Homegrown terrorism and the Muslim communities in the United Kingdom (UK)

Understanding the reasons for the radicalization of young British Muslims

By

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(Stu#: ............)

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This thesis will examine the issue of homegrown Islamic terrorism and the Muslim community in the United Kingdom (UK). It will address the question of why some young British Muslim men have become radicalized, and have decided to engage in terrorist activities. The thesis will focus on the time period from the September 11th 2001 (‘9/11’) terror attacks in the United States until the present day. By examining this issue, the thesis seeks to understand the reasons for, and the consequences of, radicalization amongst young men within the UK’s Muslim community. The thesis will first look at the history and the background of the Muslim community in the UK. It will then examine the effect of international events and developments since 9/11 on the British Muslim community. International-scale events (e.g. 9/11) had a significant effect on promoting radicalism around the world, including in the UK. The increased use of the internet also influences many young Muslims. The research will then proceed to examine how domestic problems such as social isolation and increased anti-Muslim feeling after 9/11 contributed to radicalizing some young UK Muslim men. Following this, the thesis will then examine the efforts of the British government and Islamic community organizations in tackling the problem of radicalization. It will also discuss the successes and challenges experienced by the government and non-government groups when countering radicalization. In conclusion, the thesis will then present some possible lessons, proposals and strategies for addressing the issue of radicalization in the UK and other countries.
Chapter.1 Background

1.1 The first generation entry into the UK

The UK has a long history of contact with Muslims, and Muslims have had a long history in the UK. Prior to the end of the Second World War, there had, for some time, been a small Islamic presence in the UK. In the nineteenth century, Yemeni men came to work on ships, forming one of the country’s first Muslim communities. A large number of immigrants, mainly entered the UK from former British colonies. The main stream of Muslim immigration to the UK occurred after World War II. They were mainly from South Asian countries, such as Pakistan and India in the 1950s. Others came from East African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in the late 1960s to the early 1970s and were of Indian ancestry. The last wave arrived in the 1980s from Bangladesh. More recently, in the 1990s, there has been an intake of Eastern European Muslims from countries such as Bosnia and Kosovo, as well as Middle Eastern refugees. The close relations and the connections between former colonial countries and the British Empire encouraged Muslim immigrants to migrate especially from South Asian countries. At that time after World War II, the UK was reconstructing its economy and infrastructure. Thus immigrants were welcomed as a source of cheap labor. Muslim immigrants came primarily to aid the shortfall in labor and settled mainly in the industrial

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cities. Despite the initial intention to return to their countries of birth, many migrants got married and were joined by their Muslim wives from their home countries and began families in the UK. As a result, the Muslim community expanded its population, and their influence on the British life increased.

1.2 British Muslims today

As mentioned above, there is a variety of ethnic backgrounds amongst Muslims in Britain. According to the Census in 2011 two-thirds (68%) came from an Asian background, including Pakistani (38%) and Bangladeshi (15%). Figure 1 shows that, the proportion of Muslims who reported coming from other backgrounds is Black/African/Caribbean/Black British (10%), and White (8%)\(^7\).

**Figure 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion by ethnicity, England and Wales, 2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed/multiple ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black/African/Caribbean/Black British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnic group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics

The 2011 census revealed that roughly about 2.7 million Muslims currently live in

England and Wales (about 5% of the total UK population)\(^8\) and that it is the second largest religious group next to Christianity. Most Muslims live in industrial cities such as Birmingham, Greater Manchester, Bradford and Kirklees in West Yorkshire and the East End in London.\(^9\)

Table 2 shows that London had the highest proportion of Muslims at 12.4% of the total population, followed by the West Midlands and Yorkshire and Humber (both under 7%).\(^10\) Muslims tend to be concentrated in particular areas of England. Map 1 shows that the areas with the highest proportion of Muslims were in London with the boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Newham having 34.5% and 32.0% respectively. Map 2 indicates that there were several areas with proportions higher than 20% including Redbridge, Waltham Forest, Blackburn, Bradford, Luton, Slough, and Birmingham\(^11\).

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\(^{8}\) Ibid.


\(^{11}\) Ibid.

In addition, more than 1000 mosques have been erected\textsuperscript{14}, which are used as a place of prayer, for teaching, and as a community center. These main Muslim gathering places were built with donations from Middle Eastern countries, especially Saudi Arabia. In addition, a large number of Muslim organizations exist within the country. The Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) for example is the primary Muslim organization which was set up in 1997 and that

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.

organizes a network of at least 380 smaller organizations. The Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR) was founded after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks in 2001<sup>15</sup>.

1.3 Employment patterns

In comparison with the first generation of Muslims who came to the UK, job opportunities and the employment rate for present-day British Muslims have improved. Immigrants from Islamic countries settled in Britain aimed at getting a job and a better life standard of living. However the first generation immigrants had faced a lot of difficulties due to the language barriers especially the women who had low qualifications, a nontransferable education and skills, and a limited understanding of the labour market.<sup>16</sup> It can be said that the majority of Muslim immigrants entered the UK at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder at the time of the first generation of immigrants.<sup>17</sup> The economic position of British Muslim has gradually changed since 1990s. Under the Blair government from 1997 until 2007<sup>18</sup>, there was a series of New Deal programs<sup>19</sup> in order to decrease the gap of the employment rate between white Britons and Britons from ethnic minority groups. In 1996, the average employment rate for white Britons was 71.9% and 53.0% for Britons from ethnic minority groups. As a result of the policies of the Blair Labour Party government, the average gap narrowed and both employment rates rose up. The average employment rate for white Britons was 74.5% and 60.7% for Britons from ethnic minority groups in 2007.<sup>20</sup> Increasing numbers of younger Muslims are joining the

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<sup>17</sup> Humayun Ansari, ‘Muslim communities in Britain’, *Report Muslims in Britain*, minority rights group international, 2002, pp.6-11.


<sup>20</sup> Satoshi Adachi, リベラル・ナショナリズムと多文化主義—イギリスの社会統合とムスリム(*Liberal Nationalism and multiculturalism: Social Integration Policy and Muslims in Britain*), Keiso publishing company, 2013, table7-1, p.255.
professional revel of British society and successful business ventures have continued to expand. In contrast, young British Muslims (second and third generations) remain at the margins of the labour market. Muslims in the UK are more likely to be unemployed and less they paid than average, especially South Asian Muslims. According to the Office for National Statistics [ONS] Annual Report Survey the unemployment rate for people aged 16 to 24 is 19.4% amongst Whites. On the contrary, the rate for young British Muslims of Pakistani origin is 44.0% and 37.6% for young British Muslims of Bangladeshi origin.

1.4 Islamic Education in the UK

British Muslims exist as a significant group whose educational needs are of particular interest to the government, because Muslims in Britain are comparatively younger than other religious groups, with nearly half of Muslims (48 per cent) under the age of 24. Since the 1990s, the fluency and understanding of English at the educational institutions had developed amongst the mainstream young British Muslim student, over time and was strongly linked to age as well as gender. Focusing on compulsory schooling in the UK, there are three kinds of schools which are open to British Muslims: community schools, church schools, and Muslim schools. The choice of the school for children depends on their British Muslim parents.

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27 “State schools” are under the control of the Local Education Authority (LEA): the vast majority is on-educational.

28 “Muslim schools” are mainly independent (i.e. fee-paying) schools, but now 12 of them have state funding as voluntary aided schools: at secondary level, virtually all are single-sex.

