and communities (Weller 2001).

Clearly there were problems for religious transmission if, as indicated above, some parents were themselves lacking in knowledge, some mosque personnel were only capable of or interested in perpetuating a narrow sectarian or a restricted cultural or regional interpretation of the faith, and there were insufficient opportunities for young people to have a fulfilling social existence which was compatible with their values. On the positive side, some writers have argued that Islam itself includes features which make it intrinsically more portable and thus more amenable to transplantation in new contexts than some other religions. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1991) argued that Islam was relatively easy to perpetuate in a range of different cultural contexts, compared with some other religions. They characterized Islamic tradition as prescriptive, with a clear and codified system of law, as a 'religion of the Book' which did not depend on particular locations, as having a proselytising ethos, and of being transportable and clear in its precepts and practices wherever its practitioners may be (this would be the case with scriptural 'high Islam' but less so in relation to 'folk Islam' with its frequent focus on shrines and local saints. See Gellner 1992 for a discussion of contrasts between the two). The orthopraxy of Islam has historically made it easy for it to be transplanted into different cultural contexts, and its nature as a religion of mission has enabled it both to survive in minority contexts and also to expand through making conversions during its centuries of territorial conquest (Lapidus 1988).

The research literature on religious nurture amongst South Asian Muslim families in Britain suggests the following conclusions. Religion continues to be very important in the

migration context. For some families little distinction is made between religion and culture, whilst for others, particularly younger people, a clear Muslim/Islamic perspective is emerging as significant, exemplified in parenting manuals of the kind discussed above. Parents from South Asian backgrounds have to some extent taken for granted the transmission of their religion to younger generations, but formal nurture of a basic type appears to have been undertaken more extensively amongst Muslim communities than amongst other South Asian migrant groups. However there has been little systematic work on the religious nurture of young Muslims in Britain. Early studies in particular brought to the fore the fears of many Muslim families about the perceived danger of the moral corruption of their children in a western context. Some studies have suggested a decline in Islamic practice amongst Muslims in the UK, but these have focused mainly on the behaviour of the young and have thus failed to take into account the influence of age and life cycle on religious practice. Formal teaching about Islam is very widespread, with most children attending classes to learn the Qur'an; however the quality of such teaching is very variable, and reflects a conflict between the desire for authentic and culturally consonant teaching based in subcontinental traditions on the one hand, and the need of young people to be instructed by religious teachers who understand their life context in the west, and speak English which for increasing numbers of young people is their primary language at least as an educational medium. There is some evidence of gradual progress in this direction with the emergence of some alternative strategies and more modern approaches.

To some extent the situation in the 1990s relaxed as communities of Muslims became more established in Britain and made provision for Islamic teaching through their own organizations and institutions. The older generation's fears that cultural values were under threat had not always been borne out by experience (Ahmad 1996). Endogamous marriage patterns amongst Pakistani communities helped to protect cultural continuity. There was likely to be compromise in some areas, in the sense that the maintenance of religious traditions and cultures 'is not a simple process of implanting the norms, behaviour and aspirations of one generation into the minds and hearts of the next', but is a dynamic, negotiated process which encompasses conflicting values (Ahmad 1996, 63). The balance of change and continuity will be a significant theme of this study.

IX. Muslim families and the secular education system

Whilst Muslim parents have a reasonably high level of influence on and control over the lives of their children at home, they cannot completely counteract the impact of the non-Muslim majority society, particularly when their children start school. A question arising from this is that of the extent to which parents had concerns about the possibility of the secular education system undermining the Islamic nurture provided by the family and within the religious community.

i. Parental attitudes to secular education

There has been little research on Muslim parental attitudes to education in the UK since the work of Joly (1984, 1987). A more recent study based on analysis of data in the United States suggests some categories which might be applied to the British situation. Pulcini described four types of approach amongst Muslim parents: subcultural, counter-cultural, accommodationist and assimilationist (Pulcini 1995). The 'subcultural' approach was that taken by parents who sought a separation from the American mainstream, for example through the setting up of private Islamic schools. The second, 'counter-cultural' approach aimed to maintain cultural distinctiveness but within the mainstream, for example by demanding concessions from schools. The third - 'accommodationist' - stressed integration and objected to what was anti-Islamic but did not worry about things which were only non-Islamic; parents who took this type of approach saw the formation of a religious identity and consciousness as something which happened outside school in home, community and mosque. The fourth group, assimilationists, aspired to blend in with American society as far as possible and were not concerned to preserve their cultural or religious identities. Members of this group were in a very small minority.

These categories have some explanatory validity in the British context, but several factors make the situation more complicated. Firstly the public education system in the United States is a fully secular one; in Britain this is not the case as there are state-funded schools of an explicitly religious character and there is therefore less of a clear-cut distinction between 'countercultural' and 'accommodationist' school types than in the United States. Secondly, there is a statutory requirement in all British schools to teach religious education as part of the curriculum and to provide on each school day an act of collective worship which must be 'wholly or mainly of a broadly Christian character'.²⁶ A third difference lies in the character of the Muslim migrant populations in the two countries. Many of those moving to the United States went as individuals and were already reasonably well educated and prosperous prior to migration (Haddad 2000). In Britain, by contrast, the majority came in a process of chain migration in groups of people who in most cases had little formal education and obtained employment as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. These three factors - the possibility of state funding for Muslim schools, the provision and character of religious education in the curriculum and the different socio-economic character of the South Asian Muslim communities in Britain - mean that Pulcini's categories for the United States cannot be applied rigorously in Britain even though they are useful in a broad sense. Finally, Pulcini's categories are constructed in terms of fixed and static attitudes on the part of Muslims in the west; I shall argue that there is considerable movement between categories as a result both of personal life-cycle dynamics and most markedly because of external political events. I shall however use

²⁶ The collective worship requirement of the 1988 Education Reform Act applies to all schools except those which have been granted a 'determination' to exempt them on the grounds that such character would be inappropriate given the make-up of the school community. A right of withdrawal from religious education and collective worship had existed since 1944 and was an established element of educational practice, but many Muslim parents continued to be unaware of their rights in this regard (Joly 1984; Bhatti 1999).

Pulcini's terminology and basic categories to shape an overview of the literature on British Muslims and the education system.

ii. Subcultural approaches

How far was there a desire within Britain's Muslim population for a 'sub-cultural' separation from the mainstream as far as education was concerned? A major issue was the basic conflict between Islamic and secular approaches to education. A number of scholars have drawn attention to the incompatibility between the two philosophies, identifying key differences in goals and purposes (al Attas 1979; Ashraf 1985; Hulmes 1989; Halstead 1995b). Many Muslim clerics and writers have been deeply unhappy with what they have seen as the liberal secularity underlying the British educational system. Western secular views were presented as reductionist and mechanistic (Amer 1997; Mabud 1998). Raza's conclusion was that the teaching of Islamic principles was a responsibility of parents, but that Muslims 'have not yet learnt how to cope with the fact that they are living in a secular society which will be interested in teaching only its principles' (Raza 1991: 56). Some sectarian groups, for example the Tablighi Jama'at, were for this reason very antagonistic to western education at both school and university levels (Sikand 1998). Some contradictions followed from this difference; for instance parents often wanted what they saw as value-free knowledge (e.g. medical training) without the western values that might accompany it (Hulmes 1989).

Another issue was that many feared the undermining of parental and religious authority by a philosophy of education which encouraged questioning and intellectual curiosity rather than acceptance of the accumulated wisdom of tradition (Parker-Jenkins 1995). The idea of critical openness and evaluation was repugnant to many, especially in the context of religious education (Ashraf 1988). Halstead (1995b) reported a widespread view that children should not be encouraged to question until they had enough maturity of judgement to make choices meaningful; by contrast Raza (1991) promoted as essential the opening of Islamic teaching to such critical thinking,

This perspective, that the difference between Muslim and western views of education was too great to bridge, led to what Pulcini termed the 'subcultural' solution - that is, the setting up of private Muslim schools. There were about sixty in the United Kingdom in 2001 (Weller 2001), with an umbrella body, the Association of Muslim Schools of UK and Eire, providing in-service training for teachers, curriculum development and management advice (Akhtar 1993). Many of these schools relied largely on the fees paid by parents, most of whom were far from wealthy. Such schools could only cater for a tiny minority of Muslim children (Kucukcan 1998). The campaign for state funded Islamic schools was fuelled by the awareness that such schools did exist in the Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium, and that there were state funded schools of Christian and Jewish ethos in Britain (Shadid and van Koningsveld 1995). Supporters argued that such schools were perfectly well able to provide an adequate standard of education compatible with statutory requirements, and that would prepare pupils 'for a full and active life in British society' (Sarwar 1994: 29). Dwyer and Meyer (1995) concluded that even though small

in numbers and clientele, such schools had a symbolic importance which went far beyond the number of children who went through their doors. Opposing the extension of such provision, Khanum (1992) reported a lack of support for such schools by parents in Muslim communities, who were said to see them as an attempt by community leaders to extend their control and influence.

A further important question was whether such establishments should be seen as Islamic schools or simply schools with Muslim pupils. In three studies relating to such schools in the United States and Canada (Selby 1992; Abdus-Sabur 1995; Kelly 1999) the authors pointed out that for many parents the importance of such schools was that they provided students with Islamic socialization; they were less concerned about the availability of an Islamic curriculum. Parents welcomed the emphasis on Islamic values as an alternative to the mainstream lifestyle. They hoped that their children would learn to be good citizens as well as good Muslims, and felt that they would be less likely to suffer from prejudice and discrimination at schools where being a Muslim was the norm (Kelly 1999).

iii. Counter-cultural approaches

In relation to Pulcini's framework, counter-cultural attitudes were manifested by parents who sought concessions from the state education system. From the 1970s onwards there was a steady groundswell of campaigning by Muslim parents and groups to obtain concessions from schools, local education authorities and government on requirements that they represented as religiously necessary for their children in British mainstream education.

A number of these were practical issues which could be addressed without any fundamental threat to the education system as it stood (see, for example, Halstead and Khan-Cheema 1987; Halstead 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1997, 1999; Akhtar 1993; Woodward 1993; Parker-Jenkins 1995; Haw 1998). Some concerned practices which offended against Islamic norms of modesty especially for girls, such as public showering, mixed swimming lessons, revealing clothing in mixed PE lessons and school uniform which did not allow legs or head to be covered. Others related to specific Islamic requirements, for example, the need for provision of places to pray during the school day, halal options in school meals, jugs of water in toilets for washing according to ritual requirements, and leave of absence for Friday midday prayers and Id holidays. Curricular issues related to music, art, drama and sex education caused concern to some Muslim families (Sheriff 1983, Halstead 1994, 1997; Amer 1997; Halstead and Lewicka 1998). Normative expectations about behaviour might also give offence - for example touching, playfulness and free talk with members of the opposite sex (Parker-Jenkins 1995). There was also friction over extended family visits to the Indian subcontinent - an issue which, whilst not Islamic in essence, did affect large numbers of Muslim pupils (Bhatti 1999).

Public awareness-raising and campaigning by parents and religious leaders led

eventually to the recognition of certain religious needs of Muslim pupils (Joly 1987; Lewis 1994a; Sarwar 1994; Nielsen 1995). By the late 1990s a number of these had been met by most education authorities and schools. In the majority of cases relating to issues such as absence for Friday worship and festival observance, difficulties were resolved pragmatically at a local government or school level, rather than by changes in the law (Dwyer and Meyer 1995). Part of the progress towards meeting the perceived needs of Muslim pupils was due to improved communication between parents and teachers, for example through home-school liaison groups, family literacy projects and the provision of interpreters (Shilela 1997; Haw 1998). Such recognitions of the religious needs of Muslim pupils were not always achieved without a struggle however; the halal meat controversy in Bradford in the early 1980s aroused fierce opposition from animal rights activists, allegedly supported by right-wing agitators (Lewis 1994a).

Attitudes towards the education of girls were on the boundary between countercultural and accommodationist attitudes, as illustrated by the issue of single-sex schooling. In the late 1970s about one-third of Muslim parents in Bradford were keeping adolescent daughters away from school or sending them back to Pakistan (Simpson 1997). The situation gradually changed in Bradford partly as a result of the availability of a girls only secondary school, after a period of prolonged campaigning (McLoughlin 2002). As Halstead (1993) pointed out, the demand for such schools had generated one of the most sustained campaigns by UK Muslims, and was based on religious arguments, unlike that of Hindu and Sikh parents. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane found a big difference between the views of parents and teenage children on this. Most of the young people were in favour of mixed-sex schooling, but this was true of only one-fifth of Muslim parents, as compared with about two-thirds of Hindu and Sikh ones (1991: 94).

Popular stereotypes about Muslim attitudes to women were one of the reasons regularly given in opposition to the establishment of Islamic voluntary aided schools (Shaikh and Kelly 1989). These views were based on the notion that many Asian girls, particularly Muslim ones, were oppressed and hemmed in by their families, that they would be forced into arranged marriage at an early age, and that there was therefore no point in helping them to obtain educational qualifications or give them careers guidance (Wade and Souter 1992). Such attitudes caused scepticism as to teachers' motives amongst some Muslims. Hewitt asserted that "equal opportunities for Muslim girls" is a euphemism for "don't follow Islamic requirements of dress and behaviour" (Hewitt 1997: 43). However Basit (1997b) found that amongst most of her respondents there was little conflict over educational aspirations between teenage Muslim girls and their parents. Stereotyped views of Muslim girls by schools and teachers had a damaging effect on their education (Gillborn and Gipps 1996). Haw, in her study of Muslim girls, argued that they did better at Muslim schools where they were not constantly having to defend themselves against the stereotyped image others had of their aspirations and capabilities. In an environment where it was 'normal' to be a Muslim girl, 'there is a wider range of discursive positions open to them than their counterparts (*in a mainstream state school*) and they are enabled to take these up because they receive an education couched in their own values' (Haw 1995: 58). Not all at such schools valued academic

attainment; in some cases parents and governors were more concerned with the moral than the academic dimension of girls' experience in school (Parker-Jenkins and Haw 1996). Some Asian families might have negative attitudes concerning higher education for their daughters, but the same was also true of a number of white working-class families (Brah and Minhas 1985). Other studies found positive attitudes towards education amongst girls and often parents, but these sometimes conflicted with wider family or biraderi expectations and pressures (Sharif 1989; Afshar 1989b; Haw 1998).

Finally, religious education was a contentious issue for some. In the school system in England and Wales, religious education is taught as a discrete subject on the time-table, and its purpose is to give pupils knowledge about religions, and opportunities to reflect on their own experiences and beliefs, but not to promote or nurture religious belief, which is seen as the responsibility of parents.²⁷ This separation between religious education and moral values was said to be unacceptable to most Muslim parents (Halstead and Khan-Cheema 1987; Afshar 1989b). Some of the older generation were unclear as to the distinction made between religious education (provided in school and designed to be of educational worth to pupils of any or no religious background) and religious instruction (provided in a religious setting such as a Sunday School or a madrasa, and designed to nurture a child in a particular faith) and acted to withdraw their children on a mass basis (Hull 1998). There was some opposition to multifaith religious education for children at primary school level; Akhtar feared it might 'overburden young and impressionable minds' (1993: 43). On the other hand, Julia Ipgrave (1995b) found that the majority of parents in her Leicester-based study favoured multifaith religious education in principle; those who opposed it were said to be unrepresentative. Woodward (1993) distinguished between the Muslim pupils in his Birmingham study, who were said to be happy with multifaith religious education, and the parents and imams who did not always share children's generally positive attitudes. Currah (1995) found many of the young women she interviewed were quite positive towards school religious education, feeling it had caused them to find out more about their faith in order to be able to answer the questions of their peers.

iv. Accommodationist approaches

Pulcini's third category of parents were those who adopted an 'accommodationist' perspective. Generally speaking, an important concern for migrant parents has been that of the quality of education their children receive. A good education is seen as very desirable, and access to universal free education of comparatively high quality was one significant reason why some labour migrants decided to settle permanently in Britain with their families (Joly 1984; Robinson 1986; Alam 1989). South Asian parents of all religious backgrounds are reputed to have high educational aspirations for their children (Bhachu 1985a; Brah and Minhas 1985; Antoun 1994; Basit 1995, 1997b). Afshar wrote of 'an inordinate trust in the educational system ... as a means of delivering their children from the drudgery of poverty' amongst her Pakistani informants in West Yorkshire (1989a: 261). Meijer (1999) found a majority of parents wanting schools to prepare

²⁷ The legal requirement was that schools should teach about Christianity and the other principal religions represented in Great Britain.

children for successful participation in modern western society. From a canonical Islamic perspective, education is valued as something for which all Muslims should strive (Abdulati 1997).

How far was parents' positive orientation towards education reflected in the outcomes for their children? Research highlighted a considerable diversity in different parts of the country, and low levels of attainment were associated with socio-economic factors, which overrode all differences of ethnic background or gender (Anwar 1996; Gillborn and Gipps 1996). This nevertheless meant that in practice pupils of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin were over-represented amongst those leaving school without any qualifications and were the least likely of all ethnic group members to be studying at the most prestigious institutions of higher education (Anwar 1996). So for parents who put a high priority on their children's educational success this outcome would be disappointing; however it may be that these migrant groups were experiencing a 'catch-up' period which reflected a shorter duration of residence in Britain than that of other more apparently successful migrant groups.

Educational success was not the only issue for accommodationist parents. For many parents the interaction at school with children from the dominant culture was a mixed blessing: on the one hand it provided welcome opportunities for mutual cultural awareness and might lead to greater racial harmony in the future, but on the other, there were aspects of the 'dominant culture' many parents disliked (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1991). They feared that children might be adversely influenced by their white British classmates in a way which would undermine the perpetuation of their values about family life, social morality and proper behaviour.²⁸ Children did not necessarily share parental concerns; in Ostberg's (2002) study of Pakistani families in Oslo the children expressed a strong attachment to local schools and teachers.

A further point was that parents' attitudes to the schools their children actually attended were not always as positive as their beliefs about the importance of education in the abstract. The general approach to school has been seen by some parents as involving too much play and not enough discipline, and as focusing on perceived socio-pastoral needs rather than academic ones (Joly 1984; Parker-Jenkins 1995; Bhatti 1999). Many parents have seemed reluctant to come into school for meetings with the teacher; this was sometimes interpreted as a sign of lack of interest in their children's education, rather than the reality of long hours of work or of a feeling that education was best left to professionals (Parker-Jenkins 1995).

Pulcini's category of assimilationism represented a fourth option for Muslim families in relation to life in the west. He suggested that rather fewer than 20% of American Muslims would adopt this perspective (Pulcini 1995:193). There is little research evidence on Muslims in Britain on this issue specifically, but some indication is given in the 4th Policy Studies Institute survey. Just 4% of Muslim respondents said that

²⁸ Clearly some of these expressed fears reflect stereotyped views about white British society. The point here is the parents' general perception of the situation, not whether it is an objectively accurate representation of reality.

religion was not important to how they lived their lives, which suggests that assimilationist attitudes would be shared by only a small number (Modood 1997: 301).

Education: a summary

Alongside the articulation of issues that caused concern for Muslim parents there have been changes in the education system itself in the 1980s and 1990s. Pulcini's categorization of parental responses to life in the west as countercultural, subcultural, accommodationist and assimilationist is helpful to a certain extent in analysing the relationship between Muslim families and their children's schools, but it does not take sufficient account of the dynamism of individual and community opinions and attitudes, as will be seen in Chapter 9 below. There are also significant differences between the education systems of Britain and the USA which blur the categories. However the latter provide a useful tool in assessing some aspects such as basic differences in philosophy between western secular and Islamic views of the purpose of education. Racist prejudice and discrimination was part of many families' experience of the education system, but specific religious demands led to a series of campaigns by individuals and groups to get schools to take account of Muslim children's needs, many of which were successful. Most parents were not opposed to the education their children received as such; they combined a strong desire for the recognition of religious requirements with high aspirations for their children's educational success in terms of academic qualifications. Compared with other groups, children from Muslim backgrounds appeared to do less well, but this might have been related to any of a cluster of other factors and there was no evidence to suggest that it was attributable to religion. The education of girls was valued by many but attitudes on this were mixed, in terms of both parental and community ambivalence. There was some evidence of damaging stereotyping by teachers and schools.

.....

This literature review raises a range of questions related to the central concern of the thesis, that is, the impact of migration on approaches to religious nurture amongst second generation Muslim parents in Peterborough. What contribution, if any, do factors such as pre-migration history and migration process make in shaping parental attitudes? What, if any, diversity is there between different groups of Muslims in Britain? How far is the family context itself a factor - through the impacts of family structure, kin relationships, hierarchical patterns, and religious and cultural values about family life - in influencing the religious socialization of the young? For the families in the study, does religion continue to be an important part of their lives? Do parents take religious transmission for granted? Is there a transgenerational decline in Islamic practice? Has there been any change in approaches to the formal or informal nurture of children as Muslims? How far is parents' approach modified by their aspirations for children's educational success? Do they fear the corruption of their children within the British school system? These questions will be addressed in successive chapters of the study.

Chapter 2. Methods

Introduction

The literature review in the previous chapter gave an overview of research on some aspects of South Asian migration to Britain and the lives of migrants and their descendants. A key question arising from this was that of the extent to which migration impacted on the perpetuation of Islam in terms of family life, attitudes and values, and the nurture of the younger generation. I took as my central research concern the question of religious nurture and studied the approaches of parents in two groups of second generation migrant Muslim families in Peterborough, one of Pakistani origin and the other from an East African Asian background. This made possible an examination of the approaches of two groups from similar cultural backgrounds and a common religion, and who were in the same life situation, but who had significant differences in other respects. A comparison of the two groups would provide an opportunity to consider diversity within Islam.

The central research question is the extent to which the process of migration has had an impact on the religious nurture of young Muslims in Peterborough. In addressing this question, the study draws on a wide range of topics. These include issues in the sociology of the family, such as the socialization of the young, and social stratification in terms of hierarchical relationships in the two groups studied. The research draws on anthropological themes in that it relates to patterns of kinship and marriage, cultural norms and the relationship between religion and culture. Another strand of the interdisciplinary web is that of education studies, in particular an exploration of the difference in philosophical underpinnings of western liberal educational thought and Islamic philosophy of education. In terms of religious studies the research considers how Islam as a world religion is reflected both in a sense of *umma* and also by contrast in local and regional interpretations embedded within cultural norms of different societies. The study foregrounds some existential questions facing Muslims living in a minority situation, such as ways in which the concept of *purdah* is to be understood in a western context and in the twenty-first century, and also explores issues about transformations of Islam in the west, and the extent to which second generation migrant Muslim parents expect to be able to transmit belief and practice to a third generation. There is a political dimension in terms of the impact of events such as the Iranian revolution, the Rushdie Affair in Britain, and the association, in the popular stereotype, of Islam with terrorism. Lastly, there are geographical questions related to the character of migrations and the life trajectories of migrants. The concepts of transnationalism and diaspora are central to an understanding of some differences between the two communities studied. A central feature of this qualitative study lies in the level of ethnographic detail generated through the forty-eight interviews. These give access to the voices of women as mothers; in spite of the existence of a general perception of the value given to family life by South Asian communities, the priorities and ideas of parents have been little heard in scholarly accounts.

This chapter starts with an account of the choices I made in relation to research methods, locality and fieldwork sample. The interview process is described, along with the supplementary methods employed and the modifications made in the light of the pilot interviews. Some of these concerned reliability and validity; others related to concepts employed, practical aspects of the research and human relationships in the fieldwork context. Finally I describe the process through which the material was analysed and written up.

I. Fieldwork choices

i. Why qualitative research?

I decided to carry out qualitative rather than quantitative research. Quantitative methods were not open enough to obtain the kind of information I was seeking, nor could they give sufficient depth. For example the quantitative material in studies like the 4th Policy Studies Institute Survey could give considerable detail on measures such as mosque attendance, people's desire for single sex education for their children or their estimation of how central religion was to their lives (Modood and Berthoud 1997). Such methods could not however give polyphonic depth of insight on parents' hopes and aspirations as to whether their children would grow up to live by Islamic values in a western setting. Qualitative methods can generate data which give insight into people's reasoning, their motivations, their responses to life events, in more personal depth than would be possible with quantitative research. They also give scope for a balance between an emphasis on the researcher's own agenda and an opportunity to the subject to interact with questions and to raise concerns and interests of their own. Gubrium and Holstein talk of the close scrutiny favoured by qualitative researchers, the attempt to gain insights into the 'qualities' of social life, and analysis which 'offers the world as fine-grained, variegated and to some extent always resistant to comprehensive explanation' (1997: 13). I also hoped that interviews would provide an opportunity for the voices of women to be articulated. So much writing on Islam and Muslims is produced from a male perspective; the relatively small amount on the experience of women focuses largely on gender issues and feminism. Given women's centrality in family lives, and the centrality of family life within Islam, I felt the research topic gave an opportunity for the voices of women to be more clearly heard in relation to one of their most significant roles.

ii. Why Peterborough?

I decided to carry out the fieldwork in Peterborough for several reasons. Firstly it provided an opportunity to explore diversity amongst Muslims in Britain. The city contained two distinct groups whose approaches to parenting could be investigated: a substantial community of Pakistani origin and a smaller but significant and identifiable community of East African Asian Muslims, the Khoja Shi'as Ithna'asheri (see below Chapter 3). Also, the city was known to me through my work as an adviser for religious education; I had some initial contacts in the multicultural education service to whom I could

turn for help in recruiting interviewees. Very little previous social scientific research had been undertaken in the locality.

The possibility of studying and comparing two well established communities of Muslims was attractive from a research point of view. It offered an opportunity to consider commonalities and contrasts within and between two culturally similar groups and allowed the unpacking of distinctions between 'religion' and 'culture', which would have been more difficult had the groups been culturally different, if for example the study compared groups of Pakistani and Turkish origin respectively. The sample from the two groups studied was too small to take as reliably representative (see below section IV), but did illustrate a range of ideas and attitudes. The families in the study shared the experience of living in Peterborough in the 1990s, and of being from a broadly South Asian cultural background, but there were many differences between the two groups as well. These included socio-economic status, pre-migration experience, differences in migration and settlement history, in educational levels and in religious affiliation. All these would have to be considered in any analysis of the factors which might have contributed to particular attitudes and behaviour patterns.

iii. Choice of methods

Interviews were chosen as the principal means of data collection for several reasons. I did not know how many of the people I approached would be able to read and write English easily enough to respond to a written questionnaire. Some researchers had described informant suspicion about the uses to which written answers to questions might be put (Barton 1986; Bhopal 2001). Face-to-face interviewing would also give opportunities for observation of the home environment, of the interactions of interviewees and other family members and provide scope for probing answers, for example in open-ended questions. In addition face-to-face interviewing gave a chance for clarification if the interviewee was not very sure what type of response was wanted in a particular question.

I chose semi-structured interviews because they offered opportunities for both control and openness (see Appendix ii). Although I had decided on the themes to be covered in relation to religious nurture, and therefore wanted to control the content to a large extent in order to enable a measure of comparability, I wanted to ensure opportunities for interviewees to raise their own issues too. A semi-structured format recognized the dialogic character of interviews, which could 'emerge from a more egalitarian co-operation in which both field worker and consultant contribute to the interview agenda and to the form of discourse' (Briggs 1986: 28). A fully structured format would assume I had identified all the potential areas of interest, which was not the case. I wanted people to be able to raise aspects I might not be aware of (one such issue which emerged was a strong disapproval of music, particularly in Shi'a Islam).

II. Fieldwork process

i. Pilot interviews

I carried out seven pilot interviews in Cambridge and Huntingdon. These helped me to identify topics to include in the interview schedule (see Appendix ii) and also led me to amend various aspects of my approach in the light of the pilot experience. The areas in which I modified my original intentions are discussed fully in the remainder of the first part of this chapter: these included selection criteria for recruitment, recruitment procedure, presentation of research to interviewees, structure of interview schedule, conduct of interviews, tape-recording and, most importantly, relationships with interviewees.

ii. Recruitment of sample

a. Recruitment criteria

I had originally set out to use the following criteria for selection of interviewees. They should be Muslims of Pakistani or East African Asian background, who had grown up in Britain and might therefore be considered 'second generation', and should be parents. Initially I had intended to include East African Asian Muslims from Isma'ili backgrounds as well as Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asharis but soon realized that in Peterborough they were a very small and distinct group, and that for the purposes of comparison it would be more effective to restrict myself to KSI interviewees. The choice of interviewing parents who had themselves grown up in Britain would mean I was likely to have informants who had a settled orientation towards life in the UK, and who had opinions about bringing up their Muslim children in a predominantly non-Muslim context. They would have experience of the British education system. They would be more likely to be fluent English speakers which would obviate the need for interpreters.

'Second generation'. I soon came to understand that the question of 'generation' was more complex than I had at first thought. Before starting the fieldwork I had a very clear-cut picture of the group of people I wanted to interview. My hypothesis was that the first migrant generation might have been influenced in their approaches to childrearing by the 'myth of return' (Anwar 1979). The second generation parents, by contrast, would be in their twenties and thirties, have grown up and been educated in Britain, and would be likely to feel it was their permanent home. I wanted to study their approaches as parents to the issue of bringing up children in a country where the dominant cultural and religious ethos was likely to be different from their own. I soon realised that in real life there were few couples in which both partners fitted neatly into this model. There were three main patterns: couples where both partners had grown up in Britain, couples where one partner had grown up in Britain but the other had not, and couples where both partners had arrived in Britain in their mid-teens (often twenty-five or more years ago) but not necessarily been at school in the UK.

The first group included three Pakistani and three Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri couples out of

a total of forty-eight, mostly in their twenties or early thirties, most of whom had children of nursery or primary school age. The second group included the majority of the Pakistani families, in which one partner had grown up in the UK and had married somebody who had grown up in Pakistan, nearly always a cousin (see below Chapter 4). Amongst the twenty-four interviewees, fifteen of those who migrated for marriage were men and only four were women. There were also several KSI families where a marriage partner had come to Britain from East Africa, North America or other centres of Khoja community settlement. The third group was slightly unbalanced by the different circumstances of the migration process. In all but one of the Pakistani families, one partner had grown up wholly or partly in this country.²⁹ In the KSI group, a number of the older parents interviewed had come in their mid-teens as refugees and had had to obtain employment immediately in order to try to support younger members of their families, so had been unable to continue in education. The range of duration of life in Britain is shown in the table below.

Table i. Duration of residence in Britain

N = 96

Number of years	0-5	5-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40
Pakistani husbands	0	9	3	1	5	6
Pakistani wives	0	0	3	4	12	5
KSI husbands	0	0	0	1	21	2
KSI wives	0	4	3	3	15	0

Amongst these Pakistani families, a significant number of men had come to Britain on marriage, and more than two thirds of the wives had grown up in the UK. By contrast in the KSI community nearly all the men had arrived in the late 1960s/early 1970s; so had quite a lot of the women, but two-fifths had come later at the time of marriage.

There were also couples where the husband was considerably older than the wife. It is therefore problematic simply to categorize couples as being 'first', 'second' or 'third' generation because in the majority of cases this is not accurate, strictly speaking, and it was not easy to find a term which applied to both communities. Modood uses 'third generation' to apply to people whose grandparents were migrants (Modood 1997). This works as a categorization for the Pakistani community, though it sometimes masks the variation in individual experience. However in the East African Asian case people characteristically came to Britain as complete families with three generations arriving at once. Despite these differences, one factor did unite all the people interviewed; they were all bringing up children in Britain in the late 1990s. Therefore in terms of the

²⁹ The one exception was someone who had come as soon as he had left school in Pakistan; he was still in his mid-teens, had lived in Britain for nearly forty years and had spent some formative time in the country before he married and was bringing up his own children, so I felt he met my criteria in broad terms even though he was not educated in Britain.

potential contrast between the children's home backgrounds and their lives in the wider host community, including school, the parents shared a common experience. In spite of reservations about the usefulness of the term 'second generation', I have used it operationally, for want of a better alternative, to describe the parents interviewed in my study, but in the understanding that in the case of my interviewees it often refers to one rather than both partners in a marriage, and it applies differently to East African Asians than to Pakistanis.

The second criterion was that the interviewees should have school-aged children, because this would mean the parents were actively engaged with questions of Muslim nurture in a non-Muslim context. In the end I had to interpret this flexibly. I soon realised how much variation there was, even amongst parents within a particular age-group, because of the different numbers and ages of children. The experience of parenting also differed according to both parents' history and children's position in the family. For example two interviewees had children about to start secondary school. In the case of Mumtaz, the family had already had several other children going through their secondary years, the eldest of whom had just started at university; Mumtaz herself had been wholly educated in Britain. In Yasmin's case, she and her husband had no secondary school experience themselves, and the child who was about to transfer was the oldest in the family. The first family was far more relaxed in its attitude to this impending change in their child's life.

I felt that there was no reason of substance for excluding, for example, a parent whose child was at nursery or playgroup, because some of the issues which applied to older children were also present in these early years settings. Equally, there were nurture issues for parents of young people who had recently left school and just started at university or employment, such as interpretations of Islamic dress and orientation towards the education of girls. In the end I broadened this criterion; the vast majority of interviewees did have children currently in school, but of the forty-eight families, six had only children under school age and four had only children who had recently finished school and were in higher education or employment.

b. Representative sample or voices of individuals?

The interviewees were not selected to be statistically representative according to criteria of age, gender, socio-economic status, education, occupation or marital status. There were several reasons for this. The sample was small and thus not statistically reliable, particularly given that it was recruited through a process of snowball sampling; with just twenty-four interviewees from each community it would not be possible to apply any measure of standard randomized sampling. It is also difficult to apply the standard social science definitions of class used in random sampling to immigrant groups or individuals since many, particularly those from professional and managerial backgrounds, experience downward social mobility for varying periods of time (al Rasheed 1992). The purpose of the study was to investigate parental beliefs, attitudes and actions in some detail and depth, and it would have gone beyond the scope of the study to

attempt to correlate these definitively with socio-economic status and the other factors listed above. However in recruiting interviewees to take part in the research I took into account the 1991 census data on occupation in the Peterborough Pakistani community, and tried to achieve a balance which reflected this (successfully to some extent but not completely). In the case of the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asharis there were no background statistical data which could be used, because as a group they are too small to show up in any nationally collected data, nor do they appear as a distinguishable sub-group in statistics from the census data on ethnic minority groups in Peterborough. Since they are essentially a religious subdivision of a caste group it is difficult to see how they would be identified in terms of any government statistics in a British context. In the absence of any other source their own membership data are the only guide. The interviewees are therefore not to be seen as a strictly representative sample but they do illustrate or exemplify a range of views within the two communities, and give voice to some of the experiences, aspirations and concerns of parents within them.

c. Recruitment procedure

I recruited the forty-eight interviewees through a process of snowball sampling. It seemed unlikely that I would be able to get any kind of cohort through random sampling on a household basis, given the level of suspicion I had experienced amongst some interviewees in my pilot study. It seemed important to be introduced and given implicit endorsement through a personal contact. It would also have been difficult to identify informants for a random sample within the communities desired especially given that some of them were not living in an area of clustered ethnic minority residence. Sampling could have been initiated through schools, but children of Pakistani and particularly of East African Asian Muslim backgrounds were spread over a number of schools in the city, and in several schools the teachers I talked to had no idea of the geographical family background of their pupils. It would also have been difficult to find out during the identification of the sample whether or not such children's parents had grown up in Britain. On grounds of practicality, therefore, snowball sampling was the most satisfactory option.

I was concerned that this method might result in a one-dimensional uniformity of perspective but found very early on in the fieldwork process that this was not the case. There was considerable diversity amongst the people interviewed in both communities in terms of their parents' backgrounds, their marriages, occupations, religious orientation, educational experience, personalities and outlook on life. In the later interviews I asked people to suggest others who might be willing to participate, specifically requesting contacts with potential informants from under-represented backgrounds (for example, those with little formal education).

My main initial contact was a work colleague who had lived in the central area of Asian settlement in Peterborough for many years, had been involved in the local residents' association and worked for the multicultural education service; she introduced me to some well-established members of both communities. I also made some early contacts

through a body for which I provided professional support, the local education authority's Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education, on which the different religious groups in the city were represented. I was aware in relation to the 'gatekeepers' who provided introductions for me in both communities, that my status as a religious education adviser helped to give me credibility as someone whose interest was seen as a serious one. It also raised a few minor problems in that some interviewees expected me to be able to give them advice about educational matters; in some cases I was able to help but unfortunately in others I was not.

The people approached were in most cases very willing to be interviewed. In attempting to set up interviews I made a first contact by telephone.³⁰ I then sent a letter explaining what the research was about and how the interview would be conducted (see Appendix i). Of the fifty-two people approached just four declined; two said they did not have enough time, one that her children were too young and another had a child with considerable disabilities and did not want to take part.

iii. Presenting research to interviewees: self-presentation

At the start of each interview I stressed that in the written account I would go to some lengths to preserve confidentiality. I have done this by changing the names of all participants and members of their families, and have also where appropriate changed biographical details to make recognition less likely whilst remaining true to the general representation of people's lives.

I took steps before and during the interviews to reassure the participants as to my intentions and trustworthiness. The short factual questions at the beginning of the interview schedule were chosen to give a neutral and non-threatening introduction. This was successful as a strategy in the sense that virtually all the interviews relaxed into a fairly comfortable and expansive experience by the time it came to the more open-ended questions. During the pilot interviews I had been aware that some informants had misgivings over and above the usual sensitivities with regard to confidentiality and trust. These were concerns about misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Islam and Muslims, and were expressed more often by interviewees who identified themselves primarily as 'Muslim' rather than 'Asian' or 'Pakistani'. These anxieties might also have arisen because of the greater emphasis I placed on Islam in the pilot interviews. One couple who gave a pilot interview started with the husband questioning me quite assertively at the outset, in order to establish what my motives and interests were, how much I knew or understood about Islam, and even whether or not I was married.

The second point concerns the development of a sense of rapport between interviewer and interviewee. The term 'rapport' suggests the existence of a sense of interpersonal

³⁰ This was the case for all interviewees except four of the Pakistani sample, to whom my introduction came via a group based in a local primary school. In these cases I was introduced to the potential interviewees by the person who ran the group, and another group member translated into Panjabi the letter giving information about the nature and purpose of the research in order to obtain reliable informed consent.

warmth such that interviewees feel able to reveal details of their personal lives and emotions to a stranger. Some people carrying out research amongst ethnic minorities have attributed their rapport with interviewees to the fact that they were from the same cultural and/or religious background themselves (Mirza 1989; Currah 1995; Basit 1997b; Ali 1999; Bhopal 2001).³¹ This shared cultural background was not necessarily an advantage on its own; Bhatti had been aware of the need to project 'the homely non-threatening image' of a wife-mother, not that of a 'cold middle class Asian professional woman' (Bhatti 1999: 17). Shared experience rather than shared ethnicity was seen as a positive factor by Gillespie, who identified her own earlier migration and sense of displacement as an Irish Catholic in London as giving her a bond with the Punjabi migrants in her Southall fieldwork sample (Gillespie 1995). The sense of identification between interviewer and interviewee could however have an impact on the validity of the data generated; shared ethnicity was found in one study to lead to overemphasis on ethnic factors, and different ethnicity to lead to an underemphasis (Verkuyten, van de Calseijde and de Leur 1999). As Dwyer (1997) observed, power relations are a factor that cannot be ignored in the interview situation. I presented myself as an educationalist, and was aware that this enhanced my status in the eyes of some interviewees, but also as a mother. The nature of an interview as process and dialogue makes it likely that a perception of shared experience or interest will have some impact on the interview, and this should be taken into account in data analysis (see below section III). I felt a measure of common ground with my interviewees because I too was a mother and had experienced some of the same concerns as they had done, not about loss of cultural and religious heritage but certainly about children's personal safety, drugs, the potential for them to come under negative influences, and basic aspirations for their health, happiness and success at school. This was a source of shared experience and contributed to the dialogue. Given the nature of the interview situation, however, it is not surprising that most researchers do describe a sense of rapport with their interviewees; as has been pointed out, 'the interviewer may be one of the few well-informed people who has sympathetically listened and apparently understood the difficulties of the interviewee' (Powney and Watts 1987: 43).

iv. Interview schedule

Whilst in general accepting the argument of Briggs (1986) that an excessive focus on the risk of bias or distortion may lead to an ignoring of the character of the interview as a dialogic event constructed jointly by interviewer and interviewee, I nevertheless felt there were potential issues about overdetermining the role of religion in children's nurture, and took steps to try to avoid doing this. Pilot interviews had alerted me to the risk of influencing unduly what people talked about, when I presented my main interest as being in Islamic nurture. I therefore approached potential interviewees for the main study by (a) recruiting through a community contact rather than through an explicitly Islamic one

³¹ Bhopal privileges ethnicity over religion and class/caste. She suggests that in the case of fieldwork involving Asian women, a researcher's own Asian background facilitates access to information which would be denied to a white or other researcher. I would argue that in some cases such informants might be more willing to speak to somebody they knew to be outside the traditional gossip networks within a community.

in the first instance, and (b) giving all interviewees a written outline which explained the nature and purpose of the research (Appendix i). This statement referred to 'Pakistani' and 'East African Asian' communities rather than Muslims, so as to broaden the agenda and place less overt emphasis on religion. It also seemed important to give prior written information from an ethical point of view as it provided a greater likelihood of potential interviewees being in a position to give informed consent.

Everybody was asked the same questions and the interviews all lasted from one to one and a quarter hours. There was a certain amount of basic factual information to be collected, but I did not want to shut off unanticipated avenues of research value by structuring the interviews too tightly. As well as fairly open-ended questions about parental priorities and the religious upbringing of their children, I asked how these aspects differed from the interviewees' own upbringing. This allowed the possibility of investigating change over the course of a generation and its possible causes. I then had a checklist of items for interviewees to respond to; some of these had already been discussed in some detail, according to the particular preoccupations of individual interviewees, but the checklist ensured coverage of the points I wanted to ask about. This was followed by questions about Islam and about interviewees' own religious nurture. Finally I asked about parents' aspirations for their children. As Powney and Watts (1987) point out, hypothetical questions cannot be a reliable indicator of what people do in reality. However a statement of aspirations can throw light on people's hopes, ideals and sources of anxiety.

After raising a whole range of socialization issues, I focused on religion specifically. Although I was principally interested in religious nurture, I did not want to 'prime' interviewees to tell me what they thought I wanted to hear; I therefore left the question about Islam until after I had asked about priorities generally in their upbringing of their children. However the unintended consequence of this was that some of them assumed I knew little about Islam. This was brought home to me early on when one woman said, *'Our prophet - Muhammad - have you heard of him?'* I realised there was a risk that interviewees would omit valuable comment about religious nurture unless they were aware that I was interested in this and had enough knowledge of Islam to understand what they might say about it. I addressed this issue with reasonable success by using Arabic terms for aspects of belief or practice in the course of the interview, to demonstrate familiarity with the religion and its key elements and concepts.

I modified the interview procedure in the light of my pilot interviews. In these I had given interviewees a prompt sheet and asked them to then comment on individual issues or not as they chose; however I ended up not getting information on some key points, not I think because they had nothing to say, but because they picked out a few matters of particular interest. I felt it was more conducive to consistency if I asked all interviewees about each of the items.

v. Interview process

a. Who was interviewed?

I interviewed twenty-four families from each community, forty-eight in all. This gave a big enough sample to allow for some diversity in terms of socio-economic status, educational levels and migration history. It also seemed to be a reasonable number for a qualitative study involving two different groups. In the Pakistani community twenty-one were mothers and three were fathers. In the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community, nineteen were mothers, one was a father and four were couples. Basit found that where couples were interviewed together it was usually the case that only one spoke, most often the father (Basit 1997b). On the basis of that finding, corroborated by the experience of my own pilot interviews, I had therefore originally intended to interview either father or mother. However I did not state clearly that this was the case in my pre-interview information letter, and several of the KSI couples clearly expected to be interviewed together. This happened informally in one case, when the husband arrived home from work not long after the interview had begun, and his wife asked if I would mind him taking part as well. In three other cases parents had assumed the interview involved both partners. I had been prepared to discard these interviews if they appeared to be compromised in reliability because of the presence of the other partner, but in the event I believe they simply reinforced the information and impression given by the other spouse. There was a certain amount of light-hearted disagreement between the partners in two of the couples, but all four gave the impression of having strongly companionate relationships and of being in agreement on most of the issues discussed (or of deferring comfortably to each other). In three further cases both partners were present but only one answered the interview questions (in one case it was the husband and in two the wife).

I did not attempt to impose total control on the circumstances of the interview. Given a free choice I would initially have preferred to be able to have an uninterrupted hour and a half with the full attention of the interviewee. A number of scholars carrying out research involving South Asian families have described the difficulty of setting up individual interviews without third parties present; Barton (1986) and Ostberg (2002) found that people were simply more relaxed sitting together, and Stopes-Roe and Cochrane that the presence of additional family members were simply 'an inescapable fact' in household surveys (1991: 17). After conducting a few pilot interviews where there were one or more small children playing and occasionally interrupting, or other family members coming in and out of the room, I came to see that there was a lot to be learned about family relationships and the context of children's upbringing through witnessing such family interactions. For example when I arrived at the home of Rizwan and Mumtaz, their daughter answered the door because they were still performing their evening prayers. Shireen showed me into the living room, offered me refreshments and we then chatted about her sports trophies on the mantelpiece. Her parents came down and we started the interview; Shireen quietly withdrew to get back to her homework. About half way through we heard a heated exchange going on upstairs. Mumtaz slipped out, dealt with

the children and brought the younger one downstairs to sit on the sofa for a while. The whole impression was one of calm, and when there was tension (such as the argument between the two boys) it was addressed with orderly restraint; this experience gave an insight into this couple's parenting style and their children's responses to it which would have been hard to obtain from an interview outside the home context.

In just one interview I felt reliability was compromised by the presence of other family members. This was the family of Samira; she had suggested carrying out the interview at her parents' house so that her mother could look after the children. Samira was dressed in an elaborate and beautiful shalwar kameez, with full make-up and jewellery; I felt the interview had been anticipated as something of an event. When I arrived for the interview I was ushered into the front living room. The grandmother was sitting on a couch reading the Qur'an to herself; the mother sat on another sofa and added to Samira's interview answers from time to time; other members of the family came in, sat for a while, then went out; these included Samira's father, her three children, two of her brothers (one with a young child) and her husband. After I had turned off the tape and the rest of the family had left the room, Samira and one of her brothers said they had not been able to answer openly because of the other family members present. I decided not to exclude this interview because it was an interesting exemplification of the fact that second generation families might have one set of ideas about their children's upbringing but might nevertheless have to defer to the judgement of their elders on certain issues. I felt the general point to be drawn from this was that there was a risk in such situations that the presence of others might prevent interviewees from answering freely. In cases where hierarchical relationships came into play (see below Chapter 4), more senior family members might well have an inhibiting effect on younger ones, and men on women. This would need to be taken into account. On the positive side, the presence of additional family members provided interesting insights into relational dynamics.

b. Place of interview

All but one of the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri group chose to be interviewed in their own homes. Of the Pakistani group, eleven were interviewed in their own homes. Amongst those whose homes I visited, I saw a range of different environments and socio-economic situations, and homes almost always provided interesting additional data (see below Chapter 3). However I was grateful to find people willing to be interviewed and did not want to push my luck by making additional stipulations about venue which might cause difficulties.

Four (contacted through a family literacy group) were interviewed in a local school, and nine at their place of work. Some of them suggested this as a better venue because they would not need to be attending to their children. These interviews all took place in quiet surroundings in offices with few interruptions, but on the other hand, provided no chance to see people's homes with all the visual data such visits yielded in other

cases.³²

c. Tape-recording

My initial intention had been to tape-record and transcribe fully all the interviews, because this would give a full version of the interview and would make it possible to recapture, many months later, a lot of the detail and emotional quality of the event and to be more aware of my own part in the interaction. In the event I had to modify this expectation as some interviewees were uncomfortable about being tape-recorded, and in other cases, circumstances made recording unsatisfactory.

The majority of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed in full. One valuable outcome of this was that it provided a record of what people had actually said, and lessened the likelihood of my picking up only on what I was expecting or hoping to hear. In cases where I did not make tapes, I tried to write up notes fully on the day of the interview so that details of context and interaction were still fresh and could be recorded on paper without delay. I transcribed everything for two reasons. Firstly it allowed consistency (with two exceptions where I left out some quite rambling and irrelevant material). Secondly it made it possible to return easily to reread interview material a number of times; this would have been more difficult if the material had not been fully transcribed, and I would have been held to my earliest idea of what was significant. It would have inhibited the possibility of dynamic and reflective interaction with the material at a later date.

Just under half the Pakistani group and four of the KSI group wanted to have notes rather than tape-recording, again for a variety of reasons. Some were self-conscious, others felt it took away control from them (for example Fatima H. said she could not tell whether she would mind being tape-recorded until she knew what I was going to ask her about). In two cases the interviewees agreed to be recorded after I had covered the initial short factual questions, by which time they felt more at ease.

Experience from the pilot interviews also influenced the decision. One pilot interviewee was emphatically opposed to being tape-recorded. A second had small children watching television in the room. The third family had children coming in and out all the time. I ended up taking notes. This was not really a problem, except that I had to edit as I went along. In some ways it meant I had to focus more carefully on what people were saying than if I had tape-recorded the interviews. I decided that it was possible to obtain the quality of data I needed whichever method was used, but to aim for tape-recording as a preference.

³² See, for example, McCloud's description of the Islamization of the home in an American context. She suggests the use of Islamic symbols defines an area of control in which 'the hostile environment of racism, religious intolerance and discrimination are locked out; prayer space and hospitality are guaranteed' (McCloud 1996: 68)

d. Language

The interviewing was almost all conducted in English. Twenty-one of the Pakistani group and twenty-three of the KSI group spoke almost perfect English and this was hardly surprising as the vast majority of the interviewees in both groups had grown up in Britain. Indeed one, Saghira, described how she had had to spend some time improving her Panjabi on marriage so that she could join in domestic bantering with her sisters-in-law more effectively. Three of the Pakistani and one of the KSI mothers spoke less fluent English but the topic of the interview was a familiar one and they were all able to speak and understand enough English to respond to the interview questions. In just one case an interpreter was used. Overall I felt the conduct of the interviews and the quality of the data were not compromised by the fact that they were in English; the evidence for this lies in the rich and vivid quality of the interview material, and the depth of insight and feeling the interviewees were able to express.

vi. Supplementary fieldwork

I had intended to supplement the interview data by carrying out interviews with other community members and by attending religious events. Some of these were easier to arrange in one community than the other. In the Pakistani community I interviewed an imam and a city councillor and visited a nursery, two primary and one secondary schools where I interviewed senior members of staff. It was easy to visit schools which had a lot of Pakistani pupils because much of their community was geographically concentrated in one area of the city. In the KSI community I did not carry out any extra interviews but attended worship in the women's section of the mosque on five occasions during Ramadan, at Id al Fitr and during the mourning month of Muharram. I also visited madrasa classes on all these occasions. I was taken round the mosque facilities such as the library and kitchens, and studied copies of the children's madrasa workbooks and curriculum. It was easy to do this because the women's section has full parity of use with the men's and large groups of women attend mosque events; I was made very welcome on all occasions, having been introduced by a well-respected member of the community who had explained the nature of my interest. In the Pakistani community, by contrast, it was rare for women to worship at the mosque, and only happened on exceptional occasions such as Id al Fitr, when special sessions would be laid on at particular times separate from the men's events.

III. How the material was analysed

i. Initial analysis

My interview schedule gave a structure for analysis of some of the content in the sense that it included requests for information about a number of issues. I used these to select and collate statements on a particular topic, for example attitudes to television viewing. These collections of statements were used as a basis for more detailed investigation as

outlined below. After carrying out a more detailed analysis I usually went back to the main interviews to see if anything significant had been omitted. By the end of the fieldwork period I had some idea of the emerging themes. I went through each interview extracting points or material on particular themes and areas of content, also noting the extent to which these were common or unusual areas of interest.

ii. Problems of analysis

Some of the broad themes had already been identified through the literature review and within the structure of the interview schedule, for instance the division of nurture into informal and formal aspects. Nesbitt (2000) suggested that formal nurture might be regarded as the things done deliberately whilst informal ones lacked such intentionality. I have used the terms in a similar but not identical way; for example parents' control over children's television viewing had an element of intentional transmission of values when they told children why a particular programme was morally unacceptable, but I have included this aspect under the heading of 'informal' nurture because of its context within the home. On the other hand, ritual prayer, which is also performed within the home, is a formal requirement of the faith and I have analysed that under the 'formal nurture' heading.

The family itself, as an embodiment of values and a context for children's role learning and for the modelling of appropriate behaviour, emerged as central. An important aspect was the hierarchical character of family relationships; this was pivotal but was expressed differently in the two communities. The family was a place where religion and culture were often seen as interchangeable, particularly in the Pakistani community; eventually I came to understand how this might be related to transnationalism in family life. The impact of schooling emerged as a top priority for many parents, not at the expense of religious or cultural transmission, but certainly alongside it.

It was difficult to decide whether to write up the material in a strictly thematic way or to separate material on each of the communities. For most chapters I decided on the latter course in order to present wide-ranging material in an accessible way. However the danger was then that the analysis became rather oppositional and bipolar and underplayed the commonalities between the groups. In the two topics where there were substantial areas of shared experience and approach, those of informal nurture and school education, I therefore included the material on both communities in the same chapter. One of the purposes of the thesis is to explore Islamic diversity, so this influenced the way I wrote it up - but the need for clarity meant it was important to avoid excessive sub-division within the sections.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of analysing and writing about the research was the separating out of the strands not only of religion and culture, but of migration and the condition of being in a minority, of theoretical questions about the concepts of identity and community, of transnationalism and diaspora. I came to see that sometimes decisions about the placing of content were fairly arbitrary, the key issue being whether

the material and concepts were presented (as far as possible) in such a way as that the significant analytical points were communicated clearly to the reader.

A necessary first step in this process is an introduction to the places and the people who are the focus of this study. The next chapter will look briefly at the history of Peterborough, then go on to give an outline of the two communities and their migration and settlement histories, before introducing an overview of the forty-eight interviewees and their family lives.

Chapter 3. The two communities

This chapter establishes some of the background context for the lives of the two groups studied in this research. It gives an introduction to the city of Peterborough and its history. Then each community in turn is introduced through its pre-migration history, migration process, settlement in Peterborough, institutional development and socio-economic situation. This is followed by an introduction to the groups of interviewees and their immediate families, in terms of employment patterns, education and self-identity with reference to community, religion and culture. Finally, some salient characteristics of the two communities are summarized and analysed in relation to the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora.

