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The Role of Islamic Organizations in Britain in Promoting Ideas about Muslim Integration, Isolation or Rejection within the British Society: A Comparison between Hizbut Tahrir and Jama'at-i Islami

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Abstrak

Dalam paper ini penulis berusaha membandingkan peran dari dua organisasi Islam di Inggris yaitu *Jama'at-i Islami* (JI) dan *Hizbut Tahrir* (HT) terkait dengan gagasan integrasi, isolasi dan resistensi Muslim terhadap budaya masyarakat Inggris. Penulis menganalisis persamaan dan perbedaan yang dimiliki dua organisasi ini dalam pola dan pendekatan pergerakan keislaman mereka dalam menyikapi gagasan-gagasan di atas. Bagi organisasi-organisasi yang berafiliasi ke JI, Muslim di Inggris bisa menjadi "*British Muslims*" yang mengamalkan komitmen-komitmen keislaman mereka dan nilai-nilai modern negara Inggris secara bersamaan, sedangkan bagi HT, Muslim di Negara sekuler seperti Inggris harus memilih untuk menjadi *Muslims* atau *British*. HT berpendangan bahwa nilai-nilai modern di Negara sekuler adalah bertentangan dengan ajaran Islam. Perbedaan ini adalah hasil interaksi nilai dan komitmen keislaman mereka dengan faktor-faktor sosial yang ada di Inggris. Penulis berpendapat bahwa kedua organisasi ini memiliki perbedaan dalam pola pergerakan keislaman, namun keduanya memberikan kontribusi terhadap perkembangan Islam di Inggris.

Kata Kunci: organisasi Islam di Inggris, masyarakat Muslim, integrasi & isolasi, nilai-nilai Islam, dan nilai-nilai sekuler

Introduction

Based on the latest census in 2001, Muslims in Britain were the second largest religious community after Christians. There were about 1.6 million Muslims throughout the UK spread in many major cities such as Birmingham, Bradford, London, Leicester, Leeds, Luton and Oldham (Manda-ville, 2007: 226). About two thirds of this Muslim population is of South Asian origin, over 400,000 are from Pakistan, approximately 120,000 are Bangladeshi origin and more than 100,000 are from India (Modood, 1990: 143). Other significant communities also came from Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq and Iran (Mandaville, 2007: 226-227). This diversity in their countries of origin is reflected in the diversity of their cultures, traditions and Islamic schools of thought.

As a result of this diversity, this significant minority deals with various differences in religious, cultural, political and social aspects of secular life in Britain. Moreover, they also looked for ways to live in harmony within the Muslim community. Some of them even lived comprehensively, based on Islamic forms. Those are the values and practices that were implemented in the early time of Islamic history. To a certain extent, this attitude disturbs them to integrate with the modern British culture. Basically, such a phenomenon often occurs within the Muslim society who lives in non-

Muslim ruler. Hence, accommodating the diverse needs of this 'minority' group is a new challenge for the British government. In order to achieve social cohesion, the government, the Muslim community, and the British society would need to understand this diversity and formulate how to respect it. Moreover, to understand the integration and isolation of Muslims within the British society, it is necessary to consider in detail, the role played by Islamic organizations in Britain. Observing the role of Islamic organizations is significant, since Muslim behavior in Britain cannot be separated from the influence of the Islamic organizations' roles.

In this essay, I will show an overview on the two forms of Islamic organizations in Britain, namely *Hizbut Tahrir* (the Liberation Party) and *Jama'at-i Islami* (JI), with some brief coverage of socio-historical contexts where these organizations was established, and short explanations on the relationship between these two organizations with other Islamic institutions. Contrasting their approaches and movements' styles in the British context will be highlighted, with considerable attention paid to their different ideas and attitudes toward Muslims' integration in Britain. In this context, the integration can be meant as the condition where groups that come from different cultures and values can work together effectively to

achieve the same goal. The process of integration will lead to social cohesion, which is meant as the condition that several groups coming from different religions and ethnicities are bound by certain values. In the context of this topic, the social cohesion is defined as the condition when people are united by the same modern British values. Finally, I will examine the contributions of *Hizbut Tahrir* and *Jama'at-i Islami* in the development of Islam in Britain.