Several choices have caused a significant diversity in what Muslim parents want, and indeed how Muslims conceive of education. Those parents who consider the language needs as a top priority of their children may choose community schools. Community schools have the strength of giving young Muslims the main opportunity to experience life outside of their ethnic communities. In comparison with the majority of British Muslims, other parents prioritize spiritual and moral development or traditional religious upbringing. They choose Muslim schools or complementary schools, such as a local mosque school. With community schools, there is a possibility that young Muslims will be influenced by other religions and by the negative aspects of British youth culture such as music, sex, drugs, and alcohol. Moreover Muslim parents, especially first generation Muslim parents, hope that their children will learn about and appreciate their ancestral origins, their mother language, culture, and religion. Another educational motive comes from a resistance to Western influences and thinking. There is also, a culture clash between Muslim values and Western values. For example there were public debates in the media about Muslims scarves such as the hijab\(^\text{30}\) and the niqab\(^\text{31}\) especially after the July 7\(^\text{th}\) attacks in 2005. Scarves have been often recognized as a symbol of women’s repression and as an anti-social clothes item, contrary to Western liberal values. In relation to this, the Blair government increased support for faith school including Islam schools from 1998 onwards.\(^\text{32}\) Although the number of Islamic schools is still small – around 140 at the latest count, just 12 of them state-funded – it is growing fast.\(^\text{33}\) However only the 5 per cent of Muslim children went to the Islam schools and this rate is lower than other religions.\(^\text{34}\)


\(^{31}\) It is the veil that covers the face, showing only eyes. (Source: Ibid.)

\(^{32}\) Ibid., pp.283 – 302.


Chapter 2 International influences

This chapter shows the effects of international events on the radicalization of young UK Muslim men from September 11th 2001 (‘9/11’) attacks until the present day, and attempts to provide an understanding of the process of radicalization. After ‘9/11’, tensions between Western and Muslim countries became more evident and tangible. Nowadays the started friction between two cultures (i.e., Western and Muslim) has become one of the most serious security issues in the world. The “War on Terror”\(^{35}\) started after ‘9/11’. The influence of the ‘War on Terror’ helped to feed anti-Muslim sentiment within the UK and to increase a sense of social isolation among Muslims in non-Islamic countries. As a result of the “War on Terror”, these events gave rise to anti-Western feeling, pro-Islamic sentiment, and a sense of humiliation were increased. Additionally, the internet and satellite channels encouraged and made it easier to unite a large number of Muslims around the world and to radicalize them.\(^{36}\) Active movement of radical Muslim groups in an international-scale even out of Islam’s borders was increased as an impact of internet and satellite communications through the propaganda, recruiting, and teaching and influential preachers (see page 8). The latest distinguished one is the large number of British Muslim men who have joined to the Islamic State (IS)\(^{37}\) as fighters. Some young British Muslims became radicalized and went to Iraq and Syria. The Soufan Group recently estimated that approximately 400 fighters are from the UK among 12,000 fighters within the IS.\(^{38}\) The UK government worries about a second wave of homegrown terrorism that could be

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35 The ‘War on Terror’ was declared by the Bush administration after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It involved opening and converting military operations, new security legislation, efforts to block the financing of terrorism. (Source: War on terrorism, Global Policy Forum <http://www.globalpolicy.org/war-on-terrorism.html> (accessed on 2 October 2014)

36 Tomas Precht, Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism, the Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, pp.56-60.

37 Islamic State (IS) is a radical Islamist group that has seized large swathes of territory in eastern Syria and across northern and western Iraq. It declared the creation of a caliphate and changed its name from Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to IS in June 2014 (Source: BBC News, 29/11/2014).

made as a result of returning jihadists.

2.1 The character of radicalisation and home grown terrorism

There has been a great discussion about the character of radicalisation and homegrown terrorism by scholars, for instance, Precht is an apt example. According to Precht, radicalization can be defined as “a process of adopting an extremist belief system and the willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence and fear, as a method of effecting changes in society.” It must be mentioned that radicalisation is not always connected with terrorism and the use of violence. From another point of view, the character of radicalised people is not so different from ordinary citizens. They often have good careers, an education, jobs, families and a network of friends amongst their ethnic communities, but also some of them might come from socially or economically deprived sections of societies.

Radicalisation has various aspects and is diversified process that is influenced by different factors. Several studies have proved that there is no single cause or catalyst for radicalisation. As it is pointed out by Precht, he clarifies that there are basically three categories of motivational factors for entering in the radicalisation process: 1. background factors, 2. trigger factors, and 3. opportunity factors (places to meet likeminded people). More details about what Perch discussed are stated as follow:

1. Background factors:
   - Muslim identity crisis
   - Personal traumas

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40 Ibid., p.16.
41 Ibid., p.16.
42 Ibid., p.11.
44 Ibid., p.6.
Experience of discrimination and relative deprivation factors

Living environment and peers (segregation and parallel society)

Alienation and perceived injustices

Relative absence of a critical Muslim debate on Islamist terrorism

2. Trigger factors:

- Western foreign policy and single provocative incidents
- The myth of Jihad and desire for activism
- Presence of a charismatic person or spiritual advisor

3. Opportunity factors (places to meet likeminded people):

- The Mosque
- Internet and satellite channels
- School, universities, youth clubs or work
- Prison
- Sporting activities
- Cafes, bars or bookstores

This thesis, unlike from Precht’s study, is going to look at 2 categories: 1. international effects and 2. domestic problems then, concentrates on several main factors with some examples.

2.2 The threat since ‘9/11’

The 9/11 attacks could be a trigger factor for the radicalization of young UK Muslim men. That is because the attacks triggered the beginning of the “War on Terror” all around the world. Before this international turning point, there were numerous reasons why and periods when
Western countries and Islamic countries confronted each other. Ever since the Iranian revolution of 1979, Muslims have become a focus of attention within international society. The Salman Rushdie affair from 1988 convinced many non-Muslims in Western countries that Muslims are intrinsically inclined to go to extremes or are otherwise incapable of adapting to Western societies. In addition, according to Abbas, the first Gulf War (1990-91), the war in Bosnia (1992-95), the Taliban in Afghanistan (1997-2002), Grozny and Kosovo (1999), and the Palestinian Intifada (since September 2000) have all played a role in creating a transnational Muslim.

After the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the United States launched military operations, first against Afghanistan in late 2001 and then against Iraq in early 2003. The antagonism between Western democratic countries and most Muslim countries and communities became significant. Both of them realised the differences between the two ideologies and the gaps between them. As a result of a series of American and European military operations, many Muslims recognize Westerners as occupiers of their lands. A series of invasions also led to a tide of anti-Americanism and a surge of support for fanatical Islamism across the Muslim world. Pictures from Abu Ghraib prison and Guantanamo Bay, TV broadcasts from battle zones in Afghanistan, Iraq and Algeria, Somalia, Sudan, Gaza, and uncooperative actions of the West on Chechnya and Kashmir, and double standard policies toward Israel, and other areas generated an image of violence between Muslims who suffered unfair Western policy injustices.


46 Ibid.


48 Tomas Precht, *Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism*, the
It also can be said that after 9/11 the attitude of non-Muslim societies about Muslims has changed.49 Islamophobia, defined as ‘dread or hatred of Islam – and, therefore, fear or dislike of all or most Muslims’ was expressed in a number of ways immediately after September 2001.50 Numerous incidents were reported and some British Muslims were physically and verbally attacked because of their religion. They were called murderers and attacked just because they were Muslims.51 For example, according to Ansari, an Afghan taxi driver was attacked soon after 9/11 and left paralysed from the neck down in West London.52 This phenomenon also can be seen in media representations. In the aftermath of 9/11, the most obvious difference is the volume of media coverage. Moreover the coverage of British Muslims was often in association with terrorism.

Taking these matters in account it can be said that ‘9/11’ brought a significant change of attitudes against Islam and the Muslim community not only in the UK society, but also in the international society.

2.3 The rise of ‘homegrown terrorism’ in the UK

Before and even after September 11th 2001 (‘9/11’) most Europeans regarded that their home countries were safe places because of their keeping away from Jihadists and few relations with extremist groups. They had never dreamed that their peace of minds would be shaken by terrorists. They perceived that the terrorism threat was confined to overseas and that Europe is just “a place for recruitment, logistics and finance – and not a place for Jihad.”53 The threat of home grown terrorism, defined as “acts of violence against targets primarily, but not always, in

Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, p.50.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Tomas Precht, Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism, the Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, p.19.
Western countries in which the terrorists themselves have been born or raised” 54, and radicalisation spread from 2001 to 2005, after ‘9/11’. However the seeds for radicalization were planted in the 1990s by especially radical preachers in Islamic institutions, for example the Finsbury Mosque55 in London.56 The turning point of realizing the impact of homegrown terrorism was the bombings in London on 7th July 2005.