Introduction: a brief history of Peterborough

The modern city of Peterborough has grown up around a mediaeval core of cathedral, monastic settlement and market place, which developed on the westernmost reach of dry land at the edge of the Fens. The town was for centuries a market town and port, connected by river to towns and villages on higher ground in the fenland marshes which stretched away to the north, east and south (Darby 1983). The Great North Road connected it to London and the north. Peterborough's transformation from a market town to an industrial one took place during the nineteenth century firstly with the coming of the railways and secondly with the discovery of burnable clay that led to the opening of extensive brickfields. From the late nineteenth century onwards, London engineering firms looking for lower production costs moved to the town. The engineering works and brickpits were the main source of employment for much of the twentieth century (Tebbs 1979).

After the Second World War, Peterborough suffered labour shortages like many other centres of industry in Britain. The city became the home first of the Ukrainian, Polish and Italian ex-service personnel who had decided to stay in the United Kingdom, then of people from African-Caribbean backgrounds in the 1950s and 1960s. They were followed by labour migrants from Pakistan, whose numbers were however small compared with the groups of men of similar origin who settled in West Yorkshire, the West Midlands, the north-west and London (see above, Chapter 1). There were also smaller groups of Punjabi Sikhs and somewhat fewer Hindus. In the 1970s there was a significant but much smaller arrival of families of South Asian origin who were obliged to leave their communities in East Africa effectively as refugees (Roberts 1997).

In 1967 Peterborough was designated as a 'new town', one of twenty or so which the government targetted for expansion to mitigate the pressures of housing shortage in London. Over the next twenty years Peterborough's population rose dramatically, and more than 26,000 houses and twenty three new schools were built. Industrial, retail and office floorspace more than doubled as companies were encouraged to move into the area; miles of new roads and a wide range of social facilities were constructed (Bendixson 1988). A study of unemployment amongst young people from ethnic

minority backgrounds in Peterborough delineated some of the town's key features (Roberts 1997). The new town 'occupies a strategic location between the East Midlands and East Anglia' (1997: 4). The population rose from 85,000 in 1967 to over 153,000 in 1991. The 1991 census identified a white population of 92.5%, with only 7.5% inhabitants from ethnic minorities. However, in the context of rural Cambridgeshire and the Fens, Peterborough came to be seen as a multicultural city (Roberts 1997). Its city council achieved independence as a unitary authority in April 1998 under the provisions of the Local Government Review.

I. The Pakistani community: migration and settlement

I use the term 'community' here as an operational term to include the people of Peterborough who are from Pakistani backgrounds in terms of parents or grandparents. This does not assume any necessary consequences in terms of values or behaviour, but is simply an indicator of shared ethnic, religious and geographical factors in a broad sense.

i. Pre-migration history

The parents of the twenty-four Pakistani origin mothers and fathers interviewed had been pioneers in terms of their journeys to Britain, though in most cases they came from areas with a tradition of migration in search of employment. Members of that first generation were from families and kin groups which could meet the cost of travel through a collective effort if not individually, and they were therefore not from the very poorest stratum of society. Four of the men in this pioneer generation had been in the British army, six had owned their own small businesses (two were grain traders, for instance), three worked in construction, and one had been a small farmer. Few men in the group had completed primary education. Almost none of their wives had ever attended school at all and most spoke little or no English. It was not easy to form a clear picture of the pre-migration history of all the first generation families, since some of the second generation interviewees had only a sketchy view of it themselves. They all had roots in the northern Punjab, in the districts of Mirpur, Gujrat, Jhelum and Rawalpindi, mostly from village or small town backgrounds.

ii. Migration process

For half the people interviewed, the migration process was an experience of their parents' generation, not their own. However, of those born here, several had gone back to Pakistan for a period of years before returning permanently to Britain. In some cases the reason was the illness or death of a parent, whereupon the interviewees were sent back to live with grandparents for a time. A number of those who came when they were of primary school age were joining fathers who had already been working in Britain for a decade or more. The processes of chain migration were clearly visible in some cases; however some spoke of their families being very isolated in Britain and having family

friends but no close relatives whom they could count on for support. An ambivalent attitude to life in Britain as described by Anwar (1979) was evident in the patterns of travel back and forth they described. Basically however the families had all come as labour migrants. Most of the people interviewed had lived in Britain for a considerable length of time; in only three cases was this less than twenty years (see above, Chapter 2).

iii. Settlement in Peterborough

For a number of members of the interview group, Peterborough was not their family's first destination in Britain. Half did go straight there from Pakistan; they took jobs in local factories such as Perkins Diesel Engines, the Mother's Pride bakery or the London Brick Company. A few worked for British Rail; Peterborough was an important interchange on both freight and passenger networks.

However half of the interviewees' families had lived in at least one other place in the UK before moving to Peterborough; several had moved first to London or northern England, and a handful to the Home Counties and the Midlands. Several reported their parents' reason for moving to Peterborough as being the low cost of housing or business opportunities. One person had previously lived in no less than eight towns or cities before settling in Peterborough. Like those who moved straight to the city, most of this group had also been employed in unskilled manual work in factories at first. In both groups a small number progressed to self-employment, for example as shopkeepers, post masters or taxi drivers.

The migrants from Pakistan settled predominantly in the city's Central Ward. The area is known as 'Gladstone' after its central street. It is a quarter of a mile east of the railway, consisting of narrow streets of Victorian terraced housing originally built for railway workers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By the late 1990s, three-quarters or more of the houses in many of these streets were occupied by families of Pakistani origin. There were also a certain number of Punjabi Sikhs (and two small gurdwaras), a few Hindus and small groups of Italian, Polish, Ukrainian and black African-Caribbean people who had moved into these houses when they first settled in Peterborough fifty years earlier. Amongst the other reminders of this earlier period of migration were St. Joseph's Italian Catholic Church, an Italian consular office, and an Italian grocer's shop and a leisure and resource centre for the black Caribbean community.

The two central streets of the Gladstone neighbourhood, which run like parallel spines through the area, are the ones with the densest concentration of Pakistani families; the streets which intersect them are somewhat more mixed in character and include a few more indigenous white families. Nearly all the shops and businesses are managed by members of the Pakistani community and serve community needs; they include several grocers, butchers, sweet shops, clothes shops, jewellers and hairdressers, car repair businesses and a restaurant. A large number of men work as taxi drivers and their vehicles were in evidence along the streets. There are two primary schools where more

than 90% of pupils are of Pakistani origin, and a community association building, and four mosques in buildings converted from other uses. Some houses are well maintained, but a number are not; the overall impression in the central streets is one of poverty. In between the blocks of terraced houses are a few clusters of modern flats and sheltered accommodation for older residents. The intersecting streets have more detached and semi-detached housing with garages and front gardens and most have a higher proportion of white British residents.

The political impact of this concentration - nearly two-thirds of the Pakistani population lives in Central Ward - meant that residents had been able to elect three Pakistani-origin city councillors; one of them was Mayor during 1997-8. There are also substantial and growing groups of Pakistani families in the Park, Ravensthorpe and East Wards which border the central area.

iv. Socio-economic position

As indicated above, Peterborough was only a minor focus of settlement for migrant workers compared with towns in the old industrial heartlands of Britain. Nevertheless, by 1991 Peterborough's Pakistani origin population was nearly five thousand strong. Nearly half of the Pakistani community lived in the Central Ward of the city - a ward identified as coming within the top 5% of wards nationally in terms of deprivation (Roberts 1997: 6). Compared with 'white' people and members of other ethnic minority groups, and taking the group as a whole, Pakistani men, women and especially young people had higher levels of unemployment and lower levels of education. A lower proportion of the women were employed outside the home. These families were also more likely to live in larger households with three or more adults (often this meant they were multi-generational) and to include children. Roberts identified poverty and low levels of parental education as significant factors alongside ethnic background in holding back the educational and economic progress of young people from ethnic minorities; this applied much more to the Pakistani group than to Indian or black groups in Peterborough (1997: 18). The Pakistani group had a particularly young age profile, with 45% of its population under the age of sixteen, and a further 24% between sixteen and thirty.

The Pakistani headed households had very high levels of owner occupation at 76%, and were more likely to experience overcrowding (Roberts 1997). As with other South Asian headed households, a very low proportion were headed by lone parents (Ethnic Minorities Census Digest 1992: 4).

v. Religious activities and institutions

There were two fairly large mosques in this area in converted halls, and two others in converted houses. Three had been established for a number of years, and the community had purchased a large building plot in the city centre, very close to the Gladstone area, to erect a purpose-built mosque for which planning permission had been obtained. At the time of the fieldwork, the long process of fund-raising was under

way. One issue for the community was the lack of provision for women at most of the mosques; although there was little tradition of female mosque attendance in the community's areas of origin in Pakistan, there was a certain amount of pressure to provide opportunities for this in Peterborough. Children's madrasa classes, attended by both girls and boys, were held at all the mosques.

II. The Pakistani community: introduction to the interview families

i. Work patterns

The 1991 census data provided information on specified ethnic minority groups, but only for the city as a whole. The absence of a ward by ward breakdown made it impossible to use these data except to give a very rough indication of the position of people of Pakistani origin in the city generally. It may also have been the case that the situation had changed considerably in the nine years between the 1991 census and the fieldwork carried out for the present study. Amongst those in the interview sample nobody said that either they or their spouses were unemployed. This may have been because of embarrassment at admitting to unemployment.³³ Fifteen out of the twenty-four women were in paid employment at the time of interview. In nearly all cases they were employed in a variety of public service jobs such as interpreter/translators, bilingual assistants or instructors in local schools, clerical or administrative workers in local health or social services settings, or outreach workers for charitable trusts. Just one had a job in a shop. Nine out of twenty-four were housewives.

The men had a wider range of employment, and by contrast were very little represented in the public services. Out of twenty-four, nine had manual factory jobs, two worked for Parcel Force, two worked in restaurants, four were self-employed (taxi-driver, restaurant owner, shopkeeper, property developer). Those with white-collar jobs included a technical director, a translator for a bank, an Urdu teacher, a clothes designer and three employed at middle management level by the local council.

However a prominent feature of employment patterns was the considerable amount of change and development across the working lives of some individuals. Several men and women had started off doing unskilled manual work but had moved on to employment opportunities on the boundary between their own community and mainstream British society. They had in some cases gone on to do training and obtain qualifications which gave them a middle-class income and status (for example one woman had started as a blouse machinist then took on temporary work as a classroom assistant; from there she went on to qualify for work at a considerably higher level in the

³³ Bhatti (1999) noted that amongst her Pakistani and Bangladeshi interviewees there was a considerable sense of shame connected with being unemployed, and a reluctance to admit to it.

education department of the city council). A number of younger women aspired to make similar progress in the future; one already had a place to start an Open University degree course, and several said they would like to train for teaching or other careers.

My job is temporary. Once my children are old enough I want to go into management. I always wanted to go on a management course, but I can't now. So obviously I'd rather wait, do a part-time job. Once I think my children are old enough I can ... take care of my own career. Myself, I want to be a career woman. (Razia)

ii. Education

There was a wide range of educational backgrounds amongst members of the interview group, and taken as a group the interviewees and their spouses had slightly higher levels of education than was characteristic for the Pakistani community in Peterborough as a whole (Roberts 1997). Of the sixteen men who had been educated in Pakistan, half had reached matriculation level or above; two were graduates. Of the eight educated in Britain, five had studied to GCSE level, leaving school at age 16, two had stayed on into the sixth form, and one had gone to university. As a group the women had more experience of education. Of the six who grew up in Pakistan one had never been to school at all, two had had a little primary education, two had reached matriculation level and one had qualified as a handicrafts teacher. Of the eighteen who were educated in Britain, nine had studied to GCSE level and nine to A level in the sixth form. Amongst the women, therefore, twenty-one out of twenty-four were educated up to school-leaving examination standard compared with seventeen of the men.

A number of the women were involved in further education or training at the time of interview, as were some of their husbands. Five were enrolled on Open University courses, and a number had done part-time courses in computer skills, accounting, A levels, a range of vocational qualifications and in-service training courses related to their jobs. Several expressed a desire to undertake further study or training when their children were older.

There were ten children over the age of eighteen in interviewees' families. Although two of them had been employed in unskilled work in the past this was not the case for any of them at the time of the fieldwork. These education and employment outcomes for the third generation clearly suggested upward social mobility compared with the position of their parents (see below Chapter 9).

iii. Identification

a. Community and culture

The term 'community' in this context cannot be used without qualification but there seemed no satisfactory substitute. The Pakistani parents interviewed very rarely used it themselves. They spoke of themselves as having an 'Asian culture' as opposed to a

'western culture', and as being Pakistanis, or as having regional - Punjabi, Kashmiri - origins; they sometimes identified themselves as 'Muslims'. But they only occasionally referred to themselves as members of a community. Eade suggested that one of the factors in the self-identification of groups as 'communities' was the competition for resources and the struggle for concessions (Eade 1989). In this case the smallness of Peterborough's Asian population may have lessened both the opportunity and the desirability of a specifically Pakistani community identification. The social focus was provided less by facilities linked to places of worship than by the Gladstone Park community centre, which served all local residents; although about three-quarters of them were of Pakistani origin, there were small groups of Punjabi Sikhs, Gujarati Hindus, East African Asian Sunni Muslims as well as Khoja Shi'as Ithna'asharis, Isma'ilis and Dawoodi Bohras, black African and Caribbean, Italian, Polish, Ukrainian and indigenous British families. The centre was opened very specifically to provide for the needs of people from any background who lived in that area, not for people of a particular or distinctive cultural heritage. However the situation appeared likely to change in some respects as a plot had been bought and money raised within the Pakistani community for the construction of a large purpose built mosque with facilities for community activities as well as prayer and teaching.

Where the term 'community' was used by interviewees, it was sometimes in the context of comparing the Peterborough group with Pakistanis elsewhere in Britain, and often in a slightly disparaging way. Some of the interviewees described the Peterborough community as 'backward' compared with other areas of Pakistani settlement, for example in London or Yorkshire.

In the majority of interviews the terms 'Asian', 'Muslim', 'eastern', and sometimes 'Pakistani', were used interchangeably in referring to members of the interviewees' own families, community members and cultural practices. This would support the findings of researchers who have suggested that the identities of South Asian origin people in Britain are plural, shifting and context-specific, not one-dimensional or fixed (Brah 1996; Dwyer 1997; Jacobson 1997a; Gilliat 1998; McLoughlin 2002).

The term 'Asian' was applied frequently to words like 'dress', 'food', 'movies', 'culture' and sometimes 'music', as well as 'families', 'parents' and 'children'. It was used as a neutral term, unlike 'Pakistani' which more often had negative connotations. Some interviewees gave very specific examples: these included associating 'Pakistan' with corruption in government, or with the use of 'Paki' as a term of racist insult. Several mentioned stereotypes they felt other people had of 'Pakistanis'; for instance that women were passive, that men were traditional, and that teachers often thought Pakistani children were all the same, did not have any toys at home and so on. Interviewees sometimes used 'Pakistani' as a boundary marker to distinguish their own family attitudes or behaviour from those of other Asian people. In such cases it was used as synonymous with 'Muslim'.

Many more interviewees used the term 'Muslim' additionally in accounting for particular

patterns of behaviour as well as a general statement of identity. Some examples included:

*'We're Muslims, we don't dance to music' (Mussarat),
'We being Muslims, we're careful how we bring up our children' (Shagufta),
'They like to be called young Muslims, British Muslims' (Nargis),
'At school we considered ourselves Muslims' (Shazia), and
'I want the children to be known as Muslims' (Razia).*

'Muslim' was also used in a more specific sense in referring to people's religious practices. People also used 'eastern' and 'western' to highlight the differences they saw between their own attitudes and way of life, and those of mainstream British society. This was particularly the case in relation to broad cultural values rather than specific religious ones, for example, *'We were brought up with very eastern values' (Uzma), and
'I want them to know there's a lot of different things between western and eastern' (Ayesha)*

b. How important was religion?

A small number of interviewees did identify themselves more consistently as Muslims rather than Pakistanis or Asians. In all three cases these people mentioned converts to Islam with whom they had had contact, and with whom they shared a common bond. Most other interviewees used 'religion' and 'culture' interchangeably; only four tried to distinguish one from the other. One said that it was easier to bring children up in Pakistan where there was no distinction between the two (Masood), one said it was cultural tradition, not Islam, which pushed people into forced marriages (Mussarat). Two attributed some aspects of gendered role expectations to traditional culture rather than religion (Masood and Khaliq), and one emphasized the cultural differences which were reflected in the way Islam was practised in different countries and regions (Atiq). Interestingly, all but one of these examples were from interviews with men, not women. In general, however, interviewees made little separation between religion and culture.

Another feature of the group's lifestyle which served to blur any distinction between religion and culture was that three of the four mosques in the area were used mainly by men and only rarely by women. This was because only one of them had a women's section; in one of the others separate prayer times were allocated to men and to women on festival days, but the places of worship did not serve as centres for all members of the community in the way that the Hussaini Islamic Centre did for the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families (see below Chapter 8).

iv. A transcontinental community

There was a strong contrast between this group and the East African Khoja community in terms of their imagined centre of gravity or point of reference. While the Khoja group was diasporic in character, and its members saw themselves as part of a world-wide

web of relationships (see above Chapter 2), the Pakistani group of families were oriented to a greater or lesser degree to Pakistan and Britain. They were certainly transnational, or transcontinental, families in the sense that individual members and family groups maintained links between Britain and Pakistan through personal communication (letters, telephoning), visits, marriages and ownership of land and property. Yet this was a two-way channel only; very few of the interviewees referred to close links with families or groupings of Pakistanis in other places.

The families were not equally close in terms of their relationships with people in Pakistan. On a scale which included measures such as frequency of telephone contact, of visits, marriage to close kin, number of close kin in Pakistan and remittance sending, eleven of the twenty-four parents interviewed had a very close relationship with Pakistan, nine a fairly close one, one had some contact, and four had little or none. This reflected the fact that whilst most were actively transnational families, a small minority appeared to identify themselves more often with reference to religion rather than culture or religion-in-culture.

Close relationships between kin in Peterborough and Pakistan tended to be perpetuated in families where the second generation parents had married first cousins (see Chapter 4 below). Their sense of closeness was very much reflected in the emotional connectedness some families expressed, as in the following example.

I mean, my daughter went to Pakistan last year, it was the first time she'd seen everybody in Pakistan, all my husband's brothers and sisters, and she got on so well with them ... she was very close with her grandfather, though she was with her grandmother too. So I don't think that's a problem because my grandparents were in Pakistan. But you also have - they have something in their heart, that they want to see them ... I don't know how to put this ... They know they're far away and they can't see them, so it's a joy when they do see them? - when they do see them they're overjoyed that they've seen their grandparents and all their other cousin brothers and sisters. (Ayesha)

Nine families had links which were less close but still important. Most of these included interviewees who were married to first or second cousins, who had some relatives in Pakistan but not perhaps very many, or not very close kin; they telephoned them every few months, and visited Pakistan every six to ten years. There were several possible reasons why their connections with people in Pakistan were less close. Some families had large numbers of children here, and the daily work and activity of bringing them up left relatively less time and energy and money for the maintenance of transcontinental links. In small families, the deaths of older family members sometimes meant there were few close kin left in Pakistan. In one case marital breakdown had undermined the relationship with in-laws in Pakistan. Three women with a more consciously religious orientation expressed a closer identification with Islam and Muslims from any ethnic background than with their own ethnic or regional heritage.

Four interviewees had little or no contact with Pakistan. Three of them had married

outside the family and had few or no close kin in Pakistan. Two had taken their children there for visits but had not enjoyed the experience; another had not been back for twenty years, and was thinking she might take the children for a trip, *'but we might go to Disneyland instead'* (Rukhsana). The orientation of this small latter group was very much towards bringing up their children in Britain; they all talked about aspects of what they saw as 'Asian culture' but showed little sense of identification with Pakistan either as a place or as the home of their families. There was a fairly close correlation between those who had married outside the family circle and a low level of contact with Pakistan, but this seemed to some extent a 'chicken and egg' situation.

In all three groups, those with close, fairly close and not very close links, the relationship was not usually an equal exchange; it was much more often one which involved a flow of remittances and short-term visits from Britain to Pakistan, and of marriage partners (often but not always male) from Pakistan to Britain. Neither was there any idealization of Pakistan as a place in the present (as opposed to the childhood memories of interviewees). Nobody in any of the groups said they wanted to move there.

Financial links were also important. Interviewees were not asked about them specifically, but several mentioned sending remittances on a regular basis to family members in Pakistan. This was said to be expected of sons, not daughters. The sons might send money to help their kin generally, to help provide dowries for female relatives, to buy better quality *pakka* (brick-built) homes for their parents, to help out when there were business difficulties or to buy land. For some interviewees this financial responsibility had extended over many years, and had had considerable repercussions on their family budgets in Peterborough.

v. The Pakistani community: transgenerational change

A particular feature of the experience of this community was the extent of change between the lives of first generation migrants and the second generation parents who were interviewed for the present study. The interviewees' parents had been a diverse group in some ways, but most had made long journeys in terms of the contrast between their lives in Pakistan and their settlement in Peterborough. As noted in Chapter 2 above, some of these changes had also taken place in the second generation where spouses had come to Britain on marriage.

One of these changes was that of language; all but four of the interviewees spoke fluent English, and of these four only one spoke very little at all. Twenty-two of the twenty-four interviewees said they could read and write English as well. Amongst the first generation, most of the fathers were said to be able to 'get by' in English but very few of the mothers spoke it and hardly any were able to read or write, whether in Panjabi, Urdu or English. Only four of the first generation mothers had been employed, one working in the family shop, one making blouses at home, and two in factory jobs. By contrast many of the mothers in the second generation were currently employed in a variety of jobs and nearly all had been in employment before the birth of their children. As seen

above, another change was in residence patterns; traditional patrilocal patterns had given way to a situation where many women were living close to their birth families. While extended family relationships continued to be of central importance, extended family households were much less common than formerly.

In terms of language, education, employment and residential arrangements, therefore, there had been very marked changes across the generations. This played a part in influencing attitudes towards the upbringing of children in a migration context, and in promoting a desire for cultural continuity in a situation of considerable change and dislocation.

III. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community: migration and settlement

i. Pre-migration history

The second of the two groups of people interviewed for this study was of East African Asian origin. The majority came to Britain during the first half of the 1970s when they were obliged to leave Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania in the wake of the Africanization policies of newly independent national governments following the end of Britain's colonial rule. Of the twenty-four people interviewed, twenty-three either came to the UK during that period, or were married to somebody who did so. The exodus from East Africa included Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims; those interviewed for this study were members of a relatively small endogamous caste grouping of Shi'a Muslims, the Khoja Ithna'asheri.³⁴ The name Khoja is said to derive from *khawaja*, an Arabic word meaning 'teacher' or 'well respected person'. The history of the Khoja Muslim group derives from events in the fourteenth century when a group of Hindus in the Sind area converted to the Nizari Isma'ili sect of Islam and became known as Khojas (Nagar 2000). Spreading down the west coast of India over the centuries, these Khoja Isma'ilis took part in trading then settlement on the East African coast alongside other commercial and mercantile groups from Asia and the Arab world. During the course of the nineteenth century doctrinal differences gradually resulted in fragmentation. Alongside the original Isma'ili group, a small Khoja Sunni offshoot and a larger Khoja Ithna'asheri (Twelver) Shi'a one emerged. This latter group was the one from which the Peterborough community traced its origins (Bharati 1972; Masselos 1973; Thobani 1978; Nagar 2000).

In religious terms the community identifies itself with mainstream Ithna'asheri (Twelver) Shi'a Islam alongside the majority of the population of Iran, and the Shi'a communities in Pakistan, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon. The Khoja caste grouping of Ithna'asheri Shi'a Muslims is very small numerically, with a world population estimated at approximately

³⁴ Ideologically Islam opposes hierarchical distinctions based on birth, but in practice there are groups where such distinctions exist. See for example Ahmed's 1973 study of caste amongst Muslims in the Indian subcontinent.

100,000, of whom about 12,000 live in the UK.³⁵ The Peterborough community is believed to stand at about 750, according to a senior member of the community.

Those associated with the community were overwhelmingly Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri; however there were also a few people who had family members married to Sunni Muslims or to Isma'ilis, but whose basic attachment was nevertheless to the Shi'a branch of Islam and the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri mosque in the city.

ii. Migration process

Most of the KSI interviewees who arrived in the UK in the early 1970s did so in the company of the rest of their immediate family. Although some had foreseen the impending crisis and transferred funds abroad, many came as virtual refugees with little more than the clothes they stood up in (Robinson 1986). However the majority were from managerial, mercantile or commercial backgrounds and brought with them a range of experience and expertise; most though not all of their parents had had some formal education, in many cases in English medium schools in East Africa. Many of the interviewees described movingly the tireless commitment with which their parents laboured to give their families a successful toe-hold in their country of settlement. A number of older children had to abandon their education and go straight out to work in any job they could obtain, in order to help support their younger siblings. Within a few years, with the help of kin and fellow members of the community, most of these families had established themselves in Britain and achieved considerable socio-economic success.³⁶

iii. Settlement in Peterborough

The Khoja community in Peterborough started during the mid 1970s with four quite large families. As seen above, Peterborough had been designated a 'new town', with a ready supply of new or regenerated housing, incentives for the establishment of new businesses, and support and encouragement for individuals and companies wanting to move into the area. The first four KSI families were soon joined by others who collectively raised the funds to construct a mosque and community centre - one of the earliest purpose-built mosques in Britain, established in 1978. This, along with the growing community around it, soon attracted Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri from other parts of Britain who were geographically isolated from their co-religionists - an isolation felt with particular sharpness by those who had married and were bringing up small children. Many feared such isolation would undermine their children's sense of religious identity. The Husseini Islamic Centre (as the Peterborough Shi'a mosque is called) and associated facilities were helped by financial contributions from other KSI bodies in Britain and beyond.

³⁵ The KSI Jama'at website: <www.world-federation.org> gives a full overview of the community's pattern of residence worldwide.

³⁶ There were particularly strong communities in Stanmore, Streatham and Birmingham.

Members of the community were spread out across the city; of the twenty-four people interviewed, just three lived in the multi-ethnic Central Ward where a large proportion of the Pakistani population lived. A further five families lived in the area close to their mosque which had a moderate concentration of Khoja families around it. The rest were dispersed throughout the 'townships' or suburbs of the city, in housing which ranged from small, low-cost modern terraced houses to well-appointed detached homes with four or five bedrooms and large gardens.

iv. Socio-economic position

As a group, the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri population nationally shared the commercial and entrepreneurial orientation of other East African Asian migrants to Britain (Janmohamed 1997). This appeared to be the case with the Peterborough community, but there were no census data for them as a separately identified group.

v. Religious activities and institutions

The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community has a purpose built mosque, the Hussein Islamic Centre, which had been built in 1978 and improved with later extensions. It is located in the Eastgate part of the city, a somewhat run down nineteenth century semi-industrial area; however the mosque itself is well appointed. Internally there are prayer halls for both men and women, a large upper room for community activities, a series of smaller rooms, a library, offices, washing facilities and large kitchens. There is a resident imam, but members of the community of all ages are also involved in running various aspects of mosque and community provision.

IV. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community: introduction to the interview families

i. Work patterns

Fifteen of the men either owned their own businesses or worked in the businesses of other community members. Six had professional or managerial jobs, including two in the public services. Only two had had semi-skilled jobs working outside the community. There was no information on the husband of one woman who was separated from him. As far as the women were concerned, nine were housewives at the time of interview. Two worked in their husbands' businesses, and two had businesses of their own. Two more worked in banks or post offices (for the significance of this, see Chapter 4 section VI, 'Purdah'). Three worked for a company outside the community, but in mainly female environments. Four worked for the local authority in the fields of care, education and advice, and one was a playgroup leader. Another had a secretarial job which she did from home.

ii. Education

Many of the older interviewees had had to set aside their own educational aspirations because of the crisis at the time they came to Britain; most who were of an age to do so, as indicated above, had to go straight out to work to help support their families. In addition, most young women had not been expected, in the East African context, to go on to further or higher education. A number of mothers said they felt they had sacrificed their own prospects. Even so, amongst the second generation at least one parent in ten of the twenty-four couples had obtained degrees or professional qualifications. For the third generation there was a clear expectation, fulfilled in most cases, that young people would go on to tertiary education. No fewer than twenty out of twenty-four children of interviewees in the 16 to 25 age group had gone on to university; five had done higher degrees. There was a strong preference for subjects which were obviously useful, for example accountancy, computer studies, biochemistry, law, management and business studies and mathematics. The community supported this mass take-up of higher education by organizing practical help for new students: *'There was also a study skills course just before university starts, a three or four day study skills course. So he went to that as well. Last year they started one for GCSEs'. (Mumtaz)*

The community's ethic of self-help and mutual support was exemplified in the arrangements they made to encourage young people at the school leaving stage.

This year it's going to be on a grander scale, because we're talking about hiring a hall and doing it for three weeks. Because the first batch has now come out - qualified graduates, so talking about doing a presentation, giving the exposure, giving them the pride. It's something to say to them that the community is behind you, and we do value you; in return we expect that you'll stay within the community and help out when you can - a self-perpetuating process, basically. When you have the means you help others. (Rizwan)

iii. Language

Community members had a marked degree of linguistic capability but this appeared to be changing and was a subject of concern for some older people. For many of the grandparental generation - those who had spent a part of their adult life in East Africa - it was commonplace to speak five or six languages. Some spoke more. Their children - the interviewees' generation - many of whom had spent part of their childhood in East Africa - often spoke several.³⁷ Members of the third generation, who had grown up wholly in Britain, generally spoke English as a first language, could mostly understand Gujarati or Katchi and speak it to an extent, but found Urdu difficult (and thus could not always follow lectures at the mosque). The concern about declining command of Gujarati was linked to fears about maintenance of a world-wide Khoja identity; Gujarati served in the past as a shared language of communication and there were doubts as to whether

³⁷ Ten of the interviewees - 40% - spoke at least five languages from the following list: Gujarati, Katchi, Urdu, Swahili, Kiswahili, Ugandi, Arabic, Persian, English, French. Some could read and write three languages as well.

this would be the case for the future generations.

iv. A diasporic community

In the final section of Chapter 1 I discussed the concept of diaspora. The Khoja community exemplifies many of the features which Vertovec, following the work of Robin Cohen and William Safran, suggested were characteristic of diasporic communities (Vertovec, 2000). The term 'diaspora' is used in the context of this study as referring to the group of people rather than the process of dispersion. Members of the KSI community shared a story of common origins; they were dispersed in a traumatic chain of events; they felt a bond with fellow community members in other parts of the country and the globe; they were dispersed over two or more centres of settlement. The first three of those features have already been discussed; the fourth is a characteristic which differentiated them from the Pakistani community with which they were compared in this study.

Unlike the Pakistani families, the KSI had no tradition of kin marriage and there was therefore no link with a single region or country as far as the exchange of marriage partners was concerned. The KSI interviewees had kin in five principal centres beyond the UK. These were East Africa (mainly Kenya and Tanzania), Canada, the USA and Dubai, with a few in Pakistan and a handful in European countries such as Sweden and Belgium. Nineteen families had close relatives in at least two of these centres in addition to Britain.

Some diasporic communities are strongly oriented towards a 'homeland'. That was not the case for these Khoja families; their sense of community was vested in the web of people and relationships stretched out across the continents.³⁸ These relationships were expressed in frequent personal contact, marriage patterns, business links and religious activities and institutions and, in virtual terms, on the community's internet website, which linked KSI families and groups across the world.³⁹

As far as personal contact with family outside the UK was concerned, there was some diversity. Two interviewees made no mention of such contact and were very much focused on family and community in Peterborough and London. About half talked about having some contact with family outside Britain, with occasional phoning or letter-writing or visits. In some cases the interviewees said their parents kept up the contact and passed on information about family members to them. A further eleven said they were in regular or frequent contact with family members. Modern technology and cheap air travel made this affordable for families in the late 1990s in a way that had not been the case a generation earlier.

With America now the technology's so fast. You pick up the phone and now you

³⁸ There are also Khoja Ithna'asheri communities in South America and Australia but no one in the Peterborough group mentioned close kin there.

³⁹ See www.world-federation.org

can hear somebody. I speak to my sister for 3p a minute whereas if I phone anybody in England it's 10p a minute. So what we try and do is my sister calls me once a week and I call her once a week. (Kaniz)

Another woman described phoning her mother in Kenya for everyday purposes like recipe suggestions for meals that week. One interviewee who made quite frequent use of e-mail said she nevertheless liked telephoning in order to be able to talk to her mother in Gujarati.

Nearly a quarter of the interviewees were in frequent contact with family members through e-mail. This was not fully satisfactory as in most cases contact had to be made through an intermediary; most of the kin in East Africa had computers in offices but not at home. It was also a question of age and familiarity; two mothers mentioned getting their children to word-process and send their messages once they had composed them. In one family the younger generation of teenagers had set up a family e-mail user group to communicate with their global network of cousins, through which they all sent each other reminders of birthdays, information about news and events, scanned photographs of new babies and so on. One mother said she was in e-mail contact with her family in Tanzania '*nearly every day*'. (Shabnam)

There was also a steady stream of visits and visitors. In recent years five interviewees had been to East Africa, five to Canada, two to the USA and one to Dubai. They had also had visits from relatives in East Africa (eight instances), Canada (four), the USA (three) and Dubai (one). Sometimes these were short trips but in other cases they involved lengthy stays; for example in one family an elderly mother stayed for a year at a time with each of her two sons, alternating between the USA and Peterborough.

The question of business links is more speculative, as I did not set out to collect data about this, and in addition I interviewed mainly mothers who were less likely to be involved in business transactions than their male relatives. However a substantial proportion of interviewees' husbands were running their own businesses, several employed other members of the community, and there were several cases where people mentioned cooperation over business enterprises amongst members of a family. The clearest example was that of one father who was asked by kin abroad if he would be prepared to start up a business on their behalf in Britain. However the generally high level of entrepreneurial culture amongst the Khoja Ithna'asheri community would suggest the strong likelihood of there being business links amongst the members of the community at a global level (Janmohamed 1997).

vi. Self-definition

How did the interviewees perceive themselves in terms of community? Firstly, it was a term used by nearly all of them throughout their interviews with reference to fellow members of the KSI group in Peterborough, and to some extent also to members of this group in other parts of Britain. It did not include those from other religious backgrounds.

The boundaries between those inside the community and those outside it were not completely impermeable, though. A number of interviewees had siblings who had 'married out'. Of the eleven third generation children who were married, two had Sunni Muslim spouses, and in two further cases a non-Muslim spouse had converted to Islam and become a member of the Shi'a community. In the view of some, this out-marriage expanded the community, was to some extent inevitable and had to be accepted with a good grace.

But when my eldest - when my son-in-law proposed to my daughter, my husband was very disturbed about it, but I was 100% behind her, because the way I looked at it was, he's a Muslim, whether he converted or not, he's a Muslim now. My husband was worried about the stigma - because of his position in the community - what would everybody else think? And I said to him, I'd rather she married this young man and be happy, than marry someone else and have a broken marriage - I said, 'Then what will the community say?' (Fatima M.)

How far was membership of the community a purely religious identification? Was it possible for somebody to be a member of the community without reference to Shi'a Ithna'asheri Islam? This seemed unlikely in the Peterborough context as all the expressions of community membership were linked to the mosque, the Husseini Islamic Centre. A wide range of activities were organized which were not religious in nature - swimming, weekly sport sessions, sports tournaments drawing on the community nationally - but all seemed to be organized by people who were active in the mosque, which played an important role as a community centre (e.g. for senior citizens' social events) as well as for worship.

How inclusive was the community? One regular attender at the mosque was a Shi'a Muslim from Pakistan but he and his family appeared fully integrated into the life of the centre. Others, for example a small group of Dawoodi Bohras, attended events there from time to time. One of the interviewees from the Pakistani group said she sometimes went there with friends, simply because 'I enjoy the lectures' (Uzma), and there was provision for women in the mosque at a level which simply did not exist in the Pakistani community.

To what extent did the group see itself as a community rather than a set of families? First of all, most members had a shared history, a shared sense of origins, and a shared sense of purpose about the life they aspired to in the west. This went beyond a bond with immediate kin, and extended beyond Peterborough to the KSI community worldwide. Secondly, it was rare for people to marry kin. This exogamous pattern perpetually widened the web of relationships in which people were involved (see below Chapter 5). Thirdly, the shared tradition of Ithna'asheri Shi'ism, with its very full calendar of religious celebrations and commemorations, gave constant opportunities both for the expression of a particular set of beliefs and values, with the added emotional fervour of the times of mourning and, for many, the social bond of Gujarati as a shared language. The religious dimension of community identification was given further impetus

and seriousness by outside events such as the Iranian revolution in 1979; a number of interviewees talked about the strong influence exerted by imams from Iran on the community worldwide, causing them to reconsider practices they had never worried about in the past such as the wearing of hijab and the playing of music.

This series of webs - communication with family members across several continents, marriages with KSI spouses from far away, business links, and religious institutions and activities - all contributed to the sense of a strong diasporic community, one which was not tied to a single sense of place but which existed as an 'imagined community' of people spread over the globe (Anderson 1983). This sense of unity in diaspora was reflected in the community's website which maintained pages on the constituent communities in parts of Britain, Europe, the United States, but which also had an obituaries section with worldwide coverage, news and events at a global level, as well as reminders about forthcoming religious events and reports on Khoja Ithna'asheri medical work, research reports and much more.

A very small number of people did not feel completely comfortable nor accepted: family problems such as separation or divorce, children's disabilities or social deviance, and family disagreements over degrees of religious orthodoxy, all led to occasional cooling in the general nurturing warmth of the community atmosphere. Some people therefore came across as peripherally rather than centrally involved. In spite of these tensions there was a widespread consensus that the community was closeknit and supported its members. This was partly because of the relatively small size of a community where all families were known to some extent by all the others.

We consider everybody's welfare - not in the matter of prying, or being nosy, but everybody's affair is taken to heart. If there is any thing, any assistance that we could give them, we're there to give. So because of the closeness, obviously if there is anybody going astray, it is everybody's affair, to make sure that the child is not going astray. So that way it is very important as well. Not as an individual, not as a family, but as a community. We feel like a boat - we're all in a boat, and if there's one hole in the boat, it doesn't matter which area the hole is, the whole boat sinks. So the whole community - it doesn't matter whose family is suffering - everybody puts in an effort to ensure that the hole is stopped. (Zahida J.)

vii. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community: a summary

The KSI community taken as a whole had established itself in Peterborough and achieved a considerable degree of material success. Many male members ran their own small businesses in para-medical fields or engineering. The high value put on education was reflected in the achievements of the younger generation, the children of interviewees, of whom over 80% were graduates. Material success was not achieved at the expense of traditional religious and cultural values; many members of the community were devout practitioners of their faith and they were very actively involved

in running the mosque and the community activities associated with it. Use of the shared language, Gujarati, was in decline. Through regular contact with family members in four continents, marriage to partners from overseas, business links, religious activities and institutions and the internet, the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community in Peterborough exemplified many characteristics of a diasporic people.

The history and experiences of the Pakistani and the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri communities meant that whilst parents in both groups were aiming to bring up a generation of young Muslims in Peterborough at the end of the 1990s, there were significant differences in the family structures, expectations and values which created the framework for the religious nurture they provided. The next two chapters will consider family and kin relationships along with the cultural and religious attitudes and values which shaped the ideas and actions of the parents who took part in this study.

Chapter 4. Family and relationships, values and behaviour: Pakistani families

Introduction

Chapter 4 gives some contextual background material on family lives of the Pakistani interviewees. This relates to the question of religious nurture because it sets out both the material circumstances and the cultural and religious framework of values within which parents approach the upbringing of their children. The chapter starts with some demographic data on family and household composition. Next, the patterns of family relationships are considered, with particular reference to continuity in terms of extended family. The significance of relationships and exchanges with Pakistan is related to transnational family patterns. Hierarchical relationships in the context first of gender, then of age, are discussed. The last section of the chapter considers issues of values and behaviour, with particular reference to the cultural concept of *izzat*, and the religious ones of *pardah* and Islamic dress. The chapter ends with a discussion of transgenerational changes in family patterns and their significance in relation to religious nurture.

I. Demographic data

i. Residential distribution

Half the interview families lived in Peterborough's Central Ward, which was the main area of the city with a high concentration of ethnic minority residents. A further third lived very near to this in formerly white working class areas which were in the process of becoming more ethnically mixed. Just three families lived in the 'townships' of newer housing and more suburban character. This was not a rigidly fixed pattern however; there were examples of families moving back into the central area as well as out of it.

ii. Marriage

All the interviewees had been married, but one was in the process of separating from her husband and one was widowed. All the interviewees had married within the Pakistani community. Marriage to cousins or close kin was very common and appeared to be more prevalent in the second than in the first generation. In nineteen out of twenty-four cases, spouses had come over to Peterborough from Pakistan for marriage.

Table ii. Marriage to relatives (second generation couples) N = 24

Relationship	1st cousin	2nd cousin	Not related
Number of couples	16	3	5

iii. Children

The twenty-four Pakistani families had seventy-six children between them at the time of interview. By contrast their birth families had included a total of one hundred and forty children in the interviewees' generation. As seen in table iii below, more than half the interviewees had been born into families with six or more children; this included four families with eight children and one with twelve. Only three interviewees had given birth to more children themselves than they had had in their own families of origin. There was quite a wide age profile within the group, however. Some of the parents interviewed were in their late twenties or early thirties so their families may not have been complete; on the other hand several of the older parents had three teenage children and seemed unlikely to have any further additions.

Table iii. Family size by number of children

N = 24

Number of children	1	2	3	4	5	6+
First generation	1	0	3	2	5	13
Second generation	2	5	12	2	2	1

Mean for first generation

6 children

Mean for second generation

3.1 children

iv. Households

In the Pakistani sample no families had any relatives other than parents and children living in them. One reason for this may have been the lack of availability of suitably large houses. However some mentioned examples amongst their relatives where this was the case, for instance brothers who shared homes with elderly parents. Almost all families had some relatives living very close by even if they were not actually members of the same household.

v. Patrilocality

An interesting change was that patrilocality, a traditional pattern for Muslim families in the Punjab, was much less prevalent than might have been expected. This could have been because men in the families interviewed were younger sons (I did not collect data on this) or because it was assumed they could provide financial support to families 'back home' more successfully by migrating to the west than by staying in Pakistan. In some cases sons had migrated to the UK for marriage and would usually have been unable to obtain immigration permits for elderly dependents. This suggests a possible change from the expectation that sons (particularly eldest ones) would support parents by having them live in their homes, to a situation where sons made provision for the

support of their parents financially.

Table iv . Residential pattern of interviewees' parents

N = 24 families

Husband's parents live in Peterborough	7
Wife's parents live in Peterborough	12
Both sets of parents live in Peterborough	1
Neither set of parents lives in Peterborough	4

The prevalence of cousin marriage meant that children often had aunts, uncles and cousins from both sides of the family living near by. The small number of Pakistani couples who had no close relatives in Peterborough had in two out of the three cases a lot of close relatives in other parts of the UK and had moved to the city for work reasons.

Some studies in the past have indicated that notwithstanding the presence of wider family, some women have been very isolated particularly if they came from abroad (Pakistan) to marry. Some of them were isolated by language and by absence of their own birth families, and some suffered depression on account of this (Mirza 1989). Most of the women in this study were not at all isolated. In the Pakistani group fifteen had parents and/or siblings living in Peterborough, many in the same or adjoining streets). Only one had no close relatives elsewhere in the UK.

II. Nuclear family households, extended family lives

As seen above, the interview families lived in nuclear family households. To an extent, this obscured the fact that traditional joint family activities and relationships were widespread. The residential concentration of many Pakistani families within the central area meant that many had very frequent contact with members of their wider family on a daily basis. They might meet in the street, in the shops or taking children to school. Samira, for example, lived on the edge of the central area in a small terraced house with her husband and children, but was just round the corner from a much larger house where her parents, grandmother, older brother with wife and daughter, and two unmarried brothers all lived, and where her family looked after her three children every morning while she went to work.

Residential concentration was not a static phenomenon, and people had moved in and out of the community. Nargis, in her late thirties, had lived with her parents-in-law for six years when she was first married until after the birth of her second child. She and her husband and children had then lived in their own house in the central area for about twelve years, and had subsequently moved into a suburban area closer to the children's secondary school and in generally more pleasant and prosperous surroundings. There was no simple pattern to this, though several families mentioned

living with parents while they saved up to buy their own home.

Geographical proximity made it easy to have informal contact, so that for instance people could 'just pop along' to see aunts or uncles. One interviewee talked about how members of her family sent each other special dishes they had cooked. Sisters got together during the day; families joined each other for meals. People regularly babysat for each other in some families, or had each other's children to stay.

In a number of families, grandparents provided daily childcare while their adult children were out at work. This gave essential practical support to parents and often pleasure and a sense of fulfilment to grandparents. Many interviewees appreciated the practical help and advice which their parents could give on issues such as teething or feeding. Some expressed the view that it was important for children to feel there were a lot of family members available to them, something which had not been the case for an earlier generation. *'We only had parents. And our parents, they had their own difficulties sometimes. They were completely on their own.'* (Samira)

However these interactions did also highlight different attitudes and expectations between older and younger generations. Several of the younger parents complained that their mothers never really did anything with their grandchildren. They just left them to get on with things on their own or put them in front of the television. Kulsum commented, *'He's just allowed to do anything he likes there'*. The older generation was said not to understand how to play with the children, nor how to discipline them appropriately; another mother, Razia, complained that, *'Mum spoils them - I can't do anything with them when they come back'*.

By contrast several mothers described how much their children liked staying with grandparents or aunts, and how close they were to particular relatives. Some grandparents contributed specifically to younger children's religious upbringing. Two families mentioned grandparents going on *hajj* (pilgrimage to Makkah) and talking about it with their grandchildren including, in one case, the possibility of taking their granddaughter next time they went. In one family the uncle had regularly taken all the boys to mosque with him; in two other not very devout families, interviewees mentioned the children seeing their grandmother doing her prayers. Another mother talked of the sadness of the grandmother's death for her little girl: *'My daughter was more close to her than me'*. (Saghira)

Many families described getting together at holiday times such as Christmas, New Year, Easter and school summer and half term holidays. This was when people generally had holidays from work and were free to travel around. To an extent their family lives thus revolved around the Christian calendar rather than the Islamic one. It was not always easy for logistical reasons to arrange family meetings; one family for example had sixteen cousins in the younger generation in addition to all the parents and grandparents, and they simply did not have room to assemble in one home. They were only able to gather together in summer, when they sometimes had barbecues in each other's

gardens. In spite of these difficulties, only one interviewee said her family did not ever get together, *'even at Id'*. (Tasleem)

Another important feature of extended family interaction was that of decision making. This came into play in particular contexts such as choice of marriage partner (see below section V), but family members involved each other in much smaller decisions. An example was when Mussarat's son wanted to go to the school disco. Her initial response was, *'He's only seven, it won't do any harm'*. However her sisters had argued that this could just be the thin end of the wedge, and that if he started to do things like that he would just *'become like a little gora'* (white English boy). This seemed to be an example of the sense of collective responsibility for each other expressed in a number of contexts. One mother, Bilqis, said she and her brothers and sisters all felt they could discipline each others' children, and the children knew this. More broadly such mutual support was part of the philosophy of solving problems within the family rather than looking for outside help. The line of demarcation was a fine one though; one father, Khaliq, described it as *'consultation but not interference'*. Kulsum presented it as the Islamic principle of *shura* (consultation) which she tried to follow even when discussing options with her four year old son.

Several interviewees said that children learned about the importance of family by observing the example set by their parents, and by seeing how people gave and received support within the wider family. Two - interestingly, two who had made the decision to move out of the central community area - both expressed concern that family support was disappearing, that everyone was out at work, that when their children started families there would be no automatic support system of the kind that had existed in the past. Shagufta even admitted to an increasing tendency to spend leisure time with colleagues rather than family.

These were extremes, however; for the vast majority of interviewees the family was central and there was a strong desire to perpetuate this state of affairs. For Sobia the top priority in the upbringing of her children was *'to carry on the family tree, to look after each other'*. Another, Saghira, did not speak very fluent English, but said this more emphatically than anything else in her interview: *'If you have no family, you have nothing!'*

III. Transnational family patterns

All the families still had at least some of their members living in Pakistan. For many these were close relatives, that is, parents or siblings. For children this meant that the family was at the same time presented to them as very central and significant, and yet had members who were physically absent. Ayesha reported that when her little daughter went to Pakistan, *'it was as though she'd always been there, specially with her grandfather'*. Just under two thirds of the third generation children had visited their relatives in Pakistan; for many this was a very positive and enjoyable experience but

for some it was not. Two families said their children hated the visits; it seemed unlikely they would go again. Few of the Pakistani family members had come on visits to the UK. One father-in-law sent books for his grandchildren.

Marriage with kin from 'back home' acted as a mechanism for maintaining links in the second generation. As seen above, nineteen out of twenty-four second generation couples were married to a first or second cousin who had come over from Pakistan for the purpose of marriage (in my sample there were considerably more women than men who had grown up in the UK; however this may relate more to the character of my sample than to the proportions of Pakistani men and women who come to Britain or return to Pakistan for marriage. See Chapter 2 for discussion of recruitment of interviewees). This perpetuated the close bonds of *biraderi*, and meant that a second generation of migrants had close relationships with people in Pakistan, with all that implied in terms of transnational flows of money, visits, joint business ventures and family support generally. It was not clear how long it would be possible to sustain the practice of kin marriage across continents; resistance from young people, awareness amongst parents of the potential problems and a growing emphasis on the distinction between 'arranged marriage' and 'forced marriage', all seemed likely to contribute to its decline in the future.

One aspect of this transnational pattern which was much less common than it had been a generation earlier was the practice of sending adolescent children, particularly girls, back to Pakistan for what were seen as their vulnerable years in terms of reputation. This had happened to several of the female interviewees, but none were planning to do this with their own daughters. Another issue was the practice of taking children on extended visits to Pakistan. Schools had tried hard, through the good offices of governors who were members of the community, to persuade parents that long absences were damaging to their children's education (as well, of course, as to the schools' places in the league tables of test scores). The practice was in decline as a result.

Telephone contact was very important, not only for maintaining relationships with family in Pakistan but also for keeping close to relatives in other parts of Britain. Patterns ranged from some who phoned Pakistan several times a week to those who just rang occasionally. One mother whose family lived in northern Britain phoned them every day. The men I interviewed were just as likely to make frequent calls as the women. One reminisced about how much this had changed; when he first lived in Britain he used to have to make a booking the day before if he was to call his family 'back home' for an expensive and very short conversation. Now there were cheap call companies everywhere.

For a minority of families - about twenty percent - there was no significant relationship with Pakistan, but for the large majority transnational interactions were a significant part of their lives. For the latter families it was important to socialize children with an awareness of Pakistani as well as British society. If a key goal was to maintain family links across continents, children needed not only to be brought up to live as Muslims in

Britain but also as young people who had the linguistic skills and cultural awareness to feel at ease in Pakistani society.

IV. Hierarchical relationships: gender

i. Husbands and wives

As seen in Chapter 1, one of the characteristics often attributed to Asian families was that of having markedly hierarchical relationships. In some respects the interview families were moving away from this. Nearly two-thirds of the Pakistani women interviewed for this study had grown up in Britain; their husbands had moved to Peterborough on marriage, thus breaking with the traditional pattern of patrilocality. These men were in many cases coming to a country where they had no immediate family, did not necessarily speak the language, often had a lower level of education than their wives, and did not have jobs. Most of the wives, by contrast, had had ten or more years of education in Britain, spoke fluent English, 'knew the system', had their own family living close by and had been in regular employment (some parents, who might otherwise have resisted the idea of their unmarried daughters going out to work, accepted this as a necessary evil to supply Home Office documentation that a wife was able to support a spouse without recourse to state benefits). This caused a considerable shift in the traditional balance of power between the spouses.⁴⁰ Such relationships varied considerably in outcome, with potential tensions caused both by the disparity in life experience and because the traditional expectation of the pattern of married life had been disrupted. Some couples could not overcome these disparities, whilst others were surprisingly successful.

We have this stereotype of men from Pakistan ... like for example they're very traditional, that's what people say about Pakistani men. I think some men are very traditional, but with my husband, I think we're quite lucky in a sense ... he's really adjusted himself to life over here, even with the roles in the house, and he helps me and things like that. Not now, because he works now, but he did ... We do go out as a couple ... we do compromise a lot as well. I think that because me and my husband, we do get on, that influences the children as well. (Shazia)

It might be thought that any union with a man from a rural Pakistani background might be unwelcome to a second generation migrant young woman who had grown up in urban Britain. However none of them appeared to see marriage as oppressive in itself. There was some reference to the traditional concept of separate ambits for men and women, reflecting what were seen as their different gifts and strengths. This took cognizance of the issue of equality but placed it in an Islamic frame of reference.

⁴⁰ This phenomenon was not dissimilar to the reversal of authority relationships between parents and children in the first generation; where children spoke good English and were expected to translate and negotiate on behalf of their less confident and competent parents, traditional roles were reversed.

Me and my husband, we have our own roles - some people might not consider that equality. But if you understand it the Islamic way, then it is equal. The husband has to respect the wife, and the wife has to respect the husband. They have to please each other, that's what I mean. (Samira).

Not one of the interviewees expressed a desire for greater personal freedom. Marriage itself, and the birth of children, conferred status and a greater degree of autonomy for some young women whose parents had restricted their freedom in the interests of preserving their reputations. Shagufta's response, on having an arranged marriage in which she had simply been given a choice between three cousins, had been, *'Oh wow - that's it! I'm free!'*

In some relationships compromises and accommodations had not been possible. One marriage seemed to be in the process of breakdown at the time of the interview. Mussarat, struggling not to appear openly disloyal, mentioned the difficulties caused by her husband's unemployment compared with her own successful career, his inability to speak English as against her own fluency, his parents' resentment and feeling that she *'wasn't good enough for him'* - hinting that they had expected a great deal more from a marriage contracted to someone in Britain. Several women said they and their husbands disagreed about issues such as the future education or jobs of their daughters and marriage of their children, with the husbands favouring marriage to close kin and daughters staying at home until marriage. The mothers, on the other hand, wanted their daughters to be able to go to college, have careers, and be able to choose a marriage partner from any suitable Muslim background, not necessarily from the kin circle. In spite of such disagreements there was evidence in about two-thirds of the interviews of a trend towards a more egalitarian, companionate type of conjugal relationship than that described for the previous generation. This included features such as the husband and wife going out together as a couple, joint decision making, sharing housework and childcare, and for women, a sense of autonomy and a high degree of self-confidence. It is nevertheless important not to over-interpret this and to bear in mind the cultural context. For example from a western perspective activities such as a father taking children to and from school, or doing the shopping, might be perceived as evidence of an egalitarian approach to domestic responsibilities in a marriage. In the context of a society influenced by the practice of *purdah*, however, such behaviour might equally well reflect a traditional division of labour in which the man was responsible for tasks and activities outside the home (such as shopping) and the woman for those *'inside the four walls'*.⁴¹

The degree to which the mothers interviewed were confident or diffident, active or passive, strong or weak, in their marriages, was partly a reflection of individual and chance factors. But in the majority of cases there was a sense that these wives were strong partners to their husbands, not their subordinates, and that some of the elements which contributed to this included the women's education and employment, and the fact

⁴¹ English version of a Panjabi phrase used by many interviewees which expressed a traditional view of a woman's place.

that they were living amongst their own families and on their own territory. This inevitably challenged the traditional hierarchical patterns of a patrilocal society.

ii. Sons and daughters

One aspect of gender hierarchy in the past had been a marked preference for the birth of sons rather than daughters, manifested in the degree of celebration and rejoicing when a new boy or girl child was born. As seen above (Chapter 1), recent studies found a decline in preference for boys. Nothing was said by any of the interviewees which suggested a preference for male children amongst second generation parents.

