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Muslims in Britain : Integration , Exclusion and Resistance

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Master's
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Dedication

To our parents who never fail to bring joy to our life .

To all our siblings, the dearest to our heart, to whom we are deeply indebted for their great love and support .

To ourselves ; Amel and Ahlam, you were there through thick and thin over the year, love you, galore .

Finally, to our best friends whom we are lucky enough to have by our side .

We dedicate this humble work to you.

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Abstract

Despite Britain multiculturalism, both Islam and Britain, for a long time, were inextricably entwined with racial tension. Muslims Britishness has therefore been the focus of public debate. The present study aims to scrutinize the nature of relationships between Britain and Muslim community closely. Also, it is an attempt to shed light on the major impediments to social cohesion. A descriptive-analytic method was adopted to collect data. Results, then, show that relations between two communities had become strained, yet they have definitely become more tranquil recently. Hence, we are seeing recently, and for the first time ever, a process of quiet social convergence between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. It did suggest that the common fallacy, that Islam must inevitably stand in opposition to western society, seems no longer relevant.

Keywords : Britain, britishness, Islam, Muslims, non-Muslim

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Stands for
UKIP	United Kingdom independent party
MCB	Muslim Council of Britain
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
MORI	Market and Opinion Research International
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education

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General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

The complicated and ambivalent nature of the relationships between Britain and Muslim community have rendered racial confrontation unavoidable since the differences in social habits and culture are greatest in Britain. Hence, British Muslims have been consistently subjected to inconsistency discrimination and segregation, highly affected by the national and international events. They, further, were highly accused to threaten the British culture, perhaps these beliefs loomed so large only because the essential conservatism and insularity of the British people. However, none of which clearly demonstrates a disintegration of Muslim community who were and still resistant to social inequality, seeking some fair improvements in the coming years .

2. Statement of the Problem

Britain is a diverse, yet divided country . Within this context, Cottle.T (1978) (as cited in Marwick , 2003) pointed out " In Great Britain there is too little discussion of racial matters ; too much avoiding the matter in every day discourse . To listen to some people is to believe there are no racial problems in the United Kingdom. To listen to others, is to hear the problem called minor, easily resolved, barely perplexing or exaggerated, or subtle . It is none of these ." (p.179). Britain was already a society marked by race discrimination and ethnic tension ; British Muslims were highly accused of threatening British culture. Hence, they are, much less, tolerated within Britons who are extremely attached to" Britishness". However, British Muslims work to fight for their identity, as a natural response since they have been excluded .

3. Research Questions and Research Hypotheses

The study endeavours to find answers to the following questions :

- To what extent are British Muslims tolerated ?
- Do British Muslims suffer from the loss of identity ?
- To what extent is Islam a threat to British culture ?

It has been hypothesized that :

- Britons are much more tolerant society .
- British Muslims do suffer a loss of identity .
- Islam seeks not to divide Britain .

4. Aims of the Study

The aim of the study is to spotlight British Muslims sufferance from the loss of identity. It is, also, an attempt to raise awareness on discrimination, segregation to which British Muslims are subjected. Furthermore, it points to some improvement in the treatment of Muslims by highlighting positive and fair representation of Muslims in the British media.

5. Research Methodology

This study was carried out at the department of English at Hamma Lakhdar University of El-Oued .Our study is descriptive-analytic in nature , based on secondary data ; it has already existed in earlier research, records and documents , but needs to be carefully scrutinized

6. Significance of the Study

Our study is very significant in the sense that it attempts to voice up the British Muslims who have been for a long time misrepresented in the British media. It does not seek to place blame on any media nor any institution, but it points to free, fair and unbiased coverage of Muslims and Islam in the public media in the years to come. It is, also, valuable to the public community as it offers ample insights into current British attitudes from which British government could enunciate appropriate policies that advocate a multicultural society.

7. Limitation of the Study

The study is somehow difficult to undertake since it tackles such a sensitive subject area. Hence, we failed to enunciate a practical study as we were highly restricted by time.

8. Structure of the Study

The research is divided into two chapters which are devoted to the literature review that provides a theoretical framework to the study, but it also seeks to analyse, investigate the obtained data. **Chapter One** : will provide information about the ambivalent nature of Islam-Britain relationships. Also, it will offer ample evidence about the disintegration of Muslim community in Britain, and what may impede them to fully integrate. Then, we will carefully address the Britishness of British Muslims. **Chapter Two** : will tackle the issue of how British Muslims have been excluded for a while time. Then, it will spotlight the racial discrimination Muslim community have been subjected to. Also, it will endeavour to raise a debate over to what extent Islam is a threat to British culture. Finally, it seeks to address how Muslim community have experienced the loss of identity within a British society.

CHAPTER ONE

Integration

Chapter One : Integration

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Introduction

The British relationship with Muslims has been one of the casualties; Islam has well been seen, then, as a more significant, and certainly more dangerous, divide in British society than other religion. British Muslims, therefore, were highly demanded to prove their Britishness which Islam is, to far extent, regarded incompatible to.

This chapter will, first, examine carefully the complicated relationships between Britain and Muslim community. Then, it will address a quest as to what extent integrated British Muslims are, and what may impede them to fully integrate. Finally, this chapter will endeavour to shed light on as to whether Islam is or is not compatible to Britishness.

1.1. Islam Vs. Britain

Britain has an extremely long record of interference in the Islamic world, in terms of rearranging its boundaries in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, the Ottoman Empire, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt and Sudan, as well as attempting to control its policies and change its rulers. Hence, it has acquired over two centuries a dangerous addiction in perpetually intervening in the affairs of the Muslim countries which has almost always proved to be completely a habit, counter-productive. However, Muslims played a major part in the national effort as merchant seamen in both world wars.

Historically speaking, Muslims commonly arrived in Britain about 300 years ago, typically in the Victorian period, as merchant seamen or as students from India; but of the 8,000–10,000 Muslims living in Britain by 1945, as many as 5,000 were thought to be converts rather than immigrants (Pugh , 2019) ; the first recorded Englishman to become a Muslim was John Nelson, who converted to Islam at some point in the 16th century . There were, also, in the 18th and 19th centuries, a number of converts among the upper class, including the son of the ambassador to Turkey : Edward Montague, and by 1649, Alexander Ross brought the first

English version of the Quran. However, By 1914, the most significant concentrations of Muslim immigrants were Arab seamen from Yemen, the Aden Protectorate and Somaliland who had arrived at ports including Cardiff, South Shields, Liverpool, Hull, and London. Probably because the British ships had being stopped in Aden for refuelling. More interestingly, British Muslim population has increased over the past few years. According to the *United Kingdom Census* that was carried out in 2011, there were 2,516,000 Muslims living in Britain, representing 4.4% of the total population. While more recently by 2018, according to *National Statistics office*, Muslim population has been increased to 3,372,966 in Britain. Here are the comparative statistics :

Table 1.1. : *Distribution of Muslim Population in Britain .*

Britain	Census	Percentage
England	2,660,116	4.3%
Scotland	76,737	1.45%
Wales	45,950	1.50%

Note. Adapted from (National Statistics office , 2018)

The census has shown an inequitable distribution of Muslim population in Britain ; the vast majority of British Muslims live in England . While most of them are concentrated in London . Sir Richard Burton, the Victorian traveller -explorer, has claimed, in the introduction to his translation of *the Arabian Nights* (1886), that ‘ Apparently England is ever forgetting that she is at present the greatest Mohammedan empire in the world . ’

According to recent projections, the Muslim population in Britain is likely to soar to about 13 million in 2050 . Sophie Gilliat –Ray, a professor of Religious and Theological Studies

and a Director for the Centre for the Study of Islam in the UK at Cardiff University, attributes the very quickly Muslim Population growing to 'recent immigration, the higher than average birth rate, some conversion to Islam.' The figure below could provide an ample data about the ethnic composition of British Muslims according to 2011 census :

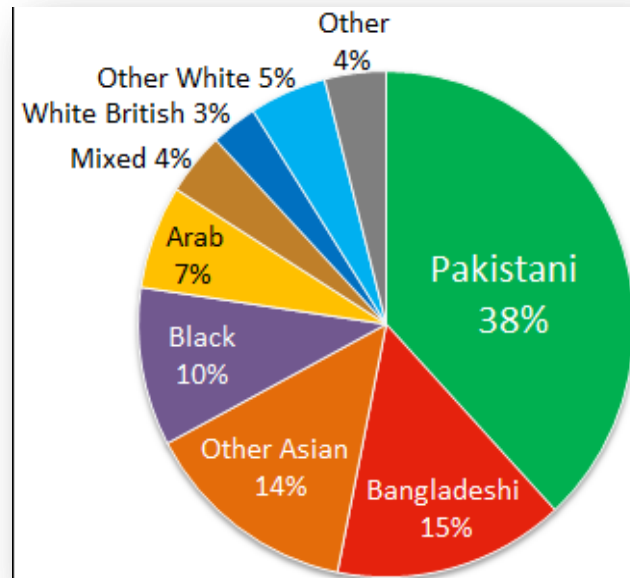


Figure 1.1. Ethnic Composition of Muslim population

Note. Adapted from (National Statistics in Britain , 2011)

Muslim community is ethnically diverse, yet the largest group of British Muslims are of Pakistani descent ; perhaps due to the historical fact that Pakistanis were one of the first south Asian Muslim immigrants to permanently settle in Britain . However, most Muslim converts consider themselves as British White Muslims who make up 3% of Muslim population .