The July 7th bombings (‘7/7’) were an act of indiscriminate terror. On that day, four bombs were carried and detonated by young British men in the centre of London, in the morning rush hour. Three detonated in underground subway stations and the fourth one on a double decker bus.57 A series of attacks killed 52 people and injured more than 770 innocent citizens.58 Three of the bombers were second generation British citizens whose parents were from Pakistan. They grew up in a district with some Islamic facilities for example mosques and community centres. The British origin of the four bombers was viewed as an example of the dangers of terrorism in the UK. It revealed that UK society was potentially a hotbed for terrorists, and fed anti-Muslim sentiment amongst non-Muslims in the UK.

2.4 Effects of the International media

The internet age plays an important role in spreading radicalisation because it accelerates the occurrence of radicalisation. This tendency is worrying from a counter-terrorism perspective59. According to the FBI, there are approximately 5,000-6,000 extremist

54 Ibid., p.15.
55 The Finsbury park mosque was founded in 1994 in north London. It is regarded as a hotbed of terrorists and extremists. One of its imams, Abu Hamza gave extreme messages and seminars. A number of terrorists, includes some members of al-Qaeda, the “shoe-bomber” Richard Reid, and ‘9/11’ and some ‘7/7’ supporters, attended this mosque and were influenced by Hazama’s lectures.
56 Tomas Precht, Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism, the Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, p.19.
web pages on the Internet.\textsuperscript{60} In terror cases such as the Madrid\textsuperscript{61} and London bombings, the internet played an important role in the bombers’ radicalisation process. Beside London bombings, another examples of the internet role can be seen in the Spanish indictment of the Madrid train bombers who claimed that they were influenced by extremist websites, propaganda, and instructions about how to make the bombs from the Internet. Precht notes that there are several merits of using the Internet, for example its cheap cost, its global accessibility and its capacity to send both texts and videos for the purpose of propaganda and official statements.\textsuperscript{62} By providing easy access to radical Islam and the opportunity to create local and international contacts, therefore the Internet is playing a major role in all the phases of the radicalisation process.\textsuperscript{63} The latest discussion about the Islamic State (IS) also illustrates this phenomenon. Islamic radicalised groups have made full use of the Internet. In the case of IS, it has been successful in large-scale recruitment from all over the world via multi-language information though the Internet. It is estimated that most of the IS volunteers from European countries contacted with the IS fighters via Facebook or Twitter.\textsuperscript{64}

Satellite TV plays a similar role compared along with the Internet. It allows the easy access, and the rapid spreading of specific materials across borders, for example video and audio files.\textsuperscript{65} These new media tools are giving many European Muslims a feeling that they belong to a broader Muslim community. Because of the appearance of some suicide statements and leaders’ propaganda, they also have the possibility of influencing young British Muslims’ minds to justify Jihad or acts of terrorism against Western countries.

\textsuperscript{60} Tomas Precht, \textit{Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism}, the Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, p.57.
\textsuperscript{61} The Madrid train bombings of 2004 were a coordinated series of attacks targeting commuter trains in Madrid on the morning of March 11, 2004. The affects left 191 are died and more than 1,800 were injured. (Source: Britannica:http://global.britanica.com/EBchecked/topic/1279086/Madrid-train-bombings-of-2004.)
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., p.57.
\textsuperscript{64} Teiichiro Nakamura and Mayumi Kojima, 欧米と『イスラム国』(About European countries and “Islamic State”), Hokuriku/Tyunichi newspaper, 2014.
\textsuperscript{65} Tomas Precht, \textit{Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism}, the Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, pp.59-60.
Lastly, the influence of a charismatic person or a radical preacher also has a great impact on recent cases of the radicalisation process and the participation of young European Muslims in extremist activities.\textsuperscript{66} For example, Richard Reid: the shoe bomber\textsuperscript{67}, attended at the Brixton Mosque in south London and was deeply influenced by lectures held there.\textsuperscript{68} One of the 7/7 London bombers, Jermaine Lindsay, was strongly influenced by the extremist preacher Abdullah al-Faisal, a well-known radical preacher who was originally from Jamaica.\textsuperscript{69} Precht notes that radical preachers or Imams are especially likely to influence young persons' belief systems by speaking from a position of authority on religion issues. These influential preachers are seemed to be associated with the Mosque. On the other hand they are active in diffusing their messages via the Internet, through videos, DVDs, written material or in private houses.

\textbf{Chapter 3 Domestic problems}

This chapter will focus on social based domestic problems related to British Muslims in the UK. There are influences on young Muslim men not only from international society, but also domestically. It will look at the issue of increased tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims. After ‘9/11’, especially after the London bombings of July 7\textsuperscript{th} in 2005 (‘7/7’), both anti-Muslim feeling amongst non-Muslims and anti-Western feeling amongst Muslims rose within British society. Therefore ethnic minorities struggled more with the issue of social isolation and prejudice. Additionally, there is another significant problem within Muslim communities. This is the gap between the first generation and the second and third generations in regards to

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., pp.53-55.
\textsuperscript{67} On December 22, 2001, al-Qaeda sympathizer Richard Reid attempted the mid-flight destruction of an American Airlines aircraft bound from Paris to Miami flight with 197 people on board. Reid attempted to destroy the flight with plastic explosives concealed in his shoes though it fortunately failed. (Encyclopedia:http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3403300690.html)
\textsuperscript{69} The House of Commons, Report of the official account of the bombings in London on 7\textsuperscript{th} July 2005, the stationally office, 2006.
attitudes toward British society. The first generation tends to recognize their deep relation with their native countries and with their ethnic communities in the UK. On the contrary, the second and third generations, who mainly grew up and were educated in the UK, have been struggling with the dilemma of dealing with both their own ethnic communities and the mainstream society at the same time. Also young Muslim men struggle with two senses of isolation, from their secularized host society and from their closed ethnic communities. Because of an anxiety about losing their identity and a lack of places where they can feel free, the second and third generations tend to feel a stronger sense of identity via Islam than the first generation in order to find meaning and significance in their lives.

3.1 Social isolation and Prejudice

The past two decades have seen an explosion of interest in Muslim communities in Britain. Increased immigration and changes in demographics have contributed to a growing Muslim presence in the UK. In addition, according to Alexander, Redclif and Hussain, heated discussions about so-called Islamophobia and a ‘clash of civilizations’ were influenced by “the context of the global War on Terror and the resurgence of a mainstream right wing and Far Right political parties across Europe.” That interest became more significant especially as a result of three events: the 2001 ‘riots’, and the terror attacks of September 11th 2001, and July 7th 2005. In Britain today there is a mismatch between how non-Muslims often perceive

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70 Satoshi Adachi, リベラル・ナショナリズムと多文化主義ーイギリスの社会統合とムスリム(Liberal Nationalism and multiculturalism: Social Integration Policy and Muslims in Britain), Keiso publishing company, Tokyo, 2013, pp.230-231.


73 Ibid.

74 According to the BBC News, the 2001 ‘riots’ were a series of violent clashes that occurred in a number of northern towns in England in the summer of 2001. They were “sparked by racial tensions, mixed, to some extent, with orchestrated rivalries between criminal gangs”. Oldham, Burnley and Bradford experienced violence which saw hundreds of young Asian men (Pakistani and Bangladeshi) take to the streets. (Source: Dominic Casciani, ‘Q&A: 2001 northern town riots’, BBC News, 2006.)<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/5032166.stm> (accessed on 14 July 2014)
Muslims and how Muslims typically perceive themselves. Muslims in Britain struggle with the challenge of how to belong within UK society. The difference between the majority UK society and minority ethnic communities was being made worse by the lower standard of living of minorities compared with the majority community and the rise in prejudice and Islamophobia. Risen anti-Muslim feeling or ‘Islamophobia’ has resulted in rising prejudice against Islam and Muslims. Ali notes that British Muslims are often considered in comparison to the mainstream of UK society to be not sincere in their acceptance of democracy, pluralism, and human rights. He also points out that the media in Britain continues to reinforce Islamophobic attitudes within the majority community.