Another change in the present generation was the expectation that children would or should be treated differently according to gender. One-third of interviewees in each community said they did not believe in different roles for boys and for girls. However people varied in their interpretations of what this meant in practice. As far as household chores were concerned most parents, including some fathers as well as mothers, felt both girls and boys should take an equal part. Several said their own attitudes were different from those of the previous generation. One mother made explicit comparison between her own upbringing and her approach to her own children's participation in household tasks:

When I was little my mum always said I had to do the cooking, to look after my brothers, to go and hang up the washing. I do tell my daughter that, and I tell Taher as well, that he has to do his and baji (i.e. your sister) will do hers. Not being sexist like Mum and Dad were! ... I'm not sexist at all, like the girl has to do the housework while the boy has to sit on the sofa and eat. They both have to go and do jobs together. (Zahida)

One older Pakistani father, who had lived in Britain for nearly forty years, illustrated the change in attitudes:

I reckon that they should be able to do all these household chores so it's easier for them in their future lives, but obviously culturally ... culture has divided the roles of girls and boys differently. ... I must admit sometimes when my daughter's back home, she'll say, 'Why doesn't my brother do the Hoovering and I'll do the cooking? Why doesn't he wipe the dishes and I'll do the washing?' and all that, but children brought up over here, they think on an equal level, equal basis, which I probably agree with. If my wife and myself worked all day long, and we go home, and I sit in a settee and let my wife do all the work, that's unfair. ... Even back home they're changing at the moment, specially in the working families, but whereas when only the man works and the wife stays at home, then the roles are different. (Masood)

Masood's reasons for the changes were echoed by several other interviewees; these included practical considerations (e.g. being away for study or work and having to be able to take care of oneself), equity (in terms of equal amounts of work for both

partners), and the impact of life in Britain (though attitudes were evidently changing in Pakistan as well).

This change illustrated a partial reduction in differential treatment of boys and girls in one context. The majority of interviewees felt that both sexes should be treated with complete equality in relation to access to school education (including explicit endorsement of girls going away to college in many cases), and often in responsibilities for helping with household tasks. On the other hand, many of them made it clear that they had different expectations for girls in other ways. The projection of both Islamic respectability and cultural identity were treated as the responsibility of women and girls, and this was expressed through dress and varying degrees of observance of purdah. For girls it also usually meant considerably less freedom to go out than was the case for their brothers (see below, section vii).

V. Hierarchical relationships: age

i. Parents and children

Some Pakistani parents interviewed still aimed to maintain a traditionally hierarchical and authoritarian pattern of parenting; however many others represented their relationships with their own children as being markedly different from those they had had with their own parents. None of the interviewees appeared to see this as a negative trend. Indeed some were critical of other Pakistani parents amongst their contemporaries whom they felt were being too inflexibly traditional in their approach to bringing up their children in a migration context. In this section I shall discuss first the traditional end of the parental spectrum and then consider the evidence for trends away from hierarchical relationships between parents and children towards more egalitarian ones.

Atiq presented a traditional view, but he did not expect anything from his children that he would not do himself:

I'd lie down and my sons or daughters would hurry up and get me a cushion without me telling them, probably because I do those things for my father or mother, they do that. So the way you upbringing your children - a good sixty or seventy percent is that they watch and see how you do'.

Several parents saw themselves as more 'modern' in their approaches to child rearing in contrast to others whom they characterized as old-fashioned and rigid, adopting a confrontational position rather than working with their children to address problems. At the extreme end of the spectrum this was expressed through threatening to take children perceived as recalcitrant back to Pakistan, or actually doing so. Such a measure has often been associated in the western media with the removal of girls to a 'place of safety', culturally speaking; however boys who were perceived by their parents as being at risk of getting into trouble of some kind might be treated in a similar way.

Shagufta described a case she had recently encountered at work:

... a fifteen year old boy who's come back from Pakistan; left at the age of fourteen, at the end of Year 9, came back at the beginning of Year 10, and he's married! He's actually living with his wife. Yes - it's illegal, and it's not going to be on paper, but the cultural ceremony's taken place, and I was so shocked to find out ... but we don't know what that boy's been up to before, right? His parents were so frustrated and they took him back home, and they thought that would sort him out.

Not many went to such lengths, and several interviewees made critical reference to parents who did not appear to take sympathetic account of the pressures faced by their adolescent children.

A number of Pakistani parents referred to the importance of role models, including children's older cousins or younger aunts and uncles; ideally these would be positive role models, but this was not always the case. Some interviewees had high expectations of their children's behaviour, expecting them to be polite and respectful, not to raise their voices, especially in the presence of older people including sometimes their fathers, and to be generally obedient and helpful.

Traditional hierarchical relationships like those illustrated above were not very common amongst the people interviewed. Such patterns had been undermined by the process of migration for many of these families in two principal ways. Firstly some members of the pioneer generation had had problems and preoccupations which had prevented them from giving enough attention to the upbringing of their children. Some of the reasons given by interviewees for their parents' shortcomings were lack of time, '*troubles of their own*', financial or housing problems, obligations to relatives in Pakistan, lack of education or lack of understanding of the way of life in Britain. This had made it harder for first generation parents to give children the necessary teaching for particular social roles and expectations, and often they had no other members of the extended family to help them. Role modelling was not possible when those at the top of the pyramid of relationships - grandparents and elders - were not present. This had limited the normative experience of hierarchical relationships for the next generation.

Interviewees of the second generation, whilst unwilling to be directly critical of their parents, nevertheless made it clear that their own approach to parenting was very different. Some of them, particularly the small number who identified themselves more as Muslims than as Pakistanis, drew attention to what was in their view a gap between religious ideal and cultural reality. Parental authority had been undermined by mothers' and fathers' lack of knowledge and awareness. Sobia's student daughter arrived home towards the end of her mother's interview and spoke to me while her mother was preparing some food for us:

My parents adopted lots of secular values - they didn't know Islam to the extent it should have been known. They had good morals, but the ideal way would be

different. You're put into institutions which aren't Islamic. I would teach children at home or with a group of people, friends. It's already happening in the community.

The majority of the parents interviewed felt there were major differences between the upbringing they themselves had experienced and that of their own children. Features of these relationships now included more openness and flexibility, more expression of affection, the desire to be friends with one's children, an emphasis on the need to communicate and discuss with young people, an appreciation of the need for mutual trust and for children to think their feelings were understood. Half the parents in the Pakistani group mentioned some of the features listed above. The following examples illustrate the wide range of contexts in which there was perceived to be a change.

We can talk to Mohammad about girlfriends and boyfriends, but we can't in front of our parents; we didn't talk about pregnancy in front of them. We are going to teach him about sex education ... but I didn't know what periods were till I heard about it in health classes at school. Mum wasn't very sympathetic. I had to get a sanitary towel from the nurse in school. (Rukhsana)

With my daughters I'm very open, we're like friends - if they have problems we will sit down and discuss them. (Jamila)

I think you need to have that communication between you and your child. And a child can only talk to its parents if it feels secure, if it knows it can trust its parents ... I never had that chance of communicating or talking over my problems with my mother - I wanted to but I just couldn't. (Razia)

A number of interviewees also said they felt children and young people were now more independent, challenging and questioning than had been the case in their own childhoods. As parents they felt under constant pressure to be able to give reasons to their children as to why, for example, their friends could go to discos and they could not, or they could go on a day trip with the school but not on a residential visit (see below, Chapter 9). Some parents believed that outright prohibition of activities might in the end be counterproductive, and were inclined to give children a reasonable amount of freedom with a great deal of guidance. Nargis's son had recently started going to an under-eighteens' club:

Obviously Islam forbids you to go to any place which is going to affect your behaviour in a negative way. So we don't say, 'Don't go there, don't go here', but we do tell them, 'This is the holy line, and if you pass that line ...' It's the temptation. We firmly believe if you keep them away from these places they will be eager, they will go at their first opportunity. So it's better to take them, than to lose them.

Some parents referred explicitly to the teachings of Islam on parent-child relationships, for example, that parents should play with children till the age of seven, teach them till they were fourteen, then be their friend and guide thereafter. Several also mentioned the

expectation that young people should be responsible for their own actions and decisions by the time they reached puberty.

Islam looks at bringing up the children as the duty of the parents. You don't bring them into the world and just leave them. It's your duty up to the age of 14 to 16, that you give them a good education, you give them a good understanding of rights and wrongs, and once they are at the age of being adult, responsible, each person is responsible for their own deeds, and therefore as a parent if you've done a good job, then really, you have done your duty. After that they're responsible for their own actions. (Khaliq)

However this was usually interpreted in a theological sense as meaning that on the Day of Judgement parents would not be held responsible for sins of their mature children. It did not lead in practice to freedom for young people to make all their own decisions about life outside the home.

Why had there been a trend for relationships between parents and children to become more egalitarian and less authoritarian in character? Migration had made a major impact. The second generation parents themselves were not bound by the same hierarchies as their parents were; in Peterborough the impact of family and clan still existed but in a muted form. These parents had grown up in the UK and had themselves experienced greater freedom; this was particularly true for young women. Those who had grown up in Britain often had wider social experience in the new context than did their own parents. This reversed traditional hierarchies of wisdom and understanding. The impact of modern life meant that children were more independent. Traditional modes of upbringing which simply invoked parental authority were seen as less effective than discussion and negotiation.

ii. Arranged marriages

The term 'arranged marriage' was used by many of the people interviewed to describe how they and their partners had been chosen for each other. However it meant different things to different people. At one end of the spectrum, a marriage might be completely arranged by parents or kin, with the bride (often the groom as well) having only a notional right to refuse the match. At the other extreme there might be a simple introduction to a potentially suitable candidate, after which the two people concerned were completely free to take things forward and get to know each other better if they wished to do so. Interviewees from Pakistani families were more likely to have had marriages on the former pattern. Of the twenty who had arranged marriages, six interviewees mentioned being given some choice.

Table v. Choice of marriage partners: Pakistani families

N = 24

Arranged marriage	20
Semi arranged marriage	2
Free choice marriage	2

An important feature of the marriages of this group was the fact that nineteen out of twenty-four of them were to first or second cousins (see above, section i), and that in all these cases they involved marriage to a family member in Pakistan who moved to Britain around the time of the wedding. This phenomenon appeared to have many possible contributory factors: these might have included a desire on the part of parents to maintain links with kin in Pakistan, a means of repaying obligations to kin, a way of bringing an injection of traditional culture, religion and language into a marriage with a young person who had grown up in Britain, and a way of helping kin to migrate to Britain in the wake of tightened immigration controls. Whatever the reasons, cousin marriage appears from the limited research evidence available to have become more widespread amongst second generation migrants than it was amongst their parents (Shaw 2000a, 2000b).

The term 'arranged marriage' was not used in the interview questions, but was employed spontaneously by nineteen people to describe how they and their spouse were chosen for each other. Many of them made negative comments about arranged marriages, which appeared to have been on the very traditional end of the spectrum, with little participation by the potential marriage partners and with the process most often initiated and concluded by parents. It was quite widely recognized that not all such marriages were successful. There was some association between lack of choice and marital breakdown in the Pakistani community; one-third of those who had reported no choice over their own marriages, mentioned divorce or separation during their interviews, mostly in relation to their brothers and sisters (it is not possible to infer a causal connection between the two, but it was an interesting link nonetheless).

iii. Expectations for the future

Parents in the interview sample were asked what aspirations they had for their own children with regard to marriage. Clearly this is more an indication of parents' current feelings than a reliable prediction about the future, but the answers still have some interest, particularly when compared with the answers of the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri parents (see below, Chapter 5).

Table vi. Aspirations for children's marriages: Pakistani parents

(N = 24, but some interviewees expressed more than one of the following ideas. It was not possible to make a systematic distinction in relation to their feelings about the marriages of sons or daughters)

Would not force them	4
Do not agree with arranged marriage	2
Better to marry within the family	2
Someone from 'back home'	2
My husband and I disagree about this	6
Must be a Muslim	10
Children should have an education or a bit of life first	4
I would accept my child's own choice if suitable	9

These answers reflected a considerable diversity of views about marriage. A number of interviewees were unwilling to respond to the question, particularly on the issue of marriage to kin. One mother said, *'We don't want to talk about it. I know it's a long way away ... Times are going to be different then. The next generation - we just don't know what's going to happen.'* (Shazia). Her own children had a number of cousins in Peterborough whom they could potentially marry, as did those of another mother who simply said, *'We don't think it's an issue we should talk about.'* (Mussarat). On the other hand a parent who had put forward quite conservative thoughts on other subjects expressed the view that *'it's dying out in the sense that it doesn't matter that a certain child will have to marry a certain other child - it will be more important now if the children like each other.'* (Atiq). A number of parents mentioned resistance to forced marriages; several referred to girls locally who had run away from home to avoid marrying men of their parents' choice. Others suggested some young people were approaching marriage with considerable cynicism:

Nowadays more Muslim people are doing love marriage - they have an arranged marriage first, then after a couple of days they split up and have a love marriage. They tell their parents, 'Right, I did what you wanted, now I'm going to have a love marriage.' (Saida)

Most of the third generation children had fewer close links with Pakistan (see Chapter 9) and would be less likely to feel the power of obligations to kin. This would be a further reason to suggest that arranged marriages of the type common in the second generation (i.e. little option given to marriage partners; marriage to close kin) would become less usual in the future.

iv. Respect for 'the elders'

Fifteen out of twenty-four interviewees mentioned respect for 'the elders' as a priority. This category included parents, adult relatives and older people generally, as well as adults who merited respect by virtue of their position or occupation, such as teachers. Respectful behaviour was deemed to involve using appropriate forms of address as well as behaving with deference generally.

My husband talks a lot about respect - the need to respect yourself and others and your elders, for instance by talking at low volume - he doesn't like children shouting - and by addressing elders the way they should. We tell them to say 'Al salamu 'alaykum' when they come in, not 'Hello' - even to me or daddy - and to speak respectfully to elders like my brothers and mum.⁴² (Jamila)

A number of parents said they felt white British children were not polite enough to parents or teachers. One perplexing aspect of this was that the English language had no provision for 'polite forms', such as those which exist in Asian languages as well as other European languages like French and German - there was nothing but the word 'you'. Awareness of the need for respect was associated with well-disciplined behaviour generally; one father said this was an important factor for Pakistani parents in choosing their children's schools, especially at secondary level (see below Chapter 9). Respect for one's elders was presented as a priority for Asian parents of all backgrounds, and its absence was seen as a puzzling shortcoming of British society.

The other thing in English is, people tend to use their own names for each other no matter how old they are. For example, a son-in-law calls his mother-in-law by name, where in ours it's - what can I say? - it show a person is unmannered and doesn't know anything, whereas we tend to call them by relations, like 'uncle', 'aunty', things like that. It just shows that the person is able to show respect to a person. I teach all those things to my children ... I mean, I have an English friend and she's nearly eighty years old and her name is Alma. And sometimes the children call her 'Alma', but I feel really weird with them calling her 'Alma' because she's so old. She's a very good friend, but if she was an Asian woman they wouldn't call her 'Alma', they'd call her 'Grandma'. (Razia)

VI. Values and behaviour: *purdah*

The rest of this chapter will describe the impact of *purdah* and related concepts on the interview families, and will consider trends towards change across the generations.

Support for the ideal of the separation of males and females after puberty was maintained and believed to be essential to the good reputation of families and kinship

⁴² *Al salamu 'alaykum*: 'Peace be upon you' - formal, respectful greeting between Muslims.

groups. This practice had a major impact on the lives of Pakistani origin children in Peterborough; it was probably the greatest single difference between adolescent girls from such families and their white British counterparts.

What sort of behaviour did parents model to their children as regards segregation of women and men? Several of them mentioned behaviour that was considered appropriate inside the home. Women and older girls would cover themselves if a male visitor arrived; if it was not someone well known to them, they would often withdraw into the back room.

As far as life outside the home was concerned, women mixed with men in the mainstream community in situations such as work and shopping; nobody presented this as a problematic issue for them. However many worked in jobs which seemed to be chosen with purdah considerations in mind. Two-thirds of the women had jobs outside the home, and these were, with one exception, in the public services (e.g. bilingual assistant in school, outreach worker for local health service, team member of social services unit) or work in charities or similar organizations (e.g. administrator for housing charity, playgroup leader). All involved a degree of contact with men, though those for example who worked as bilingual assistants in primary schools were less likely to encounter non-family men than those who had jobs in a busy office. Just one was a sales assistant in a large store.

The approach was more complicated in social situations involving members of the Pakistani community, and some interviewees expressed ambivalence about traditional attitudes (some of these were expectations about adults rather than children but they are relevant in that they model patterns of acceptable behaviour). The general expectation that men's and women's social lives were separate ones had begun to alter; a small number of interviewees said that they and their husbands went out together as a couple, but cited this as unusual. Rukhsana presented Peterborough as being rather old-fashioned in this respect, saying that whilst it was still the norm there for people to attend weddings or similar social functions in gender-segregated groups, people now often sat in mixed groups in London and even in Pakistan.

However the major context in which men and women stayed apart was that of public worship. In rural Pakistan women did not traditionally go to the mosque and that pattern had been replicated in Peterborough. Some girl children went to Qur'an classes there, but not one of the interviewees mentioned attending any function at the mosque herself. There had been moves to try to make provision for them, but the buildings were small and without adequate facilities for women's ablutions or prayer, and until the long awaited purpose built mosque was constructed, the situation would remain the same.

As far as younger children were concerned there was little sense that gender segregation was necessary or even desirable in most contexts. Indeed two families had even moved their children away from one of the predominantly Pakistani primary schools because they felt there was too much deference to perceived cultural norms such as

discouraging boys and girls from sitting next to each other. At secondary level there was more widespread concern about the separation of the sexes; however no interviewee mentioned the lack of single sex schools as a disadvantage of living in Peterborough, and education was seen as so valuable that compromise on this was accepted so long as the quality of schooling was satisfactory (see below Chapter 9).

One context where *purdah* (or a form of it) was observed was in the question of whether, when and how girls should be away from home unaccompanied, particularly in the evenings. The majority of parents mentioned 'going out' as an issue; their daughters would not be allowed to have boyfriends, nor to go out in the evenings apart from other family members; some parents said they would be '*very cautious*' about school residential trips (*Shazia*). Others such as Uzma said they had not been allowed to take part in such activities themselves when young but now allowed their own children, boys and girls alike, to do so. However no parent was willing to let daughters go to clubs, parties or discos, and in nearly all cases this applied to boys as well (for them the concern was not only gender segregation but alcohol).

Those with older children had already faced the question of whether they would permit daughters to study at universities or colleges away from home. All three with daughters in this age group had in fact let them go. Others said they would do so in the future.

I want them to go to university, specially my daughter. I know she's got something there, and it's going to be used. There's no point in it being wasted just because of her religious community. I'm saving up for it - I want her to become a doctor or lawyer. I shall be proud if she does well. My husband feels the same way.
(Zahida)

As with secondary education, the perceived benefits of university study were such that other considerations were secondary. However some of the interviewees had been unable to go on to higher education themselves because of parental pressure to marry and to maintain a good family reputation. In Rukhsana's family, for instance, she as the eldest daughter had not been allowed to go to college, but both of her younger sisters had done so; her own respectable marriage made the behaviour of the younger ones less open to question. This situation was also changed by the availability of university level courses within Peterborough; during the time the fieldwork for this study was carried out, a nearby university opened courses which were taught at the local regional college, and people could attend as day students. This opened up educational opportunities for women whose parents were reluctant to let them live away from home.

VII. Values and behaviour: the dress code and *hijab*

A key difference between children from Muslim families and their peers from other backgrounds was that of dress, and although this applied with greatest salience to girls after puberty, it affected them to some extent from a much younger age. It had relatively

little impact on boys and young men. There was a fair amount of diversity of opinion, even amongst members of the same family, as to the age at which daughters should start wearing Islamically acceptable 'modest dress' as a matter of routine.

i. Hijab

The type of clothing worn by women and girls had a bearing on their interpretation of hijab. Those who wore shalwar kameez (see below) usually had a *dupatta*, a long trailing scarf, as an integral part of the outfit, and this could when required be pulled up over the head; much of the time it would be worn around the shoulders or covering the breasts. However a more formal type of hijab was a close fitting headcovering, often black or white, which covered all of the hair, head and neck leaving only the face visible (none of the women interviewed wore a face veil). Three mothers said they had not worn hijab when young, but did so now; a further three said they had done so when young but had now stopped. Three of the women wore the formal type of hijab with fuller covering. Many but not all of the women did not wear a head covering when in an informal situation at home when they were just in the company of other women, or in similar all-women situations outside the home, for example in a community centre activity. The majority would cover their heads if a non-*mahram* male visitor arrived (*mahram* males are those forbidden as marriage partners to a Muslim woman, that is, her father, brother and son). Some would do so even in the presence of husbands and fathers in the 'public' areas of the home, as a sign of respect. Most adult women would do so at work. It would be unheard of for women not to cover themselves when praying or reading the Qur'an, and by extension this would apply to girls of any age - so little girls of only five or six would cover their heads to go to their madrasa classes. For some, it was associated with being in a 'Muslim' context - so girls and young women might wear hijab at home but not at school. The primary purpose of it was to signal religious seriousness and respectability to other members of one's community, as well of course as fulfilling religious requirements. However to many members of the mainstream community it was a negative identifier which (especially when worn by little girls) might confirm previously held prejudices about unequal treatment of women in Muslim communities. The purpose of hijab - to conceal the bodily attractions of women, and to emphasize that they were more than just a body - in fact had an opposite effect in a society where naked flesh had lost its power to thrill or shock - it was the fully covered body which stood out and attracted attention.

This had a variety of implications for children growing up as Muslims. Mothers were aware of the potential for rebellion if girls were unwilling wearers of hijab; several described their own experiences as schoolgirls, when friends had come to school with headscarves on, but once inside the doors removed them and put on make-up and loosened their hair. Several mothers cited this as a reason for letting their daughters choose to wear hijab when they felt ready to do so. Only a small number expected daughters to cover their heads routinely while still of primary school age, except for going to madrasa, when all of them did so. Of those with girls of secondary school age, three mothers said they would rather wait until their daughters chose to wear it (one of these

mothers did not wear hijab herself). One daughter had started of her own volition at eleven; four others did wear it, one did at home but not to school, and one only to madrasa.

ii. Islamic dress

The same diversity was evident in the extent to which young girls were expected to wear clothes which covered their bodies. Shazia intended to stop her little girl wearing leggings as soon as she was four; Bilqis, whose daughter was eight, said her daughter still sometimes came downstairs without getting fully dressed first *'though my husband doesn't like her doing it'*; she would soon have to start wearing clothes which did not show her armpits or come above her knee. A general view was that at the age of nine to eleven girls should start wearing clothes which covered them *'decently'*, and some mothers prepared them for this little by little. *'I think girls should have a certain amount of freedom, say until they're ten, and even wear shorts until they're seven, then a skirt and socks. Bringing it in gradually but in a nice sort of way.'* (Rukhsana)

The wearing of Islamic dress, then, was situationally determined and also influenced by personal preference and interpretation as well as attitude of husbands and fathers. Within the community and even within individual families there was a considerable range of practice on this issue. This diversity was reflected in Sobia's family. She wore a shalwar kameez and dupatta. Three of her children were in the house when I interviewed her; the eldest, married and working in the health service, wore trousers and a loose fitting shirt but no head covering. Another, a university student, was dressed in black with her whole head and body covered except for her face. The third, in her final year at primary school, wore a school dress, short socks and had a short haircut.

iii. Asian dress

The wearing of Asian dress (or more strictly speaking, the Punjabi shalwar kameez and dupatta) was almost universal amongst the interviewees; twenty-three out of twenty-four dressed in this traditional way, with just one woman wearing an Islamically acceptable version of western dress. One-third of these women said they would wish their daughters to wear Asian dress when they reached puberty; two-thirds said they would be happy for their daughters to wear either western-style clothes or shalwar kameez provided that they were dressed in conformity with the expectations of Islam. Asian dress was not an issue for women and girls alone, but for most boys of school age it was something worn only on special occasions such as Ids and weddings (Tasleem's son refused to wear it at all under any circumstances, even when the clothes were a gift). A number of interviewees made no distinction between Islamically acceptable garb and Asian dress; this reflected the generally interchangeable use of 'Muslim' and 'Asian' as self-designators in this community.

As far as daughters were concerned, some of the mothers who did wish them to wear Asian dress felt that it was easier to start as they meant to go on, and thus dress even

very little girls traditionally, rather than try to change things as the daughters got older and were perhaps less co-operative. Some points made in support of Asian dress were that it was more comfortable, particularly in hot weather, and that a lot of people had *'the best of both worlds'* (a phrase frequently used to describe people's aspirations for their children) and wore Asian dress at home and western dress at work. In addition shalwar kameez was in general worn by men in Britain far more than twenty-five years previously; for them it was much more a simple issue of preference rather than a projector of identity and respectability as it seemed to be for the women. Amongst those who were ambivalent about their daughters wearing shalwar kameez, several made points about girls having 'freedom' while they were young; they felt it was quite unnecessary for them to dress modestly before puberty and were content for them to wear shorts, t-shirts, dresses, short socks or more or less whatever they wished. Several mothers also mentioned their daughters having their hair cut short; they themselves had not been allowed to do this when young.

There was thus a virtually universal attachment to traditional dress amongst the parental generation, but for a majority this was not something they expected of their own daughters. Nonetheless, one third did expect them to wear shalwar kameez as their usual daily form of dress after puberty. In general the second generation interviewees made little distinction between religion and culture as far as dress was concerned.

VIII. Values and behaviour: *izzat*

Interviewees interpreted my question about *izzat* (honour, reputation) much more broadly than I had anticipated on the basis of some of the literature (see Chapter 1). Several interviewees talked not only about behaviour towards the opposite sex and the repercussions this had on their own and their family's reputations within their own community, but about broader aspects of conduct and reputation. For some parents the emphasis was on respect, not only towards the elderly but also the young, and people generally; a good reputation was to be gained by demonstrating respect towards others. Some were aware of the role played by observance of Islamic ideals. One mother mentioned the fact that they had bought a piano as something which might cause them to be looked on as slightly suspect by other Pakistani Muslims.

The main emphasis however was very much to do with sexuality. Many of the parents agreed that it was important. *'I do worry about what other people will say. Sometimes you say, "Well, it isn't anybody else's business", but you've still got that ticking at the back of your mind.'* (Mussarat). Most of the parents who mentioned *izzat* said they did not feel it was a problem when children were young, but did become an issue for girls as soon as they approached puberty: *'It takes just one word for people to think bad things.'* (Zahida). Several mothers said that they personally were not concerned about *izzat* but that their husbands, who had grown up in Pakistan, felt it was very important, and had different standards and expectations. People's attitudes seemed to reflect the experience of a village situation, where everybody knew everybody else, and gossip

might be used as a form of power which could be exercised over others. The responses of interviewees varied; whilst some said they were used to concerns about izzat, and expected to have to moderate behaviour in the light of it, one woman used it as a reason for isolating herself from the community: *'We try never to mix up with too many people. Rumour starts getting out. Even if you know something you shouldn't tell the next person. It will get passed on'* (Tasleem). Another mother firmly rejected the whole concept, saying that Allah was the only person who could bestow honour.

In many families it was particularly important for an eldest daughter to maintain a good reputation, but once she had married respectably there was less pressure on the younger girls in the family. A number of interviewees felt the situation had changed within their own generation; izzat had been very important in their parents' lives, and they themselves had been expected to behave in such a way as to maintain untarnished reputations when younger. However it was said to be of decreasing significance.

The examples above all related to women's reputations within their own community, but as several pointed out, they had to maintain a difficult balancing act, having regard to their behaviour in relation to mainstream society as well. In the view of one father, it only took one person to behave badly in some way for the whole Pakistani community to be damned in the eyes of white British society.

IX. Transgenerational change

There had been some demographic changes in line with those observable in the population of Britain as a whole, but the large majority of children from families in this study were growing up with both their parents, at least one set of grandparents and lots of other relatives close by. Smaller families and nuclear households appeared to reflect demographic changes, but people often continued to behave as joint families. The norm of patrilocality had declined sharply. The impact of migration in terms of education, employment opportunities and social norms had led to more egalitarian, less hierarchical relationships in terms of gender. It had also led to more egalitarian, less hierarchical relationships in terms of age to a certain extent; however a key expression of this - arranged marriage - was still very much a contested area. The uncertainty this generated was reflected in fact that a number of interviewees did not want to talk about aspirations for marriages of own children. Patterns of transnational family interaction persisted in the second generation. In the first generation these had been maintained through remittances and long visits; in the second, marriage to kin was very important and seemingly on the increase. A small minority (less than 20%) had no significant relationship with Pakistan but for most, the continuation of strong connections with family 'back home' meant that there was relatively little distinction between 'Muslimness' and 'Pakistani-ness' in everyday life. The family continued to be the cornerstone of social, moral and religious life.

Chapter 5. Family and relationships, religion and culture: Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families

Introduction

This chapter will give some contextual background material on the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families studied in Peterborough. Like Chapter 4, this one starts with some demographic data on family and household composition. Next, the patterns of family relationships are considered, with particular reference to continuity in terms of extended family. The significance of relationships and exchanges between Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri globally is related to diasporic family patterns. Hierarchical relationships in the context of first gender, then age, are discussed. The last section of the chapter considers issues of values and behaviour, with particular reference to the cultural concept of *izzat*, and the religious ones of *pardah* and Islamic dress. The chapter ends with a discussion of transgenerational changes in family patterns and their significance in relation to religious nurture.

I. Demographic data

i. Residential distribution

The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families were more geographically dispersed across the city than the Pakistani group. About one-third of the community lived in older homes in the central area of ethnic minority residence and the area, Eastgate, near to the Shi'a mosque. About two-thirds lived in newer housing in the city's 'townships', built since its development as a new town. Most KSI families had a wealth of relatives elsewhere in Britain as well as in Peterborough.

ii. Marriage

All the interviewees had been married but two were now separated; all interviewees had married within the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community, as had most but not all of their adult children. There was just one case of cohabitation rather than marriage in the third generation. This uniformity was not completely characteristic of the community as a whole, however; a small number of people mentioned having siblings who were divorced, and also siblings or adult children who had married partners of different ethnic, national or religious backgrounds.

Marriage to close kin was the exception rather than the rule. Khoja caste endogamy had been maintained in the marriages of the second generation, but as Table vii shows, kin marriages were exceptional.

Table vii. KSI couples: marriage to relatives

N = 24

Relationship	1st cousin	2nd cousin	Not related
Number of couples	1	2	21

This provided a strong contrast to the Pakistani pattern (see above Chapter 4, section I). Cousin marriage did occur amongst KSI families, but was not sought after; indeed the World Federation website from the year 2000 onwards started to carry articles containing warnings about possible implications of marriage to close kin for the transmission of genetically inherited conditions.⁴³

iii. Children

The KSI families had seventy-six children between them at the time of interview, and there had been one hundred and twenty-six in their birth families. Only two couples had more children than there had been in their own families of origin. These numbers do not give a full picture of the diversity involved, however; in the first generation there had been three families with only one or two children, where fathers had died young. This contrasted with the four families which had had ten or eleven children each. In large families children's experience might vary considerably depending on whether they were one of the oldest or one of the youngest in the family. Table viii shows the decline in very large families amongst the second generation interviewees; nevertheless one third of them had four or five children in this generation.⁴⁴ There was thus a drop in size but not to mainstream family norms; the mean number of children was 5.4 in the first generation compared with 3.0 in the second.

Table viii. Family size by number of children

N = 24

Number of children	1	2	3	4	5	6+
1st generation	1	2	3	6	4	8
2nd generation	2	6	7	5	3	1

(The first generation figures were for mothers in all but three cases where this information was not collected and where I used sibling numbers for the fathers instead)

⁴³ This extensive website has information posted daily from KSI Jama'ats in Europe, North America and East Africa. The address is www.world-federation.org.uk

⁴⁴ This group had a slightly higher age profile than the Pakistani group, including more older parents with families which were probably complete.

iv. Households

Households with more than two generations were the exception. As for the Pakistani community, the difficulty of obtaining large houses at affordable prices may have contributed to the low incidence of complex households. Two families had elderly mothers living with them; in a third, the mother alternated between her two sons, spending six months with one in North America, then six months with the other in Britain (a clear but unusual example of transnationalism in family life). However several mentioned an elderly mother or father living with another sibling. The extended family continued to be important in other ways, even though multigenerational households appeared to be less common than formerly.

v. Patrilocality

A noteworthy difference from the Pakistani pattern was the continuing patrilocality of three-quarters of the KSI families, as shown in Table ix. This meant that children from these families had at least one set of grandparents living locally, which was important from the perspective of stability and continuity, and for maintaining extended family behaviour in some respects even if not living in a shared home. For instance, one interviewee said her parents-in-law had just bought a house whose garden backed onto her own. However a majority of the wives had left the place of residence of their own family on marriage.

Table ix . Residential patterns of interviewees' parents families

N = 24

Husband's parents live in Peterborough	13
Wife's parents live in Peterborough	1
Both sets of parents live in Peterborough	5
Neither set of parents lives in Peterborough	5

II. Nuclear family households, extended family lives

The common practice of living with or near to a husband's parents meant that adult men often had far higher levels of contact with their extended natal family than was the case for women. Only five out of twenty-four women had parents or siblings in Peterborough, but virtually all of them had close family elsewhere in Britain. A small number of the women in this study seemed isolated. One spoke longingly of the warmth and closeness of family in East Africa; another described her own sense of loneliness before her children were born, but this seemed more to do with difficulty in conceiving and the high premium put on parenthood than the loneliness of life in Britain *per se*. Only one member of the group gave the impression of being lonely and home-sick. Despite the wider dispersal of this community across the city compared with the

Pakistani families, more than half of them had relatives living in the same or nearby streets.

For nearly all the interviewees, a significant proportion of leisure time was spent visiting other members of the wider family, or going for day trips as an extended family group, for instance to a fun park or zoo. There were other activities such as *majlises* (worship sessions) in people's homes or religious or community activities at the mosque, which whilst not exclusive to family members would include meeting and spending time with members of the wider family.

Members of the younger generation were reported as spending much time with (same sex) cousins. In several families cousins attended the same school; one mother (under some pressure from the rest of the family) had moved her daughter to attend the same school as her little cousins, and the girl was described as being quite resistant since then to making friends with others outside the family circle. Many children met their cousins at madrasa. In two families, girl cousins had chosen to attend the same universities. Two mothers stressed the importance of cousin relationships for them as adults; for one, cousins remained the best friends for her and her sister, while for another who had only one sister, *'my cousins mean the world to me'* (Fatim M). However one mother felt quite guilty and uncomfortable that her children's teenage cousins (of both sexes) came round and that all, including her adolescent daughters, ate together without hijab. Her disquiet stemmed from the fact that these young people were potentially marriageable to one another and therefore ought to observe purdah, in spite of the fact that cousin marriage was not encouraged within the community. Another mother, Yasmin, was dismissive of the practice of teaching children to address older people as *'Uncle'* and *'Auntie'* out of respect, as this might create confusion as to who their *'real'* relatives were.

Why did interviewees see their wider families as being so central to their lives? Three important reasons emerged from the interviews. Firstly, for some older ones, the shared experience of migration under very difficult circumstances had welded them together in the first generation and to some extent in the second. Some had worked incredibly hard to succeed and were now enjoying the fruits of their unremitting efforts. Others had struggled for different reasons - first generation mothers having to bring up children by themselves following bereavement, for instance. Secondly, many articulated the view that it was important to maintain family bonds, because even if it was no longer possible or usual for all to share a home, family relationships were still a central and non-negotiable foundation of social existence. Thirdly, some had started family businesses together early on, or had given each other support and practical help. People felt they could and had to rely on their families in situations where they might have little else to fall back on, and that family members would not fail to care for each other. It was a reciprocal expectation. *'You know you have someone there to help you. You are there to help someone. It's not "Take and take", but "Give and take"'* (Qulsoom). Many others gave examples of being available to support each other in times of need, ranging from performance of simple practical tasks like doing an elderly mother-in-law's washing, to the phenomenon of an entire family moving house for several months in order to support

an ageing relative after an operation.

The children of the third generation did not have the shared experience of the second, but were still expected to prioritize family and to participate in the web of mutual interconnection and support. Parents realised that if children did not get to know family members properly they might feel awkward about asking for help. One mother described how she made sure her daughters had contact with all visiting relatives from East Africa, at least on the phone. Another who had moved from a different part of the UK said it gave her peace of mind just knowing her brother was close by now she lived in Peterborough. It was a priority for many parents to teach their children to respect the family bond and to think not only of themselves but of their parents and elders. Interviewees expected that adult members of the family would address minor problems on their own, but would enlist the help of others by consultation with the wider family, and not be too proud to do so. This was perceived to be changing, however; several younger parents stressed that while they would be willing to consult other relatives on family matters up to a point, they would expect the final decision to be made by themselves and their partners.

Interviewees gave examples of other ways in which extended families made a contribution to the nurture of their children as regards religion and values. Some acted as positive role models, or took on responsibility for teaching the youngsters to read the Qur'an. Equally, there could be influences in a negative direction. Some interviewees expressed concern about the influence of the wider family on moral grounds. Two mentioned different interpretations of Islamic behaviour. Qulsoom found it difficult to answer her children's challenges on this score: *'They say, "Why can't we do it when our cousin does?" and I just have to explain that it's wrong!'*. Another mother, Aliya, mentioned younger children's propensity to *'pick things up'* at a rather young age from older cousins, but observed that they did this sort of thing at school in any case.

Lack of time to visit members of the wider family was mentioned by many interviewees. *'No matter how much we'd like family togetherness - our lives, jobs, busy-ness are such that we can't! But when we can we fit it in'* (Hussain). Nahida looked longingly back to East Africa: *'There everybody's close. Here people are too busy for you. They say you should have phoned first'*. Another parent talked about missing the social aspect of family life, saying there was no opportunity to meet regularly. Care of the elderly was also raised; two interviewees said that they felt attitudes were changing and they were not expecting their own children to be willing to look after them in their old age. One compared current attitudes to family in Britain with those in the Third World: the former might provide welfare benefits but lacked the commitment to family life evident in the latter (Fatima M.).

III. Transnational families, diasporic community

Family closeness was maintained even where geographical distance militated against it. Nearly all families mentioned telephoning, and said that the ease and increased cheapness of calls made it easy to be in close contact with family members in North America and Canada. Many telephoned relatives abroad every week or fortnight, but some did so much more frequently. Saeeda said she rang her mother to seek reassurance on aspects of child rearing, whilst Aliya frequently telephoned hers simply to ask for suggestions about what to cook for supper! She described herself as very happily married but as missing her family in East Africa. In the first years of her marriage she had sometimes called her parents and been unable to speak, but simply cried down the phone; it made her feel better just to hear her mother's voice. A number of third generation young people also used e-mail to communicate with their cousins and other relatives abroad, and were helping less computer-literate parents to do the same.

Interviewees also described a high level of family visiting, which included both trips that they made to East Africa, North America and the Middle East, and visits by their own family members (particularly mothers) to them in Peterborough. In a number of cases, marriage partners had come to Peterborough from one or other of these KSI centres. All of this transnational activity was similar to that in the Pakistani community.

The difference however was that the KSI families were also, according to Vertovec's definition, members of a diasporic community (Vertovec 2000). More than two-thirds had family members in two or more countries in addition to Britain - that is, their transnational activities were multi-centred rather than two-centred. As seen in Chapter 3, interviewees had relatives in East African and European states, the USA, Pakistan, Canada and Dubai. These multi-centred families visited each other, communicated across continents by telephone and e-mail, obtained marriage partners from the other areas of Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri settlement, set up and developed business links, and acted as joint families in most respects other than shared residence. What unified them, in contrast to some other diaspora communities, was a shared outlook in terms of religious and cultural beliefs and values, rather than a cherished connection with a specific place of origin.

IV. Hierarchical relationships: gender

i. Husbands and wives

Traditionally Khoja families in East Africa were patrilocal and as seen above this pattern had been to a large extent maintained amongst those interviewed. The high level of patrilocality did not usually seem to have a negative impact on the position of the wife; in just two cases women had experienced substantial difficulties. One had lived in the same house with her husband's family and this led eventually to depression and illness which were only resolved when she and her husband moved into their own home. Most

of the wives interviewed seemed content to live near their husbands' families, whilst also badly missing their own siblings and parents, especially their mothers.

Patrilocality in terms of residence did not appear to be associated with overtly patriarchal behaviour on the part of the men. A striking feature of the relationships between many husbands and wives was the high degree of mutual appreciation and courtesy with which they treated each other and this gave a strong impression of equal rather than hierarchical relationships. This was partly made visible in the interviews because a higher proportion of people in the Khoja than in the Pakistani group chose to be interviewed together, or simply assumed they would be; and in several cases where I was interviewing only wives, they spoke very appreciatively of their husbands' support. In half the families, interviewees spontaneously mentioned positive qualities and attributes such as their spouse's being knowledgeable, helpful with children and/or housework, supportive, giving their wives encouragement to study, work or play an active role at the mosque, willingness to go out together as a couple, to show affection and so on. Some KSI women talked of others they knew who had much less autonomy, whose husbands expected to be consulted over quite small decisions, but amongst the interviewees there were very few who gave the impression of being in an unequal relationship.

One approach was that of trying to address issues which might cause friction, such as a husband's expectations about a wife's role, before a marriage agreement was reached. A mother with two daughters explained:

They've had proposals where the boys have come to meet them, and have for example said, 'At six o'clock I want a meal on the table'... They've got to explain to the boy that they're going to meet a girl who is educated. Her career may be such that she may be home in time or not home in time. So I said they've got to make this point clear now, rather than afterwards and then trouble starts ... to understand that there will be days when he will need to help her and work as a team rather than husband and wife. And if the boy is educated in this country, then he'll understand. (Fatima M.)

This example illustrated the way that a traditional feature of Islamic marriage - the negotiation of aspects of conjugal life in the prenuptial discussions about the marriage contract - had been reinvented in the light of modern needs. In this case the woman's career was taken for granted rather than raised as a possibility to be discussed. Other interviewees had embarked on similar discussions before entering into any formal contract of engagement.

ii. Sons and daughters

In general the KSI interviewees said they expected girls and boys to take fair shares of household tasks on an equal basis; however in all houses (in both communities) where I was offered food, it was the daughters who had prepared and served it. Some parents

did differentiate between roles of girls and boys, particularly in relation to their anticipated future lives; there simply appeared to be no question that girls would not become mothers, and that this fact would affect other choices:

We have always advised our daughter that she should take up a career that she can work within her future family. It's no good, taking up a career, putting on so much study, and then later on you find that you can't go ahead with it because you have a family. (Shabnam)

Another dimension was the expectation that the emotional work would be carried out principally by women.

The only thing is ... I would expect a girl, her role in life, to be different to a man in the sense of responsibilities and the environment she's subjected to, in the family, and so on - she's going to be made aware of being able to be tolerant, be able to mediate, be the diplomat at the centre. (Rizwan)

Neither of these expectations appeared to have a negative impact on girls' educational trajectories; as seen in Chapter 9 below, most girls in the relevant age group had been very successful at school and had gone on to higher education. The main difference between girls and their brothers was in the greater freedom of the boys to go out and about (see below section vii). There was no sense at all, in any of the interview families, that male children were valued more highly than female ones. Provision at the mosque meant that girls participated as fully as their brothers in the community's religious and social life (see below Chapters 6 and 8).

V. Hierarchical relationships: age

i. Parents and children

In talking about their approaches to parenting, interviewees highlighted some key differences between their childhoods a generation ago and those of their own children in the present. Not all members of the sample group had experienced such differences, but they were common and mentioned by a large number of interviewees.

The first point was that many of the interviewees had grown up afraid of their parents, particularly their fathers. Many spoke of the contrast between their sense of awe of their own parents and the more relaxed and open relationships they had with their own children. Some emphasized that they did want respect from their children, but a mutual respect earned and deserved, not one based on fear: *'Sometimes I'll have to tell her, "Zainab, you're talking to Mum. Please - be respectful, because I'm respectful to you!"'* (Saeeda). Several others felt parents of their own generation were prepared to listen to their children, to try to understand what their problems were and to try to help them.

A spirit of negotiation and mutuality was particularly evident in the second major difference interviewees identified between their own and their children's upbringing. Children at the end of the 1990s were characterized as being reluctant simply to take authority on trust in the way their parents had done. The majority of interviewees referred to the questioning, curious, challenging attitudes of the younger generation. In their own young days, most of them would not have dared to question why they were expected to pray five times a day, or to wear hijab - they simply did as they were told. Children now had to have '*a reason why you do everything, a meaningful reason which fits into today's life*' (Imran). Most parents were not displeased by this; indeed many were asking similar questions themselves.

They attributed this change in attitudes to a number of different factors. Firstly, members of their own generation were less likely to think that questioning necessarily undermined belief. One mother who had grown up outside Britain contrasted her parents' unquestioning approach with that of her husband, born and bred in the west.

I think because we were brought up in a Muslim society, we've just accepted it, and we've never really questioned why. With my parents' background ... if you asked 'Why?' too many times, you were told, 'No. God is not pleased. Do not ask why'. What I find refreshing with my husband is that if I ask why, if he doesn't know the answer, he'll say, 'Go and look in this book, you'll find it there' ... I think my mum, till today, she's of the belief that you shouldn't ask too many questions, because when you ask too many questions you lose your faith - that's her theory behind it.
(Kaniz)

These 'second generation' parents did not see a questioning attitude as incompatible with religious belief; indeed they felt that if anything the questioning, investigation and greater understanding strengthened rather than diminished faith.

An important example of this was the impact of being challenged by non-Muslims. Parents felt they had to be able to give their children rational explanations for particular aspects of belief or practice. One mother gave the example of her school friends' reactions to the *fatwa* (legal judgement) on Salman Rushdie; they told her they thought it was barbaric; she thought so herself, and resolved to read, question and investigate until she had an answer which would satisfy her friends and, even more important, satisfy her.

A second factor was the awareness that if parents - and indeed the community as a whole - were not able to respond to their children's questions and take them seriously rather than simply imposing their authority, they might lose the younger generation altogether. Rizwan said that some older members had tried to force their own views on their children, with the result that the young people had '*walked away from the community*' as soon as they had a chance to do so. By contrast when Sajjida's daughter, at college in the west of England, had telephoned her parents to say she wanted to stop wearing hijab, they all gathered at home with the other adult siblings to talk the matter over. The daughter was adamant. Her parents, though disappointed,

were reluctantly admiring both of her honesty and her ability to research and present a case to back up her point of view on religious grounds.

A third factor was the impact on the whole community, adults as well as children, of the Iranian revolution, which had brought about a strong sense of religious renewal reflected not only in stricter religious observance but also, in their experience, to a more informed awareness of religious teaching including the encouragement of discussion and debate.⁴⁵

Imran contrasted his five year old daughter Zainab's experience with his own, identifying the '*dictatorial*' approach which had simply required him to pray five times a day, or to fast, without any explanation being given. She was asking questions and tackling issues which he had not thought about until his teenage years.

It's got to be the biggest change. Not only in dealing with children, but for the religion as a whole. It's having the option, the freedom to question, having the freedom to speak your views, which is brilliant. I think that's only come about since the Iranian revolution, and since the revolution in Iran these sort of things have happened - people have started asking questions.

From the interview data it is clear that for most of the KSI parents a questioning attitude from children, and its potential impact on their own authority, was not perceived as a problem. However a small minority of parents felt their authority was under threat from other factors and found these hard to accept. One felt the welfare state in Britain allowed young people to reject their parents' authority by giving them the wherewithal to live away from home. Another felt the widespread publicity for Childline, a confidential telephone helpline for children, would undermine parental discipline. A third felt it was almost impossible for parents to fight back against the morally corrosive impact of the mass media, particularly television. However the large majority of interviewees would have concurred with Saeeda's view that the effect of these questioning attitudes of the third generation had been to strengthen people's religious beliefs, even in families which had drifted away from Islam on first living in the west: '*they came back with true faith, not with blind faith*'.

ii. Arranged marriage

This had for many in the first and some in the second generations been a significant expression of parental authority over the young. The term 'arranged marriage' was used by many of the people interviewed to describe how they and their partners had been chosen for each other. Practice, as in the Pakistani community, ranged from a marriage completely arranged by parents or kin, with the young people having a right to refuse the match, to a simple introduction to a potentially suitable candidate, after which the prospective partners were completely free to take things forward and get to know each other better if they wished to do so. The second generation KSI parents were more likely to have had marriages which followed the latter pattern, though this was not universally

⁴⁵ See Nagar 2000 for an account of the impact of this in the KSI community in Tanzania.

the case. Fatima M. said the first thing she knew of her father's decision on whom she was to marry was when he said, *'Congratulations!'* as she carried the plates in for dinner one night (in her shock, she dropped the whole stack).

Most interviewees in this group felt they had had a real choice as to the person they married. Four had simply chosen their own partners, whilst a lot of others had experiences similar to those described by Tazim: *'Arranged marriages should be called introduction marriages - you only meet a prospective partner, you still have to make a choice'*. She compared this kind of arrangement to a blind date. Twelve people had met their spouses in this way, had described theirs as 'semi-arranged' marriages, had got to know their partners before marriage and in a number of cases before engagement, and had felt the outcome was very much their own choice. Kaniz recounted how her mother had urged her, up to the day before the wedding, to change her mind if she was not certain she had made the right choice: *'Just regard it as a holiday for all the guests!'*. On the other hand, Yasmin, who had been introduced to several eligible young men before finding one she felt she could be happy with, justified a complete rejection of arranged marriages on religious grounds: *'I don't think it's Islamic; it's Indian culture ... it should have gone out of the window ages ago'*. (Yasmin)

Most younger parents in the KSI group went much further than the Pakistani families in their assumptions that arranged marriage would take a very different form when it came to their own children. Their comments, in the following list, illustrate the diversity of views about what might be expected of the third generation children.

Table x. Aspirations for children's marriages: KSI parents

(N = 24 but not all gave an opinion)

Better if they find their own partner	6
My first choice would be someone in the community	4
I'd prefer them to have an arranged marriage	1
I am opposed to arranged marriage	1
Their happiness is the most important thing	2
I'd be happy with any Shi'a Muslim	3
I'd be happy with any Muslim	4
Who knows? Society is changing so quickly	2

This group of parents had a larger number of children of secondary school and college age children than the Pakistani group, and they were therefore closer to having to make decisions about their children's marriages. In the third generation there were already eleven who were married. Six had married within the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community,

with some degree of arrangement and introduction.⁴⁶ Five had chosen their own partners, of whom three had been 'out of the community': one had converted and two were from other Muslim backgrounds. In all cases of marriage within the community, the parents had been involved in terms of making enquiries in the traditional way, but that was not possible for the three who married 'outside the community' where children had to take on full responsibility themselves. It appeared therefore that many parents had a fairly relaxed attitude to their children's marriages. Whilst they might have certain aspirations as ideals, in practice parents appeared to be playing a decreasing part in the choice of marriage partner beyond trying to ensure suitability and going through a form of preliminary enquiry. Nobody in the KSI interview sample seemed at all surprised to be asked about the future marriage of their toddlers, and nobody, however young their children, suggested that it was something they had not yet thought about.

In summary, there had been a trend for parent-child relations to move from a patriarchal authoritarian mode to a more egalitarian one based on mutual respect. However there was still a strong sense that parents had to be looked up to and honoured.

iii. Respect for 'the elders'

Although KSI interviewees spoke at some length and with feeling about the expectation that their children should behave respectfully towards them as parents, an even greater emphasis was laid on respect for *'the elders'* (a phrase used by almost all). This designation was used to refer to anybody of an age to be a grandparent. The kinds of behaviours expected under the umbrella term of 'showing respect' included the following. Children were expected to use older people's language rather than expect them to speak English: sometimes children were *'so ashamed of speaking their own languages that they leave the elderly people out, which is very wrong'* (Aliya). The use of Asian languages was emphasized partly because these include polite or more formal modes of address as well as familiar ones. Several parents mentioned the need to teach their children 'proper' Islamic greetings; one spoke of using the greeting *'Al salamu 'alaykum'* to her nine-month baby *'so that when she grows up, she'll know how you greet people'* (Zaynab). Children were expected to give up seats to the elderly in the mosque and at home, to earn the respect of others by their own behaviour, to take the advice of the elderly or at least to listen to it politely and never to answer back. Many interviewees mentioned the importance of teaching by example through the way they themselves treated their own parents or other elderly people.