The British relationship with Muslims has been one of the casualties; it has radically fluctuated over the 1,400 years since the foundation of Islam (Pugh , 2019): from the fanatical propaganda associated with the Crusades that was resurrected in Victorian times under the influence of the Evangelical revival , there were few crusades who did convert in the East, such as Robert of St. Albans, to the pragmatic Anglo-Muslim collaboration under the Tudors,

inspired by the Protestant Reformation, who made alliances with Morocco and the Ottoman Empire , the appreciation of the extensive common ground between Islam and Christianity in the eighteenth century, and Britain's pose as a defender of Islam (in the shape of the Ottoman Empire) by the early nineteenth century. The latter reflects that Britain-Muslim relations were closer, deeper; and more mutually beneficial than are often recognised as Queen Elizabeth stated it clearly 'I asked the Ottoman Sultan Murad for naval assistance against the Spanish Armada.'

Britons , from the very early history, seem to have been aware of the rise of Islam who has become the second largest religion in Britain, after Christianity. The earliest evidence of Islamic influence has dated to the 8th century, when the Saxon rulers seemed to had been very affected by Islam, including the king of Mercia, Offa. Offa issued gold coins that refer back to the Abbasid Caliphate , bearing the words ' there is no God but Allah alone .' , part of the Islamic declaration of faith, The Shahadah . The choice of Offa 's gold coins does not necessary indicate his religious belief, but rather it leads us to the important fact as to a far extent , the Islamic world was influential . (Moodle , 2018)

Table 1.2 : Religions in Britain .

Religion	Percentage
Christian	71,6%
Muslim	2.7%
Hindu	1.0%
Sikh	0.6%
Jewish	0.5%
Buddhist	0.3%
Other	0.3%

Note. Adapted from (National Statistics Office , 2001)

Although Britain is historically a Christian society, everyone has the legal right to practice the religion of their choice. Inasmuch as various forms of non-conformity were accommodated to the religious tolerance, with too much fuss. In the 2001 census, just over 75% said they had a religion : 7 out of 10 of these were Christians . There were also a considerable number of people who followed other religions, among them there were Muslims who most attend religious services in Britain .

However, it must be, mentioned then, that Britain has become an especially secular society ; it has largely emancipated itself from religion. The latter fact could be helpful, as it gives a quiet permission for Muslims to retain their own values, while also adapting to British habits and traditions. But if religion no longer dominates and controls, it has left its undeniable mark on British society .

Hence, in 2017, many British mosques found it expedient to declare an ‘ open day’, designed to encourage the public to come in and learn a little about Islam. Yet this is a sad reflection that bring us towards the fact that today the whole subject is purposely clouded by an immense amount of ignorance, misconception and prejudice. No one, looking at successive invasions of Afghanistan by the British twice in the nineteenth century and by the Russians and Americans in the twentieth and twenty-first, can fail to see the same cycle being repeated by politicians ignorant of history. The worst symptoms of this are the regular misrepresentation of Muslims in the popular press, the tendency to blame all Muslims for the faults of a few, the survival of UKIP as an anti-Muslim party, and the act of making Islamophobic books, about the supposed subversion of Europe, available to people .

1.2.How Integrated British Muslims are ?

Muslim experience in Britain, since the 1950s, has been very similar to that of earlier immigrants, like the Jews from the 1890s onwards, but also more complicated since British national identity has unravelled during the last 40 or 50 years due to the almost complete loss of

empire. Inasmuch as Immigration started to increase in the 1950s and 1960s, Britain becomes an ethnically diverse society, and the large inflow of different cultures created different ethnic communities. Steven Vertovec, 2007, a British sociologist, has presented the idea of super diversity in Britain as:

a notion that states that the increasing population of ethnic groups and communities are creating new, and smaller, ethnic minorities in Britain .

The dynamics of super diversity influence the social and economic patterns of Britain and have created complex social frameworks . (p. 1027)

According to a poll conducted by MORI for the BBC in 2005, 62% of British whites agreed that multiculturalism made Britain a better place to live whereas 32% of them claimed that advocating the different cultures within the British society may threaten the British culture . This study could suggest ample instances of documented and perceived racism, and heavy-handed methods being used by the native British population which has led to a number of riots, most notably in 1958, 1981, 1985, and 2011. Many, to not say all, Muslim community had a clear picture of how they believed British whites saw them ; Cottle., an American sociologist, (as cited in Marwick , 2003) had introduced a series of interviews made in the late seventies . He recorded the views on Muslims west Indians living in London as :

You are unwanted .You are here because some higher order official let you stay, not because I want you . Yet it is my position and not the official's position that is threatened by your presence, your very being .You should have been stopped before you arrived, you should be sent back even if you have been here for a while .You only create problems .You want my job, you want my food, you want to live in my home, you want to use my school, my hospital, my stores .But do not take it personally ; I have no quarrel with you as a person .It is immigration I cannot tolerate .(p.179)

Then, more empathetically, Cottle recorded the views of a fifty –year old white dairy worker from Midlands :

It is a crime, all of it .First they come here where they do not belong, and they know it . Ten they want their relatives and their relatives' relatives . And would you believe, the government lets them have anything they wish, at any time they wish . But help those of us already here? no, they have not an ear of that .I suppose the next step will be the government telling us we do not belong here anymore because we are sixth generation, or tenth generation . All you have to do is look at a map and you can see how small the country is .There is not any room for these people .The laws on immigration are so confused the MPs themselves have not a clue to what they mean .But they turn their back on it . They just turn their back on it . But help the people who have been here these hundreds of years ? oh no .We are the new immigrants . I see what happens in countries where all of this has taken place. This is not new to the world, you know. But can we learn from it, do you suppose? I should have thought so, but I am pessimistic about it now . I do not see but they have let it go on too long . They should never have let in those people, people who make all these demands, and complain about their circumstances. There are no jobs for them, no money, the schools are crowded where their children go. It is no good at all .(p.179)

Those testimonies could reveal clearly the racist attitudes in British white society . They, further, advocate the fact that race was and still, to far historically extent, the single most significant divide in British society, eclipsing even the potency of class the British society was once deeply delved in .

Hence, Muslims have experienced certain difficulties and Islamophobia in Britain since 1970s. British attitudes towards Muslims had always been historically, to say the least, ambivalent. According to a recent Hope Not Hate polling, based on various data of about 43,000 British precedents over years, while overall attitudes to multiculturalism are softening, the opposite is happening with Islam; third of Britons, or more than a third, believe Islam threatens British way of life, according to Hope not Hate report. According to a polling conducted by them in July 2018, 35% of Britons thought that Islam was mostly a threat to the British way of life. More outstandingly, they believed that Islam impedes the integration of the Muslim community. Perhaps these beliefs stand from the regular misrepresentation of Islam in British media; Islam has long been misunderstood and misrepresented in Western societies, particularly over such matters as jihad, women and polygamy. The model of systematic anti-Muslim propaganda presented on contemporary British televisions is one which recognises the existence of race forms that are more deeply entrenched in British society. To provide clear picture about the negative coverage and unfair treatment of British Muslims in Media, The BMC (2022) suggests recently a statistical report based on the analysis of over 48,000 online articles and 5,500 broadcast clips, it has revealed, then, almost 60% of online media articles associate Muslims and or Islam with negative aspects or behaviours; over 1 in 5 articles had a primary focus on terrorism or extremism, and 47% of televisions clips misrepresent Muslim belief or behaviour; national broadcasters have a higher percentage of bias against Muslims and or Islam as opposed to regional broadcaster.

However, Muslims have already succeeded in becoming part of the British mainstream, especially through participation in the economy, in sport, in politics, and in the celebrity culture which is so characteristic of British society today. Contrary to current assumptions, They have historically, engaged with Westernisation and modernisation, and adopted liberal democracy over the past long years. As a case in point, in South Shields, Arab seamen integrated, during the Victorian period, with local community (Pugh, 2019); they associated with local women

and married them though they were badly exploited. In the North-East, then, they obtained employment in iron and steel after prejudice against them dwindled through sheer familiarity . Young Arabs, furthermore, adopted local customs and values and frequently used the surnames of their English mothers. In effect, they largely lost their Arab and Muslim identity and disappeared in the local communities.

Within this context, a major study has found that more than 90% of British Muslims have a fairly or very strong attachment to Britain, and more than half want to fully integrate with British society. However, the extensive research on Muslims beliefs in Britain was not all positive ; almost half (about 48 %) said they would not turn to the police if someone they knew became involved with or has links to I.S. or Syrian terrorism . Further, more than a quarter do not even think extremism exists, and almost a third (1/3) of them believe that the US government are, not al-Qaida, behind the 9/11attacks .