Anti-Muslim feeling has been unintentionally stimulated by influential public organizations. For instance, the media’s negative treatment and portrayal of Muslims reinforce an image of “a one-dimensional and monolithic religion that poses a threat to Western values.” Widely used words that are often seen as synonymous with ‘Muslim’ are ‘extremists’, ‘terrorists’, ‘fundamentalists’ and ‘fanatics’. The news media served to create a biased view of Muslims and Islam as being violent and frighteningly dangerous. By contrast, the media coverage does not reflect the increase in attacks on British Muslims. The British Muslims consider the news media to ‘misrepresent’ or to represent them unfairly, and to be an important factor in contributing to discrimination and a lack of understanding between communities. One of the other examples of spreading Islamophobia in the UK is the behavior of the police. As Ahmed points out, it is argued the fairness that “Section 44 of the Terrorism Act 2000 allows the police to stop anyone

76 Humayun Ansari, ‘Muslim communities in Britain’, Report Muslims in Britain, minority rights group international, 2002.
78 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
at any time without reasonable suspicion".\textsuperscript{82} They are often seen as being biased by stopping, arresting and interviewing Muslims only because of their appearance and their religion.\textsuperscript{83} According to the Home Office, the number of ‘stop and search’ incidents among people whose ethnicity is the Indian sub-continent increased by 302\% between 2001 and 2003, compared with increase of 118\% among of white people.\textsuperscript{84} The number of stopped and searched people originating from South Asia was still approximately twice that of a White person in 2012.\textsuperscript{85}

The more Islamophobia spreads around the UK, the more anti-Western feelings and the feeling of isolation rises among the Muslim communities. In the UK, media reports have a great impact on public sentiment via often exaggerated reporting and over stated negative expressions regarding British Muslims. On the other hand, it is rare chances that the majority community can know how British Muslims struggle and fear since ‘9/11’.

### 3.2 The generation gap between first and second/ third British-Muslims

Several studies have claimed that there is the gap between the first generation and young generations among British Muslim communities. Ansari describes that young British Muslims are more tuned into British rules and culture rather than their migrant elders. Some young British Muslims have a more questioning attitude towards strong ethnic identity and they criticize the religious cultural practices and beliefs of the older generations. Adachi noted that the biradari system seems to be one of the problems of the generation gap. The biradari\textsuperscript{86} system is the network which is determined by the rank system and clan in the Muslim community. Today, Biradari is largely influential in patriarchal Asian Muslim societies around

\textsuperscript{83} Tomas Precht, \textit{Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism}, the Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, p.43-44.
\textsuperscript{86} The term ‘biradari’ (male kin) is generally defined as patrilineage and is known to play a pivotal role in shaping the values, traditions and norms of a particular society.
the UK especially amongst the older generation. Backroom deals in private corridors determine all aspects of life in the community ranging from politics to marriage. However Shaikh points out that a substantial number of young Muslims are energetic and possess a desire to create a positive, vibrant, and cohesive society.\textsuperscript{87} Unfortunately their desire does not always match with the older members of the community who are content to maintain the old fashioned status quo and are reluctant to embrace change caused by younger generations.\textsuperscript{88}

When the second and third generations come of age, suddenly they are forced to face the problem of maladjustment which is caused by cultural and social tensions especially within their ethnic community. In the United Kingdom, historically they were able to bring their original cultural practices from their home countries and develop respectively. For this reason, Islamic religious facilities are run in the same way as in their countries'. In other words, Islamic public places are ruled with the traditional values that the first generation used to live under in their birth countries. Most of the preachers in the mosque do not use English, but they usually use Urdu or Bengali that young generations cannot understand.\textsuperscript{89} This systematic problem adds frustration among the younger generation. Racial consciousness is strongly related to old fashioned traditions and customs which influence Muslim communities in the UK. Most of them do not suit the younger generations who grew up in UK society. These problems make the generation gap between elder and young wider, and it leads to a sense of alienation amongst young. They tend to realize that there are no places for them to or fit into within their community.

The ideological gap between British Muslim generations and their rebellionism after the status quo with their present day ethnic community cause some British Muslims to feel unable

\textsuperscript{87} Abdul Basit Shaikh, ‘The influence of biradari (caste) system in the UK’, Passion Islam, \textless http://passionislam.com/articles.php?articles_id=311 \textgreater (accessed on 23 September 2014)

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Satoshi Adachi, リベラル・ナショナリズムと多文化主義ーイギリスの社会統合とムスリム(Liberal Nationalism and multiculturalism: Social Integration Policy and Muslims in Britain), Keiso publishing company, Tokyo, 2013, pp.230-231.
to identify with the “'cultural Islam’ of the migrant generation.”\textsuperscript{90} This possibly becomes a factor in giving the opportunity for young UK Muslims to become interested in Islamic fundamentalism.

3.3 Muslim identity crisis and Personal Traumas

Many young Muslims living in the West are split between the traditional Islamic culture of their parents and the secular multi-cultural society in their country of residence. They are the center of Muslim communities because of their potential to lead and shape the community’s future. They also have acquisition skills and an education which many of elderly Muslims did not have.\textsuperscript{91} The severe experience of the Muslim community is going to change from completing within the ethnic community at the age of the first generation into having international influences which young generations are forced to live in. As Bunting points out, “despite the two is being set in violent opposition.”\textsuperscript{92}, the two civilizations of Islam and the West are relating each other and influencing on their daily lives. It can be said that the young generations are forced to live parallel lives in both Muslim and UK societies. In the ethnic community, they were guarded from the complexities of UK society. They did not have to consider the system of UK’s guidelines, restrictions, standards, and senses of values. Therefore, it can be noted that they are naturally carrying the gap in sense of values between their ethnic communities and the mainstream in the UK. On the other hand, they live deeply within UK society. They grew up there, went to school there speak English, consuming similar to other communities, and interact with non-British Muslims.\textsuperscript{93} The second and third generations in particular find that they do not know how to belong and have few Muslim role-models to guide them on how to be members of British


\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{93} Jill Keppel, テロと殉教：「文明の衝突」をこえて (Terreur et martyre: relever le defi de civilisation), Tr.Takahiro Maruoka, Sangyo publishing company, Tokyo, 2010.
Muslims.\textsuperscript{94}

Young British Muslims realize that it is difficult to find a safe space in which to form their identity. In the mass society, they perceive a space in which Islam is frequently misrepresented from the mainstream, and where they are forced to see themselves portrayed as alien or an even dangerous presence in society. Meanwhile, their own ethnic community also is not always a comfortable place for them. Many young British Muslims are unwilling to express themselves openly or to ask for some support and advice from within their communities. Young Muslims are often afraid of being judged and misunderstood by their elders.\textsuperscript{95}

3.4 Case study\textsuperscript{96}. Why did Mohammad Sidique Khan become radicalised and become one of the ‘7/7’ bombers?