Muslims in Britain

Britain's Muslim population began with a very small number of Muslims who lived in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Larger numbers of migrant workers came to support the economic foundation of Britain, following World War II (Husband, 1994: 79). After that, the wave of immigration has continued to grow in the UK and has forced the government to issue some policies on their settlements and their rights. During 1960s and 1970s, the government published immigration legislation which, in effect, forced the migrant population to become a settled minority community (Husband, 1994:84).

The first families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh who arrived in the UK initially tended to isolate themselves from the wider British society and concentrate in particular areas of Britain. As a result, in the early

days of their arrival, they experienced very limited interactions with non-Muslims. However, Muslims then began to communicate with the non-Muslim community since they recognized the benefits of integrating with the British society. To establish the social relation with non-Muslims, it is important for Muslims to be recognized as a part of the British community. It will be easier for them to get access to the state school or other public services and institutions if they could seek public recognition in a multicultural state like Britain.

However, since the population of Muslims in Britain is growing continuously, they have faced many challenges and questions relating to citizenship, identity and the integration of ethnic and religious minorities, including the issue on Islamic education (Mandaville, 2007: 224). These challenges are not merely about Muslim and non-Muslim relations, but also about the relation between Muslims and the state. The debate on Muslims living in a secular society always comes up, about whether they have to preserve their original identity or to assimilate into British lifestyles. For a few Muslims, this idea is not clear. Yet, they think that assimilation aims to make them lose their religious and cultural norms which are brought from their country of origin. On the other hand, integration is understood by some Muslims as the need to follow all host country cultures which to some

extent is different from their original cultures.

In addition, according to Fetzer and Sopher (2005: 30), in these diverse populations has emerged the political question of "how best to ensure that Muslims, whose religious and cultural backgrounds were distinct from British cultures, might integrate into British society". Thus, the questions that arise when considering the position of Muslims in British society are what the meaning of integration in this context is. Is it necessary for Muslims to integrate? What is the meaning and extent of isolation? Some Muslims might also consider isolation to be a necessity.

There are some analyses on the integration of Muslims or the integration of immigrant in Britain. Sackman (2003:235,241) says that the concept of integration is extremely useful when it is used for analytical purposes. She explains that the term integration has the same meaning with 'positioning' which refers to 'structural conditions through which members of a society get a position within the social structure'. Moreover, she insists that 'the processes of integration, in the long term, are likely to result in assimilation'. Integration is really important in a multicultural society. The diversity of cultures among members of the society will emerge the problem of integration. When one group of society refuses to accept other group cultures, this will definitely lead to 'clash of culture' and integration problem. The acceptance

and respect of a member of society to other cultures in a modern plural society are the main requirements for integration. In Britain, Muslims, non-Muslims and other religious adherents should respect each other in order to live in harmony. They should have a consensus on the common social values so that they can avoid the cultural or social conflicts.

According to Cantle (2005: 39), compared to other European countries, Britain 'had made an early and more positive response to integration'. Integration in his opinion refers to various measures such as 'integration' measure, 'non-discrimination' measure, 'equal opportunity' measure and so on and so forth. The American Encyclopedia describes integration as "*A process that brings different cultures and races together and is based on equality, justice and equal protection under law*"¹. This definition is in line with the statement from Roy Jenkins who insists that integration is really essential for avoiding race problem in a multicultural state². In a multicultural state like Britain, Muslims need equality as well as respect from

¹ See www.islamonline.net, as quoted by Bashy Quraishy, *Segregation rather than Integration*, accessed 11th November 2008 at 2 pm.)

² See his speech for the National Council for Commonwealth Immigrant as quoted by Alibhai-Brown, Y.(1999) *True Colours; Public Attitudes to Multiculturalism and the Role of Government*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research, P.22-23

non-Muslims for their own culture. He says that integration is "neither the loss of original cultures of immigrants nor a flattering process of assimilation". Integration, in his opinion is more about the equal opportunity in the diverse cultural conditions which is accompanied by a mutual tolerance. Nevertheless, there is ambiguity in the multicultural term. Jenkins emphasizes more for the equal citizenships in the public sphere such as education and jobs. While Muslims need the equality for their private domain in terms of the public recognition for their own religious and cultural identities (Lewis, 1994:3-4). According to Alibhai-Brown (1999: 23), this sort of understanding is important to create positive attitudes between minority (Muslims) and majority (non-Muslims) citizens. Moreover, she argues that such understanding would be the main component for building a cohesive society among Muslims and non-Muslims.