It is particularly difficult when dealing with a past so immediate that it merges into the present, to distinguish between what actually was happening and what political and social commentators holy in pursuit of fundamental causes and universal remedies declared was happening. When approaching the results, most attention must be given to the fact that a very small number , as a proportion of the whole, of British Muslims do believe in conspiracy theory . And their beliefs are quite justifiable ; they have experienced a faint trust in local community . When you see the systematic model of Muslim misrepresentation presented on the contemporary British television, neglecting the good element of Muslim community ; you could not, but recognise that Britons are understandably obsessed with what is very limited part of Islam . For example, if you scrutinise the *Guardian* , the British newspaper, coverage of London Bridge attack that happened in 2017, you could obviously elicit tangible arguments about how British media coverage was shaped by less noticeable forms of “objective”. Furthermore, how prejudice is embedded in British societal structures, and how subjective violence were grounded in the externalisation of a clearly identifiable “ other “, which symbolically framed the

terrorists and the attacks as tied to, and representative of the British Muslim community. According to a report conducted by MCB has found that words identifying Muslims or Islam are more frequently placed alongside “terror”, “terrorist”, “terrorism”, or “terrorist(s)” compared to the most frequent identifiers of “far-right” or “white-supremacist” terrorism. Also, it reveals that, between 2015 and 2019, over half of the term “terrorist”, “terrorism” or “terror” were used with the terms “Islam” or “Muslim”. This is almost nine times more than with the terms “far-right”, “neo-Nazi” or “white supremacist.”. Furthermore, it has been found that, during the period October-December 2018, at least one in four online articles mentioning one or more identifiers of Muslims and /or Islam fell under the theme of terrorism or extremism. Whilst there were more than twice the number of referrals for “Islamist extremists” than “far-right extremists” according to the Government’s Counter-Terrorism Programme between 2017 and 2018, online media coverage is disproportionate when referred to “Islamist” terror six times more frequently.

These statistics sadly reflect how national British media coverage of terrorism has been consistently biased, depending on whether the perpetrator belongs to so –called “Islamist background” or identified as a British” white-supremacist”. It has, further, failed to confront its inconsistencies when it comes to the coverage of terrorist attacks; there is a significant disparity between so -called Muslim and non-Muslim perpetrators. However, some significant improvement have been traced, following the Christchurch attack, in which Brenton Tarrant killed 51 Muslim worshippers in 2019. Inasmuch as the terms “terrorist”, “terrorism” or “terror” were accompanied by “Islam” or “Muslim” only twice as often as “far-right”, “neo-Nazi” or “white supremacist”. Also, some national channel like BBC and Sky have all explored the issue of “white supremacist” terrorism with much greater rigour in their live reporting.

In addition to, other study has revealed that a majority of British Muslims are highly attached to Britain to which they naturally belong. The study was carried out by the BBC 4 which emphasised the transparency and accuracy that this study may provide since 1081 British

Muslims have been, face to face, interviewed. It has been found that 77% of them, the British Muslims participants, have totally refused to consider the domination of Islamic Sharia law in Britain as relevant. Further, they revealed they have no empathy towards terrorists who are highly motivated by extreme interpretations of Islam. Instead, they claimed that, despite the fact that they are Muslims, they never hesitate to defend their commitment to Britain.

Otherwise, third of Britons, or more than a third, believe Islam threatens British way of life, according to *Hope not Hate* report. Hope not hate is an anti-fascist organisation argues that anti-Muslim prejudice has replaced immigration as the key driver of the growth of the far right. According to a polling conducted by them in July 2018, 35% of Britons thought that Islam was mostly a threat to the British way of life. More outstandingly, they believed that Islam impede the integration of the Muslim community. Perhaps these beliefs stand from the conservatism and insularity of the British people. However, 30% of them thought Islam was compatible.

On other hand, several of these issues bring us towards the heart of the discussion as to the questioning of the effect on the human mind of constant exposure to television from which both communities ; Muslim community and Western community, have been fed. British fallacies are not spur of the moment. They are, further, a product of history ; more recently, the Victorian concerns about Islam as an obstacle to progress have been revived as the conflict of civilizations thesis by several ignorant British politicians whose speeches has been filled with remorselessly negative tone. One of them was Winston Churchill who suggested the fact that Islam is the main problem with the Muslim world when he analysed the economic and social consequences of the religion. Churchill once said “ there is no stronger retrograde force than Islam” . Those beliefs, Churchill beliefs, were and still the concern of many new-born politicians like Britain’s Boris Johnson who delved much more profoundly into Islamophobic comments. Boris Johnson has claimed that Islam is the Muslim World’s biggest problem. He further said that Islam has impeded the development of Muslim world, kept them centuries behind the West . He advocates countries where Islam is the main religion have historically espoused “ a fatal

religious conservatism “ that leaves little or no room for the kind of progress and prosperity witnessed in the west. The Guardian ‘s report found (as cited in Kounodouno, 2019) that the British politician claimed that Islam is the main explanatory factor of the Muslim’s world inferiority when compared to Roman by extension Western achievements. The comments were found in an essay included in “ *the Dream of Rome*”, a book Johnson wrote in 2006 as he praised Roman history and civilisation . Islam inherently prevents the Islamic world from the type of accomplishments that have made the West proud, one can read in the infamous essay. Johnson’s central point is that Islam is the single reason, and the most compelling case for why, in his opinion, the West has outpaced the Muslim world in many areas . or as Johnson went on to postulate in an essay called “ And then came the Muslims,” which was added to the 2007 edition of his book, “there must be something about Islam that indeed helps to explain why there was no rise of the bourgeoisie, no liberal capitalism and therefore no spread of democracy in the Muslim world .”, said once Boris Johnson . One unmistakable watershed moment in world history is the Roman’s success story, the essay argued. The Roman, or Byzantine, Empire epitomised the best the world could offer or be at that particular point in history, Johnson rhapsodized . He explains the striking contrast as “ something caused them to be literally centuries behind,” that “ something” was Islam, he wrote. The British politician, further, maintained it would not be Islamophobia enough to look at the facts without passion or emotion, as an attempt to find refuge in the fact that his great grandfather, Ali Kamal, was of Turkish origin and therefore Muslim.

Whatever conclusion are reached about the British view of Muslims, the real life between the two communities is another matter . British society was, and still, open and mobile although it is very much integrated into secular society . We are seeing, though not in the newspapers, a process of quiet social convergence between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Britain which makes the controversies over multiculturalism seem almost irrelevant. Within this context, Christopher de Bellaige, author of *Islamic Enlightenment*, claimed that ‘Britain’s encounters with Islam undermines the fallacy that Muslim experience and

the western experience must inevitably stand in opposition to each other ; on the contrary, Britain and Islam help us to see them as complementary parts of the same human story .’

1.3.Britishness Vs. British Muslims

By the mid -20 th century, Britain has suffered from the almost complete collapse of her sense of national identity, which was at its peak between the late Victorian and inter war eras . Britishness was seen as “ a political synonym for Englishness which extends English culture over the Scots, Welsh and the Irish .” (Evans , 1990) . However, “there has been a sense of crisis about what it has meant to be British. “ since the 1970s. Generally speaking, Britishness is defined as the fact of being British, or qualities that are considered typical of British people . It is, further, to reveal uniquely British characteristics; the ‘ Other ‘,who deflects internal differences, was necessary to highlight what Britishness is not. However, Sir Bernard Crick, a political theorist and democratic socialist, suggested that a reformulation of what it is typically to be considered British, was urgently demanded. He claimed that Britishness is about the fact sharing human values : values of tolerance, mutual respect and fair play, a belief in freedom and democracy, “Britishness, to me, is an overarching political and legal concept : it signifies allegiance to the laws, government and broad moral and political concepts like tolerance and freedom of expression that hold the Great Britain together .”, said Crick , 2004 . He suggests, further, that being British allows you to freely, and with much less fear, express your feelings, ideas, even the political ones, regardless the racial ethnic backgrounds you have once belonged to. It, also, encompasses the equal rights as well as duties that every British enjoys and commits to, under the common law. However, according to Gordon Brown, British values demand a new constitutional settlement and symbols to represent a modern patriotism, including a new youth community service scheme and a British day to celebrate .

But first, Most attention of all should be focused on who are the Britons ? . What do they share which is distinctively British ? A territory ? A language ? A history ? A mentality? A

religion ? or A culture ? . Britain has clear and longstanding borders . It is divided into four parts : England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland . Britons have no doubt at all that they are in Britain . A language then?, British people speak English, but it is not restricted only to them ; there are millions over the world who are not British , and they speak English. Moreover, despite the fact that most of Britons are monolingual, there still are a minority who speak other languages as their mother tongue ; including those of Celtic origins : Welsh, Scottish and Irish Gaelic. Also, some recent immigrants have more than one language for example : Pakistani, Bangladesh, Turkey, etc.,. A history? Britons, most of all, are convinced that their ancestors lived in Britain hundreds of years ago, and they had contributed to the story in which Britons now take part. They, further, believed as they have inherited the story . Yet about 8 % of British people are fairly recent immigrants who know that although they share the story of Britain today, they have not inherited it. A mentality ? the classic answer is that British people do celebrate certain emotional and intellectual qualities such as a sense of humour which is deeply ironic and difficult for other people to understand. Other words which are often used are ‘ tolerant ‘ and ‘ private ‘ and even ‘ polite ‘ . But if you ask the Britons if they are fair and tolerant, they will talk, with some hesitation and embarrassment, about tolerance and fairness. When immigration started to increase in the 1950s and 1960s, immigrants were highly complained of their unBritain habits . A religion ? historically Britain was a Christian nation . Many people would argue that Britain rests on Christian foundations, and that British attitudes and values are purely Christian. Surveys, on the other hand, suggest that millions of British citizens, nearly half of them, seem to have either no religious belief or vague feelings of spirituality unconnected with any named religion . Among the religious believers, a small but often devout minority are Muslims. A culture so ? it is considered to be the most difficult question of all . British culture was described upon a quiet law-biding society, a society that is only interested in their own country, and not being willing to accept different or foreign ideas . Eccentrics, difficult people, nonconformists in social behaviour were facts which British people were never tolerant with. Yet culture does change, the

stereotype of the reserved Britishman is in so many ways out of the date. Britons, recently, reinforce their belief in being tolerant, it is much more easy now than any ever time to accustom themselves to some oddities they once consider irrelevant .