Some specific groups of people were singled out as worthy of respect whether they were elderly or not. These were guests, teachers and scholars. As far as guests were concerned this included moving up to give them a comfortable seat, and offering them food and drink. Children were also expected to follow the example of their parents in behaving respectfully towards those in positions of authority at the mosque, for example those who had roles of management or of religious leadership. A large number of

⁴⁶ The community had 'marriage committees' which worked at a national level to identify suitable spouses for young people seeking to marry.

interviewees talked of trying to inculcate respect for teachers, with sayings such as the following:

'Teachers are your second parents'. (Hussain)

'Teacher is your mum at school'. (Munira)

*'If you respect then you learn more. If you don't respect then you won't learn'.
(Qulsoom)*

This traditional emphasis on respect for authority was justified in terms of Islam; religious doctrine exhorted Muslims to follow good leaders. Only if the latter were in the wrong was it incumbent upon individuals to say so and try to effect change. Such respect for authority included observing the laws of the land in which individual Muslims lived, unless such laws went against the principles of Islam. According to Rizwan, respect for leadership and indeed the belief that society needed true spiritual leaders was a resonant theme in Shi'a Islam.⁴⁷

This emphasis on unmitigated respect for the elderly was not universally accepted amongst the second generation parents, however. The youngest group of Khoja interviewees - those where both parents were in their twenties and only had children of about six and under - did have certain reservations because they believed there was a need to adapt to the society and the time in which they were living. This was not a simple 'traditional versus modern' formulation, as will be seen from the example below on Ashura. One mother talked of the need to keep young people *'on board'*, identifying long sermons in Urdu as a feature which alienated some of them. Several said the older generation had different priorities and different expectations: *'they can all give their input, but at the end of the day, what I say goes'* (Zaynab). One couple described how they had been challenged about their son's behaviour: *'At mosque someone said he didn't care how he spoke to his elders, (and) I think I'm more conscious of it now. Because somebody actually came and said that to me ...'* (Saeeda). Her husband went on, *'...a lot of this is trying to live in a society where what is acceptable to you as a parent is not always acceptable to someone else'*. They explained the issue with reference to opposing concepts, starting with the child-centric view that children were all different, and that in any case they needed to express their feelings as it was bad for them always to bottle things up. However they followed this by saying that on the other hand the children ought to be able to learn how to demonstrate respect, and that it had been mortifying to be criticized for bringing up their son without adequate attention to politeness. The couple went on to talk about how they did want their children to respect their teachers at the mosque, but this was not always as easy as it might seem. For example there had been a couple of occasions when a teacher had taught their child something which Saeeda and Imran regarded as pure superstition and as having no religious foundation at all. They felt trapped between wanting to tell their son to respect the teacher as a matter of course, on one hand, and wanting him to have a 'rational' understanding of his religion on the other.

⁴⁷ This was related to a particular sectarian view of leadership, and was expressed in the divine grace that was believed to be possessed by those descended from the Prophet's family.

One aspect of interviewees' own respectful behaviour was that they were reluctant to be critical of British social norms or white British people except in a very polite and restrained way. However some clearly did feel that young people in Britain did not measure up to the standards of respect they believed were central to civilised order. Aliya, who before her marriage in the early 1990s had been a teacher in Tanzania, contrasted the demanding and challenging behaviour of children in British schools with the more respectful and appreciative attitudes of schoolchildren in East Africa, attitudes she was intending to instil into her own children.

Usually there was little overt conflict between older and younger members of the community, but polarizing forces of modernity and tradition were there as undercurrents. However these were not the only tensions; as mentioned above, there is one situation in Islam where disobedience to parents or elders is sanctioned. If a parent advocates something which goes against the doctrines of Islam, the way is always open for younger people to challenge their authority on religious grounds. The following case study, described in a passage from my fieldwork diary, illustrates such an occasion. The judgement of the elders was challenged by young men with more radical views.

Ashura: 15th April 2000⁴⁸

At 7.45 in the morning Zulfikar Manji did a short interview on Radio Cambridgeshire about the procession planned for that afternoon, explaining what it would commemorate, and emphasizing the Islamic and indeed universal values it stood for: willingness to stand up for one's principles, religious freedom, confronting the oppressor and so on.

I arrived in Peterborough in heavy rain at quarter to three. ... I soon encountered the procession which already looked a bit wet and bedraggled under the pouring rain. The sombre black of everybody's clothes was slightly offset by a lot of multicoloured umbrellas. The men and boys came first, bearing banners with statements (in English) about Imam Hussein, Karbala and so on. Some young men were giving out leaflets. A number, at the front, were wearing green headbands. They were doing a bit of low-key breast beating. The procession was flanked by two policemen on foot.

Further back were the women and girls, again with banners. Altogether there were about 150 people - probably somewhat fewer than they'd expected, because of the appalling weather. I found Farzana and walked with her.

⁴⁸ Ashura falls on the 10th day of the Islamic month of Muharram. It is a solemn day for all Muslims, but is perhaps the most significant occasion in the Shi'a calendar. It commemorates the martyrdom of Hussein, the Prophet's grandson and the third Shi'a Imam, along with his family and followers at Karbala. It is marked by public expressions of witness and remorse, which may include matam (acts of mourning such as breast-beating or sometimes self-flagellation in the context of Iran and other traditional Shi'i centres). See below Chapter 8.IV.iii.

We had only got about halfway down Wellington Street when a message came down the procession to turn back! It was said that the young men were doing matam (breast beating) in spite of having been specifically asked or told not to, as the procession was supposed to be a silent one, and also because the organizers did not want it to create a negative impression amongst the general population of Peterborough.

We walked rather forlornly back to the mosque. The young woman with whom I was sharing an umbrella started saying what a shame it was. It was 'our one day of the year' to try to get the message of Shi'a Islam across. She criticized the boys for thinking only of themselves, not of others, and for failing to understand the impact their performance of matam might have had, possibly frightening people who did not know why they were doing it.

Inside the mosque, women hurriedly got out prayer mats and white shawls and prayer books. Some started praying immediately. A huddle of about a dozen teenage girls behind me started telling each other the latest in loud whispers: 'The men all went on!' 'They only made the women and girls turn back!' 'Why?' 'The President said they had to!' and so on. Quite quickly, one woman at the front asked everybody to remember why they were there, and on this day of all days, to be quiet, not to talk or chat. Fairly soon the voices subsided, someone started leading prayer chants, then very soon a chant came over the public address system from the men's prayer hall, and it was evident that they were back too.

The chanting went on for a while, then the video link was switched on and Zulfikar Manji started his lecture (a majlis had been planned to follow the procession in any case). He begged people to set aside all thoughts of what had or had not happened, to leave all explanations, recriminations and thoughts of how to go forward on one side for the time being, and asked all to remember they were there together to mourn Imam Hussein.

This event was a clear example of the young men testing the authority of the elders of the community. The elders maintained their authority but at a cost; on the most solemn day of their religious year, the community was prevented from making a public profession of faith. The young men, on the other hand, appeared to demonstrate their impatience with a low-key, 'watered-down' version of Shi'a penitence which seemed to compromise on traditional ritual to avoid giving a disturbing impression to non-Muslims; an alternative interpretation might be that they were carried away with the emotion of the occasion.

The later outcome of this was that the mosque committee made considerable attempts to involve these young men in the planning of *azaderi* (mourning rites) in subsequent years. It was recognized that they were potential future community leaders who ought to have opportunities to contribute ideas and participate in decision making. Their

challenge might have opened up a 'generation gap', but the community acted to try to preserve unity and a shared sense of purpose.

VI. Values and behaviour: *pardah*

The final sections of this chapter will consider the impact of *pardah* and *izzat* on the interview families, and will identify trends towards change across the generations. What kind of behaviour and attitudes did parents model to their children as far as *pardah* was concerned? Nineteen of the mothers interviewed were in paid employment, or had been until their children were born. They followed a range of occupations and interpreted the demands of *pardah* in different ways; however a number of them specifically mentioned maintaining their *pardah* as a consideration in decisions about employment. Fourteen worked in environments where the adults were almost exclusively female, such as nursery or primary schools, secretarial pools, a mail order catalogue company. Two worked with old people in care homes. One had a job in an advice centre which involved meeting men but not close physical proximity; even so, another mother had left a similar job because she felt there was too much contact with men. Two were employed in a bank and a post office respectively, but these were jobs where the women worked behind a glass-fronted counter and handed over money through a drawer. They presented this as meeting the requirements of *pardah* because it was possible to avoid physical contact with non-mahram men (i.e. men whom they could potentially have married).

The majority of these women therefore were prepared to take employment in situations where they met men outside the family but were not alone nor in physical contact with them. Five worked in family businesses; this was seen as acceptable because the work was often done in the presence (or implicitly under the protection) of male family members.

These mothers all took part in a range of gender-segregated activity arranged through the mosque which very amply fulfilled its function as a community centre as well as a place of prayer and study. The majority of the interviewees mentioned the hire of facilities for single-sex sporting activities. They also described women's study groups, not only in Peterborough but farther afield. Most of them took part in some if not all of these activities. Many were able to drive, but coach transport was also organized when necessary to allow all members of the community to participate in women's events in other parts of the country.

In summary, these mothers were employed in what they saw as appropriate environments, they took part in gender segregated social events and they had in a few cases been educated to tertiary level in mixed environments. All of them in different ways felt their behaviour was acceptable 'within the bounds of Islam' - that is, that by wearing modest dress, and by avoiding inappropriate contact with the opposite sex, they could behave in a seemly and respectable way as Muslim women, but also be in

paid employment, go to college and have full social lives.

How far did the norms outlined above apply to girls of the third generation? With daughters at primary school level, parents expressed few concerns about issues such as Islamic dress and reputation. Secondary school presented more problems; children were more susceptible to peer pressure, and the emphasis for many pupils in the non-Muslim majority was on social life rather than education. The culture of teenage girls with its apparently limitless fascination with issues of boyfriends, sex, physical appearance and so on often served to exclude girls for whom dating was forbidden territory. This was not only because they did not share these interests in the same way as their non-Muslim peers, but also because many of them had little experience to contribute to such discussions, and were discouraged by their mothers from even talking about such things. One of the most strictly observant mothers, Shabnam, discussed her daughter's experience.

In secondary (school) there was a point where she had more English friends, but then she found that those girls were talking something that was not of her talking ... Quite recently I think one of the girls started telling her something personal and she said, 'I don't want to hear about this'. For me, I'd prefer that I am the best friend for my daughters.

Nevertheless, there were clear expectations that the kind of behaviour and activities which might threaten a girl's izzat would be avoided in particular by those between the ages of about twelve and sixteen; this was seen to be the most vulnerable period of their lives from the point of view of reputation and sexual mixing. Many were not allowed to go on residential school trips (though a small number did take part); participation in some types of mixed activity was discouraged, for instance taking part in dramatic productions which would be shown in public and might involve physical contact or proximity to boys. Boys and girls alike were strongly discouraged from taking part in mixed swimming and other forms of physical education. Clearly some Muslim girls did have relationships with boys but these were often hidden and girls involved would have risked incurring family wrath if they had been too public in their acknowledgement of them. One mother mentioned with gratitude the clear-cut boundaries set out by Islam; even where interpretations varied, there was at least to some extent a shared perception in the community of limits on adolescent social life.

When I at work hear mothers talking about their teenagers, I think, 'Thank God for the religion, that I never had this trouble, and because the girls know what are the Dos and Don'ts'. I think they always have like in front of them a curtain or wall where they know you cannot step beyond this point. (Fatima M.)

About half the KSI parents referred to 'going out with boys' and 'having boyfriends' as something 'we don't do'. However across the sample as a whole a range of attitudes was represented. Some felt their daughters knew what was expected in terms of behaviour, and that they had enough resolve and sense of self-discipline to adhere to

these norms: *'Sometimes when they go out with their friends for a birthday party or something, all I have to tell them is, "Make sure, whatever is beyond the Islamic limit, don't do that.'*" (Khatija)

On the other hand two families had taken their daughters out of mainstream secondary schools and moved them to a private single-sex establishment. This was partly because it provided a gender-segregated education, but that was not the sole reason. The whole environment was more strictly regulated, so the dress code was more firmly enforced, there were fewer worries about truancy, and mothers felt they had more power to name their religious requirements and to have these respected than might be the case in a state school. Only one other parent mentioned single-sex education as a desirable option.

There were in some ways fewer issues for boys, as teenage boys' sporting activities - football in the playground and so on - were usually gender-segregated in the mainstream context. Both sexes were potentially excluded from social activities which revolved around drinking alcohol (this was a considerable issue for those at university), and Muslim parents worried as much as their non-Muslim counterparts about children's potential involvement with illegal drugs. Some parents addressed this in part by going out with children themselves, for example to roller skating or other sporting activities. Social life outside school was a major issue for some families where there were constant struggles and negotiations over whether or not the young people would be allowed to stay out late in the evenings, go to discos or 'clubbing'. Several parents felt there were as many worries with their sons as with their daughters.

In some ways tertiary education was seen as less problematic by parents, as it was assumed that by the time young people got to the age of eighteen they would have enough understanding of Islamic teachings, and enough strength of purpose and self-knowledge, to make choices that were at least well-informed. There were sixteen daughters aged eighteen or over in the interview sample families; of these, fourteen had moved away from home to attend college or university. This represented a major transgenerational change; only three mothers interviewed had studied at this level, whilst several said they would have liked to do so but could not. In some cases this had been because their fathers felt it was unacceptable, in others because of family circumstances and in a large number of cases because they had married at a young age. Just one mother in the interview group said she would be unhappy about her daughters studying away from home; she presented this as protectiveness rather than a concern over purdah.

A small number of parents were considerably more liberal. Fatima H., who had two daughters at university, said she did not believe in sex outside marriage; however it was not out of the question for young people to have girl- or boyfriends provided that they knew where to stop. This was further reflected in the majority of KSI parents interviewed who said they expected their sons or daughters would choose their own spouses rather than have marriages arranged by their families.

The majority of grown-up daughters seemed completely prepared to work with men (in any 'respectable' job), but they would usually wear hijab. Some of these young women worked as accountants, in law firms, as computer software developers, travel agents and graphic designers. One criterion of job suitability seemed, as for their mothers, to be whether or not the job involved physical contact with men.

My daughter wants to do ophthalmology, but let's say if she does something like ophthalmology, there's close contact with the opposite sex. So we were discussing it a few days ago, how she could overcome it. So if she ... specialises in the children's ophthalmology, that's OK. And any medical field they take, they have to again specialise in the children's section to overcome this. (Khatija)

However no parent made any comments about particular occupations (for example medicine) being unsuitable for boys or young men on grounds that it had the potential to bring them into physical contact with women. The responsibility for maintaining gender separation appeared to be laid at the door of women.

In the context of home life there was considerable variation in the interpretation of purdah. Many mothers themselves modelled respectable behaviour, for example by putting on a headscarf when there were male visitors, and leaving the men to sit in what was deemed to be the 'public' part of the house.

If someone's knocking on the door, the girls aren't allowed to answer; if it's their father's friend, he will answer ... If family friends come, we'll all sit together. If it's just his friend, we'd greet but then leave them and go upstairs. (Shareena)

By contrast another woman said, *'I've never been very strict on my scarf. If my brother-in-law came here, I will not wear it, while my sister will. Also my brother-in-law's very religious so my sister's very strict about it'. (Kaniz)*. This illustrates two points, firstly the diversity of practice even between siblings (something which was exemplified in many contexts throughout the study), and secondly the fact that in theory, a woman's reputation was the responsibility of her father before her marriage, and her husband after it. This did seem more salient in theory than in practice, but was mentioned in different contexts by a small number of women.

The aspect of life in which purdah was most clearly and consistently observed was that of activity connected with the mosque. The Hussein Islamic Centre had separate entrances for men and women (as required traditionally by Islam). This was not the separate provision found in some mosques, with a small and unattractive curtained-off section for the use of women. The women's prayer hall was in every way the equal of the men's section; large and well-appointed, it had its own glass cabinet containing the symbolic battle standards of the Prophet's family, its own *minbar* (pulpit), collections of prayer shawls, clay discs, prayer books, copies of the Qur'an, chairs for older members of the congregation, notice-boards, and toilets and washing area outside (see Chapter

8.IV.iii below for significance of clay discs). There was a one-way observation window which allowed women to see into the men's prayer hall but not vice-versa. There was also a video link which allowed women to receive sermons preached by the imam from the men's section when appropriate, although they often had their own talks given by a woman religious leader. In this context, sex segregation gave women and girls opportunities for religious leadership and participation often denied to them in mixed worship contexts. Even quite small girls were able to recite short prayers or take part in readings; older girls sat with their friends or joined grandmothers, aunts or neighbours; boys were able to behave similarly in the men's section. As a lifelong feminist I was surprised and inspired by the role that this segregation and independence freed women to play.

Social activities organized through the mosque were similarly segregated by gender, and again, care was taken to ensure parity of provision. As noted above, the community hired swimming, leisure and sporting facilities for single-sex use. Residential trips for girls and for boys were organized on a similar basis. Given this context, it was perhaps not surprising that there was considerable consternation about the introduction of a mixed debate for older teenagers on topical issues during Ramadan (see below Chapter 8). As one mother said, *'I don't feel that was wrong. I speak in front of men everywhere else!'* (Sayda). But the mosque seemed to represent the bottom line. Even though purdah was interpreted liberally through prudent behaviour and hijab wearing in other contexts, the mosque was the one place where most people expected formal separation between men and women to be scrupulously maintained.

VII. Values and behaviour: the dress code and *hijab*

As with the maintenance of purdah, it was women rather than men who were expected to embody Islamic values through the way they dressed. When interviewees talked about hijab, they were referring to head covering and this was seen as a separate issue from that of whether or not people wore Asian dress. At the time of interview over eighty percent of the mothers said they wore hijab, but several said they had only started to do so in adult life. Their daughters also showed a high level of observance (two-thirds of those over the age of nine wore it consistently). In two families, one daughter had chosen to cover her head and the other had not. Other mothers said they would let their daughters start wearing head coverings when they were ready to do so.

Given their lower level of attachment to traditional dress in other respects (see below), what reasons did they give for this strong commitment to hijab-wearing? Several mothers talked about hijab as a symbol of respect and a badge of respectability, and for this reason all of them, both mothers and daughters, covered their heads at the mosque. Many covered themselves completely, in a voluminous and full-length white muslin cloak, when they prayed. However their attitudes were quite flexible. It was clear that some expectations were interpreted according to individual conscience and reasoning, and might also change according to age and stage in life. Rubab, who said she had tried

it for a year but really did not like wearing it, said hijab-wearing was meant to protect women from harassment, but she felt that was irrelevant when women were past the age of forty. Munira argued that it was wrong for women to dress in a way which might tempt men to infidelity and eventually destroy families; Kaniz felt that was too simple:

A scarf is not just a scarf - it's the responsibility that goes with the scarf. Anybody can cover their head ... She sits beside a man but she wears a scarf; that's all right, but it's sitting beside the man, that's where the chemistry is. It's not the scarf that will stop the chemistry, will it?

What consensus was there concerning age at which hijab should be worn? In religious terms, girls in the Khoja Shi'a community are deemed to reach maturity at the age of nine. In six families, girls were expected to start wearing hijab then; indeed in one of these, a girl started to do so on her ninth birthday according to the Islamic calendar (i.e. when she was eight years and about nine months by the Christian calendar). The majority said they wished their daughters to start when they felt ready to do so, but in effect, this was often quite soon after girls turned nine. Peer pressure and a sense that it was a symbol of being 'grown-up' encouraged girls to do so early. Several parents tried to discourage daughters from 'embracing hijab' too soon, because at least in theory it was a commitment to Islam which could not be abandoned once taken on. In practice, however, parents felt they could do little if young women decided to stop wearing *hijab*, as they sometimes did. Sajjida and Mohsin recounted their experience with their younger daughter.

The little one comes in. 'If my sister is wearing it, I want to wear it!' I said, 'That's not a reason for wearing it! Leave it for a few years till you understand'. 'Oh no, I want to wear it, I want to wear it!' In the end .. we let her. She wore it so nicely, not a hair showing.

But as soon as she got to university, she e-mailed us, she's ready to take it off! And we said to her, 'We did say this when you were young'. Now she says she wasn't understanding enough.

The fact that many KSI girls started wearing hijab at quite a young age gave rise to the possibility of difficulties at school. Several mothers mentioned daughters being harassed: 'Why did you bring your tablecloth to school?' or having their hijab pulled off on the school bus.

One factor underlying the high level of hijab-wearing may have been the awareness that the right to wear hijab at school was a concession for which people had had to fight. Several mentioned this in interview as a key event in the history of the KSI community in Peterborough. Sometime in the late 1980s, one family had challenged their daughters' school by sending the girls to school wearing hijab which at that time was not permitted within the school's dress code. Every day for a month the girls were sent home.

In the end I took the mullah, the priest, with me to the education office, and we sat down, took a Qur'an, showed them. ... They felt we were trying to be too radical, but when we explained to them ... then the education officer relented and it became fine and no problem, and then more children were encouraged to. So then it came to a situation where they could feel they were performing their rites and they were free in this society to do it ... Overall in the last twenty-five years it's come a long way. Society has accepted it much more. (Rizwan)

Because the community had taken this up with the education department rather than the individual school, the acceptance of hijab became policy for all schools, along with provision that Muslim girls could wear a modified version of school dress which allowed for legs to be covered.

Twenty-five percent of the interviewees presented adherence to 'proper' forms of dress which conformed to Islamic norms as being much more closely observed in Britain than in East Africa. Some said that in their community in East Africa, few women had bothered about covering themselves up, nor about wearing hijab. Was this because practice was more relaxed amongst the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community in East Africa, or had times changed? Most of those who made the contrast were talking about East Africa in the 1970s when they were small children; attitudes had changed there to an extent since the Iranian revolution (Nagar 2000). However two interviewees suggested there continued to be a more liberal attitude; in one case, Fatima M. had gone back to Kenya for a wedding a few months before the time of the interview, and said she and her daughter were the only ones in the whole party to wear hijab throughout. *'Kenyan people think in England Muslim people aren't dressing as they should, but it's the opposite'*.

It also seemed to be the case that KSI women in Britain were more likely to wear hijab than in the past. A number of them had not worn it during their teenage years, and had only started doing so quite recently. One, for instance, started to wear it when pregnant with her first child. *'It never clicked to me before that it was as compulsory as saying my prayers or doing fasting' (Qulsoom)*. The other indication of its importance was that virtually all the KSI interviewees talked about the subject with alacrity and at some length; it seemed to resonate with all of them as an issue, whereas other topics (see list in appendix ii) elicited strong responses from some interviewees and not others. As a group, the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri interviewees talked about dress, particularly hijab, considerably more than their Pakistani counterparts had done; this suggested that it was a significant component of Islamic identity for them.

A further contributory factor was that women's lives were changing, for example in terms of full participation in tertiary education and employment. Hijab wearing in this context was an expression of a continuing commitment to the ideal of purdah. It was also a projection of a Muslim identity which had become more important in a western environment where customary and routine adherence to Islam was replaced by a self-

conscious and carefully nurtured and visible commitment.

Attitudes concerning the wearing of Asian dress had moved in the opposite direction; among the KSI families the issue of Asian dress did not appear to be a significant one. Sixty percent of the mothers interviewed wore western dress themselves most of the time, as did all of the younger ones in their twenties and early thirties. They wore loose-fitting skirts or trousers with long loose blouses, dresses and jackets which were not tailored to the shape of the body. Many of the older women did wear Asian dress but had no concerns about their daughters dressing differently so long as they observed Islamic norms.

Respect and modesty. People do judge a book by its cover! Are men more likely to look at a women in a short skirt or a pair of trousers? If she goes out with friends (girls), my daughter will choose appropriate clothes - a three-quarter length or long skirt, long sleeves - they know. They love to wear western clothes, as long as they have a good sized neck and long sleeves.' (Zahra)

For many of the second and all of the third generation traditional Asian dress was something for special occasions such as weddings, and for festivals and commemorations at the mosque. On days of celebration, such as the two major Ids or the birthdays of the imams, women and girls would wear Asian '*glittery dresses and good make-up*' (Rehana); during times of mourning such as the months of Muharram and Safar, and the death days of the imams, all would be dressed in black.

In summary, across a generation, hijab had become much more important and Asian dress less so. The projection of 'Muslimness' was of greater significance than the projection of Asian cultural affiliation. The latter still had a place but was simply not an issue. This reflected a change towards a specifically religious rather than a more generally cultural self-identification.

VIII. Values and behaviour: *izzat*

Like the Pakistani parents, these interviewees took a broad view of what constituted good reputation. A key difference was that *izzat* was less predominantly associated with the behaviour of girls and women. Several people mentioned the importance of self-discipline, manners and respect for men and women alike. There was a general concern, voiced by many people, about how they and their families were seen in their own community. For a few parents there also seemed to be a link with the status and prestige attached to being a devout and practising Muslim family (see above, Chapter 1).

This meant that many parents took a good deal of care over the social training of their children. '*I always tell them never to fight, never to be rude, never to shout, right from the beginning. They know that this is no good. To build a reputation she or he has to*

be polite, patient and explain properly' (Rehana). Several others made similar comments. Another thing which might affect children was the issue of their friends; reputation could be damaged by association with disreputable companions. This was not only a question of people thinking well of others in a generalized social or friendship sense. Three parents (including one whose daughter was only a toddler) said that the reputation of a family could have a positive or a negative effect on their children's marriage prospects. The behaviour and reputation of the parents were as important as those of their marriageable children. Even things such as parental long-term unemployment could have an adverse impact. Two fathers made another point, saying that reputation was important to them because it determined how much notice people took of them within the community, and how much they were able to influence community decision making.

These broader concerns notwithstanding, there was a strong emphasis on the reputations of girls and women. In theory a girl's behaviour was the responsibility of her father, but many interviewees stressed the importance of girls taking responsibility for their own reputations. Women who were on their own had to be doubly careful; one who had fairly recently separated from her husband said this was particularly the case in a fairly small place like Peterborough.

If you were in London, nobody would look at you a second glance because it's such a big place, but because it's so close-knitted here you have to be careful what you do. Like you can't just stand there and talk to a man, and laugh with them and everything, or they'll say, 'See? She's that sort of woman!'. There's nothing in it, it's harmless talk, it might be something about your kids, but they don't care, they just assume. (Sumayya)

Girls and women were seen as more vulnerable in this respect, but several parents clearly took their sons' reputations very seriously as well and lost few opportunities to communicate to them the importance of not getting into trouble or behaving *'like yobbos'* as Hussain put it. The overwhelming impression in this community was that respect and respectability were seen as intensely desirable qualities which nobody would willingly jeopardize; reputation was a particular issue for women, but it was something that was of considerable concern to men as well.

One final point was that there seemed to be a possible connection between marital breakdown and marginality in the community, which might have been connected with the concept of reputation. The two families where parents were divorced or separated were amongst the least observant in terms of prayer, engagement in communal religious events and encouragement of children's participation. However it is hard to say whether a lower level of religious commitment was a factor in the divorce, or whether the latter in some way led to the former, or whether other factors such as poverty and a less ordered life-style following divorce had made a parent less able to engage with community activities, or whether the stigma associated with divorce led to the exclusion or self-exclusion of those concerned.

IX. Transgenerational change

There had been some demographic changes: marriage was still almost universal, but there had been a decrease in family size, with almost all families living in nuclear households. Patrilocality was maintained though families were living in the same town but not the same house as a husband's parents. There was a big increase in the number of mothers with sixth form/college education and paid employment.

Families in Britain maintained transnational links with families in a number of overseas centres; they were members of a diaspora community, rather than simply participating in two-way transnational exchanges like the Pakistani families. The consequence was that because KSI members were part of a diaspora and not tied in to keeping links with another country they were able to apply their full energies to life in Britain and therefore had more scope and more incentive for being communally self-sufficient in terms of children's religious nurture.

There had been considerable changes in terms of gender relationships, which had become very much more egalitarian. This was supported by strong all-female and all-male networks through the mosque, providing for parity as well as continuing gender segregation. Sons and daughters had equal expectations and provision as far as education, employment and community activity around the mosque were concerned.

Hierarchical relationships in terms of age had also changed. The expectation of respect was still there but it was not unquestioned. There was an acceptance that a rational and enquiring attitude was good for all, including adults, and that authority was not destroyed by it. There were some examples of challenges to authority but they were openly discussed within the community. In general the nature of relationships was not at odds with norms in British society generally, except that they were by and large very much more respectful.

There was very clear acceptance of girls studying and going away to college, undertaking employment, having independent social lives, but all within a liberal interpretation of the Islamic framework of purdah, maintained by the wearing of hijab as a clear projector of religious identity. There was a high level of conformity on this, and the fact that interviewees talked about it a lot suggested that it was an important issue. In contrast Asian dress did not seem to be an issue at all - Islamic requirements for modest dress were what mattered. Reputation was seen as important in a broad sense, but was not seen as the sole responsibility of women and girls.

These changes all had important implications for religious nurture. The acceptance of questioning attitudes, the decline in a rigid sense of hierarchy as regards both age and gender, the projection of Muslim-ness rather than Asian-ness, the parity accorded to children of both sexes, the focus on life in Britain, all made it relatively easy for KSI families to bring up children who were 'at home' in Britain, and whose principal

experience of difference from the mainstream was their religion. These family patterns and attitudes meant there were few barriers for KSI parents in achieving their aspirations for their children in terms of a combination of educational and social success and maintenance of religious beliefs and values.

The next chapter will examine data from the home lives of Pakistani and Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families. This will give an opportunity to consider ways in which religious nurture was promoted by the home environment and the activities which took place within it.

Chapter 6. Muslim parenting: informal nurture and home life

Introduction

This chapter explores some dimensions of home and family life that throw light on children's religious nurture. I have chosen to use the term 'informal nurture' to describe the steps taken by parents to bring up their children with Muslim values, attitudes and behaviour within the home and family context. I have excluded those which relate to formal requirements of the faith, or which are usually taught in a formal way, such as salat, even when taught by parents at home.

Some of the challenges described are those shared to a greater or lesser extent by parents of any background bringing up children in Britain at the beginning of the 21st century. However the Muslim parents who are the subject of this study have an additional concern which for many of them took precedence over all other matters, that is, to perpetuate in their children's lives the beliefs, practices and values of Islam whilst living in a non-Muslim environment.

Parents have only limited control over the lives of their children in the environments of neighbourhood, school and the wider world, but in the home their influence is much more complete. For the parents in the study there were no intrinsic obstacles to the provision of Islamic nurture in their own homes. Islam is in principle a portable religion that does not rely on access to mosques; it is clear what its followers should do; it has well established requirements for the duties and responsibilities of parents.

For the families in this study, the home environment itself almost always contributed to children's religious and cultural awareness and self-identity. An Islamic home environment was reflected through the regulation of behaviour (as seen in Chapters 4 and 5) as well as the visible symbols used to decorate the home and identify it as Muslim space (McCloud 1996). Inside the home, many parents tried to counter elements of life outside that might have undermined their children's religious and moral development.

I shall argue in this chapter that almost all the parents in this study were strongly committed to helping their children both to succeed in secular terms (educationally and socially) and at the same time to maintain their religious beliefs, practices and values. The concerns and choices faced by parents varied according to the ages of their children. At the pre-school stage, the main issue was language. For parents with children of primary school age, the issues clustered around the need to teach their children what was acceptable or unacceptable from an Islamic perspective, including dietary requirements, leisure activities, television viewing, and celebration of Christmas and birthdays. For children of secondary school age aspects included choice of friends, leisure activities and, for those in their late teens, decisions about life beyond school.

This chapter will look first at how the home environments of the Pakistani and Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families contributed to the informal nurture of their younger members. Next some aspects common to both groups will be discussed. Finally the age-related issues outlined above will be explored, first in relation to the Pakistani and then to the KSI families in the study. Some aspects of school work which impinge on home and family life are included in this chapter, but the main discussion of education comes in Chapter 9.

I. Creating an Islamic environment

i. Pakistani families

The home environment itself made some contribution to children's awareness of Islam. Eleven of the twenty-four interviews took place in people's homes, and in all of them there was at least some form of decoration of an Islamic kind. This included framed pictures of religious texts, sometimes embossed on metal plaques or plates or printed onto large fans, sometimes produced as holographic stickers, pictures, posters, photographs, wallhangings or three-dimensional models of sacred places. In some houses there were just one or two of these objects whilst in others they filled most available wall and shelf surfaces. There was no identifiable correlation between level of devoutness and extensive use of Islamic symbols. Some families where parents did not for example carry out the requirement for five daily prayers nevertheless made much use of calligraphic adornment in their homes, whilst others who were quite devout had only one or two examples of texts or pictures. People's attitudes to the Islamic symbols differed, some parents perceiving them as making a contribution to their children's Islamic awareness and identity, whilst for others they were employed more out of habit. Tasleem and Atiq both described them as being '*just for decoration*', perhaps just an element of culture. The quantity appeared to be a matter of personal preference and taste. Most homes had a space for books; this ranged from a part of a shelf to large glass fronted cabinets or even whole rooms set aside for study and prayer. All characteristically contained a copy of the Qur'an and in many cases a large number of additional books on religious topics. In most of the homes I saw they included other non-Islamic reference books such as dictionaries. Some constituted small libraries, and included video and audio tapes on Islamic topics. Some homes also had prayer mats rolled up in a corner or on a shelf, and sometimes scarves or headcoverings on pegs in the hall, so that if a mother or daughter answered the bell they could put on their hijab before answering the front door, possibly to men outside the family circle.

Amongst the Pakistani families there was a little less use of such Islamic symbols in the more middle-class homes, which in several cases had paintings of landscapes or flowers. Most homes had family photographs, usually of children (in Asian dress), or of significant occasions such as the family's arrival in Pakistan and being garlanded, or being on pilgrimage, or in a few cases, being on holiday (one family for example had a picture of themselves outside the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam). Several homes

also had photographs of deceased parents high up on the wall. In Pakistani homes the plaques and pictures often included 'Ya Allah' and 'Ya Muhammad', a characteristically Bareilwi influenced formulation expressing the strong devotion to the Prophet as well as to God in this tradition. The majority of homes also featured pictures of the Ka'ba (the sacred building at the heart of Makkah), and photographs and posters of important mosques in Pakistan. One mother made an explicit link between such symbols and her son's identity as a Muslim:

He does need to understand what we believe in ... I did explain to him that we believe in one God, and there's questions we ask him, like, 'Who are we?' and he knows that we're Muslims and we believe in one God, and he knows our holy book is the Qur'an ... In his room he's got some posters of animals, of the Titanic, the alphabet ... and he's into aeroplanes, he's got posters of aeroplanes ... but I also made sure - like 'Ya Allah!', 'Ya Muhammad!' - we've got that as well ... Even though he can't read it, he's got the Arabic to see, 'That is part of my life as well'. So I'm making sure he's got a bit of everything (Shazia).

Taken as a group the Pakistani families were less prosperous, and this was reflected in their home environments, but even the poorest homes had Islamic symbols on display.

ii. Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families

Twenty-three out of twenty-four interviews of Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri informants took place in their homes. In all but one of these there was at least some form of decoration of an Islamic kind, similar in some cases to those in the Pakistani homes. Again, there was no identifiable correlation between level of devoutness and extensive use of Islamic symbols. Nearly all families in this group had collections of books, including the Qur'an and other religious and non-religious volumes, as well as audio and video cassettes and compact discs.

In KSI homes, the pictures of places included those of particular significance to Shi'a Muslims, in addition to the Ka'ba in Makkah which is sacred for all in Islam. There were many pictures of tombs and monuments of Shi'a Imams, sometimes also featuring family members on pilgrimage. A number of families displayed photographs of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Other symbols included the 'hand of Fatima' in which each finger represents a member of the Prophet's close family.⁴⁹ There were also reminders of East Africa in some homes, such as wooden carved giraffes and elephants, models of African huts and carved masks.

II. Informal nurture: some shared issues

Broadly speaking, parents from both communities faced the same issues in relation to

⁴⁹ The *Panchatan* or 'five pure ones' are the Prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, his son-in-law and cousin Ali, their sons Hassan and Hussain.

children at particular ages and stages, but sometimes approached them in different ways. Some nurture issues were dealt with in a similar way by both groups. These included teaching children about halal and haram food, family leisure activities and the celebration of birthdays.

i. Food

Amongst children of primary school age there was one issue which was of equal interest and concern to parents in both groups, and that they approached in similar ways: this was the need to teach about what was *halal* (permitted) or *haram* (forbidden) in the way of food.

Food came up with greatest impact as an issue when children started school. Before that, parents had complete control over what children ate; those who attended nursery or playgroup often did so only for a half day session and took no meals there. During their early school years Muslim children had to learn what they could and could not eat, and increasingly to take responsibility for their own food choices. They also began to learn about the reasons given for food being halal or haram.

A generation ago the provision of halal meals was a major source of contention between Muslim parents and British schools and local education authorities (Joly 1989; Parker-Jenkins 1993). However amongst the parents in my study it was seen as an issue resolved. Children in all schools were able to take a packed lunch or to choose school lunches when vegetarian or fish options were provided, with halal meat available once or twice a week in school lunches. Parents had to make sure they knew what they were and were not allowed to eat. A number of parents mentioned the necessity of ensuring teachers were aware of this issue on occasions such as school parties or visits. Some interviewees mentioned birthday parties of non-Muslim classmates as a potential problem, but most telephoned the mother hosting the party and explained their children's need to eat only vegetarian food or fish; all reported cooperative and helpful responses.

Children learned by observing their parents on shopping trips, and by seeing them read lists of ingredients on processed food packaging. *'When we go shopping, I tell him, "That's not our meat, we have special meat."'* (Mussarat). A number of parents told their children to look out for vegetarian labelling, but one mother pointed out that this would not always be halal; for example desserts without gelatine might still contain alcohol. *'Now my son can read it's a lot easier.'* (Rukhsana)

Food was perceived to be less of a difficult issue than in the past. Several social changes had brought this about. The increase of vegetarianism in the population generally had made understanding and acceptance of diverse dietary requirements more widespread. Struggles over halal food in schools during the 1970s and 1980s had increased understanding in educational and other institutions. This had been accompanied by a wider availability of halal alternatives, for example in Peterborough

since the opening of a halal burger bar. The requirement since the mid-1980s for full labelling of ingredients in processed foods meant that any parent or child who could read was able to see at a glance whether or not food was halal (though this sometimes led to other problems with the sudden discovery of haram ingredients: *'It's hard to know how far to take things. Cheese and onion crisps - Walkers - we've been eating them for years! We go by the V for Vegetarian food label now'*. (Farzana). One father, Rizwan, described how in the past people used to have to write to manufacturers, obtain lists of ingredients, then circulate information to family and friends, or publicise it at the mosque.

A point continually made by parents from both communities was that children these days expected explanations as to why they had to observe such rules - in this case that food came from Allah, that people should be grateful for it, that they should show their gratitude by submission to the teachings of Islam about food. One mother, Zahida, mentioned saying a prayer before eating; another told her children that *'eating haram food does affect your life'* (Jamila).

The issue of whether or not food was halal was set in the context of food issues generally, and parents from both groups studied shared many of the concerns and battles experienced by families in western societies generally. These included several parents who described their children as fussy eaters, as preferring sweets to a balanced diet, as not liking vegetarian food and therefore refusing to have school dinners, as finding some curries too spicy and preferring pizzas and hamburgers. Mothers were willing to compromise on cultural issues, for example by cooking *'English food made with halal meat'* (Saeeda, Zahra) where children did not like Asian food, but there was no suggestion by any parent that there was any compromise with Islamic requirements. *'No pork - even the most modern westernized Muslim won't eat it - it's so inbuilt!'* (Bilquis)

ii. Leisure activities

Another shared aspect of informal nurture was the leisure time most parents spent with their children. Families from both groups did take part in many of the activities which form part of mainstream family life, for example visits to the library, the local museum, the riverside and other parks, and further afield on trips to funfairs, theme parks and the zoo. However, certain activities which might be culturally acceptable for young people from most backgrounds were unacceptable for some Muslims. As always there was diversity, but a number of the parents interviewed were concerned to avoid places, events or situations which they felt would contravene Islamic behavioural norms in some ways. A minority of parents frowned on visits to the seaside or the cinema, or even football matches. One mother described these as *'the devil's way'* (Shahida).

iii. Birthdays

The celebration of birthdays was another area of children's lives which showed a tendency to move towards the practices of the dominant society but within limits seen as

acceptable from an Islamic point of view. Some aspects of birthday celebrations were similar to those in mainstream culture: families gave cards and presents and had cakes, candles and parties (see also Nesbitt 1995, 2000). They were different in significant ways too, though; parties were on the whole given for small children rather than older ones (up to the age of about seven); the guests were often family and friends of the parents, rather than friends of the child. The parties were not seen as absolutely essential in the sense that they would frequently be postponed or even not celebrated at all if there was a cause for sadness in the family. Older children sometimes gave presents to their parents to thank them for looking after them for another year; for some children there was a recognition of their Islamic birthday (i.e. using the Islamic lunar calendar rather than the secular/Christian date); and in one family there was an expectation that they would use some of their birthday money for a *sadqa* or charitable donation to a good cause. One older Pakistani father said he thought birthdays were celebrated just as much in Pakistan now as in Britain, and that families there sent greetings cards for relatives' birthdays in the UK.

III. Parenting issues: Pakistani families

It has been suggested that some Pakistani parents were incapable of bringing their children up as Muslims in the west because they did not themselves have sufficient knowledge or understanding (Raza 1991; Akhtar 1993). Some of the Pakistani parents interviewed were well aware of their shortcomings in this respect, but had a range of strategies to overcome them, drawing on human or other resources within their communities. Examples of strategies mentioned by Pakistani parents include the following:

- plan to marry your children to someone from Pakistan to compensate for the shortcomings of your teaching of your children (e.g. Shagufta);
- send children back to Pakistan to prepare for marriage (e.g. Shahzad);
- take children back to Pakistan for holidays as often as possible (e.g. Khaliq);
- spend the early years of marriage in the home of your in-laws (e.g. Nargis);
- learn from other family members, books and videos (e.g. Rukhsana);
- learn from school religious education lessons (e.g. Shagufta).

The Pakistani families in general placed less emphasis than the KSI ones on formal teaching but more on expectations of religious and cultural continuity through family relationships (including kin marriage) and ties with Pakistan. All families tried to transmit some elements of religion and culture to their children, and many interviewees were better educated from a religious point of view than their own parents had been, notwithstanding the upbringing of the latter in a Muslim environment in the subcontinent.

i. Pre-school stage

Fourteen families from Pakistani backgrounds had children of pre-school age. About half these children attended playgroups or nurseries. Compared with the way parents in the

KSI group approached the religious nurture of their children, the Pakistani group veered towards a lower expectation of formal teaching about religion at this early age.

One of the main concerns facing parents of young children was language, not as a religious issue *per se*, but in relation to deferential behaviour. Many parents felt that it was impossible for children to be sufficiently polite in English, partly because of the structure of the language. Heritage language was also important in relation to children's ability to communicate with grandparents. It was a more salient issue with the first child in a family. In nearly all families with several children, the parents reported that children communicated with each other in English even if they spoke to adults in a heritage language. Parents had to decide whether to encourage any use of English by young children before they started school. Half the Pakistani interviewees reported prioritizing their heritage language, but about one-third said that English was the first language of their young children, or that the parents were trying to speak more English at home in order to help their children at school.

In some families, one of the two parents spoke very little English. Many parents recognized the importance of mother tongue mastery from the point of view of identity and of English from the point of view of academic success. Some Pakistani parents who were very keen for their children to speak Panjabi nevertheless rejected places at schools with overwhelming majorities of Panjabi speaking pupils because they wanted them to be in a more mixed school community from the point of view of language and culture. On the other hand, one-third of the parents said they gave absolute priority to the children speaking Panjabi all the time at home so that they had a good grasp of the spoken language before they started at school.

Several parents mentioned teaching their children Islamic or Arabic greetings such as '*Al salamu 'alaykum*' ('Peace be upon you'), '*Sabah al khayr*' ('Good morning'), '*Khuda hafiz*' ('Goodbye', literally 'God protect you'). Some mentioned teaching the names of Allah and the Prophet, and some basic beliefs. Nearly half said that children saw their parents praying; one boy would go and stand on the prayer mat with his father. One had started learning the Arabic alphabet, a few had prayers at bedtime or before and after meals: '*Even eating I encourage them to say a little prayer. He's got used to it now - when we've got food in front of us we should pray - we should think of those who haven't got it - we should be thankful*'. (Zahida). Several had Islamic books for young children. None of these children had fasted at Ramadan, and nearly half the parents said they felt they were too young to do so. Another mother firmly rejected the idea of her daughter wearing a headscarf, though she said some other girls did so even at this very early age.

Three children had already started Qur'an classes. One mother said she got her son to recite to her at bedtime what he had learned that day. '*I say to him, "We've got to recite this, because we're Muslims", and also "You won't have nightmares at night".*' (Shazia). Only two other children of pre-school age had begun these lessons, one with a lady round the corner, and one at the mosque; however virtually all the children had started

by the age of seven.

Two families were more self-consciously devout. One mother, Kulsum, did not want her son to start reading the Qur'an yet, but to learn *'the real basics ... I'm teaching him by example and actions, to tell the truth - honesty and fairness'*. She tried to talk about religious ideas and stories with him and to consult him *'in the Islamic way'* about decisions which affected him. Razia's family played a cassette of Qur'an readings at breakfast, and had a 'call to prayer' alarm clock, *'so this one - if I'm upstairs she'll say, "Mama, it's Kalima - Kalima time!" - even she reminds me'*.

ii. Primary age

a. Leisure activities

Within the home families took part in the same range of activities that might be found in mainstream families of similar socio-economic and educational levels. These included simply playing, make-believe and chasing games, reading stories to children, computer games, colouring, cutting out and craft activities, playing with dolls and toys and watching television, and for older children, board games such as Scrabble and playing the piano (this last was mentioned in only one family, who were aware that it might be open to criticism). Only three of the Pakistani families referred to sport as an activity their children participated in.

Two mothers said they would like to be able to go on family holidays all together, and one mentioned having been skiing twice because the family had relatives living in Switzerland; another family had been to Amsterdam. Most family holidays were visits to relatives in other parts of Britain, or to Pakistan. Indeed family visiting locally, nationally and internationally was a major focus of leisure activity for almost all the families in the study (see above, Chapter 4).

Parents mentioned some problems associated with leisure. Several spoke of the difference between their own childhoods when it was still seen as safe for children to play unsupervised on the street or in local parks, and those of their children. Some mothers were very conscious of danger to children both from traffic and from people of ill will. A small number of parents mentioned lack of time and wished they were able to do more with their children; in some cases this was due to pressure of work, but in others it was the need for children to spend time on homework and to prepare themselves for school and for national tests.

b. Television

Half the Pakistani families restricted their children's opportunities to watch television - not on grounds of over-exposure (though some were concerned about this as well) but because many programmes were seen as morally unacceptable. This was not solely a criticism of British television programming however; several of these families were

equally disapproving of Indian 'Bollywood' video recordings: *'women half naked - disgusting, disgraceful!'* according to Jamila. It also caused confusion to some young children who asked, *'Why are Asian people doing that? Why are they wearing those rude clothes?'* As their mother pointed out, *'the children don't understand that they're not Muslims.'* (Mussarat)

Several parents said that the nine o'clock watershed was no guarantee that earlier programmes were at all suitable for children as far as they were concerned. Recent episodes of popular soap operas shown early in the evening had included events such as the pregnancy of a thirteen year old girl. About one-third of Pakistani parents in the sample mentioned kissing, nudity, sex scenes and unacceptable moral attitudes as reasons for curtailing their children's viewing. Not all felt so strongly about this, however; one younger mother however said that she felt that Asian culture put too much emphasis on not showing any physical affection in public: *'Lots of Asian parents don't hug or kiss children when they wave goodbye. Me and my brothers and sisters - Mum never used to do it with us.'* (Rukhsana)

Some parents felt television had positive aspects as well as problematic ones. Several said their children were allowed to watch as many educational programmes as they liked. Little children's cartoons were seen as having some value in teaching about colours, numbers, the alphabet and so on, and some were felt to have sound moral messages as well. One mother mentioned a child seeing a schools' religious education broadcast featuring a Muslim girl praying, whereupon her daughter got a headscarf, put it on, and started copying the movements. Another woman, Yasmin, mentioned videos about life in Pakistan which gave a strong impression and good information on religion, culture and dress, and contributed to her children's awareness of their identity.

c. Christmas

Throughout their children's upbringing, a key factor for parents was the need to help children understand that in some respects their lives were different from those of their peers because they were Muslims. Nowhere did this stand out more clearly than in the way they responded to the issue of Christmas.⁵⁰ Many of the families engaged in Christmas-related activities, and these were mainly things they felt they could justify in Islamic terms, or in terms of neighbourliness. A few also said Christmas was really no longer a religious festival for most people in Britain, and was just fun, so there was no harm in joining in. Others presented their own activities as reciprocal - other children learned about Ramadan and Id al Fitr, and these times were recognized at Muslim children's schools, so by rights their own Muslim children should learn about the significance of Christmas for Christians. A further reason given by a few Pakistani families was that 25th December was the anniversary of the birth of Jinnah, the architect of the state of Pakistan at the time of Partition, and this legitimized a time of celebration for them. Two people in the interview families had birthdays which fell within Christmas

⁵⁰ See Nesbitt 2000: 127-129 for a discussion of celebrations at Christmas in some Sikh families and for reference to the work of other scholars on attitudes to Christmas amongst South Asian migrant communities in Britain.

week, and these also were used as a justification for celebrating at that time.

For some parents there was a conflict between the need to maintain their religious integrity and the desire to make their children happy and stop them feeling left out. Four interviewees said they recognized Christmas at present as their children were young, but would stop when the children were old enough to understand the reservations from an Islamic perspective. Three others said they did not want their children to be left out. In an Islamic context actions are categorized into five degrees of permissibility: *haram* (forbidden), *makruh* (frowned upon but not forbidden), *mubah* (neutral), *mandub* (recommended), and *wajib* (compulsory). Some interviewees felt their activities at Christmas were not actually forbidden by Islam, so they could engage in them without a guilty conscience. These included having a family get-together (mentioned by three families) because everyone had time off work; having a Christmas tree (one family); giving children presents (three families), children receiving presents from Father Christmas (one family), going out and celebrating with Christian friends and colleagues, or letting children do so with school friends (three families). One mentioned letting her child take part in the school Nativity play; two said their children took part in other Christmas celebrations at school. Some parents modified activities slightly to combine what they felt was the children's need not to be left out with the requirement to refrain from active celebration of the festival of another religion. For example, one mother said she and her husband gave their children toys at Christmas but not on Christmas Day itself. An interesting aspect of this was that whilst many families did celebrate in various ways at Christmas, they gave a very wide range of rationalizations for doing so; there was no single 'Islamic line' on what was acceptable and what was not.

Christmas was also an important opportunity for some parents to draw a distinction between themselves as Muslims and the mainstream, culturally Christian population. Six parents said they explained to their children the differences between Christian and Muslim beliefs about Jesus and who he was. One mother (Kulsum) told her son that Christmas plays at school were *shirk*.⁵¹ Some parents allowed their children to take part in school Christmas activities but did not do anything themselves at home, and said explicitly that they did not celebrate Christmas. However, even amongst the eight Pakistani families who identified religion as a top priority in the upbringing of their children, five celebrated aspects of Christmas. This suggested either a preparedness to compromise, or a view that such celebration was not harmful, or prioritization of the desire for children not to be left out.

iii. Secondary age

a. Homework and the requirements of school

There was little sense in the Pakistani community of there being a tension between spending time on school work and participation in religious activity. Just one mother

⁵¹ '*Shirk*' literally means 'association', that is, the sin (for Muslims) of asserting that anyone else could be associated or put on a par with God. This is usually given as the reason for rejecting the Christian teaching that Jesus is the Son of God.

c. Friends

Many parents had concerns about their children's friends. They saw their children as potentially vulnerable to 'bad influences'; some saw this as worse for daughters (risk to their reputations), and others as worse for their sons (more impressionable and easily led). In many cases girls had lots of non-Muslim friends at primary school but drew themselves into circles of mainly Muslim friends at secondary level; problems arose if their girlfriends spent a lot of time talking about boys. This move from a broader to a narrower range of friendships was not mentioned by parents in connection with their sons, though one spoke of the need for boys to develop the ability to guard their eyes in the same way that girls needed to guard themselves from the eyes of others.

A strategy used by a number of parents was that of distancing themselves from the perceived problems. Two of the interview families had moved house out of the central area which was the heart of the Pakistani community but where young people were felt to be vulnerable to possible 'bad influences' from other Asian boys:

We felt that they'd get involved in the wrong groups and do the wrong things, so we thought at the time, 'If we want to give these children a good education, we need to take them out of that area', so we took a big step, moving out of the Central Ward; it was a big step for us, but I'm glad we did, because you go to Gladstone Street, you'll see these young lads, they haven't got anything to do really, and they just hang around. ... My brother and sister - they've all moved out for the very same reason. (Shagufta)

Several moved their children to different schools, or made the most determined efforts to get children into schools they saw as academically successful (see Chapter 9). Others had taken adolescent children back to Pakistan for holidays to try to increase a sense of positive identification with their culture of origin by seeing it in its proper context. Some interviewees also hoped such visits would raise their children's appreciation of the educational and material opportunities to which they had access in Britain. Several emphasized the need for active involvement with their children, and said that they had to be committed to spending time and doing things together to lessen the risk of them drifting away from Islam. This required young people and their parents to spend a great deal more time in each other's company than would be the case in most white British families. Overall parents appeared willing to put a great deal of time and energy into parenting teenage children, and to be well aware of what the cost might be if they failed to do so. They gave the strong impression of seeing child-rearing as a vocation not a chore.

d. Aspirations

Nargis recounted in interview a conversation with her sons the previous evening in which she had encouraged them to aim for university on the grounds that graduates earned more but also that a degree would bring self-respect and satisfaction, would give them more choices in life, and would be a valuable resource if they ever had to return to

live in Pakistan. A place at college was a source of great pride but also of anxiety. In another family the eldest son had gone to the nearest university where he was offered a place, rather than the best one, because *'for us it was a first time, and it was a big step.'* (Shagufta). For girls there were additional anxieties in relation to perceived vulnerability and issues of reputation. One father had cried for three days when his daughter went to college, but *'we were over the moon when she got her degree'*. (Masood)

As seen above (Chapter 4), marriage was an issue of some contention in this community. Just two third generation children in the Pakistani families were married; one of these had had an arranged marriage with a cousin.

IV. Parenting issues: Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families

Broadly speaking, the KSI families relied more heavily than the Pakistani ones on a structured approach to nurture and on close community ties and activities.

i. Pre-school stage

Eleven families from KSI backgrounds had children of pre-school age. A key difference from the Pakistani group was that this group of parents tended towards the provision of a higher degree of formal teaching at an early age.

Most KSI parents mentioned children's attendance at nurseries or playgroups. One mother had sent children to a childminder, two mothers had formerly been playgroup coordinators themselves, and their children had gone with them. Three mentioned their children's attendance, one in connection with a desire that the children should develop some English skills before starting primary school. Like the Pakistani interviewees, several were concerned about the inadequacies of English as a language in which children could demonstrate respect to elders. Some parents felt schools made too much of children's lack of English on starting; many older parents from East Africa had themselves had to learn English on starting school, and managed with no difficulty; some Pakistani parents had come to Britain speaking no English, and taken English medium school leaving examinations only two or three years later.

Five out of seven four and five year old children had fasted for at least some days during Ramadan; one four year old had done the whole month. A higher proportion of KSI than Pakistani pre-school children were taught the names of Allah, the Prophet and the Imams, and about the Qur'an. Similarly, more were said to imitate their parents in praying, and two had their own prayer mats.