Generally, however, there are two factors that can be mentioned here on the problem of Muslims' integration. The first is the internal factor, which is the doctrine of Islamic theology understood by some Muslims as an obstacle for Muslims to integrate with the secular society. Besides, the cultural norms that make Muslims more difficult to assimilate into the British cultures. Moreover, it is the fact that some migrants come from the rural areas, which to a certain extent is in line with illiteracy and conservatism. This fact makes

them have a tendency to preserve their own tradition that is inherited from their country. Tahir Abbas (2007:3) in this regard says that Muslims are still facing up the challenge of Islam and modernity which relates to "the matter of identity and the adaptation of religious and cultural norms". Also, Geaves (1996:54) insists that Muslims have a central problem to differentiate between Islamic values and cultural norms.

The last factor that affects Muslims to integrate is the external challenges such as secularism in the Western society. Fetzer and Sopher (2005: 35) think that the growth of secularism within the British society is the other important religious factor that has "affected Muslim's efforts to assimilate into the British system". Another point of view made by Modood (2005) who believes that the Western society tends to treat Muslims unjustly due to its secular bias.

The Different Attitudes and Orientations of Islamic Organizations in Britain

The significant number of Muslims in Britain directly gives an impact to the emergence of various Islamic organizations. These organizations, to some extent, represent different types of organizations relating to their response to the relationships between Islam and modernity. In this context, modernity as implemented by British modern nation state is the relevant case. There-

fore, it is interesting to see how Muslim organizations in Britain have different opinions to the non-Muslim states. In a study by Andrew Rippin (2005: 181-188), there are three general typologies of Islamic responses to modernity; (1) isolated 'traditionalist', (2) Islamist which is divided into engaged 'reformist Islamist' and 'radical Islamist' rejectionist, and (3) modernist. Based on the categorization above, the example of Islamic organizations in terms of the strategies of isolation, engagement and rejection, which is included in the first group, are Barelwis and Deobandis. The characteristics of these organizations are that they frequently isolate themselves from the wider society, or to some extent they participate in some social activities but "keep a distance with very limited engagements" (McLoughlin:2005).

Barelwis and Deobandis are also responsible for the majority of mosques in Britain; they control the management of the mosques like in choosing an *Imam*. They prefer to look for an *imam* from their home countries rather than from inside Britain. That is why the majority of mosques under their control are "often 'ethnically' orientated and have close trans-national connections with South Asia", where the majority of Barelwis and Deobandis come from (McLoughlin, 2005:pp1047-1048).

The organization which included in the second typology (the reformist Islamist) is JI-associated organizations such as the Young Muslims UK, the Is-

lamic Society of Britain (ISB) and Muslims Association of Britain (MAB). They are actively engaged in political participation. Since the 1980s, these organizations have attracted many young British Muslims including plenty of young Deobandis and Barelwis to get involved in their movements. Some achievements have been gained by their involvements period such as in the publication area. Moreover, *Hizbut Tahrir* and *al-Muhajirun* are two Islamic organizations which can be categorized as the radical Islamist. These organizations believed that in order to survive in the Western society, Muslims should not participate in the political arenas such as election and other democratic procedures.

The last typology is the modernist group. This group believes that Islam is compatible with modernity. They want Islam as the basis for the political and religious life, but it recognizes a need to reinterpret those aspects in light of the contemporary needs" (Rippin, 2005:186). Tariq Ramadan is one of the modernist thinkers whose ideas accessed by many British Muslims particularly the young British Muslims who involve in JI-related organizations. Therefore, to this extent, the member of these Islamic organizations tends to shift from the reformist Islamist to the modernist. Furthermore, a few liberal intellectuals such as Akber Ahmed and Yasmin Alibhai Brown also can be categorized into this group.

Hence, I will focus my further explanations only on JI and HT and on how they encourage or discourage Muslims to engage in the social and political activities in Britain. This overview will directly drive us to understand about the idea of HT and JI on the idea of integration or rejection of Muslims in Britain. In many observers' views, radical Muslims are frequently referred to HT. On the other hand, JI will be explored in terms of its contemporary movements and approaches in disseminating Islamic teachings through their flexibility and moderate ways.