Mohammad Sidique Khan was 30 at the time of the bombings and played a role as a ringleader of the terrorist group.\textsuperscript{97} His background was not so unexceptional from others. Khan was a second generation British citizen. His parents were of Pakistan origin. His parents came to West Yorkshire from Pakistan, took a job, and took British citizenship. Khan grew up in Beeston, which is a densely populated and ethnically mixed residential area of the city.\textsuperscript{98} In Beeston, there are lots of Islamic facilities, for example a number of mosques, a large modern community center, an Islamic book shop (now closed) and a large park, where young Muslims gather and play sports together. It was well known in the local area that some clubs and gyms were regarded as centres of extremism.\textsuperscript{99}

There were lots of opportunities for Khan to be influenced by Islam and radicalisation from

\textsuperscript{94} Tomas Precht, \textit{Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: from convention to terrorism}, the Danish Ministry of Justice, 2007, p.42


\textsuperscript{96} The House of Commons, \textit{Report of the official account of the Bombings in London on 7\textsuperscript{th} July 2005}, 2006.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.


time to time. He was born in 1974 and was educated locally. He was considered as a quiet, hard-working youth, and was never related with trouble but was sometimes bullied.\textsuperscript{100} After school, he worked locally in low-level government clerical jobs and then left to study at Leeds Metropolitan University in 1996.\textsuperscript{101} While he was in the university, he came to be interested in helping disadvantaged young people, and started part-time youth and community work.\textsuperscript{102} In 2001, he started his career as a “learning mentor’, working with children who were struggling with their work and behavioral problems.”\textsuperscript{103} During his career as a learning mentor, he was respected by teachers, parents, and even difficult students.

By the time Khan began to work as a learning mentor in 2001, he was said to be serious about religion. He prayed regularly at school and attended the mosque on Fridays.\textsuperscript{104} He originally preferred to take some alcohol and drugs in the 1990s\textsuperscript{105} and friends from his teenage years recall “a highly Westernized young man.”\textsuperscript{106} After he became more religious, the process of radicalisation seemed to be accelerated. Firstly he attended several terrorist training camps. He also attended paintball sessions\textsuperscript{107} in 2002 and also took Islamist themed lectures and opportunities to apply for bombing.\textsuperscript{108} In the next year, he was known to have attended a camping trip in the Canolfan Tryweryn, the National White Water Centre, in North Wales,\textsuperscript{109} Additionally he visited Pakistan for terrorist training in 2003 and again in 2005. Then Khan and the other 7/7 London bombers frequently attended local gyms and youth clubs, where Khan

\textsuperscript{101} The House of Commons, \textit{Report of the official account of the bombings in London on 7\textsuperscript{th} July 2005}, the stationally office, 2006.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} Paint ball is a simulated war game in which you shoot small containers of paint at people.
\textsuperscript{108} The House of Commons, \textit{Report of the official account of the bombings in London on 7\textsuperscript{th} July 2005}, the stationally office, 2006, p.68.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
gave talks. In the local book shop, they held study circles.\textsuperscript{110} Within their group, he played a role as a mentor in the community and cultivated a reputation.\textsuperscript{111}

The example of Mohammad Sidique Khan highlights one of the processes of radicalisation amongst British young Muslims. He grew up in a Muslim community in the UK, and was surrounded by Islamic facilities. He witnessed with his own eyes the difficulties experienced by young Muslims in the UK. This experience might be one of the reason why he became a devout Muslim. It should be noted that this story is not an exception in the UK. Both of the government, the majority community and also the Muslim communities need to understand the current situation. They are also required to work together to counter the severe problem of radicalisation amongst young British Muslims. In the next chapter, this thesis will focus on challenges and problems of their efforts to counter radicalisation and homegrown terrorism.

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., p.67.  
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
Chapter 4 Challenges and problems

(the UK government and the Muslim community)

This chapter will examine the efforts of the UK government and Islamic community organizations to manage tensions and prevent conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims, and to counter extremism within the mainstream Muslim community. Looking at examples of both successes and challenges, it will show how they are tackling problems related to the radicalization of young British Muslim men. In terms of governmental policies, after World War II, the UK government had tried to keep a balance in their immigration policies between tolerance and restriction. However criticisms and misgivings about the government’s multicultural policy toward the Muslim community grew after ‘9/11’, ‘7/7’, and major developments in the EU’s immigration policy. Though the UK government altered their policy from a relatively tolerant policy to a more restrictive policy the way in which anti-terror powers are being used has led to a feeling of isolation amongst Muslims in the UK.

In terms of the Muslim community, they have participated in initiatives and movements such as involving themselves more in politics and playing a role in preventing Muslim extremism. For example, the number of British Muslim MPs has increased. In the 2010 elections, the number of Muslim MPs doubled to eight and the first three women Muslim MPs entered parliament. British Muslim communities are also trying to promote religious tolerance and to reject extremism. The Ahmadiyya Muslim Youth Association (AMYA), for

112 The UK government had focused on a two-fold strategy 1) the promotion of citizenship for newcomers (tolerance) and 2) immigration controls (restriction). [Source: Satoshi Adachi, Liberal Nationalism and multiculturalism: Social Integration Policy and Muslims in Britain, Keiso publishing company, Tokyo, 2013.]

113 Ibid.

114 According to the UK’s Home Office in 2014, following the enlargement of the EU in May 2004, immigrants from the new EU Member States (known as the accession or A8 countries) were allowed immediate access to the UK labour market. The UK was only one of three countries (along with Ireland and Sweden) that did not impose a transition period for migrants from the A8 countries. [Source: Impacts of migration on UK native employment: An analytical review of the evidence, Home Office, London, 2014 <https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/287287/occ109.pdf> (accessed on 5 January 2015)]

115 Tazeen Said, The Impact of Anti Terrorism powers on the British Muslim population, Liberty, 2004

example is considered the biggest Muslim youth group in the UK, and published a press release stating that they wanted to promote dialogue and peace and to reject religious extremism.117

4.1 Brief details about the UK government’s immigration policy

The policy for immigrants was mainly concentrated on keeping the balance between tolerance and restriction until 2001. After the end of World War II, and the gradual demise of the British Empire, hundreds of thousands of immigrants, including Muslims, entered and settled in the United Kingdom. Immigrants enjoyed the right of residence and work because of the British Nationally Act of 1948 at the time.118 Their freedom and their cultural rights are also respected and legally protected as a result of the Race Relations Act of 1976.119 However with the outbreak of three race riots in Northern cities in London in 2001120, public opinion began from the majority British population to express even more doubts about immigration policies and displayed antipathy toward immigrants. The UK government emphasized community cohesion as a new administrative immigration policy, and shifted to greater restrictions in order to place tighter control on immigration.121 In official policy, the UK was a state committed to multiculturalism and to the respect of diversity and minority groups.

The UK government has a long and complicated history of enacting terrorism legislation over many decades, for example when countering the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during the


119 Ibid., pp.60-68.

120 According to the BBC News, the 2001 ‘riots’ were a series of violent clashes that occurred in a number of northern towns in England in the summer of 2001. They were “sparked by racial tensions, mixed, to some extent, with orchestrated rivalries between criminal gangs”. Oldham, Burnley and Bradford experienced violence, which saw hundreds of young Asian men (of Pakistani and Bangladeshi ancestry) take to the streets. (Source: Dominic Casciani, Q&A: 2001 northern town riots, BBC News, 2006 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/5032166.stm> (accessed on 5 January 2015))

121 The international section of the Minister’s secretariat in the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2010, pp.50-59.
period of the Northern Ireland-related ‘Troubles’ (1968 - 1998).\textsuperscript{122} Since ‘9/11’ and ‘7/7’, multiculturalism has become the focus of the public’s attention. Additionally the government started to reconstruct its policies toward minority groups, especially Muslims. The beginning of a series of acts related to the current counter-terrorism legislation began with the Terrorism Act of 2000.\textsuperscript{123} Choudhury notes that “the Terrorism Act of 2001 aimed to build up a permanent legal framework that, it was hoped, would avoid the need for legislation in the aftermath of future terrorist attacks.”\textsuperscript{124} Only within a decade of the years since 2000, seven further acts of legislation had been passed.