If I'm praying my toddler would be beside me. They can't understand, but he would wash and join beside me when I tell him: 'It's time to pray, thank God for a lovely day, for food', et cetera. They learn better when they are toddlers. (Zahra)

At the moment I think it's what we do in the house ... things like me wearing a scarf. She watches us and she copies ... she'll ask for a scarf, she'll put it on and wander round the house, and she watches us praying, she copies us doing that. (Rohana)

For her at the moment it's all fun and games. But at this age we want her to be in an environment where she recognises what the daily prayers are, that we call God 'Allah', and the very fundamentals, the basics, like the Prophet and his successors. She's learning ABC, 123, and all that, but she's not going to understand what they are till she goes to school. But if she knows who God is, what praying is, then these things come more easily'. (Wazir)

There seemed to be more concessions to the needs of young children in some respects, for example several families had bought video cartoons of Islamic teachings, and made use of Islamic nursery rhymes to transmit basic ideas. As far as mosque school was concerned there seemed to be a common pattern that children started at the age of four. The KSI madrasa curriculum included learning about key figures and teachings, and Islamic behaviour and beliefs. For many children this was in addition to Qur'an reading classes where teaching was done sometimes by parents or grandparents, sometimes by a neighbour or other private teacher, and sometimes by the imam at the mosque.

ii. Primary school age

a. Leisure activities

Participation in sport generally and swimming in particular was much higher amongst KSI than Pakistani families and was mentioned by about half of them. One major difference was that the KSI group had organized access to swimming and sports facilities on a systematic basis both locally and nationally (see above Chapter 5). Some families had trophies from community sports competitions displayed on their mantelpieces or bookshelves. Several parents mentioned the importance of these events for ensuring women and girls had good access to sports facilities.

They take part in everything with the track suit. I've never wanted them to miss out on anything and feel, 'Oh, I cannot do this because of my religion or my hijab ...' And it's an example for them and others to say, 'Yes, you can do everything'. (Fatima M.)

The organization of such facilities seemed to have come about gradually through a combination of local action (one mother said she had started a local women's group at the mosque which initially had keep-fit and cookery classes, then developed more and more activities), and possibly also through being a cohesive community with the experience of being 'twice migrants'. Another factor might have been the comparatively high socio-economic profile of this group and their collective ability to fund community projects.

One activity avoided by a lot of parents from a KSI background was listening to music, seen as haram by many Shi'a Muslims. This was not universally shunned and a

number of parents said it was only within their own generation that people had come to see it as sinful; their parents had played music quite freely and some of them did so as well, but felt this was quite a dilemma. Nahida's orthodox Shi'a beliefs about music caused her to feel she had to leave the room when songs came on in 'Bollywood' videos when visiting her mother-in-law, although the latter felt she was making an unnecessary fuss.

b. Television

Two-thirds of the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri parents restricted their children's opportunities to watch television. About half of those interviewed mentioned kissing, nudity, sex scenes and unacceptable moral attitudes as reasons for curtailing their children's viewing. Some parents reported that children liked watching these programmes and saw nothing wrong with them: *'We try to tell them what not to watch which is not right ... My son ... says, "It's always just what you see in town - it's life!" and I say, "O.K., but not at home"' (Qulsoom)*. Parents of older children felt they should be relied upon to censor viewing themselves, and that this was the ideal: *'We need to educate them, to be able to switch it off themselves at certain times'*. (Rizwan)

One mother felt cartoon violence was unacceptable, and several commented on the complete mindlessness of many programmes. Some younger parents took a proactive approach and said they tried to do things with their children to reduce their need or desire to watch television, to avoid it undermining the ideals they were trying to inculcate. *'There's nothing that gives you any values, anything, so if she sits and watches those and it starts contradicting everything we're teaching her, we're going to be fighting a losing battle'* (Rohana)

c. Christmas

Like the Pakistani interviewees, many of the KSI parents felt Christmas was a time when Islamic identification came to the fore. However this did not mean it was necessarily experienced as a difficulty. Ten KSI parents said they took the opportunity to explain to their children the differences between Christian and Muslim beliefs about Jesus and who he was. Several interviewees reported that the community had through the mosque produced a Christmas card with a picture (depicting Mary but not Jesus) which was acceptable from an Islamic point of view, and which could be sent to Christian friends and colleagues. Five said they had family get-togethers, two had a Christmas tree and four gave children presents. Two parents said their children got presents from Father Christmas, and two more, that their children took part in the school Nativity play. One mentioned her children going out and celebrating with other Christian friends, but none said their children took part in other Christmas celebrations at school.

Some parents allowed their children to take part in school activities (such as making cards) but did not do anything themselves at home, and said explicitly that they did not celebrate Christmas. However even amongst the twelve KSI families who identified

religion as a top priority in the upbringing of their children, nine celebrated aspects of Christmas. One couple, who took many of their religious duties very seriously, said:

We'll have a turkey, crackers, mince pies - it's just the fun of it - there's nothing wrong in that. For us it wasn't an issue - but for a lot of people in the community it was. They said you shouldn't be doing this, it's not Islam. But we're not doing any harm, and we're not confusing the issue - we're explaining all the way what we are doing.
(Sajjida)

iii. Secondary age

a. Homework and school requirements

For families in the KSI community with secondary age children there was sometimes a tension between the need to spend time on school work and the expectation that young people would participate in religious functions. This was an issue mainly but not exclusively for Shi'a Muslim families, whose religious calendar includes, far more than in Sunni Islam, attendance at the mosque for prolonged *majlis* sessions on several evenings during the week at some points in the religious year, in addition to the usual one on a Thursday evening. Several parents mentioned that they no longer made their teenage sons and daughters attend all these occasions if they had a lot of homework. Fasting might also be difficult to sustain when young people were trying to do their best in public examinations. Fatima M. described how she tried to persuade her daughter not to fast during her public examinations when these fell during Ramadan, and her pride when her daughter replied that she was fasting for God, and if she needed help, God would give it to her.

b. Peer pressure

Parents in some cases expressed considerable sympathy for the difficulties their children might experience at school and amongst their friends. Some were aware that children might feel left out if unable to take part in swimming or music (especially given the central place of music in youth culture); they understood that hormonal changes might cause mood swings and unpredictability; they saw how young people's desire to 'be cool' undermined explicit commitment to religious or cultural values, how they themselves were sometimes seen as old-fashioned, how career choices might be circumscribed by Islamic codes on physical contact outside the family and so on. Islamic principles support the authority of the parent but also support the right of a child to disobey parents on religious grounds. As seen in Chapters 4 and 5, this left room for young people to challenge their parents and use Islam as a resource to back their arguments.

When we talked with our daughter about the scarf, ... she said, 'Mum, Islam is not even forcing you to wear it!' and we were shocked ... She reads all the books on Islam. Children nowadays, it's not like we were in the past, we could follow it blindly, you know? No, they don't do that nowadays, they will research and they

will decide in the light of what they are following, and she did all that, didn't she?
(Sajjida)

An even more difficult challenge for parents was to provide convincing arguments against the interpretations or actions of other Muslim young people, sometimes within their own wider family, as to things they were allowed or not allowed to do. Many of these arguments were over the issues most parents and teenagers disagree over, such as what and how much television they should be watching, how late they were allowed to stay out, what clothes they should be wearing and so on. If young people used Islam as a resource, so at times did parents: Fatima M. said, *'When I hear other mothers at work, I thank God for my religion!'*, and another mother of four felt that *'Islam makes it so easy for me'*. (Zahida J.). Only one gave any sense of feeling unequal to the task, fearing her children felt she was *'lecturing them all the time'*. (Sakina). Several parents emphasized the importance of family discussion, as the following examples suggest:

'Combine trust with guidance'. (Zahida J.)

'Make sure they know the Islamic limits'. (Fatima H.)

'Make it clear you will help them to sort out their problems and work with them'. (Zahra)

Several parents said they needed to be Islamically educated enough to give adequate answers to the 'Why?' questions, in order to arm young people in their responses to their own friends. For instance, Khatija's daughter had asked why she could not go to a party with other girls if she abstained from drinking alcohol herself. Her mother had to be able to argue a convincing case on Islamic grounds, backed by rational argument. Some had had to research answers for themselves and enjoyed the stimulus to their own thinking; other younger parents had had to do this themselves as teenagers and understood both the pressures and the satisfaction of meeting the challenge. They also had to be prepared to lead by example. For instance several KSI parents said there was little hope their children would accept the discipline of praying on time if they were not completely consistent about it themselves.

c. Friends

Some parents were much more easy-going than others; for instance several were happy to let their son or daughter stay the night at the house of a non-Muslim friend, whilst others were very cautious about letting them visit such homes even for an hour or two. Several couples tried hard to encourage children's friendships with other young people at the mosque, but even in that context, there was the issue of some families having a much more liberal interpretation of Islamic requirements. Like parents in the Pakistani community, many parents had concerns about their children's friends. In many cases girls had lots of non-Muslim friends at primary school but tended to associate mainly with other Muslim girls at secondary level, expanding their range of friends again when they were in the sixth form.

d. Aspirations

For some parents there was an acceptance that their older children had grown up and turned into adults who were responsible for their own lives. In a few cases, this move towards independence had started much younger. Even at sixth form level, two girls had decided not to wear hijab. The mother of one recounted: *'She was (wearing hijab), but she just decided you don't have to wear a hijab to be a good person ... We said it would be good if she did, but she didn't want to, so we've left it up to her at the moment'*. (Zahra). Another mother expressed misgivings about a culture in which, she felt, people were expected to learn by experience: *'In Britain they say, "Let them learn from their mistakes", but that may be too late, when they are full of black spots!' (Sakina)*

Eighty percent of young people, both boys and girls, in the age group concerned had gone on to tertiary education, in all cases to colleges where they had to live away from home. The decision to support this was not taken lightly: *'At first it was difficult to let them go - but now they are educated.'* (Zahida J.). Parents had tried to prepare them for the experience, and several expressed the view that if they had brought their children up properly, the latter would know how to behave and to take care of themselves. *'The night before she left we gave her a big sermon ... "From now on you're responsible for yourself!"'* (Sajjida). Several girls had gone on to do postgraduate courses even though this entailed further postponement of marriage. The picture overall was one of families where commitment to educational achievement was in most cases enough to overcome concerns about risk to religious and cultural values, with parents wishing to *'encourage them to gain as much knowledge as possible without being corrupted by drugs, alcohol, smoking, music, dancing ...'* (Zahida J.). As suggested above, many parents felt confident in their children's ability to withstand temptation.

As far as marriage was concerned, some parents were quite adamant that their child should find a partner within their own community, whilst most accepted the reality that their children might come home one day and tell them they'd met somebody they wished to marry. Several said this would be preferable to the possibility of young people being involved in a sexual relationship outside marriage. The majority said that for their daughters the partner would have to be a Muslim (this is in accordance with Islamic law, not mere parental preference), but they would accept a convert. A number expected to have a major role in the choice, but one father gave a realistic answer: *'Whether we'll have any say in looking for a spouse for any of the children - it's a blessing if we can, but if not, it's something I'm resigned to! The things I see nowadays ...'* (Rizwan.). One couple with a much younger child referred to concern about a perceived recent increase in 'marrying out', but pointed out that in fact most of these convert spouses went on to become accepted as members of the community themselves. This did raise (unanswered) questions about what membership of the community meant, and how far it could be a matter of personal religious choice as opposed to shared language, history, ethnicity and caste status.

Conclusion

Religion was quite important for all, and very important for many of the families interviewed. Guidance and informal teaching within the home and family context played a significant part in the religious nurture of young Muslims in Britain. All parents interviewed for this study had tried to some extent to transmit their religious beliefs, values and practices to their children through aspects of home life. For many this was the central characteristic of their family life. It was manifested through the home environment, the inculcation of Islamically acceptable behaviour, the avoidance of things that might undermine religious and moral teachings, and the addressing of issues which arose at different stages in children's development through an Islamic framework. No parents from either community appeared to see any contradiction between encouraging their children to succeed in secular terms and encouraging them to maintain a commitment to Islam. However interpretations of what such a commitment meant in practice did span quite a wide range. A number of experiences and issues were common to both Pakistani and KSI families. These included use of heritage languages, halal food, application of Islamic criteria to television watching and leisure activities and the celebration of Christmas and birthdays, and a guarded attitude to the social lives of adolescents, particularly girls. In both cases parents stressed a need to explain and provide reasons for religious requirements - a change since their own childhoods, when they had taken their parents' authority on trust, but been at a loss to understand the meaning or purpose of some teachings.

There were some differences between the two groups of families interviewed. The main one was that the Pakistanis as a group relied more heavily on family relationships and connections with 'home' to try to maintain religious and cultural values, whereas the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri group had structures and institutions in Peterborough and elsewhere in Britain that would help to perpetuate their values and practices in their minority situation.

As a group, the Pakistani parents took more for granted and pursued a less formal course in the transmission of Islam to their children. A more cultural aspect, heritage language, was seen as very important. Attitudes to leisure were not very different from those in the other group; there was quite strict control of television viewing but to a lesser degree than amongst the KSI families. Christmas and birthdays were celebrated by some, but the former was used as an occasion for boundary drawing in a number of families. There was considerable anxiety about the potentially damaging effect of 'bad influences' from other children (Asian as well as non-Asian); parents used strategies such as moving children to another school or moving house to distance themselves from perceived risks.

Amongst KSI families there was more uniformity of approach. Children were expected to participate in aspects of Islamic observance from an earlier age than the Pakistani children. There was a more extensive use in this group of modern technology and English language Islamic resources such as children's video programmes. Gender segregated leisure activities were available to all because they were organized and

subsidized by the community. There was more strictness over television viewing but more flexibility over the celebration of Christmas - this was possibly related to the higher level of prosperity amongst these families. Birthdays were not an issue, and were widely celebrated. There was more perception of conflict between school and religious functions, but this was partly because the Shi'a religious calendar made more demands in terms of attendance at the mosque, and because both male and female members of the community were expected to attend. Peer group pressure was seen as a potential danger - but was not constructed simply in terms of 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim', as some parents spoke of problems raised by more liberal interpretation of requirements by fellow Muslims. Parental hopes of high educational achievement combined with continuing loyalty to Islamic values and observance had been fulfilled in the large majority of the lives of their young adult children.

Chapter 7. Formal religious nurture: Pakistani families

Introduction

The previous chapter described and analysed the approach of parents in both communities to the religious nurture of their children in the informal setting of the home. The present chapter is concerned with formal nurture of children from Pakistani backgrounds, including the teaching provided at the mosque or in other settings by religious teachers in the community and children's learning about religion in other contexts such as community celebration of festivals. Data from the Pakistani and East African communities will be discussed in two separate chapters as the two groups of interviewees, whilst sharing similar aspirations for their children in a number of ways, varied considerably in their approaches to formal religious nurture.

What factors influenced the nature and quality of the formal religious nurture provided for young people in the Pakistani families, either by their parents or through community institutions and activities? Many of these were the same factors that influenced the dynamics of Asian religions in a migration context generally; nurture was a sub-set of the overall principles. Writing with particular reference to first generation South Asian migrants to Britain, Knott identified five factors to be taken into consideration when studying continuities and changes in religious practices of such communities in Britain: home traditions, host traditions, migration process, nature of the migrant group, and host community response (Knott 1991). The Peterborough Pakistani community was predominantly rural in origin, the majority of its members from families with little school education; they had come to Britain as labour migrants with the initial intention of returning; the great majority still had strong links with kin in Pakistan, maintained *inter alia* through cousin marriage; the group was not prosperous overall and about half its members still lived in an area with high levels of material deprivation, but in general all showed a great faith in education as a means of individual and family advancement. The above factors taken in combination had a strong impact on the religious nurture provided for the community's children.

I. The Qur'an

i. Qur'an and madrasa

The requirement that children should learn to recite the Qur'an in its original Arabic was universal amongst these families.⁵² There was some, though not extensive, variation in how this was done. About half the children attended classes at the mosque and most of the others had lessons at the home of a teacher in the neighbourhood. In the main these classes took place on weekdays after school, and children attended for between an hour

⁵² See Robinson (1996) for discussion of the esteem accorded to a person who becomes a *hafiz*, that is, who has succeeded in committing the entire contents of the Qur'an to memory.

and an hour and a half.

Families expected children to start on the process of learning the Qur'an as soon as they were reasonably capable of doing so. Most began their study between the ages of five and seven, though a few started at the age of four, like Mussarat's daughter: *'I mean, I know you get people saying it's too much for her, but it's not. My view is if they can sing and dance and watch telly, learn things off television, she's obviously ready for it'*. For those learning in classes the process took at least two years but usually three, four or more; the process was sometimes faster for those being taught individually. The expectation applied to boys and girls equally. One mother highlighted the desirability of girls completing their initial course of learning the recitation before puberty, as once they started menstruating they would have to have breaks in their reading sessions for the days when they were deemed to be *'unclean and unable to touch anything holy'* (Zahida).⁵³ Another advantage of early completion for both boys and girls was that their parents could feel they had met a central requirement of their duties as Muslim parents before the children got to a rebellious age when they might resent spending a lot of time after school attending further classes. It was also possible at this young age to avoid too much clash with homework requirements which increased considerably when children started at secondary school.

Just two of the twenty-four parents questioned this practice. These two mothers believed that the widespread norm of sending children to Qur'an classes as early as possible was not only counterproductive but also unIslamic: *'If they started at the age of six, seven, it would be more easy to absorb. ... The Prophet said you should play with children till the age of seven, then become their teacher and friend'* (Kulsum)

The learning process seemed to be very similar whatever the context. Children would start by learning to read the Arabic alphabet and to recite the best-known verses or sections of the Qur'an (e.g. *al Fatiha, Ya-Sin*), and gradually progress until they could read or recite the whole of the holy book. The attainment of this level of competence was seen as a substantial achievement, following which children often (but not always) went on to further study including the understanding of meaning, perfection of pronunciation, study of the life of the Prophet, *akhlaq* (Islamic behaviour) and writing and reading Urdu.

How did parents choose where to send their children for these studies? Several valued the smaller and more homely environment of a neighbourhood class in somebody's home. One said her son's teacher ran the classes because she loved children; she was said to mother them and give them little presents, and to reinforce the teaching they got at home. Several interviewees mentioned the smaller groups and higher level of personal attention as reasons for choosing a neighbourhood teacher. One was afraid her shy and quiet son might get bullied by other children in the less intimate environment of the mosque. Some neighbourhood classes were run as a family enterprise, with

⁵³ Menstruation is deemed to be ritually polluting and women are not expected to pray, fast, read the Qur'an or enter mosques during their monthly periods.

husband and wife and sometimes older children doing the teaching.

There were several madrasas attached to different mosques, where teaching was done by the imams or other teachers and scholars of sufficient knowledge and experience, often including their wives for the girls' classes. One mother (whose son in fact attended a neighbourhood class) emphasized the importance of the wider understanding children gained in the mosque context: '*... it would be nice if he could go to the mosque where he'd get a different view - it's all boys and men reading and talking about how to become proper Muslims ... you get involved more*' (Jamila). However some mothers felt the mosque classes had shortcomings; the classes were often very large (between forty and sixty children, according to several interviewees), one said it was hard to keep track of the children and '*some of them skive*' (Mussarat); some parents felt the mixed sex classes offered for the youngest children were inappropriate even at that early age; others mentioned concerns about the quality of teaching particularly in large groups where there was little opportunity for individual attention. One mother, who took the issue of quality more seriously than most of those interviewed, described how she had gone about making a choice.

When I put my children to the madrasa - there is more mosques in Peterborough - I went around and did like a survey, and that was the only one I found which was interested in my interests as well, which I found ... Because I think when a child studies, the most important thing is, giving small lectures about Islam, not just to read it, which is important, but to teach them about it is vitally important. So the mawlana sahib who was reading at the mosque - he was very, very - what can I say? - more of a modern imam - he knows how to approach a child, whereas the other mosques I went to, it was, he's got 50 here, 20 there, the mawlana sahib's not even paying any attention to them.⁵⁴ ... So here each child is getting individual time from the mawlana sahib. He goes to the mawlana sahib and reads to him and then he does the Kalima and everything like that. So this is what I was looking for and eventually I got it. I'm really happy; my children have been there a year now, and I'm really happy the way they've picked it up.

... every July they have exams, and the children get given treats out, and they do tests on the children, so it's not the children just reading and reading and reading. ... They go back every now and then, the children, and then they get rewarded for what they've achieved. ... So it encourages the child, you know, and mawlana sahib was saying especially my daughter, she's getting very, very good - her reports say she's one of the top students in the class at the moment (Razia).

This mother was unusual amongst the interviewees in her purposeful approach, but a number of parents had opted for neighbourhood teachers for some of the same reasons, and it seems likely that this trend would increase rather than diminish as parental confidence grew. However the main point is that Qur'an recitation and reading was part

⁵⁴ '*Mawlana sahib*' means 'our respected religious leader' and is a courteous form of reference often used to refer to an imam.

of the religious nurture of all children in the interview families, and the norm was for this to start at around the time a child was in the infant years at primary school.

ii. Learning about the significance of the Qur'an

Children were taught to read or recite the Qur'an at formal classes but also learned about its importance through seeing the part it played in the lives of adult family members. A concern expressed by more than one-third of the interviewees was that their children should not only learn to recite the Qur'an, but should have some understanding of what they were reading.⁵⁵ They did not want their children to repeat the unexplained experiences of their own youth, when memorization had been seen as quite sufficient. Shagufta's feeling was that,

I absolutely don't have even basic knowledge because I was made to learn verses by heart - that's all I did. In Arabic. If it was in Urdu I would have understood what I was reading, but it was all in Arabic ... It never occurred to me to find out what those verses meant.

Several others expressed similar views. A number of parents said that they now, as adults, had bought versions of the Qur'an in English or Urdu, with explanatory notes, which gave them some access to the meaning of the text, even though they still recited it in Arabic. As might be expected there was considerable divergence of opinion even within families, illustrated in the following example. I had come to interview a young mother in her early twenties, Samira. In the large front room her grandmother sat cross-legged on a divan bed in the bay window, reading to herself throughout the course of the interview, her copy of the Qur'an on a carved wooden stand in front of her.⁵⁶ Samira said that she expected to teach her own children in the same way that she had been taught; she would send them to the mosque school to learn to recite the Qur'an first; later they would be taught to understand the meaning of the text. Samira's brother, who came into the room towards the end of the interview, said he disagreed. He wanted to teach his children concepts and values, and felt these mattered far more than '*just learning by heart*'. He felt a lot of parents went for the outward phenomena; they were carrying out Islamic requirements, but without reflection or understanding. He had been obliged as an adult to study and think in order to respond to the challenges of others (particularly when he was at university), but also to be able to answer the questions he had put to himself.

One reason for a greater emphasis on understanding as opposed to mere reading or recitation was that in a migration and minority context, children needed the Qur'an as guidance. Many parents saw early explanation of meaning as vital if children were to

⁵⁵ A general trend towards more positive attitudes to the translation of the meaning of the Qur'an has rapidly gathered pace in recent years particularly since the advent of numerous versions, clarifications and interpretations on the worldwide web (Bunt 2000)

⁵⁶ The grandmother was said not to speak or understand any English so her presence was not very likely to have influenced the content of the interview.

follow the teachings of the Qur'an as a guide to life, not just recite it as a meritorious act of piety. Several interviewees referred to the use they made of modern technology to support Qur'an learning. Audio cassettes were bought, or borrowed from the public library; one mother described systematic use of a set of compact discs with recordings of the whole Qur'an in Arabic with translations into Urdu. *'We put it on in the morning when the children are having their breakfast. They're not listening to a cartoon or anything, they're listening to that'. (Razia)*

How frequently did children see their parents read the Qur'an? Nearly half the interviewees mentioned this as a source of religious awareness for their children; in one case a mother read the Qur'an every day even though she did not follow the requirements for ritual prayer. Several people said they read it more regularly now that they had an English translation; there was perhaps a distinction to be made, one which did not always emerge clearly in interview, between private reading for one's own understanding, and Arabic recitation which was more akin to prayer. Several mothers with young children said they would like to read more, citing lack of time as a hindrance; one in particular looked forward to her middle age as a time when she would have more opportunity for religious study and devotion. A number of interviewees drew attention to the Qur'anic calligraphy which, in the form of plaques, posters or framed inscriptions, was a prominent part of the decoration of nearly all the homes visited, and which contributed to their children's awareness of their holy book.

A few mothers mentioned other contexts in which the Qur'an had a part. It was believed by some to have power over illness: *'If you're not well and say words from the Qur'an and blow on a person as you read it, it really does cure it' (Jamila).*⁵⁷ The Qur'an was also read by some in association with the formal remembrance of deceased family members, particularly on a Thursday night. One ritual mentioned by two mothers was that of the *khatmi Qur'an*. This was a collective reading of the whole Qur'an, usually carried out by a group of women simultaneously reading a portion of the text. Thirty people reading at once, each taking a *sipara* or portion, would be able to perform a complete reading in a fairly short time; clearly the smaller the number of participants, the longer it would take. These sessions were arranged for a variety of reasons; Werbner (1981) noted that such events had something of a status-conferring character and had become more commonplace in a migration context amongst the Pakistani community in Manchester. Shaw's Oxford-based study suggested similar conclusions; her interviewees presented the sessions as unusual in Pakistan (Shaw 2000). An alternative or additional reason might be that in a migration context people could not have the level of mutual companionship often enjoyed by women in traditional Muslim societies such as Pakistan, nor the opportunities for religious expression afforded by visits to shrines. In Peterborough they were not expected to take part in activities at the mosque, which might have acted as a community religious centre. In such a situation the *khatmi Qur'an* sessions had a role to play in providing a sacred space in women's lives, combining the spiritual and the social dimensions of religious activity.

⁵⁷ Such traditional medical uses fall outside the scope of this study, but for a detailed account of how they operate in an English context, see Shaw (2000), Kinship and Continuity, Chapter 7.

We do big prayers when people have died, and we do big ceremonies in the year - the anniversary. We sit down and read the Qur'an and give people help with reading as much as possible, then help with the cooking and that. It's family and friends. And children tend to be involved when it comes to cooking - they don't like doing the onions! They want to know why, and who it's for. We also explain to them again, when we do all this, how much respect we give for Allah as well. ... Mainly we just read the whole Qur'an - say a sipara - a portion you'd read - you all sit together. Everybody in my family can read, so ... you give out as much as possible for others to read as well ... or if they know it by heart. (Ayesha)

For some people the month of Ramadan was a time when they made much more sustained effort with Qur'an reading as well as with other aspects of religious practice. Saghira was one of several women for whom this was the case:

It takes me one hour to read one chapter. I have to read one hour in the morning, one in the afternoon so I can fit it all in; I have to leave out seven for my monthly cycle. Some people even finish two or three full readings in a month. You can do it alone, you don't have to gather people. Children can read also, and pass it on to their grandparents.⁵⁸

Children thus learned about the importance of the Qur'an through seeing others read it, seeing their parents study or consult it in English as well as Arabic, and discuss its meaning; some heard recordings of it in both English and Arabic; they saw calligraphic inscriptions all around their home environment, and were aware of or took part in ceremonies such as anniversary readings as well as seeing the text used in 'folk medicine' or other less orthodox contexts.

II. The Five Pillars of Islam

As seen above, learning to read or recite the Qur'an was a basic formal requirement that was expected of all children in the sample. Just as central in a different way was teaching children to live as Muslims through observance of the 'Five Pillars' of the faith. As with Qur'an reading, there was a high level of expectation in many families that children would meet these requirements from an early age; however there was quite a lot of variation in practice. The age at which children started to pray or to fast varied according to a number of factors. These included level of family observance and whether or not children had older siblings whom they imitated, as well as the family's general approach to childhood and adolescence - that is, at what age they understood children to have reached an age of religious maturity.

⁵⁸ That is, somebody could dedicate a reading to the memory of a deceased person and thus allow the religious merit of performing the reading to accrue to the dedicatee.

i. Shahada

Only a small number of parents mentioned the *Shahada*, or *Kalima*, 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet'. This formal declaration of faith may not have been mentioned by interviewees because it is such a basic and central part of Islam that it was taken for granted as something all children would learn. Those who did refer to it were parents of very young children at an elementary stage of learning about their religion. Two of these mothers said they had bought books in English to help them teach the basics of their faith. One mother from a fairly devout family, had an *adhan* (call to prayer) alarm clock, 'so the children know, when the *adhan* comes, they have to read the *Kalima*'. (Razia)

A few more parents mentioned the Five Pillars, but for most of them the main emphasis was on their children learning to read the Qur'an; other beliefs and practices appeared to be secondary aspects which parents assumed their children would learn at a later stage.

ii. Salat

About half of the interviewees said they carried out the requirement for *salat* (ritual prayer) five times a day.⁵⁹ Half said they did not do so, though as seen above several reported making more effort during Ramadan. Some said they prayed when they had time. In some cases, one partner in a couple was more devout than the other; some described their husbands as very religious and as praying regularly, but in another case it was the wife who prayed with the children and the husband who did not pray at all. The majority of children learned to pray by observing their parents do so, then praying alongside them. In about a quarter of cases this included grandparents as well. A number of parents made an explicit connection with the impact of their own behaviour:

We would try to set an example by our own selves and what we do, not say to them, 'You've got to pray namaz', and not do it ourselves.⁶⁰ So in the morning if I'm praying they see us doing it... And if they see me they say, 'Well, they're doing it and telling us to do it as well'. So, lead by example, that's what I think. (Khaliq)

Several of those who did not pray regularly said their children learned the prayers at Qur'an classes. A quarter of the parents spoke of the difficulties of this in Britain and by contrast the greater ease, both of praying themselves and conveying the importance of prayer to their children, in a more Islamic environment. On visits to Pakistan their children had heard the call to prayer or been more aware of other people praying. Even in the British context things were very different in parts of the country with bigger concentrations of Muslim population. Rukhsana contrasted Peterborough with a northern city where she had relatives. In the latter there was a big mosque and the *adhan* was called three times a day.

⁵⁹ This seems unusually high compared with some studies (see Chapter 1 above).

⁶⁰ 'Namaz' is the Urdu term for 'salat'.

The pattern of observance was quite varied, and it was also shifting and dynamic. A number of people cited examples, sometimes of relatives and sometimes of their own experiences, where people's level of religious practice had changed for a variety of reasons. Khaliq, one of the most observant Muslims in this group, had been through a period of fairly serious youthful rebellion but was now a devout and committed Muslim. Shagufta's son had grown up in a relatively secularized household; his mother cheerfully admitted to being quite uninformed about religious matters. He had recently become much more seriously interested in Islam.

Now this young one ... the other night he had his alarm on at half past five, and he woke us up. And I realised the reason why he had got his alarm on, because he wanted to get up and he wanted to read his prayer ... he's at that age where he likes challenges. And also we've got friends, and his friend, our friends' son, is at university, and he was home the other day, and we went round, and he was talking to him. And their son is very religious, extremely religious, and so he obviously picked up something from him. We came back home, and he did his ablution and started to read, and Omar and I, we immediately noticed, like, 'Ah - this is from Javed!'

Some interviewees described their own parents as having lacked knowledge or as not practising their religion very actively; all of these women had become more devout since marriage, partly due to the influence of their husbands and partly because all of them were a great deal more educated in general terms than their parents had been, and their lives were less of a struggle to survive. One of the fathers, Atiq, said his own parents had *'laughed religion off'*, and that for a number of years he had not taken it seriously himself either. *'About a year ago, I decided enough was enough, and I believe in Islam so I do the whole thing. I don't leave anything out'*. He described the positive effect he felt it had on his children:

They stand behind me - or sometimes they'll lead and I'll stand behind them ... it gives them a sense of responsibility, of time, and of standing together, of sharing, of letting someone lead and sometimes leading themselves. ... That's why it does help.

Several people felt it was counterproductive to try to exert pressure on their children to pray in the way that their own parents had pressurized them. Nearly half of the interviewees said they had been made to pray but with no understanding of why they were doing it; in several cases their parents had not been really religiously observant themselves, or had simply not had enough education to be able to give reasons or explanations to their children. As with all other aspects of practice and belief, however, the younger generation - those of school age at the time of the fieldwork - expected more than this.

I must admit looking back that it wasn't a really informed path which we took. It was more traditional - you did things because everybody else did them, you picked things up. Children in this country are more - they ask very much more probing

questions: '... Why? What are the proofs?' (Khaliq)

The pattern of observance was thus quite mixed and changeable. There was no clear evidence of a wholesale decline in religious practice; rather there seemed to be a shifting pattern of individual choices and changes. A small group had come to practise their faith more strictly, a group of similar size had become less religiously observant, and a large majority in the middle did not see themselves as having deviated significantly from their parents' practice, whether the latter was quite devout or quite relaxed. For some people education, professional jobs and life in the suburbs outside the main Asian community area had led to less religious observance, but for some it had led to more. This might perhaps be seen as a trend towards the privatisation of religious belief and expression, but it seems likely that similar changes would be observable in Muslim majority countries, perhaps linked to rural-urban migration, often a major factor in social change. It would be hard to find evidence in the data from this study that it was a phenomenon caused by international migration.

iii. Zakat

It is incumbent on all Muslims able to do so to pay *zakat*, a proportion of each person's residual earnings after the necessities of life for themselves and their dependents have been paid for. Often translated as 'charity', *zakat* is sometimes rendered 'welfare due' to underscore the obligation of a Muslim to support fellow human beings; 'charity' has more voluntaristic connotations.

Few parents reported teaching their children about *zakat*. This may have been because it was taken for granted and not seen as a major occasion for teaching about Islam, and therefore not worth mentioning. Some of the families were really quite poor, and may not have had enough residual income after meeting their needs for the essentials of life to be expected to pay *zakat*. As seen above, a number of the families interviewed had for many years sent remittances to other family members in Pakistan, and some still did so. A few parents did discuss *zakat* with their children, as well as the supplementary *sadaqa*. This latter term covered voluntary charitable donations of any kind. One man spoke of having given a whole week's wages, when he was younger and working in another city, towards the construction of a mosque. Others referred to giving to the poor all year round, and in particular during Ramadan for the extra *zakat* given at *Id ul Fitr*. Khaliq linked it with other basic expectations: *'Fasting, giving charity, social responsibilities, are an integral part of being a Muslim'*.

iv. Fasting

A key period during which children learned about Islam was the month of Ramadan. Nearly all adults in the sample observed the requirement to fast from dawn till sunset during the month of fasting. This near universal observance contrasted with the far smaller number who said they prayed five times a day. For many of them the 'holy month' was a time of renewal and spiritual effort; forty percent of the interviewees in this

group spoke of it as a time when they practised their faith more actively and more intensively than during the rest of the year. This would clearly have an impact on their children in terms of greater awareness of religion. In the home, their parents would be fasting even if the children were not doing so themselves; there would be special things to eat when they came to *iftar*, or the breaking of the fast (also referred to as 'opening the fast' or 'opening the *roza*') at the end of the day. Children were also aware of fasting in the school context. Many of those who were fasting had to explain to their non-Muslim school friends why they were not having school dinner, and those who attended one of the primary schools with a large proportion of Muslim pupils would be strongly aware of Ramadan as a different time, a time when there was *'this nice feeling going round because we all fast, and you know, it's a special month and we do change'* (Mussarat).

The extent to which children of interviewees were expected or allowed to take part in fasting was quite variable. Broadly speaking, most children of infant school age (five to seven years) did not fast or at most did 'practice fasts' of one or two days, though there were exceptional cases of children doing more. Most children of junior school age (eight to eleven years) fasted for some days - perhaps ten to fifteen - and some did the whole month. By the time they were at secondary school nearly all children fasted, even though many parents said they tried to discourage them during the school week.

There was a certain awareness amongst interviewees that as Muslim parents they might be criticized by some in mainstream society (non-Muslim teachers, perhaps) for expecting children to fast at a young age. Shazia envisaged her son starting at the age of seven or eight, as she had done.

At the moment, I think I would encourage him to fast. I wouldn't say, 'Oh no, he can't do it, he's only a poor little thing', because we did it, and if you start thinking like that, you're becoming 'gori', that means we're becoming western, becoming white.

By contrast other parents did try to discourage their children from starting very young, particularly on school days. They resorted to various stratagems such as 'forgetting' to wake their children up early enough, or letting them do what they told the children was a practice fast until lunchtime! Children soon got to the point where they could see through these manoeuvrings, and several parents presented the issue as one of pressure to take part in the fast coming from the children to the parents and not vice-versa. Atiq's comment was typical of those made by several parents: *'I try to stop my children fasting till they're a bit older but they want to do it. ... They're competing with each other to do it! You try not to wake them up early, then they cry because they want to do it'.*

What other practices distinguished the month of Ramadan in addition to fasting? Some parents who were not usually particularly devout said they made a special effort to pray five times a day, and some tried to read the entire Qur'an over the course of the month. Some fathers went to the mosque more often than usual and took their sons with them. One mother who described herself in general as *'not practising'*, described the changed approach of her family.

The evening meal we have to have together, and we'll try to practise Islam together as much as possible during that month. So we'll set ourselves targets. So I'll say, 'I'm going to try and read five chapters of the Qur'an this month', and my son will say, 'Oh, I'm gonna try and do much more than that, Mum, 'cos I know I can do it!' And I'll be reading the five times prayer - my daughter will do the same, my son will do the same. (Shagufta)

Ramadan was a time for spiritual reconnection not only with the rest of the Muslim world in the present but also with those who had died. Saghira said her children did usually see her pray, but

... now in the fasting month I'll be reading Qur'an as well. There are times we dedicate a reading to loved ones who've passed away - you say, 'Please wipe away their sins when they were alive, and give them a place in heaven'. The reading can be a collective thing which we share out.

Another mother believed that *'Shaytan leaves you during the month of Ramadan. The thought of putting off your prayers leaves you'. (Jamila)*

A number of interviewees said they and their husbands talked with the younger children about why they were fasting. As with Qur'an reading, a number reported that when they themselves were young they had simply been told to fast but had not been told why they had to do so. They felt it was important for their children to understand the meaning and significance of fasting.

To me, spiritually, it means that I always think of people like in Ethiopia, and things like that. They go without food. And when we moan - honestly, even us Muslims - about how long the fast is, and how at the end of the day, how greedily we grab food - and you think about all these children in the world and they're starving, and you think, 'God - look at us - eight, nine hours and we're going for food, and these people ...'. So I think that is a reflection I pass to my children. That to me is the most important meaning of the fast. (Uzma)

Thus for the majority of the interviewees and their families, Ramadan was a time of profound significance, when even those who had fallen by the wayside in religious terms during the rest of the year could reconnect with the requirements of their faith and their membership of the Muslim community. For children, in the three arenas of their lives - home, mosque/madrassa and school - there were significant changes which signalled their identity as Muslims and reminded them of the spiritual and moral expectations this carried. The universality of Ramadan observance meant that all the children in these families, at least for this one month in the religious calendar, experienced increased awareness and understanding of their family faith.

v. Pilgrimage

Another aspect children learned about was the fifth Pillar of Islam, the hajj, or pilgrimage to Makkah. The pattern amongst the Pakistani families in the interview sample appeared to be that it was mainly older people who went on hajj. This was not surprising in view of the cost, which was around £2000 per person at the time of the fieldwork. Given the relatively modest incomes of the majority of the interview families, this was a large sum to find. In addition a number of families were continuing to send remittances to relatives in Pakistan, or to visit them there, both of which were difficult to sustain for those on low incomes.

Out of the families interviewed, one of the older men had been on hajj twice and *'umra* (the lesser pilgrimage) three times, and another father once on hajj. One family had all been on *'umra* together on their way to Pakistan. Four families had sets of British resident grandparents (i.e. parents of the interviewees) who had been to Makkah, and whose experiences had been much talked about with the children. Zahida's daughter *'knows it's God's place. She's longing to go; she wants to go when Mum and Dad go again'*. Another child whose favourite uncle and family had moved to Makkah also very much wanted to perform the pilgrimage.

Children were made aware of Makkah and of its significance through the decor of their homes as well as through people they knew who had been on hajj.⁶¹ In more than half the homes visited for interviews, there were posters, pictures or models of the Ka'ba and of other significant associated sites, like the Prophet's Mosque in Madinah. Some of these were large hangings which took up several feet of wall space and were the most prominent object in the room. Several interviewees commented that their children were aware of the *Ka'ba* as God's house, knew that it was in a foreign country, and knew that people went there on pilgrimage.

Knowledge about the pilgrimage was there in the background for most families and was reactivated annually at the time of the pilgrimage and the festival of Id al Adha at the end of the pilgrimage month (see section IV below).

III. The mosque, *juma'* prayers and the role of the imam

How central was the mosque as a focus for people's lives in the Pakistani community? How far did it contribute to children's learning about Islam? The answers to these questions are very closely linked to factors such as the extent and quality of the facilities available, which in turn reflect the prosperity and degree of establishment of the community; the situation might be very different in areas of Pakistani settlement in other parts of Britain if they had more resources on which they could draw.

⁶¹ In addition they would of course be aware that Muslims turn to face the Ka'ba when carrying out *salat*.

For half the community it was not a major focus at all. Traditionally women from the Pakistani backgrounds concerned did not attend the mosque for congregational worship. Women who prayed regularly did so at home on Friday as on other days; on festival days their celebration was focused around home and family; two of the mosques had some provision for use by women, but none of the female interviewees mentioned going to pray there themselves. On Id al Fitr and Id al Adha, the Gladstone Park Community Centre was used as a venue where women could celebrate collectively. The only other corporate worship activity described by interviewees was the khatmi Qur'an (see above section I). The mosques were not entirely closed to female members of the community, in that mosque classes for girls as well as boys were held there; however as they got older girls became more involved in home prayer and less likely to attend prayers at the mosque.

A further reason for the exclusion of women from mosque activities was size of the buildings and the extent of the facilities. Both the main Sunni mosques and one smaller one in the Gladstone area were buildings converted from other uses, and were small for a community of the size concerned, with limited facilities for washing and other requirements. The slow process of obtaining a purpose built mosque was under way; land in the central area had been bought, planning permission obtained, and funds were in the process of being raised, but the community was relatively small, not highly prosperous, and the dream of a mosque with adequate facilities for worship, teaching, study, celebration and meeting for women as well as men, was still a long way from being achieved at the time of the fieldwork, though there had been a recognition that facilities for women would be desirable. A grant application had been made for funding to extend an existing mosque and provide it with a women's gallery as an interim measure, but this had been unsuccessful. A fourth mosque run by the UK Islamic Mission did have a women's prayer section, but this was not attended by any of the interviewees.

One third of interviewees mentioned men going to *juma'* (congregational) prayers on Fridays and taking their sons if the latter were on holiday from school. Attendance at *juma'* prayers, though in theory an absolute requirement for male adult Muslims, depended on a number of variables. Some men worked too far from the mosque to be able to attend during their lunch hours. Some did not see it as central - but this depended on practicality as well as level of devoutness. Masood's family illustrated a range of practice: his eldest son, a married man with young children, went to the mosque two or three times a year, for prayers on major festival days. Masood himself went to *juma'* prayers on Fridays and once or twice more during the week. His other (unmarried) son went every night on his way home from work, and it was the hub of his social life and leisure activity as well as his faith. Another case illustrated how mosque attendance might be affected by life circumstances as well as level of commitment. Shagufta's husband Omar had in recent years attended *juma'* prayers regularly: *'He didn't used to do that before - he used to say, "I'll do overtime - an hour of overtime!"'* However the family's time of real financial struggle was behind them. Its members had become more educated generally, and more aware of the requirements and meaning of Islam over the

years. They had come to value the experience of religious practice more highly, and had reached a more 'respectable' position in the community, one which would lead to an expectation of a higher level of religious observance.

If only one third of the boys were taken to Friday prayers at the mosque, almost all of the families had contact with the mosque in one way or another. Over half of the children, both male and female went (or had been) to Qur'an reading classes at the mosque. Even those who attended classes elsewhere were aware of it as their special place.

He's always told, That's the mosque, when you're older that's where you'll be attending with your father. They've got to know that's their place of worship - do you know what I mean? I've told him, That's a gurdwara, that's where the Sikhs go; that's a church. (Shazia)

In addition to the boys who attended juma' prayers, a large number did go with their fathers, uncles or other relatives at the two Ids, or during Ramadan: *'When they were fasting, after opening the fast, they used to go to mosque, and when there's a religious day and all the men get together, he'll go and sit in with them, wearing his outfit and his hat.'* (Shahzad) ⁶²

A certain amount of ambivalence was expressed towards the activities provided at the mosque. On the positive side, there was an awareness of the wider role mosque attendance had in children's religious nurture. It also gave children an opportunity to talk to the imam about issues which parents themselves found difficult - sex education, for instance - and receive informed Islamic answers. The positive impact of meeting other Muslim friends was also mentioned. For some the mosque reinforced links with Pakistan, and provided a welcome link with 'home'. This was the case in spite of the fact that imams from the subcontinent have sometimes been heavily criticized on the grounds that they had a limited rural view of Islam (Lewis 1994a; 1996). The role of the imam was also appreciated in events where he came to people's homes and recited the appropriate prayers or blessings for family occasions such as the birth of a new child, the move into a new home, or the Id morning devotions.

None of the interviewees were directly critical of local imams; however there were a number of unfavourable comments about madrasa classes at the mosques on various grounds (as seen in section I.i above). Only one mother came close to criticizing the imams on grounds of traditionalism inappropriate in the British context (see section I.i. above). The one imam I interviewed came into the category of those with very limited ability or desire to engage with British society; he spoke no English and had apparently little interest in anything but the most stock responses to the problems facing the young

⁶² In the majority of families girls were expected to wear Asian dress frequently and it was a sign of respectability. For the boys it was usually a symbol of cultural identity only worn on major religious occasions. This supports the argument that it is women who are expected to play the role of guardians of family and community honour (as seen above, Chapters 4 and 5).

members of his congregation.

Most interviewees, even the younger ones, had seen tremendous changes since their own childhoods in the availability of mosques and attendant facilities. People were aware of contemporary differences in other parts of Britain as well as change over time. Some had relatives in other larger towns and had experience of more extensive provision and better facilities in the north and the West Midlands.

People had a range of other community resources in addition to the mosque and the imam. There was an Islamic bookshop in the Gladstone area, where a few interviewees had bought books for their children, such as those written in English and designed for young Muslims in Britain. Most of these seemed to be from the series produced by the Islamic Foundation (hardly any of the interviewees mentioned sectarian orientation as an issue, possibly because they did not think I would understand, or alternatively because for women who prayed at home and did not worship at a mosque, sectarian divisions were less relevant). Several parents referred to the influence of other family members, or colleagues at work as valuable sources of religious teaching and guidance. Two mothers mentioned meetings in people's houses where visiting *'alimahs* (female scholars) gave sessions of teaching for adults; these might have had an indirect impact on the nurture of children through the increased awareness of their parents, but attendance at such events did not appear to be very frequent or widespread amongst the families interviewed.

IV. The cycle of the religious year

The central event of the religious year for the Pakistani families was the month of Ramadan, as described above. The only exception was the one interviewee who was a Shi'a Muslim and for whom Muharram was equally significant. For nearly all in this group, the way Ramadan and Id al Fitr were marked and celebrated was much more tied to family and community, and less to the mosque, than was the case amongst the KSI interviewees. This meant there was quite a difference between the experiences of girls and women and those of men and boys. Women did not go to the mosque for the celebrations of Id al Fitr for the reasons outlined in section III above. Even to accommodate the men of the community double sessions of prayers had to be held, and this still left many to pray outside on the pavement. As the following interview extract illustrates, however, the separation of the sexes in terms of mosque attendance did not detract from the festival's character as a strong family occasion.

Well, first thing in the morning we wake up, we say religious prayers, we make something sweet and say a prayer. Normally the imam will come to say the prayers for us, and the boys with my husband, the men will sit around and say the prayers over sweet food - whatever you cook first thing in the morning - and then they'll have a bath and get ready to go to the mosque. That happens in most households. If the imam doesn't come probably the husband will say it, or someone elderly in the

family. (Shazad)

Several mothers mentioned the fact that little boys were most likely to start going to the mosque with their fathers during Ramadan or at one of the Ids, often wearing shalwar kameez rather than the western dress most of them usually wore. It was a first public step in male role-learning. About two-thirds of the interviewees cited such times as opportunities for teaching children about their faith.

We make a big deal out of Id - they don't remember things for long at this age, but they'd remembered about it being special ... We try to make things special and fun, explaining more as they get older, the meaning of these occasions. (Farah)

For many of the children the material aspects may have predominated; most families mentioned that everybody was given new clothes, children were given money and in some cases presents. There were often collective celebrations for women and girls at a local community centre, which was hired for the occasion. Visits to family and friends were an important feature of Id, mentioned by nearly everybody, even those who did not do much socializing during the rest of the year: *'We get together on Id. But normally we all mind our own business'* (Saida). Some women mentioned the difficulty of getting together with relatives in other parts of the country at Id al Fitr, because not all members of the family were able to take time off work; several said they did travel back to their home towns in Britain to see parents and siblings, however.

Children were also taught about the story and moral imperatives behind Id al Adha, the festival of sacrifice. Again several mothers mentioned telling children the reasons for the existence of the festival, the story of Ibrahim's willingness to obey the will of Allah even at the cost of the life of his son, Ishmael. Two mothers said their children did not understand about sacrificing animals; by contrast they themselves had seen this in Pakistan when young, in a context where greater material hardship combined with cultural and religious attitudes generally made the practice easier to understand. In the spring of 2001 it had not been possible to buy animals to be sacrificed in Britain because of the outbreak of foot and mouth disease; people substituted donations to charity of equivalent value.

In addition to these occasions people mentioned a few other events, for example the *jalus* (street procession) at the time of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. These appeared not to be of major significance in the lives of women in the community, and none of the interviewees mentioned them as a source of learning or religious significance for children. One mother contrasted her own family's observance during Muharram with that of Shi'a Muslims.

After big Id there's this very religious month, and you're not supposed to listen to music or wear new clothes, or do anything that's associated with a happy mood, basically because it's the month historically when there was a war, and a lot of people died in that war, so it's a whole month of mourning. You probably know the

Shi'ites - they wear black clothes - so we do that, but only partly. We don't wear black. ... We're Sunnis; we'll say the prayer on the tenth day, and we'll cook something special, and we'll try not to listen to music associated with happy moods. You're meant to stay a bit more humble and that. (Shagufta)

Nearly all families observed Ramadan and the two Ids, but several said that as far as other special days were concerned, it was not always easy to remember them in the English secular calendar, and they sometimes slipped by without being observed. For them, it had been easier in Pakistan: *'culture is religion over there, and religion is culture' (Masood)*; however that was not the case for the one Pakistani Shi'a interviewee, who felt the level of planning and organization which went into the observance of the religious calendar in the Peterborough community made it easier to observe things *'properly'* there than had been the case in Pakistan.

V. Visits to Pakistan

A small number of interviewees mentioned visits to Pakistan as a significant source of religious nurture. In a predominantly Muslim environment, teachings made sense to children in a way they could not always do in Britain. The environment, the people and activities stimulated questioning from children - *'Why are they doing that? Why is the goat being sacrificed?' (Samira)* - because Islam was practised more publicly. Visits 'back home' might function as a resource for the education of older children as well. One mother spoke of the formal teaching she received when she went back there for six months at the time of her marriage. Her brother-in-law had taught her and provided her with books for continuing study when she returned to Britain.

As children grew up and became integrated into their ethnically mixed, multi-religious peer groups at school, some parents became more aware of a 'culture deficit', and believed that marriage with a partner who had grown up in Pakistan would help to compensate for this. As seen above (Chapters 3 and 4), a large majority of marriages in this community did involve partners being brought over from Pakistan. The perception of Shagufta and some others was that the benefits of such marriages outweighed the disadvantages if care was taken over compatibility of the partners in respects such as education.

Ideally, I would like my son and my daughter to get married to very similar people like ourselves ... but I would like it very much to be from back home. And there's a big reason for that. ... I still feel that I lack a lot of culture and a lot of knowledge about Islam, and I feel that if our son gets married to a girl who's well educated from Pakistan, she won't only be well educated academically, but she'll have that Islamic knowledge and the culture as well, so they will be able to retain some of the culture that our children have maybe lost in this country. (Shagufta)

As seen in Chapter 4 above, visits to Pakistan were a resource for religious and cultural education, and some parents also used them for the control of potentially or actually wayward teenagers. None of the interviewees had been sent back as a control

measure when younger, nor had any of them done this to their own children; however several of them mentioned cases where it had happened, as did some of the teachers interviewed.

The small 'strict Muslim' group amongst the interviewees did not regard Pakistan as a place they wanted to visit for religious or cultural reasons, nor did they wish to send their children there.⁶³ Parents in this group who talked of living overseas cited other predominantly Muslim countries such as the Yemen as places they might consider living; one also talked of possibly educating her children herself, at home, in preference to sending them to either British mainstream schools for their secular education, or to Pakistani community institutions for religion.

Nonetheless, for a small group of parents Pakistan did represent a resource for their children's religious nurture, and this reflected their character as transnational families.

VI. Transgenerational change

What changes were there across the generations? Interviewees were asked how the way they were teaching their children about Islam compared with their own experience of religious nurture. There was quite a lot of diversity here. Many of the parents had spent at least a small part of their childhood in Pakistan before coming to Britain. Some had migrated into very isolated situations whilst others had been surrounded in Britain by relatives and friends from their home villages in Pakistan. It might be thought that some interviewees, wishing to give an appearance of fulfilling their duty as Muslim parents, might have exaggerated the quantity and quality of religious nurture provided for their children; however the responses seemed completely frank in those cases where parents did not give this a high priority. More than seventy percent of parents felt they were giving their children as much as or more religious nurture than they had received themselves; under twenty percent felt they were giving less.

About forty percent of the parents in the sample felt their children's formal religious nurture was about the same as what they had received themselves. This comprised a range of experiences. Some parents had had little religious education themselves and similarly provided little for their own offspring. Others, whose own parents had been quite devout, had ensured a high level of formal nurture for their own children (the interviewees), who in turn were doing the same with their own sons and daughters. One described eloquently the continuity from generation to generation:

Mum used to tell me, reciting prayers and invocations from the Qur'an, which I do with my daughters now at night. Dad used to take us and teach us - with our brothers - with how the words are said and recited; he'd help us. We just used to

⁶³ Clarke (1998) suggests the term 'strict Muslim' for those for whom a religious identification was central, and who practised their faith assiduously, but who did not have the political orientation of Islamists.

pick things up as we were growing up. Dad used to tell us what was halal or haram. Mum was a role model for how to dress or not dress. We hadn't got any relatives here - through we did have friends, or the people Dad helped. When they came round, their wives sat with Mum, and I was listening to them. Mum is very religious. (Jamila)

Another woman, Saghira, spoke of the power of her mother's teachings and also illustrated the importance of the grandmother's role in providing religious continuity to further generations. Her mother had told her:

'Whatever you've got in the world, you leave it behind - even the Queen - her palace is going to stay here - all she'll take is a white cloth in her coffin. A child comes into the world naked and goes away naked'. There was a big meaning to that for me. In the end you'll answer for what you've done. She was a very religious woman, she did the five times prayer, she'd never miss one. She would never give my daughter lectures; she just watched her. My mum taught her how to respect people and that's how she learned.