Hizbut Tahrir

Hizbut Tahrir (HT) is a Palestinian movement founded in 1952 by Taqiyyudin al-Nabhany. Taji Farouki (1996:2) explains that the origin of HT can be traced to Jerusalem in 1940s. HT has an ideological commitment on the idea of one Islamic state. In addition, McLoughlin insists that "HT's vision is of an Islamic, as opposed to a secular, based on the ideal of the Prophet and Caliphs". Another significant nature of the party is that they refuse to participate in any existing political systems.

HT has existed in Britain for more than twenty years. This organization like other Arab-based Islamic movements began to spread from London in the early 1990s (Birt, 2005: 185). During the 10 years-period (1986-1996),

under the leadership of Omar Bakri Muhammad, HT grew considerably and became the most active Islamic organization in Britain. Nonetheless, due to some disagreements on the policy, method and style of the organization, Omar Bakri Muhammad then resigned to build an other organization which is called *Al-Muhajirun* (the Emigrants), whose policy is more radical against non-Muslim institutions (Nielsen, 2004: 51). The radical approaches of *Al-Muhajirun*, and also Omar Bakri Muhammad has risen many critical responses from mass-media including Islamic Magazines like Q-News (Wictorowicz, 2005: 158). Moreover, *Al-Muhajirun* is mentioned as one of the extremist organizations tied to the London bombing (Ahmed, 2006: 55), because there are plenty of facts that connect the bombers with this organization. Some members of *al-Muhajirun* have been known being involved in the London bombing.

HT emphasizes the importance of British Muslim loyalty to their religion above their loyalty to the country. Other main ideas are that they oppose any Western influences in the Muslim world and reject democracy as being Western and un-Islamic. They argue that democracy is the rule of people, by people and for people. The basis of a democratic system is that people possess the right of sovereignty, choice and implementation. The sources are from man and not from the *shari'ah* laws (Taji Farouki, 1996: 69).

Moreover, the aims of this organization are to establish pan-Islamic state by re-establishing the caliphate and to isolate Muslims from non-Muslim community and its cultures (Lewis, 2007: 121). This is not surprising because as they mention in their official website, the party claims that Islam is a comprehensive way of live that is capable of managing affairs of state and society³. The root of their political radicalism is "their revolutionary message calling for the overthrow of Muslim government and the resurrection of an Islamic state" (Hamid, 2007: 156).

Perhaps, for this reason, this organization is frequently associated with Islamic radical movement or Islamism. Even HT is profiled as amongst the most extremist Islamist group (Hamid, 2007: 156). Another reason is because the most striking activity is often infuriating Muslim anger by using violent rhetoric in responding to controversial issues such as Danish cartoons. Also, they often organize demonstration to gain Muslim attention. However, they claim that their organization is a non-violent Islamic movement group. It needs evidences to prove that the organization is involved in some violent activities in Britain. The British government has announced their intention to ban HT after the 7/7 London bombing, but it has not happened yet. Nev-

ertheless, in the mid-1990s the National Union of Students banned them from British campuses (Abbas, 2007: 5).

HT is predicted to have active members of around 5000-8000 people, most of them being British born and educated (Lewis, 2007: 140). Initially, this number grew dramatically in the late 1980s and early 1990s, particularly among university students (Wictorowicz, 2007: 8-9). HT often organizes their events around university campuses to attract students to join with the organization. Tahir Abbas (2007:5) says that the number of university students who are involved in HT shows the success of HT in recruiting and infiltrating within Muslim students in British universities.

The approach of recruitment includes giving lessons, making discussion circles, publishing books and magazines, issuing leaflets and conducting large public demonstrations which draw attention from authorities (Wictorowicz, 2005: 8). In the same way, these are also their approaches in disseminating their thoughts. Consequently, this organization seems attractive for youngsters at their stages of life. When they face sense of alienation due to the lack of guidance from their parents and communities, HT offers an option (Wictorowicz, 2005:99). That is why their involvements in HT are considered important for them in order to solve their crises. Moreover, the interaction style of HT is to identify case-

³ See www.Hizb.org.uk, Accessed on Saturday, 15th November 2008 at 2.45 pm

by-case problems faced by each individual. Then eventually, the organization shows Islam as a single solution (Wictorowicz, 2005: 96). Apart from this, they also identify other issues which are relevant for their daily lives.