In response to further restrictions in terms of anti-terrorism laws, negative reactions from British Muslims as well as some risks have been reported by some researchers, for example Choudhury, Kern, Mythen and Khan. Choudhury notes that there are even grassroots campaigns and an organisation for repealing counter-terrorism laws.\textsuperscript{125} One of them is the Campaign Against Criminalising Communities (CAMPACC).\textsuperscript{126} It aims to oppose ‘unfair’ counter-terrorism laws and measures, which regulate the right and the freedom of British Muslims. Mythen and Khan claim that there is a lack of understanding by the government of their daily lives and their backgrounds.\textsuperscript{127} Even though there were many debates and lots of


\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{126} CAMPACC was formed in March 2001 in response to the banning of 21 organisations because of the regulations under the Terrorism Act of 2000. It targets so called ‘anti-terrorism’ legislation and organises public meeting, petitions, Parliamentary lobbies, and protests at court hearings and prisons. [Source: CAMPACC: Campaign Against Criminalising Communities, CAMPACC <http://www.campacc.org.jp> (accessed on 28 December 2014)]

\textsuperscript{127} Gabe Mythen and Fatima Khan, Futurity, governance and the terrorist risk: exploring the impacts of preemptive modes of regulation on young Muslims in the UK, University of Liverpool. <http://www.kent.ac.uk/saccion/events/beijingpapers/Mythenppr.pdf> (accessed on 21 July 2014)
research in the Muslim younger generation after the 7/7 bombings, governmental strategies tended to concentrate on how to engage them and to minimize the terrorist threat.\textsuperscript{128} Lastly, Kern suggests that the British government is inadvertently encouraging home-grown radical Islam.\textsuperscript{129} It could be argued that the more the government strengthens its integration policy toward minorities, the more antipathy arises from within the Muslim community. Under the integration policy, the government favours sharing a clearer sense of national identity and justifying their policies because of the national security problem. British Muslims are unwilling to accept the new policy and the attitude from the government because they sense that the government seems to suspect the entire Muslim community as a troublesome matter for the country and as a hotbed of homegrown terrorism. In this way, for example the number of Muslim parents, who send their “problem children”, who were immersed in mainstream British society, to madrasa (i.e., higher educational school for teaching Islam) is growing. There is a huge risk that those ‘problematic’ students are being, and will continue to be, recruited by Islamic extremism groups as jihadis. There have been cases of this happening in Kashmir in Pakistan and in Somaliland in Somalia.\textsuperscript{130} Nevertheless while the government aims to confront extremism through promoting a cross-cultural sense of national identity, Muslim groups are unwilling to accept the new approach. Moreover the new policy is increasing the risk of radicalisation amongst young generations which brought from the choice from opposing the national policy amongst the Muslim community. In other areas, the government has also engaged in efforts to tackle the radicalisation of young Muslims. Paul Lynch spoke of some examples of newly developed programs in 2008.\textsuperscript{131} One example is organizing some

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{129} Soeren Kern, Britain inadvertently encouraging home-grown radical Islam, Gatestone Institute, 2011 <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/1894/britain-home-grown-radical-islam> (accessed on 22 September 2014)
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid.
\end{footnotesize}
communities to lead work groups in order to suggest proposals for preventing the spread of extremism.132

Recently, the UK government declared a plan to strengthen counter terrorism laws because of the fear of Islamic extremists, especially the Islamic State.133 According to Ishikawa, the UK government submitted a bill for a reinforcement of counter terrorism laws at the end of November in 2014.134 The bill allows for the holding of a person’s passport when evidence exists to show that he or she had joined or was planning to join terrorist groups overseas. On the other hand, the bill reinforced the government’s ability to engage in the surveillance of personal data. It aims to reduce the spread of extremism in universities and prisons. The reason why the strong bill was planned is because the UK is facing the greatest menace in terms of terrorism since the ‘7/7’ bombings. However the bill already has been criticised by Amnesty International. The international human rights organization points out that the new restrictions deviate from the international law.

4.2 Positive initiatives by the Muslim community

It is not only the UK government who are attempting to tackle radicalisation and terrorism, but also the Muslim community itself. Firstly, there is the example of Muslim communities actively taking part in politics by themselves. According to Lynch, “it is a proud thing that the UK has the highest number of British Muslim MPs (Member of Parliament) amongst all European countries.”135 Since 2001 there have been several Muslim MPs from the Labour Party.136 As a result of the election in 2010, the number of Muslim MPs has doubled and

132 Ibid.
133 Yasunori Ishikawa, 英、対テロ法強化へ (The UK government goes on to reinforce counter terrorism law), Hokuriku/Tyuuunichi newspaper, Tokyo, 2014.
134 Ibid.
three British Muslim women became MPs for the first time. Secondly, there are initiatives by the largest Muslim youth community organisation in the UK. Ahmadiyya Muslim Youth Association (AMYA) brings people together to promote dialogue about peace and has made calls to reject religious extremism. Thirdly, the Muslim community have made numerous efforts to make contact with and to influence the UK government and policy makers directly. Lobbying efforts helped to create some platforms and forums for discussions between Muslim communities and the Labour government for example the Muslim Woman’s Advisory Group and the Young Muslim Advisory Group in 2008. As can be seen above, there are many initiatives and movements that originated from the Muslim community. Moreover this trend of social participation amongst British Muslims is part of the counter terrorism campaign.

MINAB (Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board) is an interesting example of a Muslim community initiative in the UK that plays a role as an “advisory and facilitator body for good governance in Mosques and Imam Training Institutions.” It has proposed minimum standards for Islamic institutions and those standards are mainly focused on the reformation of mosques. MINAB has been trying to prevent radicalisation by removing extremists and biased interpretations of Islam from Islamic facilities. Its measures are widely recognised in the public and its importance in marginalising extremists who want to recruit young Muslims is

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137 Ibid.
138 AMYA was formed in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in India.
141 MINAB was set up in 2006 following a conference between the government and Muslim communities after the 7/7 London bombings. It speaks for 600 of the UK’s 1,500 mosques. (Source: Rahila Bano, Mosques split over women’s role, BBC news UK, 2011. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13519186> (accessed on 11 December 2014))
143 There are six standards regarding Mosques: 1) Democratic and accountable, 2) transparent finances, 3) open to women and youth, 4) counter-extremism programs, 5) inter-faith schemes, 6) work against forced marriage. (Source: Qari Muhammad Asim, Mosques & youth engagement: guidelines and toolkit, MINAB, 2011 <http://www.salaam.co.uk/muslimsinbritain/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Mosques-And-Youth-Engagement-Guidelines-And-Toolkit.pdf> (accessed on 11 December 2014))
recognised by government Ministers.\textsuperscript{144}

The British Scouts Association is another good example of an organisation that provides opportunities for young people from various ethnic groups to gain skills and learn more about themselves. It is the UK’s largest multi-ethnic youth organisation and offers activities to more than 400,000 people aged from 6 to 25.\textsuperscript{145} It aims at developing social skills, cultural awareness, and commitment through adventurous activities.\textsuperscript{146} Ahmed points out the importance of role models and peer-mentoring in the Muslim community. Role models can become a good factor for young Muslims to create encouragement and hope. It is easier for role models that to share sympathy and to comprehend situation than their parents because they are same age group to the young.\textsuperscript{147} However the number of such models is insufficient at present. There are two strong points to train good role models for young generations. One is the effect from models that young Muslims can realise their potential and talent. The other is the positive impact toward the Muslim community. Once young Muslims have the self-confidence individually, they can live positively and support their friends through some life events such as education and the choice of career paths.\textsuperscript{148}

Additionally, there are some innovative ideas and effective impacts caused by groups which work with young British Muslims.\textsuperscript{149} Projects, such as Mosaic, for example provide mentoring programs for young people having difficulties\textsuperscript{150}; the Young Muslim Leadership Programme, provides a meeting point between the Islamic and Western worlds of learning\textsuperscript{151};

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} Sughra Ahmed, Seen and not heard: Voices of young British Muslims, Policy Research Centre, 2009.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., pp.61-67.
\textsuperscript{150} Mosaic was founded by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in 2007. It provides mentoring programmes for young people from deprived communities having difficulties. (Source: About, Mosaic <http://www.mosaicnetwork.co.uk/about/> (accessed on 13 December 2014))
\textsuperscript{151} Young Muslim Leadership Programme was established by Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies with the support from the Prince’s charities and some organisations. It provides some programmes for developing social skills and discussing challenges which Muslims face. These programmes aim to encourage Muslims to participate in public life. (Source: Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies <http://www.oxcis.ac.uk/index.html> (accessed on 13 December 2014))
\end{footnotes}
the Leadership Development Programme, aims to develop leadership capacity within the Muslim communities in Britain, and the European Muslim professionals network which is recently established: CEDAR (Connecting European Dynamic Achievers & Role-models). All four groups attract young Muslims from all over the UK. According to Ahmed, they argue that every group has a strong point, so they enable to contribute to the Muslim community from various aspects. However they are worried because there is a shortage of time and resources.