While approaching the British culture and values, it seems that Britons are tolerant enough to embrace the ethnic diversity they once immersed in, but when it comes to Islam the matter is completely different. A study conducted for the Commission for Racial Equality in 2005 has found that White British participants felt there was a threat to Britishness from large scale immigration, but Muslims were the most accused to threat British national identity rather than the other minorities in general. On the other hand, the study has found that, in England, the majority of ethnic minority, including Muslims participants called themselves British, whereas indigenous English participants said English first, then British as a second choice. More outstanding, the study suggests that ethnic minorities are, on average, twice as likely to say their ethnicity is important to them than white British participants. Words such “ institutional, inclusive “ identity could provide ample explanation as why immigrants are more likely to describe themselves as British, rather than English . British national identity is considered as an institutional state identity that can be acquired through naturalisation and British nationality law.

Otherwise, the CRE’s study, further, has reported that Muslims participants have said that they feel victimised and pressured to prove their Britishness as they highly pushed to choose between their Muslimness and British identity although they fail to find any paradoxes to be both, a British Muslim. Muslim community has been, regularly, portrayed as an obstacle, even far, a threat to Britishness . Hence, Islamophobia is normalised ; Islamophobes tend to overlook , much far, how incompatible Islam is, in opposition to democracy. They purport to defend Britishness by championing Britain as a Christian country under threat from a resurgent Islam .

It is perhaps one of the great irony yet a revealing one about British society; although they are much more integrated into secular society, religion left its undeniable mark on Britain .

British Muslims have been profusely subjected to higher pressure to prove their loyalty, and define their identity in the light of national and international events. Since the British television, and political platforms were dominated by the public debate over immigration and nationalism, Muslim community in Britain has felt under attack . Furthermore, a study has found that many young British Muslims has felt been demonised by both, the British police and media; and they have been pressed to prove their attachment to Britishness since the September 11 attacks and the 2005 London bombings. And they are too often asked to prove that their religion is peaceful, and they are law-abiding. Other report, has found that many young British Muslims had experienced a faint trust on police by whom they felt harassed . After the July 2005 bombings, British Muslims have been drastically, stopped and searched in the street. ‘They see one Muslim ‘s mistakes and the rest of the community has to pay for it .’, said one British, Asian Muslim.

Several of these issues bring us towards the heart of the discussion as to what extent British government has failed to enunciate a counter – extremism policies designed to ensure that a multiculturalism society was also a cohesive one. It is not enough to enunciate legislation to make it a crime to ‘ incite racial hatred ‘, or to set up a Commission for racial Equality to trace any race or discrimination. We are led, further, to suggest that British government appeared to be seeking to shift the blame for the failing of its policies into Muslim community.

In January 20th, 2015, a new , antagonist argument has erupted between the British government and Muslim organisations after the minister responsible for community cohesion, Eric Pickles, sent a letter to hundreds of Imams calling on them to do more to confront violent extremism and demonstrate “ how faith in Islam can be part of British identity ”. “There is a need to lay out more clearly than ever before what being a British Muslim means today : proud of your faith and proud of your country .”, said Eric Pickles, secretary of state for communities and local government. However, the letter provoked an angry response from the Muslim Council of Britain which accused the government of culminating in excluding Muslims from the

commonly accepted notion of Britishness . “ Is Mr Pickles seriously suggesting, as do members of the far right that Muslims and Islam are inherently apart from British society ?”, said Harun Khan, the deputy secretary –general of the MCB. It is worth to mention that the argument comes just days after the MCB accused the British government of fostering a climate of fear and victimisation, with its new security services, within the Muslim communities :

‘ The mosques have been pivotal not only in condemning terrorism, but promoting the very positive messages that we believe the MCB and others have been conveying to the community .”, said Iqbal Sacranie, a former secretary –general of the MCB. He, further, claimed that “There is a very clear implication that the problem lies with the mosques, yet there is not an iota of evidence to prove the allegation.” . But David Cameron, the British prime minister, denied all the previous arguments . He called the tone and content of the letter “reasonable, sensible and moderate .”

It has been the time to recognise the importance of open and constructive debate about citizenship, civic identity shared values rights and responsibilities. It is only through having such a debate that British government will have the basis for bringing together people of different races, cultures, and religions in a cohesive society and within cohesive communities :

In an open liberal democracy, citizenship is founded on fundamental human rights and duties . The laws, rules and practices that govern our democracy uphold our commitment to the equal worth and dignity of all our citizens . We must tackle head on racism and Islamophobia .It will sometimes be necessary to confront cultural practices that conflict with these basic values as equal citizens .Similarly, it means ensuring that every individual has the wherewithal, such as the ability to speak English, to enable them to engage as active citizens in economics, social and political life .(*Building Cohesive Communities*, p . 20) .

We are led, also, to ask whether being Muslim is incompatible with being British . In fact, there is no reason why Islam and British are not compatible .Common citizenship does not mean cultural uniformity ‘.There is no single culture into which all must be assimilated.’ Inevitably the ‘ constructive debate ‘ began with the legions of the politically correct denouncing the very ideas of ‘ confronting cultural practices’ and expecting an ‘ ability to speak English ‘ .

There are broadly two interpretations of British identity, with ethnic and civic dimensions :

The first group, which we term the ethnic dimension, contained the items about birthplace, ancestry, living in Britain, and sharing British customs and traditions . The second, or civic group, contained the items about feeling British, respecting laws and institutions, speaking English, and having British citizenship . However, the civic definition has become the dominant idea by far . (Park, A., Curtice, J., Thomson, K., Catherine Bromley, C., & Phillips, M. 2004)

Britain had been slow and feeble in facing up to problems of racial prejudice and tension . British government, further, should adopt, and adapt to anti-Islamophobia approach; an approach that adhere to depoliticisation of differences, and the acceptance of diversity . Also, it must reject, first, a structurally biased governance system that constructs Muslimness as the “Muslim problem “ . (Patel , 2019)

Despite the facts above, Some Muslims, typically young Muslims, see themselves as purely British rather than hyphen –British . Usman Afzaal, a young devout British Muslim, was clear about his commitment to England against Australia in 2001 :

‘I have had offers to play top cricket in Pakistan but I have never followed them up .this country has given me everything. I am passionate about this country . I told my dad at 14

when I was growing up in Nottingham that my focus was to play for England .’, said Usman Afzaal .

Usman Afzaal states it clearly that he sees himself as ‘ British’, typically an English, regardless of the fact that his parents were devout Muslims immigrants from Pakistan . He has failed to consider any incompatibility as to declare, simultaneously, his attachment to Britishness whilst he is Muslim .

It is worth to mention, then, that Britishness is a question of spirit, conviction, and purpose, not of creed or birthplace . the British who can serve most Britain is and must be the one whose Britishness is most sincere and fervid . It is evil, then, to disuse patriotism to commit social inequality .

Conclusion

The summing up then, must be that yet it is true that race is, historically, more deeply entrenched in British society, the racial riots had a special importance in that they stimulated a new quest for “ community cohesion “. Inasmuch as Britain was beginning to formulate a policy for the integration of cultural diversity and national cohesion. Hence, we are seeing, for the first time ever, a process of quiet social convergence between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

CHAPTER TWO

Exclusion and Resistance

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Introduction

In this chapter, the exclusion of British Muslims in the British society and the resistance they have done will be the focal points which will be covered in this chapter. The centre of dispute within this section is how British Muslims life like is in Britain, their suffering as they attempt to impose their voices in their homeland and the reasons why their voices are silenced. These issues are represented in a number of areas which will be later discussed. Finally, this chapter concludes with an attempt to determine the risks and obstacles that face them in their lives as a consequence of being Muslims.

2.1. Exclusion

2.1.1.What is life like for British Muslims

Muslims in Britain seem to experience different forms of marginalisation and discrimination in their life within British community. British Muslims always suffer from discomfort in their daily life because of their religion, this is confirmed by a study that was conducted by the interior Ministry about the religious discrimination in Britain. The study revealed that one third of the Islamic organizations there, believe that Muslims students are subjected to unfair treatment because of educational policies in British schools and universities. In addition, it is showed that,75% of Islamic organizations decide that Muslims are subjected to unfair treatment by state employees and social services bodies.