However, Shiraz Maher one of the ex-members of *Hizbut Tahrir* says that the discussion topics revolve around the revival of caliphate, the establishment of pan-Islamic state and the duty of Muslims to preserve Islam from America. These are the most important issues discussed within the members (Lewis, 2007:119)⁴. Taji Farouki (1996) considered these issues as a utopian message since they wanted to propagate the revival of the *Ummah* (Islamic community) and liberate those Muslims who live under *Kufr* (unbelief systems in Muslim or non-Muslims countries) systems, by reestablishing the caliphate and an Islamic state ruled by *Shari'ah* (Islamic law).

Other recruitment approach is through activities inside and outside the mosques. Omar Bakri Muhammad as the most famous figure in HT insists that the mosque is the best place for creating new social ties to gain new members (Wictorowicz, 2005: 96).

In brief, HT is considered as a radical Islamic organization since they see Western values such as democracy and human rights as being incompatible

with Islamic values. Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani, the founder of this organization condemns democracy as a system of unbelief that is incompatible with *shari'ah* (Taji Farouki, 1996: 69). He also says that there is a big distinction between democratic notions and *shura* (discussing and taking opinion in Islam). This opinion has lead to the rejection of HT toward Muslims' integration into the British culture. For them, Muslims in Britain should choose whether to be British or Muslims.

In contrast with HT, however, JI has a different opinion on such issues because they tend to adjust with the British culture. They have the willingness to be flexible in responding to changes around them. For instance, they provide their members with training on the suggestions and directions on how to deal with changes and differences. Their flexibility is rooted in their view about *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) from Mawdudi who said that the gate of *ijtihad* is never closed (Taji Farouki, 1996: 55). Therefore, JI leads their members and the British Muslims as a whole to be integrated into British cultures.

Jama'at-i Islami (JI)

Jama'at-i Islami (JI) was formed in Lahore, Pakistan in 1941 by Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi ((1903-1979) (Nasr, 1994: 3)). This organization focuses on Islam as an ideology. Since the first time this organization established,

⁴ The similar testimony also come from Ed Husain, other ex-member of *Hizbut Tahrir* in his book "The Islamist" (2007)

Mawdudi insisted that JI is an ideological rather than a political party (Esposito and Voll, 2001: 43). He argues that Islam is a universal and comprehensive way of life and a rule of conduct that should govern state and society (McDonough, 1984: 66)⁵. His famous word is *Al-Islamu din wa dawla*, which means that Islam is the unity of the religion and the state⁶ (Tibi, 1998/2002: 159). Therefore, he advocated an Islamic revolution which is an Islamizing process of all aspects of Muslim life ranging from politics to social life. Additionally, he criticized Muslim dependence on the West. He believed that the decline of Muslim society has been the consequence of the imitation of Muslims toward Western secularism, Marxism and capitalism. Moreover, he thought that the power of the Muslim community would only be achieved if Muslims recognized and "implemented their own divinely values" (Esposito and Voll, 2001: 43).

In terms of JI in Britain, Geaves (1996) thinks that JI at the formal and official level as established in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, does not exist

in Britain. However, he stresses that there are some organizations that have close relations with JI such as the UK Islamic Mission, the Young Muslims UK, Islamic Society in Britain and the Islamic Foundation. Furthermore, Modood (1990:149) says that the UK Islamic Mission and The Islamic Foundation in Leicester are the representation of JI in Britain. Even Jorgen Nielsen (2004: 47) believes that these organizations are founded by intention by JI for particular aims. He argues that these organizations are organized together by overlapping programs due to the same person of the organizations.

Accordingly, to know further about how the ideas of JI are developed within the British Muslim, it is necessary to study about those organizations. Those organizations identify themselves as being representatives of the Islamic movement in Britain. Again, they actively promote Islam within the context of the British society. In addition, they promote "an Islamic identity over their national identities" (Geaves, 1996:209). That is why to some extent their approaches in disseminating Islamic values are interesting for many Muslims, particularly young educated professional Muslims. Above all, their ways of thinking are increasingly influenced by moderate-progressive Muslim thinkers. In terms of their activities, they are engaged in various activities ranging from social and educational to political contexts.