4.3 Cooperation between the UK government & Muslim communities

Some researchers point to the importance of cooperation between the government and Muslim communities. The mass society and authorities can only form part of the battle against terrorism because they do not know really understand radical Islamic thinking or about the potential to be radicalised. Choudhury notes that community engagement can play an important role in making effective counter-terrorism policies. The government realised its importance since the ‘7/7’ bombings. In the National Policing Plan, it suggested the need for the ties of trust and confidence between the government and the Muslim community in practice. Also he mentions the difficulty of cooperation with each other compared with carrying out counter-terrorism policy. Some Muslim initiatives argue against counter terrorism policy and question its fairness. Under the current situation, Muslims have a distrust toward the government and the police because of the issue of ‘stop and search’ and alleged unfair behaviour.

152 The Young Muslims Leadership Programme was organised by the British Council of Britain. Through this programme, participants have a chance to gain skills, which required conversation skills. It is helpful for themselves, their communities and wider society. (Source: Leadership Development Programme, The Muslim Council of Britain, London <http://www.mcb.org.uk/ldp/>(accessed on 16 December 2014))


156 Ibid.

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toward Muslims. The government should practice more of what Said calls “ethnically sensitive”
157 policing in order to prevent any misunderstandings and rising tensions amongst the Muslim community.

According to a report by Time magazine, a conference in Washington in 2011 also pointed out the value of working with the public and the minority community in preventing radicalisation. The current strategies of anti-radicalisation and counter terrorism have made some people from minority communities uncomfortable about privacy and civil rights.158 Said said there is a need to tackle the problem “from the bottom up” by using the USA’s police departments.”159 Cooperation must be fostered with Muslim communities, in order not to accelerate radicalisation.

One of the difficulties in countering radicalisation is the variety of suspects who join terrorism. According to Natala, most jihadists join Islamist terror organisations such as Al-Qaeda for example, but some of them act as “lone wolves.”160 The movements of large terrorist groups are more visible and easy to prevent. On the other hand, it is difficult to predict and prevent a single person because they rarely stand-out in public. In order to solve this problem, the cooperation between the police and the Muslim community is important. As stated above, the government and police policy need to be reconsidered and minority communities need to be included in counter-terrorism approaches. Their improvement could lead to greater trust and stronger ties between the Muslim community and the authorities.

159 Ibid.
Conclusion

In order to prevent the radicalisation amongst young British Muslims, it is important to understand the variety within the Muslim community. There is a variety of ethnicity and background amongst British Muslims. In this point, the flexible approach should be included both in the governmental policy and local administrations so that to deal with demands of Muslims heavily populated regions.

According to the Census in 2011, some areas have the highest Muslim proportion more than 30%, for example Tower Hamlets and Newham. In these areas, local authorities should recognise the Muslims population and grasp demands and claims from the Muslim community. Local administrations also need to complement the policy from the central government with preparing systems and with announcing regulations. Improvement of education is the good example of the demand amongst Muslim communities in the UK. It caused from the lack of Islamic educational systems. According to the Census in 2011, nearly half of British Muslims (48 per cent) are under the age of 24 which means that Muslim community is younger than other communities. In Islamic countries, daily life of Muslims is based on the scripture of Islam (Koran and Sunna). On the contrary, in the West of course public schools follow with neither Islam nor the holly books. In consequence, some Muslim parents are worried about the influence of Western customs and cultures. Muslim parents have the right to let their children to go to Islamic schools, though the number of religious school is fewer than other minorities per population. Moreover the quality of Islamic education is not enough for the demands of British Muslims. Suit education must bring them not only the valuable knowledge to the young Muslims, but also the prospect that the possibility effects the Muslim community and accordingly the UK society.


In terms of influences affecting young British Muslims, one of the main factors in radicalisation is the international context. The government should realise that the dissatisfaction of British Muslims also comes from its foreign policy especially toward Islamic countries. In addition, the media should consider its contents especially which relate to Islamic countries and the Muslim community. They should try to have the objective standpoint and to avoid too overstatement. After the ‘9/11’ attacks, the US led ‘War on Terror’ has spread and Western countries have occupied and bombed numerous Islamic countries. Afghanistan and Iraq were seriously damaged from the war and terrible television images were broadcast all over the world. From the war-damaged areas, anti-Western feeling spread and international Islamic extremist groups were born. Terrorist groups for example Al-Qaeda justified their actions as self-defence and declared that their aim at overthrowing the power of firstly America and then other Western countries in the Muslim world. After the ‘7/7’ bombings occurred in London, the threat of homegrown terrorism became significant in the UK. Moreover a recent international security problem is the risk of terrorism caused by returning jihadists from the IS. Most of the extremists group, especially the IS take the advantage of the Internet and satellite channels as a powerful tool. Because of inspiring messages from the leader and stimulating propaganda, some young British Muslims were inspired and join to the terrorist group. To counter the recruiting and influencing on the internet, the government and the Muslim community have to caution against extremist propaganda. It is also needed that the Muslim community make the official website about the scripture of Islam. The correct information will be helpful of young Muslims to counter attractive propaganda from extremists and the radicalisation.

Both the government and the Muslim community should realise and deal with the domestic conditions which also effect to young Muslims. Since the ‘9/11’ attacks, the recognition of the Muslim community has changed amongst the majority community. It appeared most significantly in the form of Islamophobia. Some citizens attacked innocent British Muslims
verbally and physically just because of their religion. On the other hand, anti-Western feeling and the doubts about the government and the public authorities rose amongst Muslim communities. The government should keep its fairness toward British Muslims. It is also important to check their attitudes and policy. A Parliamentary Commissioner must lead positive improvements. If the government asks the Muslim community to be cooperative, it should change the attitude and manners to become a reliable government at first.

In order to fill the gap, the Muslim community should provide chances and places for having a conversation. The invisible gap causes the uneasiness amongst young generations. Sometime the young are misunderstood by the old generations because of the difference of their criteria. The Muslim community should do change into the reliable object for young British Muslims.

As one of the governmental policies, the Home Office had published CONTEST as the new strategy for counter terrorism for four years from 2011. It organises four streams in order to reduce the risk of terrorism and having secure life. One of them is “Prevent” which aims to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism. It is regarded as a key part of the CONTEST strategy and it aims to respond to the ideological challenge of terrorism and the threat from it, to prevent people from radicalisation with appropriate support, and to work with a wide range of sectors. In order to reduce the risk of the radicalisation, the government should concentrate on making practical and effective approaches through work with various sectors. It is outdated to only concentrate on reforming British Muslims’ “hearts and minds.”