Muslims also suffer from the highest rates of discrimination in their workplace compared to other groups, and official statistics indicate that Pakistani and Bangladeshi are high likely to suffer bad and poor conditions, these latter represent the largest Muslims communities in Britain. In the following statistics (as cited in Muslims in Britain: case of study , 2004) further illustration on how Britain Muslims sustain a miserable condition:

- The high incidence of diseases among members of the Islamic community compared to others, about 18% of Pakistani Muslims suffer from chest or heart diseases compared to 14% of Sikhs, and 8% of Hindus, while 20 % of Muslims suffer from chronic diseases compared to 16% of Muslims .Hindus and Sikhs, and the rate of pregnancy –related deaths among Pakistani mothers is estimated to be 16% times the average in Britain, and respiratory diseases among Muslims are higher than among Hindus and Sikhs "18% compared to 14%". The percentage of chronic diseases among Muslims is estimated at 20% compared to 16 % among Hindus and Sikhs,48% of Bangladeshis in the 40 -60 age suffer from deteriorating health, compared to 16% of Indians, only 10% of the white population.(ibid)

- Low education and high illiteracy of Muslims communities. In the year 2000, only 3% of Pakistani Muslims Obtained GCSEs compared to 50% of other British population .Out of 6,384 government primary schools and 589 government secondary schools in Britain There are only four Islamic schools compared to 32 schools for Jews, as well as a low rate of academic achievement .For example, 10 % of Pakistani students obtained high grades 5 or more subjects in secondary school compared to 50% of the population, and there are 50% of Bangladeshis and 27% of Pakistani men and 40% of their women do not have qualifications. (ibid)

- The high rate of poverty and unemployment among members of Islamic Communities especially Pakistanis and Indians, as 37% of the residents of London who suffer poverty are of Bangladeshi roots, and only two out of ten women belonging to Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationalities are those who find jobs in the labour market compared to 7 out of every ten Caribbean women of black and white races, more than 68% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim families live in poverty compared to 23% of other families, and about 73% of the children of these families live in poverty compared to 31% of the rest families, the percentage of unemployed Bengali youth is about40%,compared to 12% of the white races.(ibid)

Tabel.2.1: Functional Conditions of Muslims in British society compared to people of other religious

Job	Christians	Muslims	Hindu	Sikh	Non-religious
Senior management and professional jobs	31%	13%	28%	18%	34%
Intermediate jobs	15%	7%	11%	12%	12%
Small business Owners	7%	6%	10%	10%	8%
Low-level technical and supervisory occupations	10%	4%	7%	9%	10%
Routine and semi-routine jobs	16%	15%	14%	15%	12%
Unemployed	2%	20%	6%	7%	2%
Working students	5%	22%	15%	18%	10%

Note: adapted from Citizenship Survey-British Foreign Office-2001. (Muslims in Britain a case of study, 2004, p.69)

The table above clarifies the conditions of Muslims in Britain society compared to people of other groups in which a very low percentage of Muslims in the following jobs senior management and professional, intermediate jobs, small business owners, low-level technical and supervisory occupations accept in routine and semi-routine jobs the percentage of Muslims here is likely to be close to other groups. Whereas, Muslims have the highest percentage in unemployed and working students compared to other people of other religion.

Historically speaking, these statistics have been studied since it provides a clearer picture of the extent of the suffering they have experienced and to show that it is not a new thing that Muslims are subjected to discomfort and opposition and live in such miserable conditions. Rather, this is something they have been suffering from earlier times.

In addition to all the difficult and the bad circumstances that British Muslims have experienced .There is a kind of constant feeling of fear and insecurity, whether from ordinary people or from the authorities .Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies (2004) has confirmed that a report prepared by "the Open Society Institute" has showed that Muslims suffer from insecurity and a sense of fear, as they live in areas with the highest crime rates, and the security services do not provide them with protection .They are exposed in different areas to physical and moral violence by groups supporting the British national party. In the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001, sufficient number of them were exposed to unprecedented rates of violence.

A documentary film secretly depicting right –wing extremists affiliated with the British National Party, which has included incitement against Muslims and racist expressions reflecting hatred for Islam and Muslims. Confessions of committing attacks against Muslims and threats to explode mosques and exterminate Muslim worshipers. In this film, Nick Griffin a head of the national party appears as he slanders them against Islam describing it as " a vicious, wicked faith." BBC (15 July,2004).

He has told Leeds crown court that the religion was" a dragon ... the terrible mortal enemy of all our fundamental values and something which, unchecked will bring misery and disaster to this country."

Another party member appears expressing his desire to blow up mosques using a rocket launcher, and harvest the worshipers with machine guns by about a million bullets. He said: "I'm Kicking him, kicking away, kicking away oh, it was fantastic. Blood's coming out of his head. I looked down at my shoes. I was just covered in blood". This has shown how this member enjoyed the torture act he has done. this party had broadcast a television advertisement prior to the local elections in June 2004 has considered racist and anti-Muslim.

The advertisement begins with an old British Sikh man wearing a turban and saying that he supports the British National party because it is the only party that has the courage to speak

about the biggest danger facing Britain to day, which is extremism, in the same advertisement party leader Neil Griffin describes the immigration policies of the community as complete madness, and the advertisement continues to offend the feelings of Muslims by displaying pictures of the Islamic preacher Abu Hamza al-Masri as result; the feeling of fear and insecurity in the Muslim community has led to the transformation of the community's issues from civil rights and citizenship issues to security one, especially with the occurrence of the terrorist acts in European countries such as, the Madrid bombings, as these conditions have increased suspicions about Muslims and considered them potential terrorists whether from official or unofficial bodies.

And this is confirmed by the newspaper "The Hindu" which has stated that:

Muslims in Britain they have become an easy target(goal) for racist groups such as the right –wing national party, which describes them as backward, extremist and a threat to the British life. And that they are potential recruits for terrorists who take advantage of their bad conditions and their feelings of anger to recruit them. Noting that Muslims are exposed to increased violence and hatred in particular'. (Gulf Centre for strategic Studies, 2004, p,71).

After the events of September11,when most of the British people consider every Muslim as potential terrorist, in addition to the fact that Muslims are the most vulnerable group to arrest and searches by the police .On the other hand, another reason enhances the Muslim community's sense of fear and insecurity is the constitute of the British government's moves to confront terrorism, as The Sunday Telegraph has stated that the British government has held a meeting on May 19 of the same year to draw up a secret plan aimed at eliminating al-Qaeda members in the country after evidence emerged confirming the presence of some elements of this organization among Muslims in Britain planning to carry out a massive terrorist attack in the country,

especially after the Madrid bombings that has resulted 191 people killed in March. Also, it has been found a half ton of explosives in the west of London in the early May 2004. The newspaper has added that this meeting is gaining importance in light of the data announced by the British Home Office. ("Secret Whitehall plan", 2004).

In the light of what was discussed in the above about the suffering of Muslims in Britain, all this has a profound impact on Muslims there until now, which made some of them have the desire to live in Muslim countries in order to enjoy complete freedom without being subjected to discomfort and this what has confirmed by the British sheikh who is newly converted to Islam in a video of him on his YouTube media channel his admiration for living in Saudi Arabia and how happy he is in his residence there compared to Britain .

Also, he even mentioned a story that happened to him in Saudi Arabia when he lost his bank card and has searched for it everywhere and he did not find it, and later he saw a young Saudi Muslim has put it in his car Abd al-Rahman says: describing this view, that if such event has occurred in Britain and his bank card would have been stolen the thief would not return it.

This is clarifying how British Muslims do not live stable life, and this has been confirmed by Nadia Hussin who has said:

I have to prove myself all the time, besides being a Muslim, I'm black and I wear hijab, plus I'm British, and I get abused in every way. "She adds that her children feel confused due to the hostility against their religion, she argued that she was subjected to discomfort on social media. *Alkhaleej* online (2018). Muslims in Britain continues fear or stable life (video). YouTube.

This clearly shows that Muslims suffer a lot in their country, and what increases their fear also is how to raise their children in a multicultural country, especially there is an act when the

children reach a certain age, the government provide them with a complete freedom as their parent has no right to prevent them, as result; Muslims most of the time struggle such conflicts which makes their life in their homeland difficult.

2.1.2.Muslims in Britain: Unheard Voice

Muslims in Britain suffer what is named injustice in obtaining their legitimate rights and exercising their freedom as it should be. This is due to the statements of opposition and hostility to Islam and Muslims among them; Nick Griffin head of the anti-Islam British national people's party which won a seat in the European parliament, he has stated in media interview that Islam is a "cancer" that must be eradicated from the heart of Europe. He said :

Islam is a cancer that grows at the expense of European values freedoms, and democracy, and that it is incompatible with women's rights from a European perspective'. He indicated that he agreed with the Austrian extremist rightist "Williams Plange" who has stated that we need a global stand against Islam to save civilization.(Alukah,2009).