In these families, all the parents had been taught to recite the Qur'an and had had lessons either from a neighbourhood teacher or at a class at the mosque. The vast majority had been taught how to perform *namaz* either by somebody in the family or at a class. They had also learned about a central requirement of Islam through fasting with their families during Ramadan. However there were some key differences in the way these parents approached their children's religious nurture; these are discussed below. One issue was that although they might have been giving children similar teaching and experiences, in many cases the children's contexts and therefore their needs were different, which gave rise to the question of whether the religious nurture provided was adequate to the situation.

There were also individual differences of temperament and interest; in one family, for example, two of the grown-up children *'just aren't very religious at all; it's just they're not practising Muslims, but they do know. They have been trained, they have been taught Qur'anic teachings, and they know about Islam as well. If somebody was to ask them a certain question, they would be able to answer that'*. (Masood). By contrast the middle son of the family was deeply religious and was a devout practitioner of his faith.

As noted above, fewer than twenty percent of parents felt they were giving their children less religious education than they had received. Here again, a range of explanations was given. Two mothers mentioned their own jobs outside the home as creating time pressures which meant they could not attend to their children's religious nurture in the way their own mothers had done. Several mentioned the different lifestyle and environment (although one, Zahida, also commented that children growing up in Pakistan now would be treated much less strictly from an Islamic point of view than in the past). Two of the fathers who had spent some of their childhoods in Pakistan reported having acquired a good deal of formal learning in *Islamiyyat* (Islamic subjects)

lessons in school, in addition to what was taught at the mosque or at home; these lessons covered history, ethics, behaviour and so on. Their own children in Britain did not have this kind of teaching at school.

Over one-third of the parents in the sample felt they were providing more in the way of religious nurture. Again this reflected a range of experience. Many spoke of their own parents' lack of knowledge about religion. Often the latter were from poor rural backgrounds where the women had not attended school and the fathers might have had a few years of basic primary education. They knew how to pray in most cases, and to recite from memory a few passages from the Qur'an, but according to their children, they did not know the meaning of what they said, nor did they have any broader knowledge or understanding of the faith. In their approach to their children's religious nurture, they had ranged from authoritarian insistence on conformity without understanding to complete lack of interest, as in the following illustrations:

We weren't given the right Islamic education. We were taught how to read the Qur'an, right, but not why we were reading it or what it means. ... (it was) quite a strict family, where praying namaz and reciting the Qur'an was very important ... but it was just thrown at us - 'You've got to do this', 'You've got to do that', without the 'Why?' (Shahzad)

We went to mosque for two hours after school and learned parrot fashion . (Bilqis)

My mother wasn't very educated herself; she didn't know any of the rights and wrongs of Islam. (Ayesha)

The parents' lack of knowledge had been compounded by the children's experience of madrasa; many imams serving Pakistani mosques until very recently were imported from the sub-continent. In the Peterborough context this situation was gradually changing, with some imams having an increased awareness of the British context, and with parents weighing more carefully the alternatives available for their children's Qur'an study.

Parents from this group felt their children were receiving a higher level of religious nurture for a variety of reasons. The one most frequently given was that their children were learning meanings, they were learning to understand the Qur'an as well as to memorize and recite it. *'With my children, they do a lot less, but whatever amount they do, they understand the meaning behind it' (Shagufta)*. Rukhsana said she wished her parents had

... given me the understanding side earlier on ... Mum wasn't very religious. She didn't pray. I can tell her things about Islam that she didn't know, and also to my sisters. ... I've started teaching my son the meanings - like the Kalima. He could recite it but when I asked him, did he know what it meant, he didn't. My parents never did this.

Several of these parents mentioned having bought Urdu or English translations of the Qur'an. They pointed out the easy availability of reference materials; there was a local Islamic bookshop where they could buy books in English for both adults and children. For some this represented a change from an oral to a literary culture; where they had been told stories by their parents and grandparents, they now gave their children books. It was also the case that the parents interviewed had, as a group, much higher educational levels than their own parents, and this both helped to account for and to make possible the emphasis on teaching about meaning as opposed to mere learning by rote.

The families also had access to audio and video tapes. These resources were available at the public library as well as for purchase, so even those on low incomes had access to them. Recent technological developments brought further advances in communication and learning.

When I was young there wasn't much literature in English. Now, through email and the Internet, I can connect up and have any religious question answered. My children are more aware and probably know more about questions of religion than I did at this age ... I think they're much better off. (Atiq)

There was also a considerable amount of change due to the gradual institutionalisation of Islam in Britain. The great expansion in the number of mosques and Islamic centres, the greater public awareness of Islam, made it more part of the mainstream landscape, and this made parents feel less sense of isolation in their tasks of bringing up children as Muslims in a religiously Christian and culturally secular environment.

They have more access to the mosques, which in our time we didn't have. And they have the chance to meet their friends in the mosque. Things like that, which I think we lacked - and I think it is a positive influence on them. Whereas in our time, we had to gather once a year or so with our friends - it was different - so in some sense they are better off than we ever were. (Uzma)

Some parents also referred to the fact that children learned about Islam through religious education lessons in their day schools. In one case a mother said she had learned a good deal herself when working as a classroom assistant. This reflected a change in the curriculum; most of the parents had not experienced such teaching when they were at school in Britain.

A further change was that amongst the parents interviewed, a large number had their own mothers and/or fathers living in Peterborough. This meant that the children growing up in the late 1990s had access to teaching from grandparents in a way that was true for far fewer of their parents (though a small number did mention being taught to pray or to read the Qur'an by a grandparent). Even though many of these grandparents were not well-educated in a general sense, some certainly had enough religious knowledge to act

as effective transmitters of Islam. The lives of many pioneer generation migrants had been changed by their experiences too; there were several cases of interviewees whose parents had become more religiously educated during the course of their time in the UK; those who had retired on a state pension now had the time lacking earlier in their lives to devote to their own education. Rukhsana's retired father, for instance, had started to read and study the Qur'an about ten years previously; more recently her mother had started to do so too.

A final but important difference was the experience of daughters. In the interviewees' childhoods there was very little provision for girls at mosques, and for most of them, their religious learning took place in the home or with a neighbour. This, combined with a generally lower level profile for Islam in schools, for instance, meant that girls' awareness had sometimes been very restricted.

At that time young girls were not allowed to go to mosques and that. Boys, they went to the mosque to learn everything about Islam. And now there's things that girls can do - they can go to the mosques and they've got all these information centres set up where you could send your children for all the information. It's a lot different, the awareness of it, than it was in my days. (Ayesha)

For a very small number of interviewees, those who might be described as taking a 'strict Muslim' perspective, there was more substantial disagreement with their parents' approach to religious nurture. This was not expressed as a criticism of the parents themselves; such behaviour would have been anathema to any of them. Rather, they attributed their parents' failure to bring them up in what the interviewees saw as 'the proper Islamic way' to their lack of knowledge, lack of time, lack of support and lack of awareness of their new living situation. Kulsum described her understanding of the Islamic ideal:

It's very laid back, teaching through play and not being very strict. Lots of families make their children go and read Arabic at the age of four or five. I want him to learn the real basics - I want Islam to be full-time, not part-time for him. I'm sure all parents want good for their children, but I want him when he becomes adult to make informed choices. ... I was never able to ask for explanations. We do with him - it makes him think.

Two others made a similar contrast between their own religious upbringing and what they saw as a better and 'more Islamic' way.

Conclusion

One of the most significant conclusions for this group was that there was little evidence of widespread decline in religious observance: all the children of an age to do so attended Qur'an classes. It was certainly the case that a small number of parents, about one-sixth of the sample, were less religiously observant than their parents, and

provided less in the way of formal religious nurture for their children than had been provided for them. Even amongst this group, however, the children were taught to recite the Qur'an, they learned enough Arabic to do so with a certain level of competence, their parents saw to it that they took part in fasting during Ramadan and they went to the mosque from time to time. A counterbalance to these less observant families was the group of about the same size where parents were more Islamically minded, and took the religious nurture of their children more seriously than their own mothers and fathers had done. The large majority of parents believed they were providing more or less the same experiences for their own children in terms of Qur'an reading, teaching them to fulfil other formal requirements of Islam such as prayer and fasting, and involving them in communal celebrations such as festivals. Clearly the actions of parents and communities in providing religious nurture were no guarantee of whether or not their children would continue to be active Muslims as adults. The indications from younger parents were that a sizeable proportion might become more observant as parents even if they had been resistant to religion as adolescents.

However the context in which the nurture was provided had changed. The educational level of the interviewees was in general a very great deal higher than that of their own parents. This led to an emphasis on understanding meaning which they presented as a difference for their generation. This came about partly because the children expected rational explanations of practices and beliefs, in order to counter challenges from friends at school and indeed to answer their own questions. There was also a change in terms of women's roles, reflected in the practices such as holding khatmi Qur'an sessions, and in the organization of madrasa classes for girls at the mosque. It seemed likely that once public facilities were available (in the form of a new and larger mosque), the focus of women's religious lives might change.

Interviewees showed a high level of commitment to the religious nurture of their children, though the quality of what was available in the community varied and was sometimes quite basic. The interviewees and their parents used modern resources such as religious materials written in English, audio and video recordings and new information and communications technology to educate themselves and their children about Islamic issues. Most of the interview families had members of the grandparental generation living close by, which in some cases gave an additional support in terms of religious nurture that had not been available to the first generation. One salient point was that people's lives were dynamic and changing; a number of interviewees and their parents had become more interested in religious and spiritual matters as they got older. This is a phenomenon in many situations and is not necessarily related to the context of migration, but it should not be left out of the account in any assessment of religious continuity amongst migrant groups.

Some of the changes noted above were very much linked to modernity. The emphasis on understanding meaning of religious texts, and the propensity for people to educate themselves and thus rely on the self as authoritative: both of these were features of modernity rather than outcomes of migration.

Chapter 8. Formal religious nurture: Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families

Introduction

The previous chapter described and analysed the formal religious nurture of the Pakistani origin children whose parents were interviewed for the study. This chapter explores the same processes in the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families, including the teaching provided at the mosque and by religious teachers, and also children's learning about religion in other formal settings such as public celebration of festivals. The KSI community, whilst sharing many aspirations with the Pakistani families, was very different in terms of the way individual families and the community as a whole approached this issue.

What factors influenced the nature and quality of the religious nurture provided for young people in the KSI families, either by their parents or by community institutions and activities? At the start of the last chapter I referred to Knott's five factors to be taken into consideration when studying continuities and changes in religious practices of such communities in Britain: home traditions, host traditions, migration process, nature of the migrant group, and host community response (Knott 1991). I would argue that a sixth factor should be added, that of political and social events on a global scale. In the case of the KSI community, the Iranian revolution of 1979 had a very significant impact which interacted with the five other factors to bring about change, through the religious revival that accompanied and followed it.

The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri have been characterized as the most conservative of all the Asian religious groups in East Africa (Bharati 1972; Nagar 2000). They stood in direct contrast with the other large Asian Muslim group in East Africa, the Khoja Isma'ilis, who had adopted western dress and had interpreted Islam liberally on issues such as alcohol, education of women and so on, and had a 'pacemaker' modernizing reputation (Twaddle 1990). During the years since the second world war a number of institutional changes had taken place which helped to build and maintain community structures and hence religious identity, such as the establishment first of the East African Federation in 1945, then the World Federation of Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri Jama'ats in 1976 (Erricker 2001b). Social changes which had already been taking place in East Africa before the great migration of the early Seventies, such as women going out to work or being educated to higher levels, were given additional impetus when KSI families settled in Britain and North America and were influenced by host society norms (Nagar 2000).

Another factor, the nature of the migration process, consisted of the dispersal of KSI families to different parts of the western world. Their status, effectively as refugees, meant families were sometimes split because of entry requirements in the countries where they sought to settle. This migration process furthered the development of the KSI as a diasporic community, one without the classic attachment to a homeland but with

a global network of relationships both in terms of kin and of mutual support (see Chapter 3 above). High levels of contact between members of the KSI communities of settlement in Europe and North America enabled exchanges of information about matters such as the development of madrasa curricula, as well as facilitating the meeting up of young members from different countries for international summer camps.

The nature of the KSI group was (prior to migration) predominantly urban, trading, educated and familiar with British-influenced bureaucratic systems. In Britain they appeared more middle-class and 'integrated' because most spoke fluent English and many had professional jobs or owned their own businesses. On the other hand they sometimes drew a more hostile response from the host community because they were willing to compete in mainstream economic and commercial contexts (Robinson 1986).

These features were all significant as influences on the religious nurture provided by parents and community. The 'twice migrant' context meant that families had already experienced the necessity of organizing formal religious teaching for children growing up in a religious and cultural minority situation (Bhachu 1985b). This had involved financing, constructing, managing and providing for the upkeep and daily running of religious centres, including provision of teaching for young people. The experience meant people knew what to do, in terms of religious transmission. However it did not necessarily explain why they wanted to do it. For some the stimulus was that of living in the west; in East Africa many had been part of large and relatively self-contained Asian communities broadly speaking and KSI ones more specifically and were able to take religion for granted, whereas life in Britain threw them up against a comparatively secularized society which caused them to be more aware of the boundaries they drew between themselves and others. Part of the reason (for any of the South Asian migrant groups) may lie in the assertion of a protective identity when faced with a racist response by some parts of the host community.

The previous experience of being a migrant minority culture in East Africa made Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asharis very aware that it was perfectly possible to maintain religious tradition in such a situation. However a particular factor for the KSI group was the Iranian revolution and its dynamic and powerful projection of Shi'ite Islam. The consequent sense of religious revival was an important influence on the KSI community, both in general terms and in relation to religious nurture.

Provision for children in the Peterborough community consisted of a number of elements: learning to read or recite the Qur'an, living up to the requirements of the Pillars of Islam, learning about history, law and Islamic conduct and ethics, participating in the activities of the mosque community, and learning about key beliefs and practices through the cycle of the religious year. These elements were similar to those experienced by the children of Pakistani background; however a crucial difference was the centrality for the KSI children of the mosque with its family atmosphere as a centre of community life for men and women, boys and girls. Another very significant aspect was the large number of religious festivals and commemorations which generated frequent teaching opportunities.

There was also a higher level of parental education and ability to support their children. Finally, there was more money in the community and a correspondingly greater capacity for the organization of educational and communal events

I. The Qur'an

i. Qur'an and madrasa

The approach of KSI parents was significantly different from those in the Pakistani families interviewed. Like the latter, they took it for granted that their children would learn to read the Qur'an at quite a young age. The major difference for the KSI families was that Qur'an reading was only one of a range of elements in children's formal religious nurture, albeit a foundational one. A second difference was that whilst about half the Pakistani children learned to read with a teacher in the neighbourhood and half at the madrasa, amongst the KSI families nearly half were taught by their own parents (although almost all attended the madrasa for additional teaching, as indicated below). About a quarter learned from a neighbourhood teacher, a couple went to a class at the mosque, another family had a private tutor, and the others had not yet started. The high proportion of parents who were confident and competent enough to teach their own children reflected a relatively high degree of religious literacy. This was not always a question of social class or family orientation to learning; one of the mothers, Zaynab, had had almost no religious teaching herself as a child, but had paid for lessons '*from a professional*' as a young adult.

Those children who went to learn from a neighbour attended three to four times a week. This reflected the expectation that many families would attend mosque together on Thursday evening. Classes lasted around forty-five minutes to an hour or more. Children's first lessons were on the Arabic alphabet and the recitation of short and well known *surahs* (chapters of the Qur'an). After a time, children would join letters into words and words into sentences, and would learn to read the longer and more complex portions of text. Some of the parents who taught their own children made a very early start. One had a set of Arabic alphabet flash cards which she used with her little girl who was not yet two. Several mentioned playing tapes of Qur'anic recitation at home.

However as noted above, the Qur'an lessons formed only part of these children's formal nurture. Madrasa classes were held at the mosque for two to three hours every Saturday and Sunday. These classes were carefully planned and organized; children were graded by age and (except for the pre-school group) were separated by gender. They had tailor-made workbooks which their parents were expected to go through with them at home. The curriculum included Islamic behaviour and values, history (particularly the history of the Prophet's family and the Shi'a Imams), a range of prayers and recitations, historic events which formed a focus of remembrance during the cycle of the religious year, and so on. There was some attempt to involve children actively in their learning by using role play, art and craft work and creative writing. The importance of

these classes was perhaps not so much the content of what the children learned as the sense of community awareness and identity which was generated by weekly participation. The Qur'an reading was of course a necessary requirement of these children's religious nurture, as it would be for Muslims anywhere, but the madrasa provided the experience which tied them into an active community.

The most notable feature of this madrasa was that it was consistent, attended by almost all the children of appropriate age in the interview families and monitored for teaching quality by the madrasa organizers. Children took end of year examinations and were awarded prizes in an extended celebratory prize-giving ceremony on Id al Fitr (see section IV.ii below). They were taught by volunteers but the curriculum was put together *'based on looking at others all over the world'* (Hussain). Older pupils, who had finished the formal course, were encouraged to help with the teaching; several 'shadowed' other teachers on Sundays, or took classes if the latter were ill.

Many parents described how they helped their children with madrasa homework, and used this as an opportunity to discuss *the teachings*. *'I look at their folders from the mosque and talk about why we do things - "Why do we go to mosque?" "Why do we wear black clothes during Muharram?" We work this folder together'* (Nahida). In fact several mothers reported having gained a great deal themselves from their children's religious education at the mosque: *'I learned a lot of things which I didn't know why I was doing it'* (Fatima M.). Nearly half the interviewees had been involved in teaching or helping to organize the madrasa during the time of the fieldwork or in the past. This was in keeping with the prevailing practice at the mosque of involving as many people as possible in aspects of organization and provision, whether in nurture of the young, organizing sports or social activities, producing newsletters, taking responsibility for relations with Khoja mosques in other parts of Britain, organizing cooking, festival events, the library and a variety of other tasks.⁶⁴ Because such a high proportion of the community's children and parents were involved, it was a focus for family life and activity, reinforcing identity and a sense of belonging. The work programme and the teaching were reviewed and evaluated to a certain extent; teachers and madrasa leaders were conscious of the need to keep the children's interest and motivation, which they by no means took for granted. Parents in the interview sample showed a very high level of commitment to the madrasa; of the twenty-four families, only two with children in the relevant age group did not take them to the sessions every weekend (one took her children to a mosque in London on the grounds that there was better provision for older teenagers there; the other, Sumayya, felt it was too heavy a demand on the children's time. The madrasa thus ensured that amongst participating families, there was a systematic and well-regulated programme of teaching basic knowledge about Shi'a Islam; this would allow children to make sense of worship in the mosque, the cycle of the

⁶⁴ Erricker (2001b) suggested (in the context of some other KSI communities in Britain) that the involvement of mothers who had been encouraged to act as teachers in a volunteer capacity was unsatisfactory due to their lack of knowledge. As far as the Peterborough community was concerned this would be an over-generalization; some mothers had a considerable amount of religious study and training to underpin their teaching activities, and all were supported by a carefully constructed curriculum and teaching materials.

religious year, and much of the Islamic practice they experienced at home.

Despite the very high attendance levels and general commitment parents showed to their children's participation in the *madrassa*, a few had critical comments. One couple felt it took up too much precious time at the weekend; it was impossible to plan family days out together when children had classes on both Saturdays and Sundays. Other parents, by contrast, felt the amount of time children spent there was far too little for them to learn everything they ought to know. These parents felt it was their responsibility to provide much of the formal nurture at home, in addition to the Qur'an classes which all children attended on week-nights. There was also a small number of instances where parents were less than happy about things their children had been taught, where a teacher had been misinformed, for instance, or where children had been encouraged to do things which their parents regarded as mere tradition and of no religious significance. Such criticisms were rare, however; most parents approved of what their children learned and were active in their support.

ii. Learning about the significance of the Qur'an

In what ways did the Qur'an play a role in the lives of these children after they had completed their first full recitation? Learning to recite was a meritorious act of piety in itself, but more than a third of the interviewees talked of the importance of understanding meaning. This was something parents wanted not only for their children but for themselves.

We were always taught Arabic to read the Qur'an, and encouragement to read the translation wasn't as strong, for you to understand ... But now when we read, we read the Arabic but we go to the translation for more understanding of what we're reading ... it's now changing because people want to know what they're reading.
(Rohana)

Another mother recalled how she had struggled with the text as a child:

I think because I didn't understand the meaning of it, it was really like reading something that meant nothing to me, I couldn't do it ... That's why I haven't really picked up Arabic as well as I should have. Now I want to teach my daughter and I know I'm going to find it a problem ... I'd like her to learn what I missed out. (Saeeda)

Several other mothers with somewhat older children said they had learned a considerable amount alongside their children, in helping them with their *madrassa* homework. Most of these mothers had learned the Qur'an because they had been told they had to do so, whereas their own children were getting reasoned explanations about why certain things were believed or supposed to be practised.

Nearly half the interviewees said they thought religious life was made easier nowadays because of the availability of modern technological aids to learning. Several mentioned

playing audio cassettes to their children: *'in the home we'll try to have a Muslim atmosphere, like the Qur'an, we'll put the tape on'* (Yasmin). One mother described using video cassettes earlier in her married life when she lived a long way from the nearest KSI community. For particular festivals and commemorations she and her husband would put on a video to give the children a feeling for how the event was celebrated in a KSI mosque. Others talked about the availability of the Qur'an on the internet in Arabic, as well as translations with commentaries in various of their heritage languages and English. In one home a child was watching an Islamic children's video when I arrived for the interview; by contrast, another mother said that although they had a large collection of cassettes and videos her children hardly watched them unless they were doing something like a research project for their madrasa class (*Khatija*).

When did the KSI interviewees read or recite? Several of those with young children recited suras to their children at bed-time; Ayesha put on a tape of the *Ya Sin* sura of the Qur'an in her baby's bedroom so that he would wake up hearing it. She also recited while she breast-fed him. Qulsoom got her children to recite a portion to their grandmother every night in order to maintain their fluency. For most children the culmination of their Qur'an reading was during Ramadan; every night in the men's and women's sections of the mosque, children and adults sat in a square formation and read round the group (see below II.ii). As well as giving an opportunity for revision of their reading skills this allowed even very young children to take a public role in community worship.

None of the East African interviewees mentioned khatmi Qur'an (collective readings of the whole Qur'an) sessions, which are particularly associated with Barelwi tradition. One woman, Zahida J., described the different kinds of gatherings she held at her house: *'Our daughters, they make speeches, they research from the Qur'an and make speeches ... I would be inviting about fifty in my house, then we'd have all these lectures and recitations from the Qur'an'*. She also described something more like a study circle, where twelve to fifteen women would gather to read a *sura*:

We do it like this. I tell them we're going to do it on this sura. So we discuss, 'What is our Lord trying to tell us?' ... We believe that there is a life hereafter, and that we're not born only for the mundane, only for this physical self, but it's much deeper, spirit - the spirituality. So how do we keep it alive, how do we preserve our spirit? By learning more about the Qur'an.

II. The Five Pillars of Islam

Learning to read or recite the Qur'an was a basic formal requirement which was expected of all children in the sample, as it was with the Pakistani group. Children were also taught from an early age to live as Muslims through observance of the 'Five Pillars' of the faith.

i. Shahada

The Shahada is included in the call to prayer and would thus be heard five times a day in most countries where Muslims are in a majority; to some extent parents in that situation might take it for granted that their children would absorb it automatically. In Peterborough this was not the case, and KSI parents felt they had to make a point of teaching the Shahada to their children. About a third of the interviewees mentioned reciting it with their children at bedtime, or first thing in the morning. Some gave illustrations of how they tried to make the concept meaningful to young children, for example by talking to their children about God as Creator.

Very early in the morning, dawn, the birds chirp and everything, so we teach our children that even the animals pray to God. First thing in the morning all the animals will make sounds - they understand that there is a Greater Being that we all pray to. (Aliya)

Other parents emphasized the point that it was not enough simply to teach children a doctrine without being able to explain it as well.

When we were brought up, you say 'God is one', then you accepted it because you've been told, and that's it. Nowadays if you say 'God is one', they'll say, 'Prove it to me'. ... Her (their daughter's) religious beliefs will come through understanding. (Wazir)

Another mother, Khatija, described how her children were taught to understand concepts such as faith in God, the existence of one God rather than many, and *tawheed*, or the unity of God, in their madrasa class, and how their subsequent family discussions had also helped her to develop for herself a progressively more logical and reasoned understanding of her faith.

A further point stressed by a number of people in relation to the nurture of their children was that it was how a person lived that was important: *'your actions should speak louder than your words'* (Hussain). The priority for the majority of parents interviewed was for their children to develop understanding and commitment, not just knowledge about their religion. *'I want them to follow Islam and understand it, not just say, "OK", because I tell them, "We do this". No, I want it to get there deep down into their heart and to follow it because they want to follow it'. (Khatija)*

Most of these points provided a contrast with the approach of the Pakistani parents, not because the Khoja nurture had distinctively Shi'ite features, but because of a greater level of self-consciousness, perhaps due to their twice migrant experience and the diasporic nature of the community.

ii. Salat

There was a very high level of observance of the requirement for ritual prayer amongst adults; all but two of the interviewees said they performed the prayers and all but one had taught their children how to do them. However there was some variation in the way they were carried out.

The Shi'a doctrine that it was permissible to 'consolidate' the five sets of prayers into three daily sessions (with a double set at midday and in the evening) made performance less liable to conflict with the timings of the school or working day. A number said they did this; one appeared to consolidate all her prayers into one session at night (this seemed to be an unauthorized personal interpretation of the requirement, but one which she perhaps felt was better than not doing the prayers at all). More than half said their children had learned to pray by simply joining in when their parents were praying, or by watching them. Zaynab said that when her son was little she deviated from the appointed times for prayer so that he would be awake when she prayed, and be aware of what was going on. There was a consciousness of needing to lead by example. *'My mum asks when I go back (i.e. to Tanzania), "Do you pray at the right times?" I do - I must do these things, otherwise how can I expect the children to?' (Nahida)*. Several mothers said they had to work harder to fulfil their religious duties in Britain than in East Africa; the adhan was not called from nearby mosques as it was over there, so the five daily prayer times became a matter of private remembering rather than public announcement. Zaynab had developed a strategy to overcome this problem, though: *'If I thought I was getting slack at prayer times then I have a close friend who I'd get to give me two rings - it was like a chain call - then I'd pass it on to others'*.

Did the interviewees' children pray as much as their parents? All but one of the parents had taught their children to pray. The consolidation of afternoon and night prayers meant it was easier for parents to pray with their children at home. Several families reported some resistance by teenagers to praying at the right times; there were negotiations over whether the television could be switched on before prayers, or in one case, whether the children switched it off at all or simply had it on in the background. There was some sympathy towards children who found it difficult, and an awareness that the development of disciplined habits which would last them for a lifetime would only take place in a gradual way. For example although a number of parents had negotiated with their children's schools the use of a prayer room so that they could say afternoon prayers in winter when it was dark before they came home, they were aware that not all children used the room. For some of them there were difficulties about ritual cleanliness before prayer: *'The use of water in the toilet - if we haven't used water how can we pray? I leave a little can in the toilet [at work]. We can't expect the children to do this.'* (Hussain)

As with Qur'an reading and fasting, some parents emphasized the difference between the attitudes of children nowadays and their own experience when young. The taken-for-granted quality of nurture in their own childhood days had been superseded by an

expectation that parents would give children reasons for the religious practices they were expected to carry out, and that understanding was as important as performance: *'It's more important for you to know what you're praying. Otherwise your prayers are meaningless, if you don't know what you're saying to God.'* (Wazir)

The general pattern seemed to be one of almost universal observance by parents, eager participation by younger children, compliance with a greater or lesser degree of resistance by teenagers, and amongst young adults a substantial number who did pray, offset by some who did not. *'They were doing it when young - but now prayers is the last thing on their mind'* (Sakina). However a point made by many people from both communities during the course of the fieldwork was that patterns of religious observance and commitment were not set in stone; people's life journeys took many forms. Rohana lost both parents at a young age and had very little consciousness of religion until she married a more devout man. But for her the major turning point was the Iranian revolution and the subsequent Shi'a missionary activity and literature which had a profound impact on her. She, like another of the older interviewees, had now turned part of her house into a prayer room. The walls were covered with pictures, posters of places of pilgrimage and calligraphic texts, and books, videos, and prayer mats were piled on the shelves. Like a number of other women who had spent part of their childhood in Uganda, Tanzania or Kenya, she had come to practise her faith more observantly in Britain than in East Africa.

iii. Zakat

A few parents mentioned awareness of zakat as a channel for children to learn about Islam. They were taught about it in the context of the Five Pillars, as one aspect of right living. *'Charity plays a major part in Islam, and that has its own benefits of sharing. It's not quite the socialist principle, but it teaches you that not everybody is the same'* (Muhsin). One young couple sponsored a child in a developing country. Others talked of trying to get their children to think about giving to charity, remembering those who did not have access to the basic necessities of life. This was sometimes linked to the more general philosophy in Islam of moderation. Some expressed reservations about excessively lavish weddings and other celebrations in the Asian community.

We don't believe in squandering too much. Everything in perspective. Do not exceed the limits. We do not believe we should just indulge, because it's Christmas or Id, so that after Christmas everybody has hangovers, or all of a sudden they're bankrupt and start going, 'Oh, where have we gone wrong?' and all of a sudden they start getting angry with each other. We have to foresee and do accordingly. That's what our Islam teaches us. (Zahida J.)

In addition to the payment of zakat, Shi'a Muslims are expected to make a further charitable contribution, the *khums*. As its name suggests, it is one-fifth of a person's savings (*khumsa* means 'five' in Arabic). *'It's used for religious works - so even my daughter, the moment she became nine, started giving that out from her pocket money.'*

So last year she saved £100, so she took out £20 and gave it to a charity'. (Shabnam)

Relatively few parents mentioned zakat or khums, but this may simply have been due to the fact that they took it for granted. There were many examples in the mosque and in people's behaviour in other areas which suggested families felt a strong sense of responsibility in terms of social justice: these included appeals for charities, donations to the local Peterborough hospital at the time of Ashura, contributions to the study expenses of young people in the community as well as support for global good causes (some of these were charities of particular Shi'ite concern, such as medical aid for children in Iraq, others had regional links to the KSI community, such as the appeal following the earthquake in Gujarat).

iv. Fasting

As with the Pakistani families, fasting was almost universally observed. The exceptions in this group were one mother who said she only fasted at weekends because *'it doesn't suit me'* (Fatima H.) and another who did not mention it at all. For nearly all of the interviewees Ramadan was a time of renewal but this was expressed communally in the mosque as well as at a family and individual level in the home. Compared with the Pakistani group, the KSI parents laid much less emphasis on Ramadan as a time when they made a special effort to practise their faith at an individual level; this was perhaps because most interviewees in this group were more observant in terms of salat already. The main difference between Ramadan and the rest of the year lay in a higher level of mosque attendance and activity. A few parents mentioned the additional devotions they carried out at home. One spoke of reading the Qur'an *'and the meanings'* every year; another did the reading as a shared activity with her husband.

Half the parents spoke of going to the *majlis* held every evening at the mosque. These started with Qur'an reading (see below IV.ii). The reading was followed by special *du'a* (supplication) prayers for the month of Ramadan, a short talk by the imam broadcast on a television screen from the men's prayer room next door, and closing prayers. Upstairs in the teaching area, there were classes for younger children on aspects of Ramadan; for instance a group of nine to ten year olds were learning about fasting with all the senses - trying during the holy month to avoid gossiping and backbiting, listening to music and so on. On other nights there were debates on moral issues for those in their upper teens. The strong family atmosphere was a reflection of the fact that whilst men and women each had their own part of the mosque, all age-groups and both sexes were provided for. There were at least some facilities for children in every age-group, including a creche for babies and small toddlers, and an expectation that teenagers would take some part in teaching younger children.

What proportion of children were fasting in addition to taking part in these mosque based activities? As with the Pakistani group, it was quite variable. The difference in this case was that there was an officially designated age when girls and boys were expected to take on the religious responsibilities of adulthood. This was nine for girls and fifteen for

boys. The majority of children started at a much younger age. Most boys were fasting for some or all of the month by the age of eleven or twelve. One boy of four had done twenty-three days, after fasting for fifteen days the previous year at the age of three. The majority of the girls had fasted for most of the required days by the age of nine, and some of them also started very early, with one having fasted for the whole month at the age of four.

Like those in the Pakistani group, the KSI parents felt pressurised by their children to allow them to start fasting even at a very young age:

If we said 'No', he would go behind a table and cry his eyes out and things like that. It's the whole atmosphere of the whole house practising it, and going to the mosque in the evening, and mixing with the children there. I suppose they don't want to miss out from that. (Fatima M.)

Mumtaz highlighted the element of competitiveness:

Those classes, they have Qur'an recitation every day, and all their friends are there, and they talk among themselves, when they're growing up - you know - 'I've done ten so far, how many have you done?' That's another incentive, that their friends are fasting.

Several parents described with pride their children's ability to communicate to their peers why they were fasting:

They enjoy it, and again when they're at school, they don't think that they're missing out on anything. Because they're so used to it, and their friends also admire them, you know, 'How can you keep so hungry all the time? How can you do fasting for so long?' (Shabnam)

A small number of parents contrasted their children's experience of fasting with their own when young. Two talked about their own parents bribing their children with money or little presents; another, who had grown up isolated from any Muslims other than her immediate family, commented that, '*Ramadan used to come and go and we knew nothing about it*' (Zaynab). For the children in the KSI community in Peterborough, Ramadan was a special time, but the focus was very much on its character as a collective celebration rather than a private family affair. It was a period of time shared by the community as a whole, when people met together to renew their commitment to Islam, and when conscious efforts were made to provide for participation by children of all ages and both sexes.

v. Pilgrimage

Amongst the East African families there was a slightly different pattern from the Pakistani families. Nobody mentioned older parents having gone on hajj, but several of the

interviewees had done so themselves. Three women had been with their husbands; this included some of the youngest couples who had been before they had any children. One husband had gone with his grown-up daughter and son-in-law. Two families with children in their early teens had taken them.

The fact that they had been able to do this at a younger age was probably in part a reflection of their more prosperous lifestyle. Like the Pakistani families, though, they had competing claims on their finances; the majority had family members in East Africa, North America or the Middle East, and had visited them when possible. There were also places to visit with a specific Shi'a interest. Four of the older teenagers and several of the interviewees had been to Iran on study visits; one family was planning a holiday in Iraq and Syria to make pilgrimages to Shi'i shrines at the tombs of some of their martyrs.

As with the Pakistani families, around half of the people interviewed in their own homes had pictures and models of the Ka'ba. One woman, who had set up a prayer room in her own home, explained that she had filled it with pictures of Makkah and videos of the pilgrimage because many people (including herself) could not afford to go, and this would give them some idea of what it was like. Other interviewees stressed the point that the hajj was only an obligation on those who could afford to go, and for many of those with young families there was no immediate prospect of being able to do so.

III. Mosque and community

i. The mosque, juma' prayers and the role of the imam

How frequent was attendance at corporate worship as distinct from the madrasa sessions for children? More than two-thirds of the interviewees said they went to the mosque most weeks for the majlis on Thursday or Saturday evenings, or both. These sessions involved du'a prayers and a sermon or lecture (the latter was the term used by interviewees). Many people came as families; men and women had separate prayer halls, but there was no suggestion that women's attendance was less important than that of men. Indeed one of the key differences between congregational worship at the KSI mosque and the Pakistani ones was the expectation that women would participate fully in public worship. There were quite a lot of girls from the age of three years upward in the women's prayer hall, but there was also provision for mothers with babies on the first floor. The large open space had the worship relayed to it over close-circuit television; mothers sat up there with babies and toddlers, and there was sometimes a creche (which did however charge for child-care). Fathers took their sons, even quite young ones, into the men's prayer hall. *'He goes with his daddy to the mosque - Hayder always took him even when very young. I like that because if he comes in the ladies' section upstairs he runs around quite a lot - if he's with the men he's good as gold' (Zaynab).* Another couple described how their young son would creep up and sit next to the imam, quiet and well aware of how he was expected to behave. Younger children were allowed to remain in the prayer halls if they were completely quiet, but had to go

upstairs if noisy. Thus the learning of appropriate behaviour began at an early age for children of both sexes. Indeed their participation was valued and encouraged.

*Children will do something before the main sermon, for example a bit about the Imam's life and sayings; children get boosting to go in front of people and doing public speaking. They get a sense of competition, of wanting to do better.
(Hussain)*

Worship thus seemed to be structured in such a way that all family members could attend and take part. Only two problems were mentioned in connection with mosque attendance. One was language. For many of the younger family members, long lectures in Urdu were a trial. Parents tried to support them by discussing the content of the lecture going back in the car, or when they arrived home. When possible translation was provided.

*When we were young we had to put up with this - you just have to understand. Now they're trying to give our lectures in English first then the other languages - so the young people don't get bored. We have taken language seriously as an issue.
(Shanaz)*

It was not always possible to do this but Saturday evening lectures were usually in English. Language was a problem for younger people, but not only for children; some of the younger parents had little grasp of Urdu and found it quite difficult to enjoy attending the majlis as a consequence.⁶⁵ A second issue with older children was the pressure of homework as their public examinations loomed, and a number of parents said they let their children miss Thursday night worship if they were under heavy work pressure.

It appeared that the emphasis in Islam on public worship as an expectation on men but not necessarily on women had been circumvented, though not intentionally, through the development of a pattern of other worship occasions which were attended by all family members. Only two people mentioned attendance at juma' prayers, saying they did not usually go because they were at work; one added: '*Anyway, it's mainly for the men*' (Fatima H.). So men carried out their Islamic obligation to attend juma' prayers, and to go to congregational prayers at the mosque on Id al Fitr and Id al Adha, but these were additional to the more family-oriented occasions such as the evening majlis sessions. Large numbers of both men and women attended mosque worship during the holy month of Ramadan, the mourning months of Muharram and Safar, the many other days of celebration or of sadness, and the regular sessions on Thursday and Saturday nights. There was no sense whatsoever of women being excluded from corporate worship or community activity.

⁶⁵ In 2001 a new imam was appointed. A man with fluent English was chosen, specifically because of this need.

ii. Other activities run through the mosque

At certain times of year, notably at the Ids and during Muharram, visits were organized to mosques in other parts of Britain, particularly London and Birmingham. Coaches were provided to transport people from the Hussaini Islamic Centre; for many of them this was a family visit as well as a religious one, but the primary purpose was to attend special lectures or seminars arranged for key times in the religious year.

There was also an extensive programme of social and leisure events. As mentioned in Chapter 5, swimming and sports activities were organized on a regular basis. Far more ambitious was an annual sporting event, when a large sports centre was hired, and tournaments and championships were organized, with visiting teams from other KSI communities. Several of the interviewees had trophies and shields won at such events, on display in their homes. Other social events included old people's sessions at the mosque every week; one elderly mother had chosen to move out of her son's home in order to live closer to the mosque, enabling her to attend events there more easily.

Parents valued the social opportunities provided by mosque attendance. Their children could mix with other members of the community and spend at least a little time in an environment where they were not subject to the pressures of western secularism. One father thought this was almost more significant than the religious experience: '*... it's important that he actually picks up good friends, and if they're within the community, I feel that they are the sort of children who will respect elders and so on, so I try to guide him towards them*' (Rizwan). Others spoke from their own experience when younger of the support they derived through being with others from a similar background. Rohana was speaking here about how she anticipated encouraging her own little daughter to do the same in a few years time:

You make friends and you begin to discuss the problems that you do go through ... like when I was young and wearing hijab at school, my friends were in the same sort of boat ... and it would encourage us, even give us answers sometimes about what we could do.

In addition to providing activities and events which involved young people at the mosque, the community organized residential camps for older children. These took place for both boys and girls, often at the same place, but were gender-segregated. The previous summer a large group of young people had been to the Isle of Wight for several days, with a programme of events including sports, competitions, discussions and religious teaching (see Nesbitt 2000 for an account of similar camps for young British Sikhs). The purpose was to develop friendships and to strengthen a sense of community amongst the younger generation.⁶⁶ Other camps involved parents to a greater degree; for example there had been a recent week long camp in Staffordshire,

⁶⁶ An account of this trip in the Hussein Islamic Centre's Ramadan newsletter (1998/1418) was very similar to accounts by young people of residential trips by teenagers of any religious or cultural background in Britain (the feature reported on in most detail was that they stayed awake most of the night talking).

which parents could come and join on the Friday night. Some older teenagers went on international camps; some of the girls had been to one in Switzerland. A small number had been on study visits to Iran; this, like many of the activities for young people, was heavily subsidized by more prosperous members of the community. Parents paid what they could towards the cost, but *'then we would seek donations. We have generous people who contribute'* (Rizwan).

One issue raised by several parents was the paucity of regular provision for older teenagers. There had been some attempts to address this problem. One of these involved setting the young people research projects; another gave them the opportunity to organize an event at the mosque. There had been a series of debates for young people during Ramadan (see section IV below). Secular needs were provided for as well, in the form of study skills courses for those about to go to university, and for those about to take their GCSE examinations (see above Chapter 3). This was another example of the community's members identifying roles and situations which could help to promote loyalty and mutual aid.

IV. The cycle of the religious year

i. The Shi'a calendar

All Muslims share the Islamic lunar calendar with its annual cycle of festivals and commemorations. The fasting or holy month of Ramadan, and within it, Lailat al Qadr (Night of Power), the night which recalls the revelation of the Qur'an, Islamic New Year at the beginning of the month of Muharram, Ashura commemorating the battle of Karbala and the killing of the Prophet's grandson Hussain, the Mawlid or birthday of the Prophet Muhammad - these are celebrated to greater or lesser extents by most Muslims globally. For Shi'a Muslims there are additional events which in the case of the Khoja community in Peterborough gave a focus and pattern to their lives on an almost weekly basis. Birthdays and death days of the Shi'a Imams, significant events in Shi'a history such as Id al Mubahila and Id al Ghadir, and above all the events of Karbala, shaped the pattern of their lives through mosque attendance, dress and public witness in external terms, and emotion and devotion in spiritual ones.⁶⁷ This cycle of celebrations and commemorations formed a central core in the formal religious nurture of young people in the community.

We go to the mosque quite often and things are always happening. They learn from their activities. 'Why are we going today?' 'Why are we not going tomorrow?' 'What is it today?' 'Why do we dress in black clothes today?' 'Why are we dressing up today?' So they learn like that. (Aliya)

⁶⁷ Id al Mubahila is a festival commemorating a Muslim-Christian disputation which Shi'a Muslims celebrate as a triumph of truth over falsehood; on Id al Ghadir Shi'a Muslims celebrate the designation of Ali by the Prophet Muhammad as his successor.

The significance of this was that the cycle of the religious year gave very frequent opportunities for reassertion of a sense of community through majlis. It provided the framework in doctrinal terms for revisiting the foundation events of Shi'a Islam, whilst also giving powerful emotional expression to the universal values and aspirations connected with these events.⁶⁸

ii. Ramadan: mosque and community

The fulfilment of the requirement to fast during Ramadan has been discussed above (III.iv). In addition to performing the essentially private act of fasting, the Peterborough KSI community used the month as an opportunity for collective religious regeneration. Every evening many families in the interview sample went to the mosque either to break (or 'open') their fast at sundown, or to take part in Qur'an reading and prayer soon after. In the women's prayer hall every night young women and girls (and older ones supervising the proceedings) would gradually arrive and take their places on three sides of a square of reading stands with copies of the Qur'an. Each would read a passage in turn, occasionally being corrected by the adult leader.

They recite their Qur'an, be it two lines or a paragraph, because so many girls come, thirty, forty, sixty sometimes; they get time to recite a bit of Qur'an and by the end of Ramadan, if you see them, they have got such a good fluency, because every day they are reading and there's somebody correcting them if they are making a mistake. (Qulsoom)

This public recitation included young girls who had only recently begun learning to read as well as older ones who had completed a course of Qur'an reading and for whom this was an annual revision and opportunity to improve their performance.

The emphasis on the Qur'an during Ramadan was linked to commemoration of its revelation to the Prophet Muhammad during this month according to Muslim tradition. This was particularly the case on Lailat ul Qadr. *'We usually stay awake (all night). It's the day the Qur'an came down. We try and ask for forgiveness and hopefully get forgiven. It's the most important in the whole year. I stayed awake at home - I brought the little ones back'. (Shanaz)*

For children and young people there were additional activities. The madrasa year ended just before the start of Ramadan, with examinations for all classes. During Ramadan there were no daytime classes at the weekend; instead special sessions took place every night whilst the adults and many of the older children were taking part in worship in the main prayer halls. These classes were mainly for the four to ten year olds, and were taught largely by teenagers and young adults. The atmosphere was more celebratory and less serious than usual, and there were sweets and snacks to compensate for the rigours of fasting during the day. Children had special workbooks

⁶⁸ See, for example, the chapter by Schubel (1996) which has the evocative sub-title, 'Every day is Ashura, everywhere is Karbala'.

which reinforced understanding of the reasons for fasting, and helped to teach religious concepts and language.

The activities also emphasized the moral dimension of fasting, the idea of fasting with all one's senses, and the concept of Ramadan as a time of self-discipline generally. Attempts were being made to provide something similarly instructive but at an appropriate level for older teenage members of the community. A series of 'youth nights' were organized; controversially, the discussions were not gender-segregated as they were for all other mosque activities. An account of the sessions was published in the community's Ramadan magazine.

The organizers made it very clear they weren't there to give any concrete solutions to our problems. It was aimed for giving us the chance to talk and say what we, as youths in the West, are facing. (The Hussein Newsletter, 1st Shawwal 1420/8th January 2000)

The topics discussed on successive evenings included communication, university life and how to cope with it, early marriages and a question and answer session with the imam. A more detailed report on one of the discussion nights raised the issue of *muta'*, or temporary marriage, which a number of those present were aware of but many had never heard about in any detail. The debate clearly raised a considerable amount of interest in terms of whether something like *muta'* which was allowed Islamically (for Shi'a Muslims) was nonetheless unacceptable to the community, and of how it might be viewed in moral terms. Some of the interviewees had been involved in organizing these discussions and it became clear that they occasioned disapproval from some members of the community, mainly because young women and men were there together, even though the sessions were appreciated by the young people who took part.

Id al Fitr was the occasion for a prize-giving ceremony. Prizes were awarded for good performance in the madrasa examinations, for the best entries in an Id card competition and for good attendance records. There were also prizes for little children who did not yet attend madrasa which allowed them a part in the event. The philosophy seemed to be one of encouraging a sense of achievement and identification amongst all the young people there, as there were also gifts and a heartfelt expression of thanks to all those who had helped teach in the madrasa during the course of the year.

iii. Muharram and Safar

The first two months of the Islamic year are of momentous significance in Shi'a Islam. During Muharram the story is retold of how Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet and the son of Ali and Fatima, was killed, and his own infant son and most of his supporters were put to the sword; how his followers and their wives, sisters and daughters were mercilessly deprived of water in the desert heat, and how eventually the women were treated with shameful lack of respect and taken as captives back to Damascus. The retelling of the events of Karbala is charged with emotion as worshippers call to mind

again the courage, nobility and suffering of Hussein's small band of martyrs, and the ruthless cruelty of the Caliph's militia. People are reminded of the moral issues for the twenty-first century: they should have the courage to stand up to the aggressor and the wrong-doer; they should show mercy to the suffering. They should be willing to make sacrifices for their beliefs as Hussein and the family of the Prophet did at Karbala. They should show remorse for the terrible fate meted out to the progeny of the Prophet Muhammad (Zakir, n.d.).

These moral paradigms are activated by the telling of different parts of the story of Karbala on successive days leading up to Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram, when the final events are commemorated (for an account of these commemorative days in a North American context, see Schubel 1996). In the mosque the atmosphere is sombre; people dress in black. I have reproduced here the following account from my fieldwork notes to convey something of the intense emotion generated by the prayers, chants, sermons and enactments of the Muharram worship at the Shi'a mosque.

Muharram 1421/ April 2000: pages from my fieldwork diary

10.30 on the Saturday morning; 3rd Muharram. When I arrived there were few other people present - about a dozen women and girls, all dressed in black. Prayers in Arabic were being read by a girl of about ten, sitting at the front facing the minbar which was covered with a black carpet. Next to it was an 'alam (battle standard) of the hand of Fatima and a crescent moon, also shrouded in black with gold interweaving. The prayers continued with a succession of readers for about forty minutes. More and more people arrived until there were about one hundred and fifty women, girls of all ages, and small boys, all in full black. The older girls (eight to ten year olds) were keeping the younger ones in order; all behaved extremely well.

A woman in her late thirties climbed the minbar and preached, without notes and in Urdu, for forty minutes. The gist of it, I found out later, was that Islam was all or nothing; you couldn't just pick out bits you liked and ignore those you didn't like. After about half an hour, her voice rose to a crescendo, and there was a barely perceptible ripple of movement, as though something was going to happen. It was people getting out their handkerchiefs. The preacher started on a fervent recall of the events of Karbala, calling on Hussain and his companions - open weeping by many, including the preacher herself.

Then the 'alam was carried into the centre of the hall. The weeping stopped almost as abruptly as it had started. There was more calling on Hussein; people started to beat their breasts in sorrow; some older women did it quite vigorously alternating right and left arms, others in a more symbolic manner, for about ten minutes. More cries of 'Ya Hussein!', then more prayers, this time chanted by all together.

It ended about quarter past twelve, with everybody sharing drinks and samosas and cheerful socializing. I was struck by the impact all this would have on the

children. They were learning to chant responses, dress in black, beat their breasts (even two to three year olds were doing this), touch the 'alam for a blessing, behave appropriately, and for a number, perform quite long and complicated Arabic recitations.

Evening programme, Monday 10th April, 8th Muharram.

Long strips of prayer matting had been laid out. Gradually more and more people arrived; by the time the adhan was called at five past eight, there were about fifty people there including quite a lot of teenage girls. Women put on big white veils which covered them completely but for their faces. As people came in they went and picked up little clay discs from a basket; these are placed on the ground in front of somebody praying, in such a way that when they prostrate themselves, their foreheads touch the earth of Karbala (which is where the clay for the discs is obtained). People kissed them before putting them down on the carpet.

In front of the glass shrine area was a table with two coffin-like boxes covered with cloths and flowers; they symbolised the corpses of Zainab's two young sons, Muhammad and Aun, who were amongst the Karbala martyrs. Some people as they came in, and others later, went to the glass Karbala case and touched or kissed the cloths covering the 'alams. Shabnam later said to me, 'I can't go to Karbala every day, but when I go to the glass cupboard it's like going to pay my respects'.

When it was time for the sermon in Urdu, most of the children went upstairs for classes. I went too, to see their work and observe the lessons. You could hear the voice of the preacher downstairs, and by the time I came out he was building up to the sorrowful climax and the signal for people to start 'weeping for Hussain'.

Ashura: 15th April 2001

Chanting in the women's prayer hall; then the TV was switched on and the preacher from the men's hall started his lecture. ... He approached his audience with far more intensity of emotion than the other night, and was soon hoarse and in tears himself as he recounted some of the most harrowing parts of the story. The women wept with him, and you could hear over the loudspeaker conspicuous sobs coming from the men's prayer hall. As at the session I went to last Saturday, the weeping seemed quite orchestrated, but no less sincere for that. This time the preacher quoted the sixth Imam as saying that on the Day of Judgement, there would not be a dry eye in the universe - except for those who had wept for Hussain at Ashura (quite a lot of this was given in both English and Urdu).

The women's hall was completely full now (at least two hundred people), and the TV screen showed the imam standing dramatically in silence as he waited to begin. All lights except those in the glass Karbala cabinet were turned off. It was not long before he drew the congregation to a pitch of frenzied weeping, and could hardly

He speak himself. It was all in Urdu, but his hoarse anguished utterances were enough to make the meaning clear. Uncontrolled weeping from both women and men. As before, it ended as quickly as it had begun.

The television was turned off and the PA system back on; people started on prayers: some with statement and response, some chanted by everybody, some in Urdu, most in Arabic. After a while people started doing matam (breast beating). The hall was still dark. After about a quarter of an hour of chanting and matam, there was a sudden sense of greater urgency. From the back, a coffin was carried in, draped with black cloths, covered with fabric roses, and a black turban lying at the front end. To antiphonal responses of 'Ya Hussein!', some close to hysterical, the coffin was carried round the hall, pushing through the women and girls who surged forward to touch it. It was laid down at the front, and the chanting and breast beating continued, interspersed from time to time with more bursts of 'Ya Hussein!' or 'Hussein zindabad!'

I kept thinking it was going to end, but it didn't. In the end I left, having been there for two hours, and feeling emotionally exhausted from the intensity of it all.

What was the significance of this in terms of children's religious nurture? Firstly, it was something in which even small children were involved and had active roles to play. They were given recitations to perform, in a very serious and solemn atmosphere and in the presence of dozens and sometimes hundreds of people. They learned to participate in worship in the same way as adults, by saying or chanting the responses, by taking part in matam, by touching or kissing the 'alams. Upstairs in the children's classes they were learning in English the stories, relationships and moral teachings which made sense of the events in the majlis. For example a good many exercises in the workbooks were to do with the family tree of the Prophet; children were taught not only the names of the martyrs of Karbala, but what each one was particularly remembered for. The ensemble of story, enactment, symbol and meaning took them back to the roots of Shi'ism, to the reasons why they followed the Prophet's line for their leadership, and how the moral imperatives of Karbala should form a touchstone for their own conduct.

Older children learned more detailed versions of the story, more of the Arabic vocabulary associated with it, and were invited to reflect on what they might have done if they had been at Karbala, what they would sacrifice for Islam now, what it meant to be a good Muslim, and so on.

The emotional nature of the worship, the sight of large numbers of adults weeping with abandon, would make a strong impression on any child, and this was borne out by the comments of one mother whose older children had in general caused her considerable disappointment by failing to live as devout Muslims.

The month of Muharram is very important for us. There is some magnetic force. In the daytime they don't come when they are working but at night everyone is there. I

don't have to push them. ... Muharram is a very very sad month. It's automatically - some sort of force; even those children who sometimes don't want to go make sure that they take time off and make their way to mosque. (Sakina)

Another mother, Nahida, said that although she was glad that schools now recognized the requirements of faiths other than Christianity to the extent of allowing pupils to take time off on Id al Fitr, she wished the holiday could be given for Ashura instead because she felt it was much more important. The centrality of Karbala was indicated by the fact that its events were recounted in the last five minutes of every majlis throughout the year.