The government and the Muslim community also should cooperate more closely with each other to organise some system and opportunities for acquiring a better understanding of Islam and

164 CONTEST includes four strategies: Pursue, Prevent, Protect, and Prepare. [Source: ibid.]
Muslims for both Muslims and non-Muslims. For Muslims, it is important to learn the proper understanding of the scripture of Islam. Extremist groups tend to use misinterpretations from the standard text of the scripture for justifying their actions. The credible knowledge is important for young generations to counter the delude extremism ideology. There are not enough public debates about the Muslim community and Islam both in the majority society and in the Muslim community. Lack of information and incorrect knowledge can be a factor of racial prejudice. It is also needed to avoid misunderstanding between the majority communities and minorities.
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日本語概要

本論文は、イスラム教徒によるホームグルーフ・テロリズム（homegrown terrorism）とイギリスにおけるイスラム・コミュニティが抱える問題について、アメリカでの同時多発テロ事件（9/11）が起こった2001年以降から現在までの期間に焦点を当てて述べる。さらに、なぜ若いイスラム系イギリス人が過激思想に傾倒し、実際のテロ事件に加担してしまうのかという問題の原因や背景を明らかにし、この間にイスラム政府やイスラム・コミュニティの過激化に対抗する取り組みやその際に生じた問題点を明らかにして、今後のどのような取り組みを進めてゆくべきか論じる。

イスラム系移民のイギリスへの流入が拡大したのは第二次世界大戦以降であり、その大半はかつての大英帝国との結びつきが強かった旧植民地である南アジア諸国の出身者であった。1990年代までにはEU域内からの移民受け入れ拡大もあり、イスラム系移民の人口とその国籍の多様性は拡大の一途をたどった。2011年の国勢調査によると約270万人のイスラム系移民が居住し、その割合は全人口の5％に及ぶ。都市によっては、イスラムの人口が全人口の30％以上を占めているところもある。彼らの生活背景として、その労働市場は移民一世の時代と比べると、二、三世の若い世代ではその状況は改善傾向にあり、就労率を比べても国内平均との差は縮まっている。教育面では、イスラム教教育の普及と質の向上が課題となっている。イスラム神教の約半数が24歳以下であり、構成年齢が若いこともあり親世代の関心も高い。その一方で、イスラム教の経典に則った宗教学校が需要に対して不足しており、西洋の文化から悪影響を受けることを懸念する親世代は多い。

ムスリム系移民のイギリスへの流入が拡大したのは第二次世界大戦以降であり、その大半はかつての大英帝国との結びつきが強かった旧植民地である南アジア諸国の出身者であった。1990年代までにはEU域内からの移民受け入れ拡大もあり、イスラム系移民の人口とその国籍の多様性は拡大の一途をたどった。2011年の国勢調査によると約270万人のイスラム系移民が居住し、その割合は全人口の5％に及ぶ。都市によっては、イスラムの人口が全人口の30％以上を占めているところもある。彼らの生活背景として、その労働市場は移民一世の時代と比べると、二、三世の若い世代ではその状況は改善傾向にあり、就労率を比べても国内平均との差は縮まっている。教育面では、イスラム教教育の普及と質の向上が課題となっている。イスラム神教の約半数が24歳以下であり、構成年齢が低いこともあり親世代の関心も高い。その一方で、イスラム教の経典に則った宗教学校が需要に対して不足しており、西洋の文化から悪影響を受けることを懸念する親世代は多い。

ムスリム市民に与える影響として、まず国際社会における安全保障問題が挙げられる。米国同時多発テロ以降、ブッシュ政権は「対テロ戦争」としてイスラム諸国との戦争に踏み切った。欧米諸国では、国際テロ組織からの攻撃を受けて多くの犠牲者を生んだことや、国内に移民が増加している傾向を受けて、反イスラム感情が高まった。一方では、戦地からの報道で惨状がまざまざと伝えられ、イスラム諸国やイスラム教教徒の間では反アメリカ・反欧米感情が高まりを見せ、イギリス国内だけでなく世界中にいてイスラム過激派の台頭を助長したといえる。直近の課題としては、イラク・シリアにまたがるイスラム国の勢力拡大が挙げられる。世界中から若者が戦地へ赴いているとされ、イギリスからも400人以上が参加しているとみられる。イスラム国のようなイスラム過激派組織は、インターネットや衛生放送を駆使して、広告活動や兵士の募集中をしている。事態の打開に向けて、政府からの警鐘・規制に加えて、若者への信頼性のある情報提供も必要だ。

ムスリム系イギリス人の若者が抱える大きな問題として挙げられるのは、イスラム社会やイスラム・コミュニティ内での隔離である。ムスリム移民の1世と違い、2世・3世の若者は生まれ育ちも育ちもイギリスである。しかし、先にも述べたように、同時多発テロ事件は国際情勢だけでなく、欧米社会のイスラム教教徒への認識にも影響を与えた。イギリス国内でもイスラム教への嫌悪感の高まりがみられ、イスラム教徒がその信条ゆえに言論での挑発や身体的暴力を受ける被害も報告されている。このような世情は、イスラム教教徒が社会からの孤立や転出感を感じる要因となっている。一方でイスラム・コミュニティ内においても、若者が顕著にできる居場所を見つけるのは難しい障壁がある。それは、背景や価値観の違いから生じる世代間格差だ。親や祖父母世代からの誤解を恐れて、思い通りに振る舞えないという葛藤もまた、若者に影響を与えている。若者世代が自らの価値や存在意義を見いだせない状況は、過激派組織
織の勢力拡大にもつながっている。若者の境遇はイギリス社会とイスラム・コミュニティの板挟み状態にあるともいえ、そういった状況を利用して、悩める若者たちの受け皿として巧みな宣伝活動を展開している。

若者が過激思想に傾倒する事態を打開するため、イギリス政府はもとよりムスリム・コミュニティ自体も自発的な試みを行っている。戦後の移民受け入れ拡大に伴い、当初政府はマイノリティのもつ独自の文化や慣習を尊重する「多文化主義政策」を推し進めていた。しかし、EU拡大による更なる移民流入や同時多発テロ事件以降の国際情勢、並びに2005年のロンドン同時爆破事件を受けて、移民の規制やマイノリティの同化政策への方針は転換されていった。また2000年以降、テロ対策法案が度々改定されてきた。規制の度重なる強化は、イスラム・コミュニティ全体がテロの温床としてみなされているとして、イスラム教徒からの反感や批判を生んでいる。一方のムスリム・コミュニティの取り組みとしては、積極的な社会参画の例にイスラム教徒からの国会議員輩出がある。また、ムスリム教徒に向けた取り組みとしては、モスクからのイスラム過激化排斥運動や若者の助言者育成が行われて、イギリス社会からも評価されている。より効果的な対策のために、政府とムスリム・コミュニティの双方が協力してゆくことが必要である。

ムスリム系の若者世代を過激思想に向かわせないための対策として、以下の4点を重視するべきと筆者は考える。一点目は、政府や地方行政組織の柔軟な対応である。「ムスリム系イギリス人」の中には多様性があることを認識し、地域によって異なる状況や住民からの要請に応じる必要がある。特に教育分野の改善は、健全な若者の育成につながり、将来的にもコミュニティ、そしてイギリス社会へと良い影響を生む。二点目は、政府や報道機関の中立性担保と正しい情報の提供だ。欧米諸国とイスラム教国家との対立関係や外交政策が、ムスリム系国民に不満や政府への不信感を招いている現状を把握する必要がある。加えて報道機関においても、より中立な立場からの情報を提供する努力が必要と考える。マイノリティ国民との信頼関係を気づくためには、まず政府・公共機関が自らの態度や姿勢を改めるべきである。三点目は、ムスリム・コミュニティ内の世代間格差の認識と、世代間での対話の機会確保だ。相互の認識の差をイスラム教徒自身が認識し、その上で本心を話し合う活動や機会の充実が、世代間での誤解や偏見を軽減につながる。さらに、世代を超えてイスラム過激思想を克服するためにも、ムスリム・コミュニティ全体での結束が必要である。四点目は、政府とイスラム・コミュニティとの協力を深め、イスラム教やムスリムの置かれる現状を知る機会を設けることである。非イスラム教徒に対しては、無知や偏見による誤解の解消につながる。また、イスラム教徒に対しては、正しい教典の知識や過激思想の実態についての客観的視点を得ることで、過激派思想に影響されない基盤の構築に効果的である。ムスリム・コミュニティの置かれた状況を認識し、政府とムスリム教徒双方の努力と互いの協力を進めてゆくことが、イスラム教過激化思想に対抗する一助となると考える。