These statements have effected Muslims rights in which Nusrat Ghani 49 year lost her position as Minister of state for transport in February 2020. The Sunday Times has confirmed that:" she has excluded from a cabinet position in the conservative government of Boris Johnson because her colleagues have felt uncomfortable with her Islamic faith." And when Ghani has been asked for explanation about what has occurred to her Ghani said the government discipline officer- who relegate the party's contribution to parliamentary work- has told her that" her religion makes her colleagues uncomfortable". (Al hura,2022).

In addition, Boris Johnson who became Britain's prime minister has published an article in the Telegraph in which he compared Muslims women who wear (the veil) the hijab to "mail boxes" and" bank robbers". this has made Muslims women subjected to discomfort and fear of

violating their rights and exercising their freedom safely. And this has confirmed by the writer Arzo Milari who has addressed the phenomenon of Islamophobia in Britain and focused on the comments of some different public figures regarding extremism and criticism of Islam and Muslims in the light of what she expects for Muslims during the year 2019 in the country.

In her article on the British "Middle East Eye" website, Milari refers to the comments of former British Minister Boris Johnson in which he criticized Muslims veiled women, she says that the investigative body affiliated with the conservative party has eventually acquitted him. Also, the writer has added that there was a sitcom in which the chief inspector in charge of schools in Britain "Amanda Spielman" who has commissioned inspectors to interrogate veiled girls in primary schools about the reason for their wearing the veil at this age. She points out that there are endless attacks on members of Islamic organization by the neo-conservative media in order to criminalize them as extremists.

Milari has argued that this institutional approach which flows from Islamophobia has not only increased the rate of hate crimes and discrimination against Muslims, but also fuels their marginalization and causes their exclusion from political positions. And she adds that the snowball in this context will grow more and roll in the coming months in Britain.

Also, the writer adds that she has participated in the analysis of survey information years ago within the project "The Expectations of British Muslims from the Government" funded by "Joseph Association Rowntree Charitable Society". She said a considerable number of Muslims who has been asked open-ended questions about whether they have been exposed to negative biased, hateful or discriminatory experiences, they have responded negatively.

She adds that sufficient number of them have added that they have experiences such as the bus driver closing the door and setting off the moment they were about to board. Others add that sufficient number of people call them with racist nicknames, or that considerable number of teachers assume they are less intelligent, or they despise their religion and culture with

derogatory comments. The writer returns to the criticism of former British Foreign minister Johnson of the veil and, says that his acquittal on the pretext of not being able to limit freedom of expression, it is a fake image of justice.

Also, she has argued that when Muslims in Britain are subjected for years from laws and policies that effectively restrict freedom of expression and, when they are silenced and self-censored through a combination between law and fear, and blanket law enforcement targeting them, this is considered as more than double standard. She continues that the British government's enactment of a new of law criminalizing Muslims is no longer impossible matter, in the light of its use of the term of Islamophobia to limit any opposition, moreover; until recently, specifically until December 2003, there was not legislation that protects British Muslims from discrimination and guarantees their rights and freedoms such legislation that protects the rights and the freedoms of ethnic minorities in British society.

Until recently, British law has dealt with the issue of minorities from an ethnic perspective, and neglecting religion as a defining element of a minority which deprived a large number of Muslims in Britain, especially those who do not belong to a specific ethnic minority, from the protection of laws that defend ethnic minorities such as (the Race Relations Act of 1965,1968,1976 and 2000). Unlike Muslims, Sikhs and Jewish in Britain have succeeded in classifying themselves as an ethnic minority which has provided them the right to enjoy the guarantees and rights enjoyed by other minorities.

All these due to the weak influence of Muslims, especially in the political and media fields which are considered the most influential in decision-making institutions which means the weak influence of the Muslims community in Britain on decision-makers, and consequently the inability to protect their rights as the statistics show the following indicators:

a) The modest number of Muslims represented in the British House of Commons, although Muslims make up 3percent of the British population, they have only two members in the House

which includes 659 members: 'Khaled Mahmoud "from the Birmingham PerryBar Constituency, and "Mohammed Sarwar" from the "Glasgow Covan"constituency which means their percentage in the political representation is estimated at only 0,30 percent compared to the other members such as Jewish.

b) The modest representation of Muslims in local councils out of the 25,000 people who are the total members of these councils, there are about 200 Muslim members only. As there is one member in the wales Cardin City Council, and in Oldham there are 7 members, in addition to the mayor of the city who is "Riad Ahmed". In Bradford there are 12 members, in Leeds there is only one, and in Leicester there are 4 members. In Northern Ireland there is no political representation for Muslims. As for Scotland, there are 4 members of the Glasgow Council. (*Muslims in Britain : a case study*, 2004 .p.84).

As result, these statistics show clearly to what extant Muslims have low existence in the political side which mean that Muslims do not enjoy their freedoms and rights compared to other groups of other religion.

Ansari, (2003) argues that Two areas of the law have had a considerable impact on Muslim social behaviour and interaction with institutions and society in the United Kingdom. First, the Race Relations Act of 1976 made racial and ethnic discrimination illegal in variety of areas, including education, employment, housing, and the supply of goods, facilities, and services, but religious rights were excluded. As a result, Muslims have had a little legal recourse if their employers refused to allow them to practice their faith (for example, Friday and daily prayers, or the wearing the veil). Second, the Public Order Act of 1986 made inciting to racial hatred crime, and the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 included a new category of racially aggravated offenses, such as assault, criminal damage, and harassment.

Acts of religious hate directed towards Muslims, on the other hand, were not covered by these prohibitions, despite ample anecdotal evidence that anti-Muslims harassment and attacks on Muslims, their property, and places of worship were already on the rise.

This institutional exclusion unavoidably resulted in a sense of alienation and marginalization among British Muslims, complicating their integration into mainstream culture. The Runnymede Trust has established the commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia in 1996, which has stated that "religious markers of identification have become for certain people and in certain circumstances, at least as important as racial, national, and ethnic markers."(Ansari, H, 2003).

It stressed the importance of the British government legislating against religious discrimination by broadening the scope of the Race Relations Act's formulation (1976). 'Islamophobia', according to the commission is akin to sectarianism in Northern Ireland and Scotland, as well as anti-Semitism throughout Europe.

As a result, the legal system should recognize Islamophobia for the same reasons it recognizes sectarianism in Northern Ireland. Sikhs and Jews are effectively included by the Race Relations Act (1976), which encompasses race, color, nationality, and ethnic or national origin, but Muslims are not. The Race Relations(Amendment) Act of 2000 broadened and strengthened anti-discrimination protections, yet Muslims remain vulnerable to religious prejudice. The Advisory committee on the FCNM has stated that:

At present there is no comprehensive legislation to protect individuals from religious discrimination... groups such as Muslims ... do not have this protection unless they are linked to a recognized ethnic group ... these matters are particular concern and relevance for national minorities within the United Kingdom. (ibid.).

As a result, The Runnymede Commission has indicated that the UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination has considerably sniped the government for its failure to prevent religious discrimination in the United Kingdom. In addition to the representation of the British media which has played a negative role in picturing Muslims and Islam distortedly not only in British country, also in the whole western world, and this what has been confirmed by a study done by Justin Lewis who has studied Muslims coverage in the print media from 2000 to 2008, and he continues to track how Muslims portrayed in the media. He claims that 'the way

Muslims are discussed or discussed in the media tends to be in the context that is undeniably unfavourable. So it is terrorism, and it is about the clash between Christianity and Islam; it is about Islam as an extreme religion. In addition, his research has revealed that 'we discovered that Muslims were expressly related to the threat of terrorism in 34 of stories, and that Islam was either dangerous, retrograde, or irrational in 26 of stories'. Now, there were stories around 17 of them that discussed Islam as a part of a cosmopolitan society, but is unquestionably as significantly lower figure. And you know what the second most important concept we discovered in the story telling is? 14 percent of articles revolved around the idea of civilizational clash between Islam and the west .9 percent of total Islam had referred to as a menace to the British way of life. As result, the bad stories are quite evident. The negative stories outnumber the positive ones to some extent. (Sian, K, Law, L, & Sayyid, S, 2012).

According to what is stated above once can notice how the representation of Muslims and Islam in Britain are portrayed in a such ugly picture which has contributed in developing the conflict between Islam and the west in general and Britain in particular. In addition to Salman Rushdie novel "satanic verses" which has spread widely in Britain and the west and in the whole world distorting the true picture of Islam and Muslims.

As result; it works at developing a sense of fear from Islam and fits the concept of Islamophobia. And this is what has been confirmed written by Fatima Rajina who has stated that during the preparation of Muslims in Britain to celebrate Eid al – Adha during Corona period 2020, she has said that everything has changed in the north of the country when the government announced a ban on gatherings in a number of regions. For Muslims, this decision meant rearranging their plans for the holiday, but at the same time it represent a new opportunity for a number of British media outlets to perpetuate negative stereotypes and link minorities in the minds of the British people to crises and problems.

In COVID-19 media has made Muslims as scapegoat in Britain by publishing pictures of veiled women with news of the closure because of corona this has raised fears about the spread of Muslims.

Also, she has confirmed that what make her surprised more is the closure rules that were announced on twitter a few hours (at that time) before it took its effect, was the media coverage that followed it, especially the images used by some media platforms, which show Muslim women wearing hijab and robes, and others from Asia, they wear sari and salwar. She has added "It is worrying that images of ethnic minorities, especially Muslim women are used to shed light on negative issues such as the spread of the new Corona virus in some areas in the United Kingdom".