A number of features of the *azaderi* (mourning rituals) are of interest in that they represent changes in a migration context. The first is the privatisation of matam. A more detailed account of this is given in Chapter 5 with reference to the concept of authority. The practice of matam in some areas of dense Shi'a population such as Iran, Iraq and parts of India such as the city of Lucknow, is a public demonstration of remorse which can involve street processions of men whipping themselves, often with sharp instruments or chains, and drawing blood, occasionally to the point of quite serious self-wounding (Richard 1991). This practice was modified by the Peterborough Shi'a community in two interesting ways. The first was in relation to public expression of beliefs about the message of Imam Hussein. This witness aspect had been preserved in the form of an annual public procession from the mosque to Cathedral Square in the middle of the city, followed by a short public speech about standing up to the tyranny of oppressors, and defending the truth if necessary at the cost of one's life. Cool drinks were distributed to members of the public - a reference to the cries for water in the desert by the martyrs of Karbala that went unheeded by their attackers. The community had recognized that members of the public in Peterborough might find matam, even in the modified form of rhythmic breast-beating, at best incomprehensible, at worst frightening and antagonising (see above, Chapter 5). It had therefore been decided to perform matam only within the confines of the mosque (or people's own homes).⁶⁹

The second aspect - that of willingness to shed one's blood in sacrifice for Islam - had been met by some KSI groups in the west by a collective arrangement to donate blood

⁶⁹ Potential misunderstanding by non-Shi'a was presented as the reason, but it was clearly a matter of debate amongst some members of the community internally as well. One interviewee described in some detail the disagreement between herself and her husband on this issue:

When a loved person is dead, how would you signify your grief? Now some people say, 'I'd probably cry and cry and get it all out', while others would not cry as much, they would sit in the corner and think about what went on. So it's different stages - it's not that I do it better or she has more feeling or I than her, it's just the way we convey - that's what matam is - it's the way you convey your grief to Imam Hussein. So what I tell my husband is, 'Don't condemn the ones who do it. If you don't want to do it, don't do it. Do you know what's in their hearts, or all they're going through?' ... I think we've given so much importance to it that if you don't do it someone turns round and says, 'Why don't you do it - aren't you a Muslim any more?' and things like that. I think they just do it for the sake of it so they don't look odd ... So with my son I'd probably let him ask why. (Kaniz)

(Schubel 1996). The community in Peterborough had approached the local blood donation services to try to arrange this, but was not happy that the service was unable to guarantee male nurses for male blood donors and female ones for the women. It was therefore decided to make a collective financial donation to the local hospital's neo-natal unit as a symbolic substitute.

A third difference was that this community did not act out, either with humans or with puppets, the events of the battle of Karbala, as is done in many Shi'a communities. The protagonists and their roles in the events commemorated on different days leading up to Ashura were recalled symbolically through the use of 'alams, the battle standards that were usually kept in the shrine cabinet at the front of the prayer hall, and processions in which coffins (of different sizes according to the age of the martyrs they represented) were borne into the prayer hall as a focus for mourning on successive days.

V. Transgenerational change

What continuities were there between the formal religious nurture of children growing up in Peterborough and that experienced by their parents in Britain, East Africa or other areas of Khoja Shi'a settlement?

All those who had spent part of their childhood or adolescence in East Africa mentioned the differences which resulted from growing up in an environment in which Islam was practised more publicly, notwithstanding the fact that the area of residence also included Asian origin Hindu, Sikh and Christian communities as well as black African and white British ones. Several said their homes were close to mosques, or in an area where they heard the adhan called five times a day. When their family was fasting, so were most of the other people they encountered. Many said they had attended Muslim and sometimes specifically Shi'a schools. For the majority, the pattern was that they attended primary school in the morning then went to the mosque in the afternoon to learn to read the Qur'an, to pray, to study their community's history, values and so on. Some of them went to schools where Islamic subjects were on the regular timetable. They were in a majority, which meant they were not thinking '*We are Muslims*', but simply, '*We are we*' (*Khatija*). Id al Fitr was much more publicly celebrated, with all the mosques lit up; one mother said that in her childhood in Tanzania, Christianity and Islam seemed to be on an equal footing and their festivals were acknowledged with equal prominence. During Muharram Shi'a Muslims wore black all the time in East Africa, in contrast to Peterborough where people wore black in token of mourning at the mosque but not in their everyday activities nor at home.

All this meant that in the East African context an Islamic atmosphere had been part of the general environment, which was at once a positive and a negative feature. One mother said she felt she practised her faith more seriously in Britain because she could no longer take it for granted. Several parents said they had to work much harder to create an Islamic environment for their children at home, because there were no such surroundings

in Britain generally. It is not easy to make transgenerational comparisons, however, because there was a considerable diversity of experience amongst those who grew up in East Africa. For example, three people had been orphaned or in difficult circumstances from an early age, had been brought up by relatives or family friends and had not had a consistent religious upbringing.

There was even greater diversity amongst those who grew up in Britain. A number of those who had moved to Britain with their families had gone to parts of the country quite distant from other Khoja Shi'a families and had had relatively little religious experience or teaching. One couple had spent some years in a small town in the west country, another family lived in rural Lancashire. Another interviewee, Yasmin, had parents who were '*quite westernized*'; in a further case a mixed Sunni-Shi'a marriage and a large number of children meant there had been much more emphasis on family than on community. Other parents had tried to involve their children in mosque and community life, but with considerable difficulty: '*when we were in London, there was no purpose built mosque, so we had to go to Hammersmith where they hired a hall for the religious month. By the time we got there the children were asleep, they were too tired*' (Fatima M.). However some of those who had grown up in Britain had lived near to a Khoja centre, including the three who had grown up in Peterborough, and had been fully involved in the life of a local mosque in terms of religious nurture.

When the first small group of KSI families moved to Peterborough there was a conscious attempt to establish the same kind of community centre and religious life as there had been in East Africa. The very name of the mosque - 'The Hussein Islamic Centre' - suggested its community functions. Even before it was built, families used to gather to teach their children.

When we came to Peterborough there were only four or five families. People prayed at each other's houses... As time went on, we went to the mosque. Then, any mother who had time would sit and explain things to kids, in the annexe which we had then, before completion of the current building. (Munira)

There was an awareness of what needed to be done, which stemmed in part from the twice migrant experience of those who had already lived away from their Indian root community and been part of a minority existence in the cities of East Africa.

Again more or less the set up was very similar. Similar because my generation was involved in setting up the madrasa ... so we tried to bring in the same set up from East Africa. So in terms of madrasa, Qur'an classes - things like that are very similar. (Rizwan)

Once the mosque and attendant functions were established they acted as a magnet for other KSI families wanting to bring up their families where such facilities existed.

There was no mosque around because we were living in Dorset. And the vicar

invited me to the church, for the service, and we went, me and my boys, and they were for peace of the world, and he even said it: 'You're welcome to stay on - why are you moving out?' Because I said to him afterward that I've got to move somewhere where I can go to my own mosque with the boys. (Sajjida)

There were several ways in which the provision for religious nurture available through the Peterborough mosque was different from that which the parental generation had experienced. These included the provision of some sermons in English, less strictness over attendance, attempts to kindle children's interest rather than taking their attendance for granted, the acceptance of a questioning attitude (for adults as well as young people), and the use of modern media such as video, children's books, computers and CD-ROMs in contrast to the audio tapes and adult books they had had. There was also a recognition that all was not necessarily lost if people failed to receive an adequate religious grounding as children; many of the adults talked about how much they themselves had learned through hearing sermons in English, through reading the workbooks their children had brought from the madrasa, and through the more open, questioning and reflective attitude which they attributed at least in part to the impact of the Iranian revolution.

Other important factors which contributed to difference included the fact that some had had parents who simply were not very religious, whether in East Africa or Britain. Others in the older generation were overcharged with domestic responsibility. Migration had brought about certain changes, but so had the passage of time. One man talked about how much his own father appeared to have changed, from being strict and inflexible when he was younger, to enjoying a good discussion now - even if his three sons were arguing against him.

Conclusion

Parents from the KSI interview group showed a very strong commitment to ensuring that their children had a high level of formal religious nurture. A key difference from the Pakistani community was that the experiences of boys and girls were parallel and of equal standard and status, and for both this involved participation in congregational events at the mosque. In the vast majority of cases, by the time children reached maturity in religious terms, they would have had the following experiences.

They would have learned to read/recite the Qur'an, and having done so, would have taken part in public recitations during Ramadan. They would have studied a curriculum which included Islamic history - in particular, the Shi'a understanding of that history with its special emphasis on the progeny of the Prophet Muhammad - as well as law, Islamic conduct and ethics, and had done this seriously and taken examinations. This would have been supported and developed through their mosque attendance during the course of the religious year. The children would have begun to fast during Ramadan, and in most cases would be doing so for the whole month by the time they started at

secondary school; they would pray salat which they had learned to do at home. They would not only have learned to carry out these formal requirements of their faith, but would have been taught reasons why these things were done. A large number of parents stressed this point as a necessary feature of present-day children's religious nurture, and a key difference from their own generation's experience. As teenagers some of the children would have taken part in residential trips with a religious instruction component, study visits abroad, and most recently mixed-sex Ramadan debates. As well as acquiring knowledge about Shi'a Islam, they would also have been encouraged to feel they were members of the community through taking on roles as teachers in the madrasa, taking part in sports tournaments and participating in or leading study skills groups.

Most of these things (with the exception of the residential trips) were done by nearly all the families in the study. It is possible this was uncharacteristic for the community as a whole (see above Chapter 2), but it was consistent across the interview sample. This suggested firstly that families and community valued the provision of religious nurture very highly. There was some evidence that this was linked to previous collective experience as a religious minority in East Africa. The second conclusion is that families and community were in a position to act on this priority of providing religious nurture because collectively they were educated, prosperous, and had the organizational experience to build institutions and structures which would perpetuate their religious traditions in a British context. The third factor which supported the perpetuation of Shi'a Islam was the annual cycle of religious events, modified in a migration context but portable and not tied to a specific place, which gave children and young people a constant experience of reconnection with the faith. Fourthly, the Iranian revolution appeared to have brought about a sense of religious renewal and revitalization. These four factors - the 'twice migrant' experience, the characteristics of the community, the characteristics of the religious group and the impact of world events, in the form of the Iranian revolution - combined to make the perpetuation of Twelver Shi'a Islam within the Khoja community a more feasible task than was the case for some other migrant religious groups.

Chapter 9. School education and Muslim parents

In Chapter 1 some issues were identified concerning differences in the principles underlying western and Islamic philosophies of education, and the implications of this for the school education of Muslim children in Britain. It was seen also that research evidence suggested that educational outcomes for (mainly) Muslim young people of Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds taken as a group were not as good as those for South Asians of other backgrounds, including East African Asians, but that this effect appeared to be related more to pre-migration history, social class, duration of residence in Britain, and attitudes to migration than to any religious effect. Chapters 4 and 5 explored the aspirational values of the two groups of Peterborough Muslim families in this study, and the Chapters 6, 7 and 8 showed strong support in both the Pakistani and the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri groups for Islamic education in both informal and formal contexts.

This last data chapter will explore how these characteristics were reflected in parents' attitudes to their children's schooling, and how far parents shared the antipathy of both Islamist and religiously traditionalist writers to the mainstream education system in Britain (see above Chapter 1 section IX). This is relevant to the study of children's nurture because of the underlying idea that their schools, with a broadly liberal secular approach, might undermine the religious nurture children were experiencing at home. The third generation children from both Pakistani and KSI families were in many cases attending the same schools and facing similar issues, but there was some difference of parental approach in the two groups. I shall discuss first the Pakistani and then the KSI parents in terms of their educational aspirations for their children, the degree of support they gave to their children at school, and the extent to which schools had met Muslim expectations. Finally I shall explore how far parents in the two communities felt there was a conflict of values between the children's home nurture and their education in schools.

I. Pakistani families

i. Parental aspirations

A key characteristic was the almost universal expression of high educational aspirations. Pakistani parents interviewed shared the positive attitudes to British school education outlined in the literature review of Chapter 1. This went beyond a simple desire for children to succeed at school, though one mother who had never been to school herself said her main goal was for her children *'to learn to read and write'* (Sakina). Two-thirds of the Pakistani-origin interviewees in the current study said they would like their children to go on to university. Four families had a total of nine children who were above the age of eighteen. Two-thirds of these children were already graduates or were currently university students; three out of the six were girls.

Many of the interviewees wished both male and female children to study to degree level; just four out of twenty-four had somewhat different expectations for their daughters than for their sons. In the first case, the mother was very happy for her daughter to go to university but said the father disagreed; in the other three cases parents were definite about wanting their sons to go to university and a little more tentative about their daughters, modifying their answers by phrases such as, *'if she wants to'*. As seen above, Masood, whose daughter had already graduated successfully, said that allowing her to go away had been the hardest decision of his life. The large majority of parents appeared to accept the principle of girls going on to higher education; one said it would be made easier by the opening of university level courses at Peterborough Regional College, a development just beginning to take place at the time of the fieldwork. This would mean women and girls could study to degree level without having to travel far or live away from home. Several parents argued that from the point of view of Islam, women as well as men were required to educate themselves. Traditionalist views had militated against this in the past; Khaliq said that *'cultural attitudes'* had prevented girls being allowed to go away to college. Another factor that inhibited participation in tertiary education was the nature of British immigration rules. As noted in Chapter 4 above, these required a young woman to be able to demonstrate financial independence through a steady job in order to sponsor the entry into Britain of a fiance from Pakistan. For a few of the female interviewees the expectation of early marriage had obliged them to start work rather than continuing with study in order to establish a stable employment record.

Four of the interviewees said emphatically that they would wish their children to do what they would be happy in; they did not intend to push them to study or work in particular areas simply to give added status to the family. One mother referred to the alleged propensity of Asian parents to hope their children would become doctors, lawyers or accountants as *'old fashioned'* (*Bilqis*). On the other hand several of the interviewees did express a strong hope that their children would enter these or similar professions.

To what extent was the secular nature of British education a concern or problem for parents of Pakistani origin? When asked about their priorities for their offspring, just over one-third said education was the most important concern in their children's upbringing. A further third gave an answer which combined education and the maintenance of religious and cultural values. A typical answer in this group was that of Shahzad: *'I'd like them to grow up to be good Muslims, to have a good education - hopefully better than mine - and value their religion and respect their elders'*. Two identified religion and culture as the top priority, including just one whose main hope was that her son would have a strong Muslim identity. Others gave a range of answers, often combining two or more priorities, and these were sometimes as much a reflection of people's present situations as their aspirations for the future. One (whose marriage was teetering on the brink of collapse) said she hoped her children would keep together with the family; another (who had recently suffered a bereavement) hoped her children would be healthy. Others had aspirations that might have been given by parents of any background, such as that their children would be happy, *'normal'*, have jobs they enjoyed and be married to

decent people they got on with, be successful at whatever they chose to do and that they would grow up be *'good-natured human beings'*. Several said they wanted their children (including the girls) to have an education and a career first and marriage later; they compared this with their own (implicitly less satisfactory) experiences of early marriage.

These answers suggested that whilst education was extremely important to many of the interviewees, it was not their only concern. This is a point of central importance. Most of them did not report a perception of conflict of values between home and school. There was no suggestion from any of them that they thought secular educational success had to be bought at the cost of abandoning religious and cultural values.

ii. Support for Pakistani children's school education

A paramount concern was that children should go to a 'good' school. No parent in the interview sample expressed dissatisfaction with their children's school. This may have been due in part to the fact that a number had rejected the places they were offered when their children started at primary or secondary school. In one quarter of cases they appealed against the initial allocations on the grounds that the allocated school was racist (Uzma, Shagufta), was too monoculturally Pakistani (Shazia, Mussarat, Shahzad) or was not good enough academically (Tasleem). (These were the reasons given in interview; no doubt different ones were given in appeals to the education department in some cases. The fact that a school had a reputation for high levels of racist prejudice and discrimination would be unlikely to be accepted as a criterion for appeal). All these appeals were successful in the end, though some went to second hearings. I was unable to obtain precise comparative data for the general level of parental appeals in the years concerned but this appeared to be a very high level of challenge, and suggested that parents saw attendance at a 'good' school as essential to their children's academic success and to the avoidance of the social and economic problems associated with under-achievement amongst ethnic minority students, particularly boys (it may or may not be a coincidence that in all six cases above, the children whose school place allocations were challenged were boys; they were also eldest children).

In further cases parents had started their children at one school then moved them to a different one. Shagufta and her husband had managed to get their eldest son into a 'good' school on appeal; when he got to the stage of moving into the sixth form they moved house to be close to a school with an even better reputation for academic success, and their younger children were moved to that school as well. Uzma's family underwent considerable financial hardship to allow one son to start at a 'good' school as a boarder - the only way he could get a place.

Some parents were critical of staff attitudes at one of the schools with a high proportion of Pakistani pupils. These parents felt children were stereotyped and their individual strengths and weaknesses overlooked. They also felt that a culturally mixed environment would serve their children better in the long run, and three therefore took

their children out of their nearest neighbourhood school and obtained places at more culturally mixed ones.

The value some of these families put on education was illustrated clearly in the case of Nargis's family. An important decision had to be made when her husband was made redundant; he was offered a job in northern Britain. She and the children had three possible options: they could move house and go with him, he could turn down the job and live on unemployment benefit, or they could stay where they were and let him live up north during the working week. They chose the last of these on the grounds that it would cause disruption at a crucial stage of their children's education if they moved house at that point (they were united in feeling that a job under any circumstances was better than unemployment).

Finding and obtaining a place at a 'good' school was not the only concern; a number of parents spoke of sending their children to nursery so that they had some competence in English before starting school. A recent campaign supported by the Multicultural Education Service in Peterborough had tried to spread public awareness in the Asian community generally of the problems children often faced on starting school if they had no real grasp of the English language. Nearly all the interviewees with four year old children did send them to nursery or playgroup, but were less likely to do so with younger ones.

All the parents described things they did to try to help their children and support their educational progress. This help and support took a variety of forms. In terms of interaction with schools, several parents mentioned attending parents' evenings. About half described helping children with their homework, for example by hearing them read, helping them with written work and mathematics, with handwriting and other basic skills, as well as buying books and educational videos or borrowing them from the public library. As seen in Chapter 6 above, some showed their commitment to encouraging the children's full participation in school life by allowing them to go on residential trips.

Parents also supported their children's education through the expectations they had of them at home. Saghira said she did not let her daughter help with the cooking - *'there's plenty of time for that later on'* - so that she had plenty of time for her homework. Shazia mentioned making her children go to bed early, and reading them bedtime stories: *'You hear of white parents teaching ... reading to their children at bedtime, and I've been doing that as well'*. Others talked of letting children watch favourite television programmes or films as a reward when they had finished their homework, and of encouraging them to help younger siblings with their school learning.

The majority of these Pakistani origin parents also encouraged their children's efforts through conversation and example. A number of interviewees mentioned other family members, for example those who had studied at university or obtained professional qualifications, whom they held up to the children as good role models. Many spoke of encouraging their children to go to university; Zahida, whose daughter was only ten, had

already started to save money out of her tight budget towards the cost of her daughter's higher education. Several said they reminded children of the opportunities they had in Britain to benefit from a free school education of a kind which would not be available in Pakistan. A constantly recurring theme in the interviews was that those without education and qualifications faced a bleak future. Those with good qualifications, on the other hand, could take these with them wherever they lived. Some interviewees expressed a residual fear that they might have to go back to live in Pakistan and would then face a better future with British professional qualifications behind them. For nearly all of them there was also a consciousness that for their children, as Asians in Britain facing possible discrimination, good educational outcomes were doubly important.

iii. Parental expectations

In Chapter 1 I gave an overview of literature on Muslim parents and schools, highlighting some issues - curricular, religious and cultural - which had been at the forefront of parental and community concern. A number of those issues were mentioned by the parents interviewed, but in most cases it was as questions resolved, not as unmet needs. As seen in Chapter 6 above, halal options were provided for school meals. A few parents mentioned the need for children to wear Islamically acceptable dress or to cover their heads, but none presented this as a problem. One mother, looking back to her own school experience, described herself and her husband as being '*more open*' because they let their children take part in swimming lessons (Uzma). No parents raised as an issue the lack of provision for prayer facilities in school, but it was unclear whether this was because they had no expectation that their children would pray during school time, or whether such facilities were provided. Nobody mentioned any problems associated with fasting during Ramadan, nor the question of absence for religious festivals.

In terms of the curriculum there were similarly few unresolved issues. Two parents mentioned collective worship but were aware of their right to withdraw their children from this if they felt strongly enough about it. However the two schools with very high Pakistani origin intakes had exercised their right to apply for a 'determination' which lifted the legal requirement to provide collective worship which was 'wholly or mainly of a broadly Christian character' (Education Act 1988). This made it unnecessary for Muslim parents to withdraw children from the daily act of collective worship at the schools concerned. Religious education lessons, which included study of Christianity, Islam and several other religious traditions, were mentioned as a positive experience by several parents.

There were nevertheless some remaining areas of concern as regarded the school curriculum. Two mothers expressed unhappiness about provision for sex education; one said she felt it was for parents to introduce this to their children when they felt it was appropriate. Another shared this concern but also had additional criticisms of the curriculum:

pupils learned in an orderly manner, and where they *'had a good attitude to ethnic minority children'* (Shazia); in other words where pupils' cultural needs and differences were recognized but this did not lead to cultural stereotyping nor to low academic expectations (the mother who said this, along with two others, had moved her child from a predominantly Pakistani school to one where pupils from ethnic minorities made up about 25% of the intake, and where she felt there were higher expectations and teachers gave greater attention to the learning needs of individual children).

These parents certainly acknowledged some cultural differences between home and school, but did not in most cases present them as being in conflict with one another. The principal goal for most of them was for their children to be fully 'at home' in mainstream British society, as well as being able to maintain religious beliefs and practices and their heritage languages. A small number mentioned fears about 'bad' aspects of school and the influence of other children, and these were very similar to those feared by parents from any background, such as use of drugs or friendships with children who had a negative influence in some way. These were also seen as issues related mainly to older children, not to those of primary school age.

The fact that so few parents mentioned cultural differences as a issue may have been partly to do with a desire to minimize a sense of conflict. Similarly few parents mentioned racism, and yet other sources (those relying on evidence from young people) suggest a widespread underreporting of racist conflict by parents. Only one mother reported feeling that her own generation had put up with racism in a way that the present generation was not prepared to accept; there was surprisingly little reference to this in the discussion of the schooling of interviewees' children. It is difficult to estimate the impact of racism, since pupils consistently tend to hide this from their parents; many studies show pupils reporting far higher levels of problems over racism than do their parents when asked about their children's experiences (Richardson 1997). The Runnymede Trust analysis of the British Crime Survey showed that the frequency of racist attacks was rising in the 1990s, that South Asians were attacked more frequently than members of any other ethnic groups, and that the sense of threat and insecurity had risen for them (Richardson 1997: 40).

By contrast several parents did mention a lack of confidence they had felt themselves as Asian children in predominantly 'white' schools. They were determined that their own children should be more independent and self-reliant, and mentioned strategies to build confidence. These included giving their children more opportunity to make their own choices, sending them to racially and culturally mixed primary schools so that they did not have to experience this cultural mixing for the first time at secondary school, choosing schools that did not have stereotyped expectations of Pakistani origin children, encouraging them to feel proud of who they were and making sure that children were able to participate in most aspects of school life - that is, not forbidding activities such as participation in residential trips unless this was seen as necessary on grounds of religion or family honour. Several said they interpreted the latter requirements more liberally than their own parents had done (see above, Chapter 4). A number of parents mentioned

positively their children's friendships with those from other cultural backgrounds and saw this as something desirable.

Whilst very few parents mentioned a fear of outright cultural conflict, they did give some examples of more subtle ways in which a child's home identification might be undermined. The commonly reported desire of many children to be the same as their peers, the desire not to be different, had been identified amongst some Asian schoolchildren (Bhatti 2000). It was illustrated by one Peterborough mother's description of her children's journey to school:

*When I go to drop my son off and pick him up sometimes, when he gets towards (the school), if we've got Asian music on, he'll quickly switch it off. And I do think about, you know, he's probably feeling embarrassed because he doesn't want his friends ... to actually hear that music. And I'll say, 'Why don't we just turn it down a bit?' and he'll turn it off and say, 'Mum, we don't want to listen to it any more'. ... Is he going to be embarrassed about his culture or religion? I hope my children aren't going to ... I often see it, sitting here, because we're so close to town. The daughter'll be running ahead wearing tracksuits or whatever ... you'll see the daughter walking about ten miles in front of her mother - that really upsets me - because she's feeling embarrassed with walking home with her mother who's wearing an Asian outfit. Things like that - I hope my children won't do that.
(Mussarat)*

v. Summary

As a group the Pakistani parents were very favourably oriented towards education and had high aspirations for both boys and girls. As far as the latter were concerned, parents contrasted what they expected or had achieved with their own daughters and the opportunities for women in their own generation. There was little sense of conflict between the values of the British education system and those of the families and community. Indeed many parents shared the values of the school; if anything, there was less of a conflict between Muslim parents and liberal secular schools, than between pro-education parents and schools and 'cool' anti-education youngsters subject to pressure from their peer group. For one-third of the parents, education was the most important aspect of the upbringing of their children; for another third, education and religion were joint priorities. This reflected the findings from other studies cited in Chapter 1, to the effect that Asian parents as a group are ambitious for their children educationally, and go to considerable lengths to support them. The high level of appeals over school places and of changes of school suggested that parents were very discriminating as to the schools their children attended, and felt the school did actually make a difference to their child's progress and well being. The majority of parents actively supported their children's school work. Most felt their formal expectations were met; there were a few unresolved issues for individual families but none that were significant enough to campaign over. Parents felt their children were more confident at school and in mainstream society than they had been as youngsters, and were also

less prepared to put up with racism.

II. Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families

i. Parental aspirations

In some families, the parents' educational and other aspirations had already been met. Several of the older interviewees had children who had been to university (usually the first ones in their family to do so); a fair proportion had gone on to do postgraduate courses or professional training, and some were married. Of the twenty-four young people over the age of eighteen, nineteen were university students or graduates at the time the fieldwork was undertaken.

Some key themes emerged from the interviews; these were in many cases related to the experience of expulsion from their East African homes, which had resulted in curtailed educational opportunities for the interviewees' generation. Many of them had had to leave school at a young age to help support the rest of their families. Some of these parents, now in their forties, very much wanted their children to have the education they had missed out on themselves. One reported telling her daughters:

Look, Mum had to work very hard to get where she is; you don't want to do that. You've got this opportunity to go to school, learn these things. Make the most it, because it doesn't come that easy - it didn't come that easy to us! (Sumayya)

One quarter of the interviewees said they wanted their children to be able to stand on their own two feet (several used that very phrase), or to be independent, or able to support themselves well and not live off the government. One mother said that if somebody had a good education, they could survive on it anywhere in the world; again this seemed a reflection of the refugee experience of her youth (Fatima H.).

Many gave other reasons for rating their children's education as highly important to them. Four of the twenty-four interviewees valued education because it enabled children to reach their full potential, though two modified this in relation to their daughters. One of them felt it was pointless for a young person to study a subject they enjoyed simply for the sake of it; she wanted her children to study 'useful' subjects. The other mother felt it was important for girls to bear in mind their future marriage and family life, and to aim for a career which was compatible with this. The influence of western social norms was evident in the responses of two mothers who said it was important for girls to be well educated and qualified in case their marriages ended and they had to support themselves (in traditional Islamic societies responsibility for their support would have reverted to their fathers).

The large majority said their children would be encouraged to study and to aim for higher education, and, as seen above, many of the young people had already done so.

However few parents talked about wanting their children to go into specific professions, and some explicitly rejected this. Qulsoom, for example, said, *'They have to do what they want to do; you can't force them to be professionals'*. Zaynab felt that if children were pushed into careers they did not want, this would backfire in the end. Yasmin wanted her son to do well wherever his talents lay: *'Whatever he chooses, whether it be painter and decorator, or shopworker, or lawyer - as long as he's happy doing it and he's good at it, and he can earn a living to sustain himself, I'm quite happy for him to do that'*. These parents seemed to represent a more relaxed attitude to their children's educational success than that of the stereotype of middle-class Asian parents anxious to steer their offspring into prestigious professional careers.

Another surprising finding to emerge from the interviews was that only three of the twenty-four sets of parents indicated that education was their top priority for their children. Nearly all of them gave a combination of priorities, most often saying they wanted their children to succeed but only if they could do so within the bounds of Islamic behaviour and values. A number said their children's maintenance of religion and values was more important to them than educational success.

Their children clearly were ambitious and several parents spoke of the misgivings they had had about their sons and daughters going away to college, or taking postgraduate qualifications instead of marrying on graduation. However they had supported the children in their chosen paths.

ii. Parental support for Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri children's school education

Which schools did the KSI parents choose for their children, and on what criteria did they base their decisions? Out of fourteen interviewees who talked about their children's primary schools, ten had chosen schools other than their nearest neighbourhood establishment.⁷⁰ A significant group chose a Roman Catholic Voluntary Aided school; one of the parents said, *'They're taught about religion, and where God comes in, the values are there, whether it's Christianity or not'* (Rizwan). The rest of those who had opted away from their local school chose one of two others which seemed to be favoured by community members on the grounds that they were good academically. One mother whose child was starting school had been refused a place in the initial allocations, and had informed the local education authority that if she could not have a place at this school, she would educate her child herself at home. She had a very convenient school close by but would not consider sending her child there because she had formed a very bad opinion of the pupil behaviour, having heard children swearing at their mothers on the way home, and having seen the amount of vandalism in the area of the school. Two mothers had moved their children away from their first schools to attend one of the favoured establishments, the first on academic grounds, but the second under a certain amount of family pressure because all the other young cousins went there. Of those who gave reasons for their choice of primary school, about half explained their decisions in terms of moral criteria, and half academic ones. Like the Pakistani parents,

⁷⁰ The remaining ten either had much older children or young ones who were still of pre-school age.

they were grittily determined to obtain for their children the best possible education as they saw it.

At secondary level there were two particularly favoured establishments, of which one was again a Roman Catholic Voluntary Aided school, the other a school with a strong academic record. Eleven out of fifteen families had sent their children to one or other of these schools. Two further families had sent their children to other local schools with good reputations. Another two families had moved their teenage children out of the state sector into private education, boys as well as girls, because they were worried about the standards of conduct at the children's state school. In one case they had regularly seen youngsters milling around the neighbourhood after school had started, which suggested a truancy problem. These parents decided to move their children to avoid their exposure to the temptation of such behaviour.

Many of the interviewees volunteered information about helping their children with homework, in some cases at a high level. A quarter (all mothers) had mentioned giving up work, or working only in school hours or part-time, so that they could support their children more adequately. Sumayya was one example of this:

I don't want to do full time work. I want to do part time, so that when they come home from school ... I want to be there when they're doing their homework. I don't want to come home stressed and say, 'Oh, I can't help you, I've had a hard day!'

Others mentioned the need to take their children's school activities seriously, for example by displaying the Christmas cards and decorations the children had made at schools, *'although we don't celebrate Christmas'* (Saeeda). One mother felt her daughter had suffered from lack of attention when a baby brother was seriously ill; the family since then had gone without new clothes and entertainments in order to pay for a private tutor to help her make quicker progress (Shareena). Another family had quickly decided to employ a tutor when their son showed early signs of disaffection at secondary school. Parents with older children mentioned the need to lower their expectations that secondary age children would come to evening events at the mosque if they had a lot of homework. Several talked of the need to discuss the value of education with their children, and to stress that it was incumbent on all Muslims, girls just as much as boys, to seek knowledge. Some parents ensured children had plenty of books and stories and visits to the library. One worked as a volunteer helper in her daughter's school, which she said helped her to understand more of the nature of the work and of how she could help her daughter at home. Two parents were emphatic that the process of academic education was a partnership: *'You have to back it up from home, not leave it all to teachers'* (Ayesha).

The support continued after children had left school. In one family a phone call interrupted the interview; their younger daughter was just telephoning them from university. Her mother said they phoned each other every evening simply to talk over the events of the day, the work she had been doing and so on: *'It makes them feel*

secure as well, even if it's just moral support' (Sajjida). Another family with three children at different universities visited them each weekend in succession.

iii. Parental expectations

Several of the older parents talked about the struggle, about fifteen years earlier, taken on by community members for their daughters to be allowed to wear hijab in school (see Chapter 5 above). The success of this campaign had affected the community in two ways. Firstly, it had established a sense that if parents explained their needs clearly and to the right people, they would be listened to and their religious requirements taken seriously. Secondly, the right to wear hijab was very much taken for granted amongst younger parents.

The issue of how far schools met the wishes of Muslim parents on dress was therefore an important concern but not the only one. There was also the question of whether children were willing and able to cope with the public acknowledgement of their religion in the face of their peers. This came up in relation to prayer during school hours. A quarter of the parents mentioned with satisfaction that their children's schools provided prayer rooms, but whether these were always used was another matter. Hussain commented: *'I'd like the children not to miss afternoon prayers - in winter I'd rather they prayed at school. But they feel shy about it'*. It was not only the act of praying itself the children were self-conscious about; this could take place away from public gaze. The preliminary washing however had to be carried out in a more visible way in the general school cloakroom areas.

For most of the children, fasting during Ramadan was a less public act and presented few problems. A number of parents gave examples that had arisen when schools or teachers had not been aware of the diversity within Islam. This included diversity both on sectarian lines and also in terms of the extent to which people practised their religion and the differences in observance between families and even individuals. Most parents reported cooperation once they had been to the school and explained their reasons for a particular practice, action or belief.

Another time .. the younger one wanted to do some cooking. So they asked me, 'Can he do some cooking here?' and I said, 'Yes, but he will bring my pots and pans from home. Because we want to eat it ... I'm not trying to be rude, it's just the religious restriction, because I don't want, if there is something cooked with lard or pork in it. So that's why we try to avoid using pots - because once a child is cooking he really wants to eat, so that's a pleasure for him and for us to see what he has made.' It's the only reason, and they have always granted me permission.
(Qulsoom)

As far as other issues were concerned, several parents mentioned the need for their children to eat only halal meat but this did not appear to present problems. Two parents

raised the question of single-sex education, saying it was far preferable for secondary age pupils; one of the two had sent her children to a private school to access this.

A marked feature of the parents' comments about their children's experiences at school was the greater confidence in the current generation. One older mother, describing a situation fifteen years earlier, said her husband had wanted to go and talk to the teacher about problems over their daughter's wearing of a headscarf, but Munira had dissuaded him, saying it would only make things harder for their children. Amongst the interviewees nearly half described occasions when they had written, telephoned or been to visit their children's school to clarify a point about their Islamic needs or requirements. Many of them commented that teachers and schools were now in the main very helpful and cooperative once a matter had been explained, and also that they as parents were not made to feel awkward or uncomfortable for having raised such issues.

iv. School and home: a conflict of values for Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri families?

Some KSI parents mentioned experiences which would be shared by many parents of any background when their children started school. Examples were children coming home *'and repeating things they don't understand'* (Saeeda) such as bad language, or *'just his behaviour changing, and I think that's normal - they get a bit more brave and cheeky.'* (Aliya)

A small number of parents said they did feel there was a conflict between what children learned at home and at school. One of them mentioned music - at home the children were told it was wrong to listen to music but at school it was part of the mainstream curriculum. Another one, Saeeda, with a bright five year old, said, *'She's only five but she can already see the difference. She says, "When I go to mosque with you we do this, and when I go to school we do this", and all different things like that'*. In the two other cases where parents mentioned a difference in values, it was in relation to the other children, rather than to the school and the education available there. It was not only the difference between the values of Muslim and non-Muslim children that could create difficulties, however; Shabnam said it was more of an issue when a child from a less observant Muslim family was doing things she would not allow for her own daughter.

The conflict of values with other children seemed to be a particular issue for girls between the ages of about 11 and 16. Through most of the primary years children shared some similar interests, and at sixth form and university level they had their work in common. Interests tended to diverge during the teenage years when the prevailing youth culture was very much focused around interest in sex and relationships, smoking, alcohol, discos and parties and other territory which was out of bounds for most Muslim girls, at least as far as their parents were concerned.

It was therefore the values of some of the other children which gave cause for concern, rather than the values of the school; there was a strong sense that the latter were

shared by parents. Three of them mentioned their approval of children learning about Christianity and other religions, and two others said they had been into schools to help out in religious education lessons when Islam had been the subject of study. Some parents were aware of their right to withdraw children from RE lessons, and knew other 'strict' families where this was done; however no one in the interview sample had exercised this right, in one case feeling the learning actually had a positive impact on her children's home faith:

The thing is when they go to school and learn about other religions, when they come home they try to compare it with Islam. Sometimes when they hear something which they find is a bit odd in another religion they would come home and discuss it: 'Oh, this bit of Islam is so nice!', because for them that is more logical than the other bit.
(Khatija)

Parents supported their children's work (see above, this chapter section II.ii) and expected their children to respect the authority of the teacher. A quarter of the parents mentioned sayings they used with their children, for example: *'Teachers are your second parents'*. (Hussain). A number of parents also spoke about the extent to which schools now appreciated and understood Muslim beliefs and practices, and that there had been a great improvement in this over the past twenty years. Parents also understood the need to be proactive in helping develop teacher awareness: *'If they understand your values it's all right - but you must tell them, otherwise how can they know?'* (Nahida)

In the great majority of cases, KSI parents went to some lengths to make sure the requirements of their faith (as they saw them) were met. However they did not appear to have strong feelings against the nature of the education offered at Peterborough schools; where concerns existed these were related to the attitudes and behaviour of some other children, not of the school nor of the education system generally.

v. Summary

Many Khoja parents' attitudes to education seemed to be shaped by their collective community experience of being refugees, and the curtailment of their own opportunities. There was a strong desire amongst nearly all of them for their children to enter higher education, but for only a small minority was education their top priority. Children's maintenance of religion and values was equally or more important for most parents. Parents were pro-active in trying to ensure the best possible educational opportunities for their children by very determined approaches to choice of school. A significant minority of mothers had reduced their hours of work outside the home with the explicit purpose of helping their children with homework, as well as supporting them in other ways and seeing education as a partnership between schools and parents. Many parents, particularly younger ones, were far more confident than twenty years ago in raising religious issues with schools and expecting to be taken seriously. In most respects they felt their children's religious needs were acknowledged by the schools. There was little expression of a conflict of values between schools and Muslim parents;

such conflict as existed was more between Muslim children and their peers (both non-Muslims and also Muslims who were more or less strict in observance). This conflict of values was not an issue throughout children's educational career, but came sharply into focus for girls in particular between the ages of about eleven and sixteen, when the prevailing youth culture included many elements which were unacceptable from an Islamic perspective.

There was no mention by any of the interviewees about the difference in underlying philosophy between Islamic and western secular views of education.

Chapter 10. Conclusion

In this concluding chapter I shall summarize the similarities in the approaches to religious nurture of the two groups of parents in the study, then give an account of the significant differences. The second part of the conclusion will put forward suggested explanations for the contrasts and situate the present study within the context of work on migration and religious socialization more broadly. Finally I shall review the methods used for this thesis and suggest some avenues for further research.

I. Summary of research findings

i. Approaches to religious nurture amongst second generation migrant Pakistani and Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri parents: some similarities

a. Family context

In both groups there had been considerable transgenerational change in family expectations; these provided a new context for religious nurture. There was continuity as regarded the expectation of deference and respectful behaviour particularly to the elderly alongside a trend for traditional family hierarchies to give way to more egalitarian relationships. This was exemplified by the large number of parents who emphasized the importance of being willing to discuss issues with their children rather than simply expecting to impose their authority. Gender differences continued to be significant; purdah was important in structuring a significant difference in behavioural expectations between Muslim and non-Muslim women and girls, and the wearing of hijab was a key projector of religious identity.

b. Levels of religious observance

As far as religious observance was concerned there was no evidence of a decline overall, though within both groups there were individuals who had become more devout and others who were less observant than their parents had been. The home environment made an important contribution to self-identity through the use of Islamic symbols. Fasting during Ramadan was almost universal and was a period of time when children and adults alike were reconnected to a sense of Islamic identity. Parents also without exception ensured that their children learned to recite the Qur'an, whether this was in classes at a mosque, or being taught by a neighbour or local religious teacher in the home. The difference from earlier generations was a stress on the importance of children understanding the meaning of the Qur'an as well as being able to recite or read the Arabic text. In the migration context Muslims had an increased need for their holy book as a guide to life. Parents were aware, both on their own accounts and in relation to their children's nurture, of a need to understand the teachings and exhortations of the text that many of them when young had simply memorized in a language they did not comprehend. Children and parents alike also needed this knowledge and understanding

in order to answer the questions and meet the challenges of non-Muslim friends, neighbours and colleagues.

c. Education

Parents in both communities shared similar aspirations for their children in many respects. The maintenance of religious and cultural values was a very strong priority, but so was the commitment to educational and socio-economic advancement. In general parents shared the goals of their childrens' schools for high academic attainment; where they expressed a sense of conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim values it was more often in relation to the behaviour of some children and young people than to the values of the schools or the secular education system. This was particularly the case in relation to adolescents and the absolute unacceptability of some aspects of mainstream British youth culture - alcohol, drugs, free mixing of the sexes - from a Muslim point of view. The school system itself was not seen by these parents as something that undermined Islamic religious nurture; only a very small minority raised the difference in underlying beliefs between Islamic and western liberal philosophies of education as a problematic issue. Almost all parents were satisfied that schools respected specific practical Islamic requirements, and did not expect them to go beyond this in meeting the needs of Muslim children. There appeared to be little demand either for state-funded Islamic schools or for single-sex secondary education.

ii. Approaches to religious nurture: Pakistani parents

The previous section gave an overview of the ways in which Muslim parents in the two communities shared similar approaches to the nurture of their children. As seen in earlier chapters, there were also significant differences. The most marked contrast was that the Pakistani community was a relatively poor one in socio-economic terms and simply had fewer human or inanimate resources available for the religious socialization of the young.

In terms of family background - the context in which nurture takes place - the Pakistani group illustrated a trend away from the traditional patrilocal pattern of residence, but an increase in marriage to cousins from the subcontinent. This had the effect of promoting continued close links between families in Britain and in Pakistan. Visits to relatives in Pakistan contributed to the religious nurture of some children, and the maintenance of transnational patterns supported a continuing sense that religion and culture were inseparably intertwined. This conflation was expressed in the widespread wearing of Asian dress, particularly for women, and the interchangeable use of 'Pakistani', 'Asian' and 'Muslim' as self-descriptors.

Migration had reduced traditional patriarchal control, for example through the decline in family patrilocality; increased education and employment for women had changed the roles mothers modelled to their daughters. Purdah appeared to have been reinterpreted to tolerate girls' attendance at mixed secondary schools and universities, although in a quarter of families there was said to be tension over such issues between strict fathers

and more liberal mothers. Higher levels of general education for many of the second generation parents meant that some of them were more capable of contributing to the religious nurture of their children than had been the case in the first generation.

The quality and extent of this nurture was variable; for boys it often included praying at the mosque and in some cases hearing the Friday sermons, whereas for girls it was very much more home and family based. For both daughters and sons it was more informal than in the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri community; attendance at Qur'an classes and fasting during Ramadan in general were introduced at a later age and there was less provision of teaching about other aspects of Islam. However there was some evidence of a trend towards a more discriminating and evaluative attitude with regard to children's madrasa provision.

iii. Approaches to religious nurture: Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri parents

The KSI community was more prosperous than the Pakistani population of Peterborough and had considerably higher levels of education amongst the second generation parents. Family patterns were maintained in the sense that patrilocality continued to determine the place of residence of most families, even though extended family households were uncommon.

In terms of informal nurture, KSI families were likely to detach Islamic concerns from cultural ones. The wearing of Asian dress was not an issue for women nor for girls; on the other hand, there was a high level of commitment to the wearing of hijab. Marriages were still arranged by parents to a certain extent but there was very little concern about the continuation of this system, provided that young people found partners who were suitable from a religious perspective.

If the Pakistani families appeared to conflate religion and culture, the KSI community wove together religion and social life. This was evidenced by the many social activities arranged through the mosque. The better financial position of the community meant it had access to more resources than the Pakistani Muslims; this was the case in relation to children's nurture as well as other aspects of community life. Teaching provision at the mosque was explicitly designed to cater for all age groups and both sexes; children had opportunities to learn through participating in congregational worship and on occasion taking leading roles. There was a more formal approach to religious nurture, which included the expectation that children would start at an earlier age and make a considerable time commitment to Islamic studies at weekends on top of the time needed to learn the Qur'an. The high level of resourcing and organization also allowed for more informal provision such as residential camps.

In addition there were also differences related to the nature of Shi'a Islam. The Shi'a religious calendar gave numerous opportunities for learning and participation by young people. Such occasions, imbued with the emotional qualities of traditional Shi'i piety, made a strong contribution to religious socialization. Another important factor was the

impact on the community of the Iranian revolution which had generated through its example, processes and missionary activity a powerful sense of religious revival amongst Twelver Shi'a Muslims globally.

Another major difference from the Pakistani group of interviewees lay in the expectations about the religious nurture and activity of girls. In the KSI families there was a strongly articulated 'separate but equal' ideology. Family life, education, job opportunities, social and religious life, were all expected to include parity of opportunity and esteem for both sexes within a purdah framework. Full provision was made for social and religious life of girls at the mosque.

Like the Pakistani parents, those in the KSI community were strongly committed to the educational success of their children but none of them ranked this aspiration above that of maintaining religious and cultural values. This was reflected in the choice by many parents of sending their children to voluntary aided Roman Catholic schools, on the grounds that an ethos grounded in godliness and religious morality irrespective of faith tradition was better than a wholly secular approach.

II. Research conclusions

i. Religious continuity

As seen in Chapter 1, a number of Muslim writers expressed fears that South Asian migrant parents lacked the ability, the commitment and the resources to pay serious attention to the religious socialization of their children, and further, that such nurture as they did manage to provide would be fatally undermined by the influence of secular British society, particularly through school education. As far as these Peterborough parents were concerned, this was not the case. Clearly there was diversity within and between each community, but the overall picture was of Muslim parents who took seriously the perpetuation of religious and cultural values and in all cases without exception took some steps to bring this about. Only a very small minority of parents felt there was a clash between the Muslim values of the home and the goals of their children's schools; most parents were unaware of, or disregarded, the philosophical differences between the Islamic and the western liberal values which underpinned their children's religious nurture on the one hand and the school system on the other.

There was no overall decline in Islamic practice. Access to education generally, the institutionalization of Islam in the British context and the use of modern technology meant that many parents felt they were continuing to learn more about their religion as adults; the shortcomings of the religious nurture they had experienced as children did not cause them to turn away from religion for life. The experience of challenge by non-Muslims, and the consequent need to be able to give a reasoned account of Islamic beliefs and practices, was felt by some to have had a positive impact in causing both adults and young people to research and think out convincing responses. The presence of a 'critical

mass' of Muslims meant that the interview families were far less isolated than some of their own parents had been in the first generation.

How important was religion compared with other aspects of life? In relation to aspirations for their children, one third of Pakistani parents gave education as their top priority, but the remainder, along with all the KSI parents, gave equal or greater priority to the maintenance of religion and values. That education was seen as very important was evidenced by the amount of time and trouble parents took in appealing against unsatisfactory school place allocations, support with homework and examination preparation and endorsement of higher education choices for both sons and daughters. The majority of parents had twin goals of educational success and religious continuity, and these were not perceived as alternatives but as things which could be achieved in parallel and to a large extent in harmony.

ii. Religious transformations in a migration context

In addressing the question of change in the religious lives of South Asians in Britain, Knott (1991) identified five factors that should be considered: a group's home traditions, the host traditions, the nature of the migration process, the nature of the migrant group, and the nature of the host response. The third and fourth of these are particularly relevant in accounting for some of the differences between the Pakistani and KSI groups and their approaches to religious nurture.

The Pakistanis came to Britain as labour migrants, initially intending to return. They came voluntarily, and maintained strong links with their country of origin. They had no previous experience of living as a religious minority, though a few came from families which had previously migrated within Pakistan. Most had little formal education, came from rural backgrounds, and were comparatively poor. For the Pakistani group the task of establishing satisfactory provision for the religious nurture of the young was a much longer and harder task, given that they lacked access to funds, knowledge of the system in Britain, previous experience of migration abroad and were also undecided about whether or not their future lay in Britain or in Pakistan. Their traditional self-help biraderi networks, based on kinship, helped them to establish themselves at an individual and family level but not a community one.

By contrast the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri came effectively as refugees. There was no ambivalence about their position in Britain: they wished and intended to settle there permanently. They were 'twice migrants', since their forebears came from India and they, like other East African Asian communities, had already gained the experience of establishing religious institutions in a migration context where they were in the condition of a minority. Most had a reasonable amount of formal education, spoke English and had experience of British-influenced institutions, and were comparatively well off (at a community if not an individual level). The KSI group were able to draw on their previous experience as 'twice migrants' and town dwellers, their education and language skills, their community financial resources and their determination to make a new life in Britain.

Their self-help network was their religious and caste community, and this supported the establishment of community institutions as well as helping individual families. These factors helped KSI migrants to put down roots and establish themselves much more quickly, in religious terms as well as economic ones.

iii. 'Community' and 'culture'

The study explores the uses of the terms 'community' and 'culture' problematized by Gerd Baumann (1996). He distinguishes between 'dominant' and 'demotic' discourses: in the former, unidimensional community and reified culture are equated and bounded; in the latter, community and culture are disaggregated. The dominant discourse may be drawn on by subjects in the processes of negotiating self-identity and engaging in collective mobilization. In this study Pakistani interviewees tended to identify themselves in terms of 'culture', and the KSI families in terms of 'community'. This distinction may be related in part to structural factors in terms of the diasporic character of the latter and the transnational lifestyle of the latter. The concepts of 'culture' and 'community' are decoupled from one another, but have a functional reality for informants as they engage in the process of grounding religious values, behavioural expectations and everyday choices in their negotiation of Muslim parenthood in a western and non-Muslim context. The 'long distance familism' of the Pakistani families is sustained in part by an attachment to a view of life which conflates religion and culture and relies on marriage patterns, kin networks, behavioural norms, language and dress, identified by them as 'our culture' and described in its diversity in chapters 3, 4, 6, 7 and 9. By contrast the KSI families as a group conflate religion and social life and, as seen in chapters 3, 5, 6, 8 and 9, address the outworking of their choices and decisions in terms of a process negotiated collectively as well as individually thus giving substance to the term 'community' for them.

iv. Transnationalism and diaspora

A major difference between the two groups was the way many of their members conceptualized their lives in Britain. For about one-fifth of the Pakistani families there was no significant link with their country of origin, but for the majority there was a dual focus. There were active ties between family members in the two countries, expressed through kin marriage, financial transactions, visits, telephone calls and other forms of contact. The implications of this for nurture were that maintenance of heritage language was important for children, there was a continuing influence of biraderi on life choices, strong concern about izzat, normative expectations about dress and behaviour, and little distinction between religion and culture.

The KSI families were more single-mindedly focused on life in Britain, within a global Shi'a Ithna'asheri religious context and a global Khoja caste network. These were embodied in the worldwide community's federated organization and website, and reflected in international meetings, marriages, visits, telephone calls and e-mail links. The implications of this for religious nurture were that the universal Shi'a identification was far more important than local cultural dimensions of life. For example there was an

acceptance, albeit a reluctant one, of the decline of Gujarati as a common language. Rootedness in Britain meant that full attention could be focused on preparing children for life as Shi'a Muslims here.

Vertovec's (2000) definitions of transnationalism (in terms of activities) and diaspora (in terms of global consciousness) have considerable explanatory power in relation to this. More than half of the Pakistani families acted as transnational joint families spread between two places, and this was reflected in a lack of distinction between religion and culture both in general and specifically in the religious nurture of their children. A certain ambivalence towards life in Britain, and a sense that children needed to be socialized in relation to expectations in Pakistan as well as those in the UK, meant that there was a dual focus to religious nurture. It was neither necessary nor particularly desirable to try to distinguish between religion and culture.

The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri, by contrast, were firmly rooted in Britain as a community. Insofar as they took part in transnational activities such as exchanges of personnel (through marriage), money and other resources, and ideas, these were in the context of the KSI diaspora across the world. There was no contradiction between a Khoja Shi'a member being securely settled in Britain yet simultaneously a member of a larger 'imagined community' globally. This meant there was no ambivalence about the religious nurture of young people, which could be focused firmly on religion, rather than religion-in-culture.

v. Impact of modernity

Some features of modern life had had parallel impacts on families in both groups; these included access to mass education regardless of gender or socio-economic background, the use of modern technology in religious nurture, for example through video tapes and the internet, the subjection of religious ideas to rationalist scrutiny, the toleration of questioning attitudes on the part of children, and the expectation that women would be employed outside the home and family environment. These aspects of modern life were given as examples by many interviewees in their identification of transgenerational changes; however parallel changes taking place in Pakistan and in East Africa suggested that modernity was as relevant as migration in accounting for some of the change across the experience of first and second generation migrant parents.

Many parents stressed the importance for their children of understanding the meaning of the religious texts they learned to recite. There was also evidence of a thirst for self-education amongst the adults, manifested in the use of the internet and e-mail to obtain answers to religious questions. Their willingness to reason out their own responses, and to accept or even welcome the challenges of their children on religious issues, illustrated how they were finding their own pathways through life drawing on Islam and tradition as well as the west and modernity. This partial location of authority within the self was balanced by the desire and need to relate choices to sources of religious authority both in terms of text, and for Shi'a Muslims, of authority figures. In both communities,

respondents were engaged in the process of Islamizing modern life in the west in their own ways, at an individual and familial level in the Pakistani group and as a community project amongst the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri.

vi. Final conclusion

This study provides insight into the perspectives of second generation migrant Muslim parents from two South Asian backgrounds. It develops from research on the identifications of young Muslims in Britain (Mirza 1989; Knott and Khokher 1993; Clarke 1997; Dwyer 1997; Jacobson 1997a, 1997b) and gives an account of what parents do to try to transmit their religious beliefs and practices to their children. It connects with Knott's (1991) work on factors influencing changes in the patterns of religious belief and practice of South Asian migrants, by comparing two Muslim groups and clarifying the significance of pre-migration history, migration process and group character as far as provision for religious socialization of children in Britain are concerned. It suggests that whilst migration is a factor in transgenerational change as far as religious nurture is concerned, the families in the study have also responded to the opportunities and pressures of modernity. Some of the changes are similar to those taking place in Pakistan and in other parts of the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri diaspora - so it is both possible and necessary to distinguish between changes attributable to migration and those brought about by modernity. The study takes Vertovec's (2000) definitions of 'transnationalism' and 'diaspora' and illustrates the explanatory power they have in relation to patterns of parental behaviour over religious nurture.