In addition to what sufficient number of media outlets has published pictures of Muslim women in Britain with the announcement of the closure of some areas as protection to prevent the spread of this epidemic, as result; this could raise a great sense of fears in the minds sufficient number of people from the spread of Muslims themselves in the country.

Moreover; western media has historically pictured a negative image of Muslims women. Although the Muslims community constitutes only 4 percent of the population of the United Kingdom, there are parties who want to hold them the responsibility of the states 'failures,

because the western media has historically spread a false image claiming that Muslim women are oppressed by men and that they need help. (“ How media scape”, 2020) .

From what the writer has discussed in this article and what has been mention above once can clearly notice how the role of media has affected Muslims community negatively. And instead of the British media being a means of expressing the suffering of Muslims and helping them to gain their legitimate rights and exercise their freedom, it has become a hostile tool against them and has even exacerbated the conflict between Islam and the west.

This has confirmed by Dr. Zakir Naik in his video in his channel describing the hostility of the media against Islam and Muslims in which he said:

The most important weapon in the world is the media. Media can convert black to white, morning to night, hero to felon, felon to hero, and we find today in the international media there is violent propaganda against Islam. We find in the international media, international magazines, newspapers, satellite channels, on the internet, all of it bombarding. According to article published in the ' News week' magazine in 1979 that there is more than 60000 books have been written against Islam in a span of 150 years". He added:" if we calculate it is more than one book every day and in 11 September things reach more than this, as they describe Muslims as extremists, terrorist".

2.1.3.Is Islam a Threat to British Muslims?

British Muslims still the most marginalized, discriminated and threatened group in United Kingdom, especially with the spread of Islamophobia which is not only a concept because it negatively affected the Muslim community in which increased violence and hatred against them over too much which threat their lives. The European Union's Minorng Centre for Racism and foreing's hatred confirmed that Muslims in Britain were subjected to clear attacks, as mosques were attacked and threatening messages circulated on the Internet which portrayed

Muslims immigrants and refugees seeking asylum that they are considered as "a big danger", in addition to the US state Department's report of human rights 2002, it has confirmed that the year after the events of 11 September 2001 witnessed more than 344 violent and anti-Muslim incidents, and sufficient number of mosques were marginalized by the media such as the main mosque in Birmingham.

Also, the procedures followed by the British police contributed in making Muslims live there difficult. Furthermore, there is reports issued by Islamic organizations indicated that British Muslims have become "the new victims of police who treat them with a kind of suspicion and fear". Lawyers of these organization have confirmed that they had received a considerable number of complaints from Muslims citizens asserting that the British police limit their freedom by stopping them in the streets and searching them even their houses for many times.

And if this indicates something, it indicates that Muslim's life in Britain are always threatened. In this context, statistics show a sharp increase in the number of Muslim prisoners during last few years. In 2001 there were about 6,095 Muslims in prisons compared to 731 prisoners in 1991 with an increase of 800 % over ten years which is a large number that reflects many dangerous indicators among them is that Muslims are high likely to be exposed from security persecution in Britain.

According to the Observer newspaper (2004) which mentioned these figures that Muslims who represent no more than 3% of the British population represent about 9% of the total number of their prisoners. The newspaper has added that 35,000 Muslims were arrested and searched in Britain in 2003, and only 50 of them were charged compared 1000 Muslim who were arrested and searched only in the year 2000.

The Hindu newspaper on the same date confirmed that Muslims are more likely to be arrested and searched by the British police than others due to suspicions related to terrorism

according to the description of the newspaper which has stated that "Muslims complain that the media only highlights extremist voices and ignores the vast majority".

Just as men had a share of these suffer, women also had a share, and this has confirmed by a national project measuring anti-Muslim incidents in Britain which has told sky News that the last two years has witnessed an increase in the rate of racist attacks against Muslim by up to 10 percent and that the last year and a half witnessed an increase in attacks ranging between 5 and 10 percent. Research has shown that Muslims women are subjected to "opportunistic" verbal or physical attacks on the street, substantially by men and others.

Also, the director of the Islamic institution, Fayza Mughal, who has indicated that a considerable number of women were subjected to violent and aggressive attacks, especially veiled women. In addition to, they are described as terrorists or supporters of the Taliban, and other offensive terms. In her speech, Fayza called on Muslim families to report these facts, and asked the women to tell their stories in an attempt to change that negative reality.

The Independent newspaper has stated that: "The life of Muslims in Britain was not easy at all. For decades, they were struggling a different forms of discrimination, but now, after the events of 11 September things have become worse, and reports have revealed the extent of the bad treatment that Muslims face." Who are facing fast attacks, The newspaper dealt some of what was stated in the report of the British Muslims Committee which has confirmed that Muslims in Britain feel that they are isolated from society which makes them more vulnerable and affected by extremists, and that there is a general feeling among Muslims the feeling of injustice, that they are not welcomed, not wanted and that they are an internal enemy who is under the constant siege. In addition to, the feeling of humiliation, resentment that prevails among all Muslims in Britain.

The report has accused the British government of not doing what it should do to improve the lives of the British Muslims and said: "The British Muslims Committee has a strong feeling

that the British government has done little to fulfil its responsibility under international law with the aim of protecting its Muslims from all acts of discrimination, humiliation, discomfort and deprivation." Iqbal Sacaria, Secretary-General of the British Muslims Committee, has stated that there has been 41 percent increase in stops and searches against Muslims and said:" we are witnessing a shameful increase in acts of aggression against Muslims."

The newspaper said that the recommendations issued by the committee consist in obligating all public bodies to take positive steps to prevent acts of discrimination on religious grounds. The Observer newspaper quoted the report of the British Muslims Committee as saying that the British institutional structure is infected with Islamophobia.

And it mentioned that attacks against Muslims have been on the rise since the events of 11 September, and a group of British researchers and clerics warned that the trend of Islamophobia (fear of Islam) that is rampant in the country has begun to take on an institutional character, and it indicated in report that issued on June 2,2004 at the end of an investigation detailed about the tendency, which it considered "racist" 'since discrimination against Muslims and the confiscation of their rights is a " time bomb" that threatens to fuel violent conflicts between Muslims and others .

2.2.Resistance

2.2.1. British Muslims: Loss of Identity

British Muslims in the face of fear and loathing feel they must play hide and seek with their identity. The United Kingdom has one of the greatest number of Muslim populations in all of Europe. The majority of this population is from south Asia and the Middle East, with some came from African countries such as Somalia. A considerable number migrated as refugees in huge groups, resulting in an unprecedented increase in Muslim population within the European Union.

Many people are tolerant, accepting, and friendly to these folks, but others are not. Muslims in the United Kingdom suffer from discrimination and intolerance as result of their lack of acceptability. For those that migrate or mature in this area an intrapersonal conflict with identity might occur in a potentially hostile situation. this matter has global importance since currently, Islam is considered the world's fastest growing religion and the world's second largest religion. Approximately 24 percent of the world's population Islam is anticipated to overtake Christianity as the world's populous religion by the end of the century. (Madzingira, Mufaro, " Muslims in Great Britain and their struggle with Identity " (2018). Capstone Projects and Master's Theses .327.)

Tensions between Muslims and the British are caused by the British's lack of understanding of Islam. " (ibid.). Qayyum (2019) argues that Islamophobia is a poorly understood form of bigotry. Instead, it is frequently overlooked and, in some cases, actively attacked, such as by claiming that charges of Islamophobia are threat to free expression or impede crime prevention. Terrorism is a common example, or more recently " Asian grooming gangs". Interestingly, when the All –Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims offered a new definition of Islamophobia after over two years of debate, Theresa May's government used the same arguments to dismiss it. He pointed out that free speech cannot be used to legitimize racism, and a definition of Islamophobia cannot be used to restrict legitimate criticism of Islam's doctrines and behaviours. Muslims, as well as their dread or hatred of Islam. Despite the UN Special Rapporteur on racism, xenophobia and intolerance demand for the UK to "comprehensively" address racism and bias last year, this appears to be as unlikely as ever.

As a result, many Muslims avoid using the term Islamophobia completely, treating it with the same caution as other words like sharia, jihad, and fatwa which have come to be associated with past conflicts between Muslims and western community. Indeed, some Muslims have gone even further, downplaying or concealing their Muslim characteristics in order to succeed or avoid antagonism. Beards are shaved and hijabs (veils) are removed or colourfully painted to

make them appear less stark at work, universities, or on public transportation. On the other hand, other Muslims double down in the face of hostility, drawing inspiration from their faith, however it is interpreted, and finding strength in numbers, seeking out and building upon one other.

Warner, M (2016) describes how British Muslims grapple with their Muslim identity in non –Muslim country. One of the most difficult challenges for a Muslim in Britain is keeping traditional Muslim principles while attempting to engage to mainstream western civilization. This is where the conflict of identities begins for instance, alcohol consumption in Islam it is forbidden. As result; this socially isolates the groups. it's no longer acceptable to celebrate in pub or bar over beverages. The dominant " terrorist" reputation complicates this identification dilemma even more. when people are outcast by society, they often turn to anyone who would take them in. some Muslims have found solace with terrorist organizations merely because they confront no opposition. These insecure individuals believe they are part of something bigger than themselves, which leads to home grown terrorism. Terrorism is a global problem, and one of the most pressing concerns we witness today. The most recent terrorist strikes took place in France and Belgium, as well as the United Kingdom and other European countries. what bothers to learn is that the majority of these attacks were the result of people not feeling welcome in their home country.

Ansari, H (2005) expressed the importance of radicalism in Islam as it refers to persons who push for political or social reform and their beliefs or actions. Some British Muslims have been discovered to support radical and extremist Islamic groups. Individuals who are decide to radicalize and become an extremist Muslims frequently struggle with their own identities. A considerable number of terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom have been carried out by British Muslims themselves. They are people(Muslims) who were born, reared, and even schooled in that location. Despite the fact that they do not feel welcomed or accepted in Britain which is their homeland since they have no actual connection to their home country, these people are referred to as "rootless" (Ansari, H, 2005).

A few have basically never been, which is very sensible considering the conditions they or their parents cleared out beneath, but they moreover do not have an association with where they as of now live. As result, a gigantic bargain turns to radical behaviour basically for the acceptance. Additionally, terrorist organizations will reach out to these lost young people. They begin to urge them to go in because they will be welcomed and have a home with them. This is precisely what British society fails to give for these young British Muslims. Also, stopping and questioning oneself and one's actions would help British society and the media take these recent developments into consideration. It is appalling that they have made Muslim members of their community feel unwelcomed and unwanted that they have turned against their own.

This is significant because as long as this social behaviour continues, the number of volunteers will continue to rise. There must be a moment at which British Muslims can assert their identity without feeling alienated.

The lives of Bangladeshi Muslims in Britain are described by John Eade (1994) entering a foreign nation is difficult enough, but relocating completely is even more difficult because of their race, people escaping corrupt governments and horrific wars are faced with racism and discrimination because of their race and religion. They were regarded as if they were not British and treated as they were not welcomed (unwanted). This social rejection made it difficult for them to find work to support their families, forcing them to compete for scarce resources. In conclusion, these elements lower self -confidence by making one believe that their identity is to blame for their treatment. Meanwhile, these Muslims continue to seek acceptance and wish to live as any other British citizen. This kind of struggling that British Muslims are faced in Britain is hardly to overpass it since they are in between their identity as Muslims and have Islamic culture, and on the other hand, their state and that they are obligated to perform their duty towards their country. Ismail Einashe (2017), who is a journalist at Columbia University, is a greatest example of what have been previously stated as he shares his story about his family who came to Britain as refugees from Somalia. Einashe and his family spoke no English when they

moved in Britain as children. They were able to secure lodging in a poor neighbourhood in London, he frequently faced bigotry and discrimination as result of his race, Black and Muslim. Einashe has improved his English speaking skills over time and was awarded the chance to attend good schools. Einashe claims that throughout his time in the United Kingdom, he still did not feel like he belonged anywhere. When he was granted British citizenship, he was ecstatic. He said he felt like a second – class citizen, unequal to others. " Many commentators questioned whether being British were mutually exclusive identities; whether Islam and liberal democracy were compatible " (Einashe,I, 2017). Managing two self-hatred thrives in culture where identities are physically at odds with one another in society creates an environment for self-hatred. On the other hand, despite the challenges posed by the events of the 9th September on the Muslim community in Britain, which shed light on the suffering and deterioration of the conditions of the Muslim minority and on the spread of the phenomenon of "Islamophobia" in British society, but it had some positive effects. On the legal status of the Muslim minority, the most important of which are:

- those events helped the Muslims of Britain to extract some legislation which protects their rights and civil liberties as ethnic minorities in Britain, has ensured Anti-terror law Articles that prevent attacks on people and property motivated by religious law, and those articles are in conformity with the articles of the Crimes and Anarchy Act of 1998 which protects minorities from racial abuse, and in December 2003 the British House of Commons has approved a draft law prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of religion . And this law protects Muslim from all manifestations of direct and indirect discrimination in the workplace, and ratification of this law is one of the most important gains that Muslims have ever achieved in Britain. The British Muslims are looking forward to other laws that protect them from discrimination and human rights in Britain promoted the British government to adopt protocol 12 of European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental freedoms

which prohibits discrimination on religious basis in all fields, which the British government had reservations about because in its opinion it is general and not specific.

- Islamic organizations succeeded in persuading the British government to incorporate a question about religion of the respondent census conducted in 2001, which led to create an important and reliable information based on the conditions of Muslims in Britain which helps to better deal with their issues and demands.

Conclusion

In this chapter, Muslims exclusion in British society and their resistance were dealt with, and were discussed. The focal part was how British Muslims suffer the exclusion within their society as well as the discrimination and the discomforts they have experienced because of their race and religion. Furthermore, the status of Muslims following the attacks of 9/11 overly clarified, including how they were viewed as terrorists and that they suffer various forms of racism imposed on them. As result to these attacks, appeared the new concept "Islamophobia " and it was previously explained in the chapter and its impact on the formation of British Muslim identities was given a space in the content of the chapter. Finally, the current chapter main conclusion reveals that Muslims had the chance to resist in order to survive and defend on their rights.

General Conclusion

Although Britain is very extolled as a cosmopolitan nation, British society was already marked by racial tension. In addition, British Muslims have subjected to various forms of discrimination and discomforts because of their so called "Muslimness". The latter seems to be regarded as the most significant, and certainly much more dangerous, impediment to the integration of British Muslims. The integration issues was, further, not easy to reach by Muslims specially after the attacks of September 11/2001 and the appearance of Islamophobia. After in depth descriptive – analytic study, it was reached that Muslims faced many problems such as discrimination, bigotry and ignorance by the natives and are deemed a minority community. They gradually achieved their goal of integrating into society, albeit with difficult, yet not all Muslims were fortunate enough to be given the opportunity; it was reserved for older communities and Muslims who are skilled enough. Additionally, the attacks occurred in Britain, the events of September 11/2001 marked a turning point for Muslims in Britain. Muslims were viewed as terrorists and criminals who needed to be kept out of mainstream culture. As result, Muslims have suffered discrimination and they were ignored that is why they found difficulty to assimilate with natives. To conclude, then, the study is somehow difficult to undertake since it tackles such a sensitive, much more, subjected area. Hence, we failed to enunciate a practical study; further study was supposed to be based on the responses to an online questionnaire; British Muslims would have been asked to answer a mail questionnaire about their experience as a hyphenated Briton in multicultural society. It would be, then, a much more valid and empirical study. Our study could be invested to point some improvements as it presents ample insights into current British attitudes from which British government could enunciate suitable policies; policies that advocate a multicultural society is also a convergent one.

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Résumé

Malgré le multiculturalisme britannique, l'Islam et la Grande-Bretagne ont longtemps été inextricablement liés aux tensions raciales . La britannicité des musulmans a donc été au centre du débat public . L'étude présentée ici vise à examiner de près la nature des relations entre la Grande –Bretagne et la communauté musulmane . Elle tente également de faire la lumière sur les principaux obstacles à la cohésion sociale . Une méthode descriptive – analytique a été adoptée pour collecter les données . L' analyse montre donc que les relations entre les deux communautés étaient devenues tendues mais qu'elles sont nettement apaisées récemment. Ainsi, nous assistons récemment, et pour la première fois, à un processus de convergence sociale plus tranquille entre les deux communautés, musulmane et non – musulmane. Pour conclure, que le sophisme courant, selon lequel l'Islam doit s'opposer de manière invétérée à la société occidentale ne semble plus pertinent .

Mots clés : *L' Islam, Grande – Bretagne, La britannicité, musulmane, non-musulmane*

ملخص

بالرغم من التنوع الثقافي في بريطانيا، إلا أن كلاً من الإسلام و الدولة البريطانية كانا متشابكان بشكل وثيق مع التوتر العرقي. لذلك، و مما ترتب عنه، كون الهوية الوطنية للمسلمين البريطانيين لا تزال محور النقاش العام في بريطانيا. تهدف الدراسة المتضمنة لفحص طبيعة العلاقات بين بريطانيا والمجتمع المسلم فصحا دقيقا . كما ترمي أيضا الى تسليط الضوء على أهم المعوقات التي أحالت والاندماج الاجتماعي . تم اعتماد المنهج التحليلي الوصفي كوسيلة لجمع البيانات .كشف تحليل النتائج المتحصل عليها أن العلاقات بين المجتمعين كانت متوترة، لكنها بالتأكيد أصبحت أكثر هدوءا في الآونة الأخيرة . حيث شهدنا، و لأول مرة على الإطلاق، عناية تقارب اجتماعي بين كلا المجتمعين : المجتمع المسلم واللا- مسلم . مما أُنْتُرِحَ، كختام القول، أن المغالطة الشائعة التي مفادها أن الإسلام يجب أن يقف حتما في معرضة المجتمع الغربي، لم تعد ذو صلة .

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإسلام، بريطانيا، الهوية البريطانية، المسلمون، اللا-مسلم