The study focuses on two groups of Muslims and constitutes an exploration of religious diversity in a migration context, both at a personal and an individual level through the voices which come through the use of qualitative data, and also at a group level through the comparison of religious socialization in a Sunni context and a Shi'a one. The first group, involving families of Pakistani background, has been the subject of extensive social scientific study in many parts of Britain, though not in Peterborough. The Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheri, on the other hand, have been the subject of relatively little scholarly study, and are introduced in considerable ethnographic detail here.

As a qualitative study drawing particularly on interviews with mothers, this piece of work gives an insight into an aspect of Muslim family life which is often concealed from view in that so much work on Islam has focused on the public aspects which are the world of men; where work has been done on women it is often on feminist thought and not on the role within the family which is given so much priority by the mothers themselves.

Finally the study relates to the observation of Ghuman (1993) that young Muslims from South Asian migrant families tended to be more knowledgeable about their faith than did their Hindu and Sikh counterparts, and that this could be partly attributed to greater parental effort. The present study did not set out to compare Muslim religious nurture with that within Hindu and Sikh traditions, but it amply confirms that within the two communities studied, there was a high level of parental commitment to the religious

nurture of the younger generation, backed by organization and action. However the quality and extent of this nurture reflected diversity within and between the Muslim communities involved.

vii. Methodological issues and avenues for further research

a. Methods used

One methodological question arises from the snowball sampling method used: would a different approach have yielded similar results? It was difficult, in part for structural reasons, to find strictly comparable interview groups. The Peterborough Pakistani population was up to ten times the size of the KSI group, and was therefore likely to be more diffuse and less coherent in make up. The KSI group had a preponderance of interviewees with fairly close ties to the mosque, but this was partly due to the latter's function as a community centre and to the interweaving of religious and social life.

Whilst a different sampling method might have resulted in some variation in the responses of parents to the interview questions, the main structural elements and therefore the conclusions would be likely to remain the same; whatever the individual approaches of mothers and fathers interviewed, the character of the communities as migrants and refugees, as transnational families and members of a global diaspora, and as 'once migrants' and 'twice migrants' would not change.

b. Further research

Both groups contribute to the increasing institutionalisation of Islam in Britain; in certain contexts in the public life of Peterborough they work together and are sometimes confused with each other by outsiders. I did not set out to investigate the relationship between these different groups of Muslims but feel this would be an interesting future project.

A comparative study of religious nurture amongst families in Pakistan, in an urban setting, would test out the hypothesis that modernity is in many ways as important as international migration in changing some aspects of the religious socialization of young Muslims. Studies of other second generation migrant families, both South Asian Muslim and other Muslims, would help to provide the basis for further understanding of Muslim diversity and the impact of migration. There is also scope for comparative research on parental approaches to nurture, as opposed to children's experience of it, amongst other religious groups.

There would also be the possibility of repeating research along the lines of the present study with the next generation to see whether the trends identified here in relation to the two communities hold true in a longitudinal context.

Glossary

Arabic, Urdu and Panjabi words used more than once in the text

<i>adhan</i>	call to prayer
<i>akhlaq</i>	Islamic behaviour
<i>'alam</i>	battle standard, flag
<i>ashraf</i>	noble
<i>Ashura</i>	10th day of Islamic month of Muharram
<i>azaderi</i>	mourning rituals
<i>biraderi</i>	kinship network; patrilineage
<i>dar al Islam</i>	'house of Islam'; Islamdom; collective identification of states under Muslim law
<i>dhimmi</i>	non-Muslims free to live as such in Muslim country, protected by agreement
<i>du'a</i>	prayer, supplication
<i>dupatta</i>	long scarf used to cover woman's head and upper body as part of Punjabi suit
<i>fatwa</i>	legal ruling
<i>al Fatiha</i>	opening chapter of the Qur'an
<i>gora</i>	'white' (m)
<i>gori</i>	'white' (f)
<i>hadith</i>	tradition regarding sayings and/or acts of the Prophet Muhammad
<i>hajj</i>	pilgrimage to Makkah
<i>halal</i>	permitted (for Muslims)
<i>haram</i>	forbidden (to Muslims)
<i>hijab</i>	head covering
<i>Id al Adha</i>	Feast of Sacrifice
<i>Id al Fitr</i>	Feast of the Breaking of the Fast at the end of Ramadan
<i>iftar</i>	meal which breaks the fast (at end of day during Ramadan)
<i>imam</i>	religious leader
<i>Imam</i>	for Shi'a Muslims, one of the divinely appointed ones; member of the Prophet's lineage
<i>Islamiyyat</i>	Islamic subjects of study
<i>izzat</i>	honour, reputation
<i>juma'</i>	congregational prayers on a Friday
<i>ka'ba</i>	black cube shaped building in the centre of the sacred mosque in Makkah
<i>kalima</i>	Muslim creed, 'There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet'
<i>khatmi Qur'an</i>	collective reading of the Qur'an, with individuals each silently reading one <i>sipara</i> (q.v.)
<i>khums</i>	supplementary charitable dues for Shi'a Muslims

<i>lena-dena</i>	giving-taking i.e. system of ritual gift exchange
<i>madrasa</i>	school
<i>mahram</i>	lit. 'forbidden person', referring to the degrees of kindred prohibited from marrying one another
<i>mandub</i>	recommended action
<i>makruh</i>	frowned on but permitted action
<i>majlis</i>	worship session
<i>matam</i>	mourning (e.g. breast-beating by Shi'a Muslims)
<i>mawlana sahib</i>	'our respected religious leader'
<i>minbar</i>	pulpit in a mosque
<i>mubah</i>	action deemed morally neutral
<i>Muharram</i>	first month of Islamic lunar calendar
<i>muta'</i>	temporary marriage sanctioned by Shi'a Islam
<i>namaz</i>	Islamic ritual prayer
<i>Ramadan</i>	holy month of Islamic calendar when Muslims fast from dawn to sunset every day
<i>roza</i>	fast
<i>sadaqa</i>	voluntary charitable donation or act
<i>Safar</i>	month of Islamic calendar
<i>salat</i>	Islamic ritual prayer
<i>al salamu 'alaykum</i>	'peace be upon you'; most usual form of greeting between Muslims
<i>Shahada</i>	Muslim creed, 'There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet'
<i>shalwar kameez</i>	Punjabi suit: trousers and long loose-fitting tunic
<i>Shaytan</i>	Satan
<i>shirk</i>	association (of partners with God i.e. polytheism)
<i>shura</i>	consultation
<i>sipara</i>	portion of the Qur'an divided for reading purposes into thirty sections
<i>sunna</i>	path (of traditions of the Prophet Muhammad)
<i>sura</i>	chapter of the Qur'an
<i>tarbiya</i>	nurture
<i>umma</i>	community, nation, people (especially of Islam)
<i>'umra</i>	lesser pilgrimage; visit undertaken to Makkah outside Dh'ul Hijjah, the month of pilgrimage
<i>wajib</i>	action deemed mandatory
<i>Ya-Sin</i>	one of the best known and most recited sections of the Qur'an
<i>zakat</i>	'welfare due'; contribution to charity required of all Muslims as one of Five Pillars of Islam

(my name and address)

(date)

Dear (name),

I am writing following our telephone conversation earlier today, to explain more about my research project. What follows gives a brief introduction.

I am doing this research for my postgraduate studies (doctorate) at the University of Leeds. I am trying to **understand more about how parents of ethnic minority backgrounds approach the upbringing of their children in this country**. I am interested in this partly because of my background in education. I also feel it's a major issue in many countries in the world, with economic globalization and the great increase in people living outside their country of origin for reasons of work, asylum or choice.

To do my research I am hoping to **interview parents from Pakistani and East African Asian backgrounds living in Peterborough**. My main question is how people from these communities approach the upbringing of their children. I think the people I have interviewed so far have enjoyed talking about this.

If you are willing to help me with this, I would like to **interview you for about one to one and a quarter hours**. I would ask some questions. There would also be time for you to talk about your views in as much detail as you wanted. I would like to tape-record the interviews if possible. However if you would not be happy with this, I could write notes instead.

All information given by interviewees will be **confidential**, and if any material is quoted in writing, names will be changed to keep the information anonymous. I will only discuss the interviews with my tutor at Leeds University, who would also be committed to confidentiality.

If you feel, having read this, that you want to ask more about it before agreeing to take part, I would be happy to answer any questions you have. Otherwise I will look forward to seeing you on (date) at (time).

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Smalley

Interview schedule

1. Factual information

Name

Place of birth (inc. rural/urban): own/spouse's

Date moved to Britain: self/spouse

Education: self/spouse

Qualifications: self/spouse

Languages used: self/spouse

Parents' ed/lang/occupation

Own occupation(s)/spouse's

Marriage - spouse a relative?

How chosen

Duration of marriage

Children - numbers, ages, genders

Any family in Britain

Who live with

Contact with fam. India/P'stan/B'desh/elsewhere

Religion (Sunni, Shi'a)

2. Can you tell me something about how you approach the upbringing of your children in this country?

(I will encourage respondent to talk unprompted and to raise any issues they choose, for as long as they want).

3. Are any of the following things issues in the upbringing of your children?

language
family
school
reputation/how other people see you/izzat
friends
food
leisure activities
values and behaviour
respect for authority
religion
dress
television
girls'/boys' roles
celebrating Christmas/birthdays
presence/absence of parents, brothers/sisters, aunts/uncles etc.

4. How about the dimension of Islam? Are there any things you'd like to say about bringing up Muslim children in a non-Muslim context?

(free talk by respondent, unprompted as far as possible).

5. How did you learn about Islam yourself? Are there any similarities/differences between your own and your children's upbringing from that point of view?

(again free talk by respondent).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abd al Ati, H. (1977), The Family Structure in Islam, American Trust Publications (no place of publication given).
- Abdulati, H. (1997), Islam in Focus, El-Falah Foundation, Cairo.
- Abdurrahman, D. (1993), 'Defining gender in a second exile: Palestinian women in Berlin', in Buijs, G. (ed.) Migrant Women, Berg, Oxford and Providence.
- Abdus-Sabur, Q. (1995), 'The infrequency of anti-social behaviour in Islamic schools in North America', Muslim Education Quarterly 12:3, 55-61.
- Adams, C. (ed.) (1987), Across Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers: Life Stories of Pioneer Sylhetti Settlers in Britain, Tower Hamlets Arts Projects Books, London.
- Afshar, H. (1989a), 'Education: hopes, expectations and achievements of Muslim women in West Yorkshire', Gender and Education 1: 3, 261-272.
- Afshar, H. (1989b), 'Gender roles and the "moral economy of kin" among Pakistani women in West Yorkshire', New Community 15:2, 211-226.
- Ahmad, I. (ed.) (1973), Caste among the Muslims, Manohar Book Service, Delhi.
- Ahmad, I. (ed.) (1976), Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India, Manohar Book Service, New Delhi.
- Ahmad, K. (1974), Family Life in Islam, The Islamic Foundation, Leicester.
- Ahmad, W.I.U. (1996), 'Family obligations and social change among Asian communities', in Ahmad, W.I.U. and Atkin K. (eds), 'Race' and Community Care, Open University, Buckingham.
- Ahmed, A. (1992), Postmodernism and Islam, Routledge, London.
- Akhtar, S. (1990), A Faith for All Seasons: Islam and Western Modernity, Bellew, London.
- Akhtar, S. (1993), The Muslim Parents' Handbook, Ta-Ha Publishers, London.
- Alam, F. (1987), Salience of Homeland: Societal Polarization within the Bangladeshi Population in Britain, Research Papers in Ethnic Relations, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

- Ali, Y. (1992), 'Muslim women and the politics of ethnicity and culture in northern England', in Sahgal, G. and Yuval-Davis, N, (eds), Refusing Holy Orders, Virago, London.
- Amer, F. (1997), 'The problems of sex education within the context of Islamic teachings - towards a clearer vision of the British case', Muslim Education Quarterly 14:2, 16-36.
- Anderson, B. (1983), Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Verso, London.
- Andrews, A. (1993), 'A sociological analysis of Jama'at-i-Islami in the U.K.', in Barot, R. (ed.), Religion and Ethnicity: Minorities and Social Change in the Metropolis, Kok Pharos, Kampen, Netherlands.
- Andrews, A. (1998), 'South Asian Sunni reform movements in the west: the lang Scots mile from Delhi to Dundee', in Clarke, P. (ed.), New Trends and Developments in the World of Islam, Luzac Oriental, London.
- Antoun, R. (1994), 'Sojourners abroad. Migration for higher education in a post-peasant Muslim society', in Ahmed, A. and Donnan, H. (eds), Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity, Routledge, London and New York.
- Anwar, M. (1979), The Myth of Return, Heinemann, London.
- Anwar, M. (1996), British Pakistanis: Demographic, Social and Economic Position, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.
- Anwar, M. (1998), Between Cultures, Routledge, London and New York.
- Ashraf, S. A. (1985), New Horizons in Muslim Education, Hodder & Stoughton and The Islamic Academy, Cambridge.
- Ashraf, S. A. (1988), 'A view of education - an Islamic perspective', in O'Keeffe, B. (ed.), Schools for Tomorrow, Falmer Press, London.
- Ashraf, S. A. (1993), 'The role of Muslim youth in a multi-religious society', Muslim Education Quarterly 11:1, 3-13.
- al-Attas, S. M. (1979), Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education, Hodder and Stoughton and King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah.
- Balic, S. (1993), 'Religious education for Muslims within state schools: the example of Austria', British Journal of Religious Education 15:2, 44-49.
- Ballard, R. (1990), 'Migration and kinship: the differential effect of marriage rules on the

processes of Punjabi migration to Britain', in Clarke, C., Peach, C. and Vertovec, S. (eds), South Asians Overseas, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ballard, R. (1994), 'Introduction', in Ballard, R. (ed.), Desh Pardesh: the South Asian Presence in Britain, Hurst and Co., London.

Ballard, R. (1996), 'Islam and the construction of Europe', in Shadid, W, and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), Muslims in the Margin: Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe, Kok Pharos Publishing House, Kampen, The Netherlands.

Ballard, R. (1997), 'The construction of a conceptual vision: "Ethnic Groups" and the 1991 UK Census', Ethnic and Racial Studies 20:1, 184-194.

Barazangi, N. (1991), 'Islamic education in the US and Canada: conception and practice of the Islamic belief system', in Haddad, Y. (ed.), The Muslims of America, OUP, New York and Oxford.

Barot, R. (1993), 'Introduction', in Barot, R. (ed.), Religion and Ethnicity: Minorities and Social Change in the Metropolis, Kok Pharos, Kampen, Netherlands.

Barth, F. (1969), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, Allen and Unwin, London.

Barton, S. (1986), The Bengali Muslims of Bradford, Community Religions Project, University of Leeds.

Basit, T. (1995), ' "I want to go to college": British Muslim girls and the academic dimension of schooling', Muslim Education Quarterly 12:3. 3 -53.

Basit, T. (1996), ' "Obviously I'll have an arranged marriage": Muslim marriage in the British context', Muslim Educational Quarterly 13:2, 4 -19.

Basit, T. (1997a), ' "I want more freedom, but not too much": British Muslim girls and the dynamism of family values [1]', in Gender and Education 9:4, 425-439.

Basit, T. (1997b), Eastern Values, Western Milieu: Identities and Aspirations of Adolescent British Muslim Girls, Ashgate Publishers, Aldershot.

Bauer, J. (1997), Muslim Children in Birmingham, Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit, University of Warwick.

Baumann, G. (1996), Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-ethnic London, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Baumann, G. (1999), The Multicultural Riddle. Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities, Routledge, London and New York.

Bendixson, T. (1988), The Peterborough Effect. Reshaping a City, Peterborough Development Corporation, Peterborough.

Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1967), The Social Construction of Reality, Allen Lane, London.

Berger, P. (1973), The Social Reality of Religion, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth (first published in 1967 as The Sacred Canopy, USA)

Berrington, A. (1994), 'Marriage and family formation among the white and ethnic minority populations of Britain', Ethnic and Racial Studies 17:3, 517-546.

Berthoud, R. and Beishon, S. (1997), 'People, families and households', in Modood, T., Berthoud, R., Lakey, J., Nazroo, J., Smith, P., Virdee, S., and Beishon, S., Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage, Policy Studies Institute, London.

Beshir, E. and Beshir, M. R. (1998), Meeting the Challenge of Parenting in the West: an Islamic Perspective, Amana Publications, Beltsville, Maryland.

Bhachu, P. (1985a), Parental Educational Strategies: the Case of Punjabi Sikhs in Britain, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

Bhachu, P. (1985b), Twice Migrants: East African Sikh Settlers in Britain, Tavistock Publications, London and New York.

Bharati, A. (1972), The Asians in East Africa, Nelson Hall, Chicago.

Bhatti, G. (1999), Asian Children at Home and at School, Routledge, London.

Bhopal, K. (2001), 'Researching South Asian women: issues of sameness and difference in the research process', Journal of Gender Studies 10:3, 279-285.

Bose, R. (2000), 'Families in transition', in Lau, A. (ed.), South Asian Children and Adolescents in Britain, Whurr Publishers, London and Philadelphia.

Brah, A. (1993), '“Race” and “culture” in the gendering of labour markets: South Asian young Muslim women and the labour market', New Community 19:3, 441-458.

Brah, A. (1996), Cartographies of Diaspora, Routledge, London and New York.

Brah, A. and Minhas, R. (1985), 'Structuring racism or cultural difference: schooling for Asian girls', in Weiner, G. (ed.) Just a Bunch of Girls, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

- Brah, A. and Shaw, S. (1992), Working Choices: South Asian Young Muslim Women and the Labour Market, Dept of Employment Research Paper No. 91, London.
- Brazelton, T. B. and Greenspan, S. I. (2000), The Irreducible Needs of Children. What Every Child Must Have to Grow, Learn and Flourish, Perseus Publishing, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Briggs, C. (1986), Learning How to Ask: a Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bunt, G. (2000), Virtually Islamic. Computer-mediated Communication and Cyber Islamic Environments, University of Wales Press, Cardiff.
- Burghart, R. (ed.) (1987), Hinduism in Great Britain: the Perpetuation of Religion in an Alien Cultural Milieu, Tavistock Publications, London and New York.
- Burlet, S. and Reid, H. (1995), 'Cooperation and conflict: the South Asian diaspora after Ayodhya', New Community 21:4, 587-597.
- Burlet, S. and Reid, H. (1996), 'Riots, representations and responsibilities. The role of young men in Pakistani-heritage Muslim communities', in Shadid, W. A. R. and van Koningsveld, S. (eds), Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States, Kok Pharos, Kampen.
- Cajee, Z. (1996), 'An Islamic value based youth leadership programme', Muslim Education Quarterly 13:2, 20-42.
- Carey, S. and Shukur, A. (1985), 'A profile of the Bangladesh community in East London', New Community 12: 3, 405-417.
- Clarke, C., Peach, C. and Vertovec, S. (1990), South Asians Overseas: Migration and Ethnicity, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Clarke, P. (1998), 'Islam in western Europe: present state and future trends', in Clarke, P. (ed.), New Trends and Developments in the World of Islam, Luzac Oriental, London.
- Clyne, I. (1997), 'Seeking education for Muslim children in Australia', Muslim Education Quarterly 14:3, 4-18.
- Cohen, R. (1997), Global Diasporas: an Introduction, University College London Press, London.
- Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (1996), Ethnicity in the 1991 Census, Volume One, HMSO, London.

Cornell, S. (1996), 'The variable ties that bind: content and circumstance in ethnic processes', Ethnic and Racial Studies 19:2, 265-289.

Coward, H., Hinnells, J. and Williams, R. (eds) (2000), The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States, State University of New York Press, Albany.

Currah, S. (1995), Faith, Family and Future: Religious Belief and Practice among Young Pakistani Women in Bradford, unpublished MPhil thesis, Dept of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Leeds.

Dahl, T. S. (1997), The Muslim Family (English translation), Scandinavian University Press, Oslo, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oxford, Boston.

Dahya, B. (1972), 'Pakistanis in England', New Community 2:1, 25-33.

Dahya, B. (1974), 'The nature of Pakistani ethnicity in industrial cities in Britain', in Cohen, A. (ed.), Urban Ethnicity, Tavistock Publications Ltd., London.

Dahya, B. (1988), 'South Asians as economic migrants in Britain', Ethnic and Racial Studies 11:4, 439-455.

Darby, H. (1983), The Changing Fenland, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Donald, J. and Rattansi, A. (eds) (1992), 'Race', Culture and Difference, Sage Publications, London.

Dosanjh, J.S. and Ghuman, P. (1996), Child Rearing in Ethnic Minorities, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

el-Droubie, R. (1996), 'Authority and freedom in Islam', in Gates, B. (ed.), Freedom and Authority in Religions and Religious Education, Cassell, London and New York.

Drury, B. (1991), 'Sikh girls and the maintenance of an ethnic culture', New Community 17:3, 387-399.

Dwyer, C. (1997), Constructions and Contestations of Islam: Questions of Identity for Young British Muslim Women, unpublished PhD thesis, University College, London.

Dwyer, C. and Meyer, A. (1995), 'The institutionalisation of Islam in the Netherlands and the UK: the case of Islamic schools', New Community 21:1, 37-54.

Eade, J. (1989), The Politics of Community: The Bangladeshi Community in East London, Avebury, Aldershot.

Eade, J. (1990), 'Nationalism and the quest for authenticity: the Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets', New Community 16:4, 493-503.

Eade, J. (1993), 'The political articulation of community and the Islamization of space in London', in Barot, R. (ed.), Religion and Ethnicity: Minorities and Social Change in the Metropolis, Kok Pharos, Kampen, Netherlands.

Eglar, Z. (1960), A Punjabi Village in Pakistan, Columbia University Press, New York and London.

Electoral registers (1998), Peterborough Central Ward.

Elliot, F.R. (1996), Gender, Family and Society, Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Ellis, J. (1991), 'Local government and community needs: a case study of Muslims in Coventry', New Community 17:3, 359-376.

Ellis, P. and Khan, Z. (1998), 'Diasporic mobilisation and the Kashmir issue in British politics', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 24:3, 471-488.

Erricker, C. (2001a), 'The spiritual education of Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheeri youth: the challenges of diaspora', in Erricker, J., Ota, C. and Erricker, C. (eds), Spiritual Education, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton.

Erricker, C. (2001b), 'The diaspora of the Khoja Shi'a Ithna'asheeries', in Erricker, C. and J. (eds), Contemporary Spiritualities, Continuum Books, London.

Esposito, J. (2000), 'Muslims in America or American Muslims?' in Haddad, Y. and Esposito, J. (eds), Muslims on the Americanisation Path, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

Ethnic Groups Report for Cambridgeshire (1992) Minorities Census Digest.

Fenton, S. and Sadiq, A. (1993), The Sorrow in my Heart. Sixteen Asian Women Speak about Depression, Commission for Racial Equality, London.

Finch, J. and Mason, J. (1993), Negotiating Family Responsibilities, Routledge, London and New York.

Gardner, K. (1998), 'Death, burial and bereavement amongst Bengali Muslims in Tower Hamlets, East London', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 24:3, 507-521.

Gardner, K. and Shukur, A. (1994), '“I'm Bengali, I'm Asian, and I'm living here”: the changing identity of British Bengalis', in Ballard, R. (ed.), Desh Pardesh: the South Asian Presence in Britain, Hurst and Co., London.

- Geaves, R. (1995), Muslims in Leeds, Community Religions Project, University of Leeds.
- Geaves, R. (1996), Sectarian Influences within Islam in Britain, Community Religions Project, University of Leeds.
- Gellner, E. (1992), Postmodernism, Reason and Religion, Routledge, London.
- Gerholm, T. and Lithman, G. (eds) (1988), The New Islamic Presence in Western Europe, Mansell, London.
- Ghuman, P. (1993), Coping with Two Cultures. British Asian and Indo-Canadian Adolescents, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Gibb, H. and Kramers, J. (eds), (1974), Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- Gibson, M. (1988), Accommodation without Assimilation. Sikh Immigrants in an American High School, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Gillborn, D. and Gipps, C. (1996), Recent Research on the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils, Office for Standards in Education, London.
- Gilliat, S. (1998), 'Back to basics: the place of Islam in the self-identity of young British Muslims', in Clarke, P. (ed.), New Trends and Developments in the World of Islam, Luzac Oriental, London.
- Gilliat-Ray, S. (1999), Higher Education and Student Religious Identity, Department of Sociology, University of Exeter with the Inter Faith Network of the UK.
- Gillespie, M. (1995), Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change, Routledge, London.
- Glasse (2001), Encyclopedia of Islam (revised edition), Stacey International, London.
- Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D. (1970), Beyond the Melting Pot, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Goldwasser, E. (2000), 'Economic security and Muslim identity. A study of the immigrant community in Durham, North Carolina', in Haddad, Y. and Esposito, J. (eds), Muslims on the Americanisation Path, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (1997), The New Language of Qualitative Method, Oxford University Press, New York.

Haddad, Y. (2000), 'At home in the hijra: South Asian Muslims in the United States', in Coward, H., Hinnells, J. and Williams, R. (eds), The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada and the United States, State University of New York Press, Albany.

Haddad, Y. and Esposito, J. (eds) (2000), Muslims on the Americanisation Path, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

el-Hadi, A. (2000), 'The Muslim community: beliefs and practices', in Lau, A. (ed.), South Asian Children and Adolescents in Britain, Whurr Publishers, London and Philadelphia.

Hadwen, D. (1995), Contemporary Religious Nurture among the Sikhs in Bradford, unpublished MPhil dissertation, University of Leeds.

Halliday, F. (1992), Arabs in Exile: Yemeni Migrants in Urban Britain, I.B. Tauris, London.

Halliday, F. (1999), '“Islamophobia” reconsidered', Ethnic and Racial Studies 22:5, 892-902.

Halstead, M. (1989), Education for Muslim Children in the UK: a Critical Analysis of Some Issues Arising from Contrasting Liberal and Islamic Approaches to Contemporary Problems, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge.

Halstead, M. (1991), 'Radical feminism, Islam and the single-sex school debate', Gender and Education 3:3, 263-278.

Halstead, M. (1993), 'The case for single-sex schools: a Muslim approach', Muslim Education Quarterly 10:1, 49-69.

Halstead, M. (1994), 'Some reflections on the debate about music in Islam', Muslim Education Quarterly 12:1, 51-62.

Halstead, M. (1995a), 'Voluntary apartheid? Problems of schooling for religions and other minorities in democratic societies', Journal of Philosophy of Education 29:2, 257-272.

Halstead, M. (1995b), 'Towards a unified view of Islamic education', Journal of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 6:1, 25-43.

Halstead, M. (1997), 'Muslims and sex education', Journal of Moral Education 26:3, 317-330.

Halstead, M. (1999), 'Moral education in family life: the effects of diversity', Journal of Moral Education 28:3, 265-281.

Halstead, M. and Khan-Cheema, A. (1987), 'Muslims and worship in the maintained school', Westminster Studies in Education 10, 21-36.

Halstead, M. and Lewicka, K. (1998), 'Should homosexuality be taught as an acceptable alternative lifestyle? A Muslim perspective', Cambridge Journal of Education 28:1, 49-64.

Haw, K. (1995), 'Why Muslims girls are more feminist at Muslim schools', in Griffiths, M. and Troyna, B. (eds), Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice in Education, Trentham Books, Stoke-on-Trent.

Haw, K. (1998), Educating Muslim Girls, Open University Press, Buckingham.

Helms, L. (1995), 'The harim as sacred space for Muslim women', Muslim Education Quarterly 12:3, 62-72.

Hennink, M., Diamond, I. and Cooper, P. (1999), 'Young Asian women and relationships: traditional or transitional?', Ethnic and Racial Studies 22:5, 867-891.

Hewitt, I. (1997), What Does Islam Say?, Muslim Educational Trust, London.

Hinnells, J. (2000), 'South Asians in Britain', in Coward, H., Hinnells, J. and Williams, R. (eds), The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada and the United States, State University of New York Press, Albany.

Hodgson, M. (1974), The Venture of Islam (Volume 2). The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

Hull, J. (1998), 'Religious education and Muslims in England: developments and principles', Muslim Education Quarterly 15:4, 10-23.

Hulmes, E. (1989), Education and Cultural Diversity, Longman, London and New York.

Husain, A. (1999), Muslim Parents. Their Rights and Duties, Adam Publishers, Delhi.

Husain, F. and O'Brien, M. (eds), 1999, Muslim Families in Europe: Social Existence and Social Care, University of North London.

Iganski, P. and Payne, G. (1996), 'Declining racial disadvantage in the British labour market', Ethnic and Racial Studies 19:1, 113-134.

Ipgrave, J. (1995) God and Guna. The Religious Education of Muslim Children, Farmington Institute, Oxford.

Ipgrave, J. (1996), The Religious Education of Muslim Children in Highfields, Leicester, unpublished MA dissertation, University of Warwick.

Ipgrave, J. (1999), 'Issues in the delivery of Religious Education to Muslim pupils: perspectives from the classroom', British Journal of Religious Education 21:2, 66-76.

Islamic Academy, 1985, The Teaching of Islam in British Schools: an Agreed Statement, Islamic Academy, Cambridge.

Jackson, R. (1997), Religious Education: an Interpretive Approach, Hodder and Stoughton, London.

Jackson, R. (2001), 'Faith based schools and religious education within the state system in England and Wales', British Journal of Religious Education 24: 1, 2-6.

Jackson, R. and Nesbitt, E. (1993), Hindu Children in Britain, Trentham Books, London.

Jacobson, D. (1976), 'The veil of virtue: *pardah* and the Muslim family in the Bhopal region of central India', in Ahmad, I. (ed.), Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India, Manohar Book Service, New Delhi.

Jacobson, J. (1997a), 'Religion and ethnicity: dual and alternative sources of identity among young British Pakistanis', Ethnic and Racial Studies 20:2, 238-256.

Jacobson, J. (1997b), Islam in Transition. Religion and Identity among Pakistani Youth, Routledge, London.

Janmohamed, S. (1997), 'Attitudes and motivations towards self-employment amongst Khoja Gujarati', unpublished paper given at 20th National Small Firms Policy and Research Conference, University of Ulster, Belfast, November 1997.

Jeffery, P. (1971), Migrants and Refugees, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Jeffery, P. (1979), Frogs in a Well. Indian Women in Purdah, Zed Press, London.

Jenkins, R. (1994), 'Rethinking ethnicity: identity, categorization and power', in Ethnic and Racial Studies 17:2, 197-223.

Johnstone, P. (1986), 'Millet or minority - Muslims in Britain', in Hayes, V. (ed.), Identity Issues and World Religions, Australian Association for the Study of Religions, South Australia.

Joly, D. (1984), The Opinions of Mirpuri Parents in Saltley, Birmingham, about their Children's Schooling, CSIC Research Papers No. 23, Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

Joly, D. (1987), Making a Place for Islam in British Society: Muslims in Birmingham,

Research Papers in Ethnic Relations, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

Joly, D. (1989), Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain: Interaction between the Muslim Community and Birmingham Schools, CSIC Research Papers No. 41, Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

Jones, T. (1993), Britain's Ethnic Minorities - an Analysis of the Labour Force Survey, Policy Studies Institute, London.

Kabbani, R. (1989), Letter to Christendom, Virago Press, London.

Kabeer, N. (1994), 'Women's labour in the Bangladesh garment industry: choice and constraints', in el-Solh, C. and Mabro, J. (eds), Muslim Women's Choices: Religious Belief and Social Reality, Berg Publishers, Providence, Rhode Island.

Kathane, R. (2000), 'Roots and origins: ethnicity and the traditional family', in Lau, A. (ed.), South Asian Children and Adolescents in Britain, Whurr Publishers, London and Philadelphia.

Kelly, A. J. D. (1989), 'Ethnic identification, association and redefinition: Muslim Pakistanis and Greek Cypriots in Britain', in Liebkind, K. (ed.), New Identities in Europe: Immigrant Ancestry and the Ethnic Identity of Youth, Gower, Aldershot.

Kelly, P. (1999), 'Integration and identity in Muslim schools: Britain, United States and Montreal', Journal of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 10: 2, 197-217.

Kepel, G. (1994), The Revenge of God, English translation 1994, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Kepel, G. (1997) Allah in the West, English translation 1997, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Khanum, S. (1992), 'Education and the Muslim girl', in Sahgal, G. and Yuval-Davies, N. (eds), Refusing Holy Orders, Virago, London.

Khattab, H. (1993), The Muslim Woman's Handbook, Ta-Ha Publishers, London.

King, J. (1997), 'Tablighi Jama'at and the Deobandi mosques in Britain', in Clarke, P. (ed.), New Trends and Developments in the World of Islam, Luzac Oriental, London.

Knott, K (1991), 'Bound to change? The religions of South Asians in Britain', in Vertovec, S. (ed.), O.U. Papers on India Vol.2 (2) - Aspects of the South Asian Diaspora, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Knott, K. (1992), The Changing Character of the Religions of the Ethnic Minorities of

Asian Origin in Britain: Final Report of a Leverhulme Project, Community Religions Project, University of Leeds.

Knott, K. (1995), 'Women researching, women researched', in Ursula King (ed.), Religion and Gender, Blackwell, Oxford.

Knott, K. (2002), 'The sense and nonsense of "community": a consideration of contemporary debates about community and culture by a scholar of religions', BASR Occasional Paper 22, British Association for the Study of Religions.

Knott, K. and Khokher, S. (1993), 'Religious and ethnic identity among young Muslim women in Bradford', New Community, 19:4, 593-610.

Kose, A. (1996), Conversion to Islam, Kegan Paul, London.

Kucukcan, T. (1998), 'Community, identity and institutionalisation of Islamic education: the case of Ikra Primary School in North London', British Journal of Religious Education 21:1, 32-43.

de Lange, R. and Rupp, J. (1992), 'Ethnic background, social class or status? Developments in school attainment of the children of immigrants in the Netherlands', Ethnic and Racial Studies 15:2, 284-303.

van der Lans, J. and Rooijackers, M. (1996), 'Ethnic identity and cultural orientation of second generation Turkish Muslim migrants', in Shadid, W. A. R. and van Koningsveld, S. (eds), Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States, Kok Pharos, Kampen.

Lapidus, I. (1988), A History of Islamic Societies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lau, A. (2000), 'Traditional values and the family life cycle', in Lau, A. (ed.), South Asian Children and Adolescents in Britain, Whurr Publishers, London and Philadelphia.

Lemu, A. (1991), 'Aims of teaching Islamic studies to children', Muslim Education Quarterly 8:2, 32-37.

Leveau, R. (1991), 'Islam in France - new perspectives', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.

Lewis, P. (1994a), Islamic Britain - Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims, I. B. Tauris, London.

Lewis, P. (1994b), 'Being Muslim and being British: the dynamics of Islamic

reconstruction in Bradford', in Ballard, R. (ed.), Desh Pardesh, Hurst and Co., London.

Lewis, P. (1996), The Functions, Education and Influence of the 'Ulama in Bradford's Muslim Communities, Community Religions Project, University of Leeds.

Liebkind, K. (1989), 'Conceptual approaches to ethnic identity', in Liebkind, K. (ed.), New Identities in Europe: Immigrant Ancestry and the Ethnic Identity of Youth, Gower, Aldershot.

Liederman, L. (2000), 'Pluralism in education: the display of Islamic affiliation in French and British schools', Journal of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 11:1, 105-117.

Mabud, A. (1998), 'An Islamic view of sex education', Muslim Education Quarterly 15:2, 69-93.

Macey, M. (1999), 'Class, gender and religious influences on changing patterns of Pakistani Muslim male violence in Bradford', Ethnic and Racial Studies 22:5, 845-866.

Mahroof, M. (1994), 'The impact of mass media on the Islamization of learning', Muslim Education Quarterly 11:4, 32-47.

Mahroof, M. (1996), 'The electronic challenge to the Islamization of learning: an analytical commentary', Muslim Education Quarterly 14:1, 43-57.

Masselos, J. C. (1973), 'The Khojas of Bombay: the defining of formal membership criteria during the 19th century', in Ahmad, I. (ed.), Caste among the Muslims, Manohar Book Service, Delhi.

Mattausch, J. (1998), 'From subjects to citizens: British East African Asians', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 24:1, 121-141.

McCloud, B. (1996), ' "This is a Muslim home". Signs of difference in the African-American row house', in Metcalf, B (ed.), Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe, University of California Press, Berkeley.

McCutcheon, R. (ed.), (1999), The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion, Cassell, London and New York.

McLoughlin, S. (1996), 'In the name of the *umma*: globalization, "race" relations and Muslim identity politics in Bradford', in Shadid, W. A. R. and van Koningsveld, S. (eds), Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States, Kok Pharos, Kampen.

McLoughlin, S. (1998), 'The mosque-centre, community-mosque: multifunctions, funding and the reconstruction of Islam in Bradford', Scottish Journal of Religious Studies 19: 2,

211-227.

McLoughlin, S. (2002), Representing Muslims: Religion, Ethnicity and the Politics of Identity, Pluto Press, London.

Mehra, H. (1998), 'The permanent exclusion of Asian pupils at secondary schools in central Birmingham', Multicultural Teaching 17:1, 42-48.

Meijer, W. (1999), 'Islam versus western modernity: a contrast in educational thought', British Journal of Religious Education 21:3, 158-166.

Mernissi, F. (1987), Women and Islam. An Historical and Theological Enquiry, English translation 1991, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Metcalf, B. (1982), Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Metcalf, B. (ed.), (1996), Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Mirza, K. (1989), The Silent Cry: Second Generation Bradford Muslim Women Speak, CSIC Research Papers No. 43, Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

Modood, T. (1992), Not Easy Being British, Runnymede Trust and Trentham Books, Stoke-on-Trent.

Modood, T. (1993), 'Muslim views on religious identity and racial equality', New Community 19:3, 513-520.

Modood, T. (1997), 'Conclusion: ethnic diversity and disadvantage', in Modood T., Berthoud, R., Lakey, J., Nazroo, J., Smith, P., Virdee, S. and Beishon, S., Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage, (the 4th PSI Survey), Policy Studies Institute, London.

Mumtaz, K. and Shaheed, F. (1987), Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back, Zed Books, London.

Murad, K. (1986), Muslim Youth in the West: Towards a New Education Strategy, Islamic Foundation, Leicester.

Nagar, R. (2000), 'Religion, race and the debate over *mut'a* in Dar es Salaam', Feminist Studies 26:3, 661-690.

Nesbitt, E. (1993), 'Gender and religious tradition: the role-learning of British Hindu

children', Gender and Education 5:1, 81-89.

Nesbitt, E. (1995), ' "Many Happy Returns": some British South Asian children's birthday parties', Multicultural Teaching 14:1, 34-40.

Nesbitt, E. (1997), "'Splashed with goodness": the many meanings of "Amrit" for young British Sikhs', Journal of Contemporary Religion 12:1, 17-33.

Nesbitt, E. (1998a), 'Bridging the gap between young people's experiences of their religious traditions at home and school: the contribution of ethnographic research', British Journal of Religious Education 20:2, 102-114.

Nesbitt, E. (1998b), 'British, Asian and Hindu: identity, self-narration and the ethnographic interview', Journal of Beliefs and Values 19:2, 189-200.

Nesbitt, E. (2000), The Religious Lives of Sikh Children: a Coventry Based Study, University of Leeds Community Religions Project, Leeds.

Netton, I. (1992), A Popular Dictionary of Islam, Curzon Press, Richmond.

Nielsen, J. (1991a), 'A Muslim agenda for Britain: some reflections', New Community 17:3, 467-475.

Nielsen, J. (1991b), 'Muslim organizations in Europe: integration or isolation?', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.

Nielsen, J. (1995), Muslims in Western Europe (2nd edition), Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Nielsen, J. (2000), 'Muslims in Britain: ethnic minorities, community or ummah?', in Coward, H., Hinnells, J. and Williams, R., (eds), The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States, State University of New York Press, Albany.

Nijsten, C. (1996), 'Living as a Muslim in a migration country. Moroccan youngsters in the Netherlands', in Shadid, W. A. R. and van Koningsveld, S. (eds), Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States, Kok Pharos, Kampen.

OFSTED Inspection Report on Gladstone County Primary School, Peterborough (1997), Office for Standards in Education, London.

OFSTED (1999), Raising the Attainment of Minority Ethnic Pupils, Office for Standards in Education, London.

Ostberg, S. (2000), 'Islamic nurture and identity management', British Journal of

Religious Education 22:2, 91-103.

Ostberg, S. (2002), Pakistani Children in Oslo: Islamic Nurture in a Secular Context, Community Religions Project, University of Leeds.

Parker-Jenkins, M. (1993), Educating Muslim Children, School of Education, University of Nottingham.

Parker-Jenkins, M. (1995), Children of Islam, Trentham Books, Stoke-on-Trent.

Parker-Jenkins, M. and Haw, K. (1996), 'Equality within Islam, not without it: the perspectives of Muslim girls in a Muslim school in Britain', Muslim Educational Quarterly 13:3, 17-34.

Parlardir, S. (1995), 'The roles of religion and family in educating a child', Muslim Education Quarterly, 13:1, 62-67.

Pawson, R. (1996), 'Theorizing the interview', British Journal of Sociology 47:2, 295-314.

Peach, C. (1990), 'The Muslim population of Great Britain', Ethnic and Racial Studies 13:3, 414-419.

Peach, C. and Glebe, G. (1995), 'Muslim minorities in western Europe', Ethnic and Racial Studies 18:1, 26-45.

Peach, C., Robinson, V., Maxted, J., and Chance, J. (1988), 'Immigration and ethnicity' in Halsey, A. (ed.), British Social Trends since 1900, Macmillan, Oxford.

Pearl, D. and Menski, W. (1998), Muslim Family Law (3rd edition), Sweet and Maxwell, London.

Powney, J. and Watts, M. (1987), Interviewing in Educational Research, Routledge, London.

Pulcini, T. (1995), 'Values conflict among U.S. Muslim youth', in Abedin, S. and Sardar, Z. (eds), Muslim Minorities in the West, Grey Seal, London.

Pullinger, J. and Summerfield, C. (1997), Social Focus on Families, Office for National Statistics, London.

Purdam, K. (1996), 'Settler political participation: Muslim local councillors', in Shadid, W. A. R. and van Koningsveld, S. (eds), Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States, Kok Pharos, Kampen.

Rafiq, M. (1992), 'Ethnicity and enterprise: a comparison of Muslim and non-Muslim owned Asian businesses in Britain', New Community 19:1, 43-60.

Ramazanoglu, C. (1986), 'Gender and Islam - the politics of Muslim feminism', Ethnic and Racial Studies 9:2, 258 - 263.

al-Rasheed, M. (1992), 'Political migration and downward socio-economic mobility: the Iraqi community in London', New Community 18:4, 537-550.

Rashid, H. (1990), 'Some critical issues in the socialization and education of African American Muslims', Muslim Education Quarterly 7:4, 19-26

Rath, J., Groenendijk, K. and Penninx, R. (1991), 'The recognition and institutionalisation of Islam in Belgium, Great Britain and the Netherlands', New Community 18:1, 101-114.

Raza, M. (1991), Islam in Britain Past, Present and the Future, Volcano Press, Leicester.

Rex, J. (1993), 'Religion and ethnicity in the metropolis', in Barot, R. (ed.), Religion and Ethnicity: Minorities and Social Change in the Metropolis, Kok Pharos, Kampen, Netherlands.

Rex, J. and Moore, R. (1967), Race, Community and Conflict: a Study of Sparkbrook, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Richard, Y. (1991), Shi'ite Islam: Polity, Ideology and Creed, English translation 1995, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge Massachusetts and Oxford.

Richardson, R. (ed.) (1997), Islamophobia: a Challenge for Us All, Runnymede Trust, London.

Roald, A. (2001), Women in Islam, Routledge, London and New York.

Roberts, D. (1997), Promoting Equality in Employment, Cambridgeshire County Council.

Robinson, F. (1988), Varieties of South Asian Islam, Research Papers in Ethnic Relations, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

Robinson, N. (1996), Discovering the Qur'an, SCM Press, London.

Robinson, V. (1981), 'The development of South Asian settlement in Britain, and the myth of return', in Peach, C., Robinson, V. and Smith, S. (eds), Ethnic Segregation in Cities, Croom Helm, London.

Robinson, V. (1986), Transients, Settlers and Refugees, Oxford University Press,

Oxford.

Ruthven, M. (2000), Islam in the World (revised edition), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Sahgal, G. and Yuval-Davis, N. (eds)(1992), Refusing Holy Orders, Virago, London.

Sahin, A. (1996), Faith Development and its Educational Implications: an Islamic Perspective, unpublished M. Ed. dissertation, University of Birmingham.

Saifullah Khan, V. (1979), 'The Pakistanis: Mirpuri villagers at home and in Bradford', in Watson, J., (ed.), Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain, Blackwell, Oxford.

Saiyed, A. (1976), 'Purdah, family structure and the status of woman: a note on a deviant case', in Ahmad, I., (ed.), Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India, Manohar Book Service, New Delhi.

Sander, A. (1991), 'The road from musallah to mosque', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.

Sanyal, U. (1996), Devotional Islam and Politics in British India, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Sarwar, G. (1994), British Muslims and Schools, Muslim Educational Trust, London.

Sayyid, B. (1997), A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism, Zed Books, London and New York.

Scantlebury, E. (1995), 'Muslims in Manchester - the depiction of a religious community', New Community, 21:3, 425-435.

Schubel, V. (1996), 'Karbala as sacred space among North American Shi'a: "Every day is Ashura, everywhere is Karbala"', in Metcalf, B, ed., Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Selby, K. (1992), 'The Islamic schooling movement in the United States: teachers' experiences in one full-time Islamic school', Muslim Education Quarterly 9:2, 35 - 48.

Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (1991a), 'Blaming the system or blaming the victim?', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.

Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (1991b), 'The institution and integration of Islam in

- The Netherlands', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.
- Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (1995), Religious Freedom and the Position of Islam in Western Europe, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.
- Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), (1996a), Muslims in the Margin: Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe, Kok Pharos Publishing House, Kampen, The Netherlands.
- Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, S. (1996b), 'Loyalty to a non-Muslim government: an analysis of Islamic normative discussions and of the views of some contemporary Islamicists', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, S. (eds), Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.
- Shaheed, F. (1999), 'Constructing identities: culture, women's agency and the Muslim world', International Social Science Journal 159, 61-73.
- Shaikh, S. and Kelly, A. (1989), 'To mix or not to mix: Pakistani girls in British schools', Educational Research 31:1, 10-19.
- Shakeri, E. (2000), 'Muslim women in Canada. Their role and status as revealed in the hijab controversy', in Haddad, Y. and Esposito, J. (eds), Muslims on the Americanisation Path, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- Sharif, R. (1985), Interviews with Young Muslim Women of Pakistani Origin, CSIC Research Papers No. 27, Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.
- Sharma, D. (2000), 'Educational issues', in Lau, A. (ed.), South Asian Children and Adolescents in Britain, Whurr Publishers, London and Philadelphia.
- Shaw, A. (1988), A Pakistani Community in Britain, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Shaw, A. (1991), 'The making of a Pakistan community leader', in Vertovec S. (ed.), Oxford University Papers on India (Vol.2 Pt.2): Aspects of the South Asian Diaspora, Oxford University Press, Delhi.
- Shaw, A. (1994), 'The Pakistani community in Oxford', in Ballard, R. (ed.), Desh Pardesh: the South Asian Presence in Britain, Hurst and Co, London.
- Shaw, A. (1997), 'Women, the household and family ties: Pakistani migrants in Britain', in Donnan, H. and Selier, F. (eds), Inside the Household: Family and Gender in Pakistan, Delhi, Hindustan Press.

Shaw, A. (2000a), Kinship and Continuity. Pakistani Families in Britain, Harwood Academic Publishers, The Netherlands.

Shaw, A. (2000b), 'Conflicting models of risk: clinical genetics and British Pakistanis', in Caplan, P. (ed.), Risk Revisited, Pluto Press, London.

Sheriff, A, 1983, Music and its Effects, Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania, at <<http://www.wabil.com.music1.htm>>

Shilela, A. (1997), 'The contribution of parent groups to home-school links in Cambridgeshire', in Bastiani, J. (ed.), Home-School Work in Multicultural Settings, David Fulton Publishers, London.

Sikand, Y. (1998), 'The origins and growth of the Tablighi Jama'at in Britain', Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 9:2, 171-192.

Simpson, S. (1997), 'Demography and ethnicity: case studies from Bradford', New Community 23:1, 89-107.

Sirriyeh, E. (1999), Sufis and Anti-Sufis. The Defence, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World, Curzon, Richmond.

el-Solh, C. and Mabro, J. (eds), (1994), Muslim Women's Choices: Religious Belief and Social Reality, Berg Publishers, Providence and Rhode Island.

Sonyel, S. (1988), The Silent Minority: Turkish Muslim Children in British Schools, Islamic Academy, Cambridge.

Stopes-Roe, M. and Cochrane, R. (1991), Citizens of this Country, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

Summerfield, H. (1993), 'Patterns of adaptation: Somali and Bangladeshi women in Britain', in Buijs, G. (ed.), Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities, Berg, Oxford and Providence.

Taylor, J. (1976), The Half-way Generation, NFER, Slough.

Tebbs, H. (1979), Peterborough, Oleander Press, Cambridge.

Thobani, A. (1978), 'Asians of East Africa', in Weekes, R. (ed.), Muslim Peoples - a World Ethnographic Survey, Greenwood Press, Westport and London.

Twaddle, M. (1990), 'East African Asians through a hundred years', in Clarke, C., Peach, C. and Vertovec, S. (eds), South Asians Overseas, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Verkuyten, M., van de Calseijde, S. and de Leur, W. (1999), 'Third-generation South Moluccans in the Netherlands: the nature of ethnic identity', Ethnic and Migration Studies 25:1, 63-79.

Vertovec, S. (1996), 'Muslims, the state and the public sphere', in Nonneman G., Niblock, T. and Szajkowski, B. (eds), Muslim Communities in the New Europe, Garnet, Reading.

Vertovec, S. (2000), 'Religion and diaspora', unpublished paper given at conference on 'New Landscapes of Religion in the West', School of Geography and the Environment, University of Oxford, 27-29 September 2000.

Voll, J. (1991), 'Islamic issues for Muslims in the United States', in Haddad, Y. (ed.), The Muslims of America, OUP, New York and Oxford.

Waardenburg, J. (1991), 'Muslim associations and official bodies in some European countries', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, P. (eds), The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe, Kok Pharos, Kampen, The Netherlands.

Wade, B. and Souter, P. (1992), Continuing to Think. The British Asian Girl, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

Waghid, Y. (1994), 'Conceptually based problems within madrasa education in South Africa', Muslim Educational Quarterly 11:2, 9-28.

Waghid, Y. (1995), 'Shura or dialogue: a procedure towards addressing the problems in madrasa education in South Africa', in Muslim Education Quarterly 12:2, 34-51.

Watson, J. (ed.), (1977), Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain, Blackwell, Oxford.

Wayland, S. (1997), 'Religious expression in public schools: kirpans in Canada, hijab in France', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 11:3, 239-262.

Weller, P. (2001), Religions in the UK. An Interfaith Directory, University of Derby with the Interfaith Network of the UK,

Werbner, P. (1981), 'Manchester Pakistanis: lifestyles, ritual and the making of social distinctions', New Community 9:2, 216-227.

Werbner, P. (1985), 'The organization of giving and ethnic elites: voluntary associations among Manchester Pakistanis', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 8:3, 368-388.

Werbner, P. (1990), The Migration Process, Berg, Providence and Oxford.

Werbner, P. (1991a), 'Shattered bridges: the dialectics of progress and alienation among British Muslims', New Community, 17:3, 331-346.

Werbner, P. (1991b), 'The fiction of unity in ethnic politics', in Werbner, P. and Anwar, M. (eds), Black and Ethnic Leaderships: the Cultural Dimensions of Political Action, Routledge, London and New York.

Werbner, P. (1991c), 'Black and ethnic leaderships in Britain: a theoretical overview', in Werbner, P. and Anwar, M. (eds), Black and Ethnic Leaderships: the Cultural Dimensions of Political Action, Routledge, London and New York.

Werbner, P. (1996a), 'Public spaces, political voices: gender, feminism and aspects of British Muslim participation in the public sphere', in Shadid, W. and van Koningsveld, S. (eds), Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in Non-Muslim States, Kok Pharos, Kampen.

Werbner, P. (1996b), 'Stamping the earth with the name of Allah: *zikr* and the sacralizing of space among British Muslims', in Metcalf, B. (ed.), Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Werbner, P. (2002), 'The place which is diaspora: citizenship, religion and gender in the making or chaotic transnationalism?', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 28:1, 119-133.

Werbner, P. and Anwar, M. (eds) (1991), Black and Ethnic Leaderships: the Cultural Dimensions of Political Action, Routledge, London and New York.

West, J. and Pilgrim, S. (1995), 'South Asian women in employment: the impact of immigration, ethnic origin and the local economy', New Community, 21:3, 357-378.

Westwood, S. and Bhachu, P. (1988), Enterprising Women, Routledge, London.

Whitmarsh, A. and Harris, T. (1996), Social Focus on Ethnic Minorities, HMSO, London.

Wilkinson, I. (1988), Muslim Beliefs and Practices in a Non-Muslim Country: a Study of Rochdale, CSIC Research Papers No. 39, Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

Wilpert, C. (1989), 'Ethnic and cultural identity: ethnicity and the second generation in the context of European migration', in Liebkind K. (ed.), (1989), New Identities in Europe: Immigrant Ancestry and the Ethnic Identity of Youth, Gower, Aldershot.

Wilson, A. (1978), Finding a Voice: Asian Women in Britain, Virago, London.

Woodward, P. (1993), 'Muslim pupils in British schools - our questions, their answers', in Muslim Education Quarterly, 10:1, 34-48.

Woodward, P. (1996), 'Orthodoxy and openness: the experiences of Muslim children', in Gates, B. (ed.), Freedom and Authority in Religions and Religious Education, Cassell, London and New York.

Yalcin-Heckmann, L. (1994), 'Are fireworks Islamic? Towards an understanding of Turkish migrants and Islam in Germany', in Stewart, C. and Shaw, R. (eds), Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: the Politics of Religious Synthesis, Routledge, London and New York.

Yaqub, S. (1999), 'Conversation with Ann Cryer, M.P.', in Q News No. 307, London

"Zakir" (no date), Tears and Tributes, Ansariyan Publications, Qum, Iran.