⁵ McDonough, S. (1984) *Muslim Ethics and Modernity: a Comparative Study of the Ethical Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Mawlana Mawdudi*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press. p.66

⁶ For further explanation of this concept, see Maududi's works: *First Principle of Islamic State* (1960) and *Towards Understanding Islam* (1997)

Interestingly, most members of those Islamic groups above are also the activists of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) because JI-related organizations may be home to significant members or activists who have the energy for the political network of the organization. Many members of this organization are described as "Reformist Islamist" (McLoughlin, 2005: 60). The MCB has attracted many young educated Muslims because they have mobilized events such as The Rushdie Affair and the Gulf war and Bosnia. Furthermore, the MCB is considered as a good organization since they provide a non-sectarian space for better Muslim politics of recognition. The MCB was established in 1997 in regarding its constituency as 'British Citizens with an Islamic heritage'. The most important aim of the organization is to enlighten appreciations of Islam and Muslims in the British context and to create a better community relation (McLoughlin, 2005: 60).

Turning to those JI-related Islamic organizations, I will explore their core ideas and activities in Britain. The first organization is the UK Islamic Mission which is the closest organization to JI because both of them have comparable organization structures influenced by Mawdudi's idea, mainly on the concept of *umma* and its relation to the membership system of organization. This organization is the oldest organization amongst the first generation of migrant

Muslims. It was established in December 1962 in East London Mosque and began with small conversations among young professional Muslims on their need towards such an organization. The UK Islamic Mission works primarily through a network of mosques centered in Birmingham, although their main office is located in London (Nielsen, 2004: 47).

Furthermore, the members of this organization are very limited since they are selected based on their high commitments to the organizations and their qualities of Islamic life. By considering these qualities, the people who are involved in this organization are divided into three levels of category: member, associate members and sympathizers (Geaves, 1996: 199). Then, their central program is *Tarbiyah* which trains members and associate members to hold the work of movement mentally and spiritually. Other programs are weekly meetings and monthly sessions which include discussions on theological and moral topics. Another thing from UK Islamic Mission which adapts the model of JI is the fact that they are led by a President in consultation with *shura*. The president and *shura* are elected every two years.

Above all, this organization plays the role as an educator which concentrates their efforts on education and *da'wa* (Call or Mission). These programs are actively sought to move away from South Asian customs and traditions. In

other words, instead of defining and linking themselves so much with their countries of origins, they often identify themselves as British Muslim. To support this process, they also promote the idea of *ummah* which means that Muslims from different cultural backgrounds can unite in Islam.

The second organization is the Young Muslim UK which was established in December 1984 in Leeds. The establishment of the organization was led by young Muslims who felt alienated from the current social issues. They think that there is no one who addresses the current problems in Britain (Mandaville, 2007). The first chairman of this organization was Khuram Murad, who is concerned on the training program for young British Muslims (Geaves, 1996: 206). Also, nearly all members of Young Muslims UK are born in Britain. Furthermore, the structure of organization is more flexible than other Islamic organizations. To some extent this approach is successful in terms of attracting young Muslims to get involved in various activities organized by the institution.

This organization pays attention to the diversity of young Muslims' backgrounds and the radical changes in their lives. As it can be seen, the Western civilizations and the Western societies are today facing radical changes in their lifestyles, and these changes pose great challenges to the minorities, including Muslims, and touch their tra-

ditional values (Syafiq, 2001:108).⁷ Therefore, their main concern is to keep Islam alive for young generations as a living option (Lewis, 1994/2002:109). In addition, youngsters can raise any issue concerning their young matters which worry them. These issues vary ranging from the Islamic position on Western clothes, watching television, girl friends, religious freedom, marriage, contraception and women's rights (Lewis, 1994/2002: 109). As a result, this organization has helped Young British Muslims realize that Islam is a part of their lives. Also Islam is not the property of one particular culture. Moreover, they make efforts to build a close connection with other Islamic organizations which also try to find the direction that Islam should take in the West. Since April 1994, this process has been easier by their involvement in Islamic Society of Britain (ISB) (Geaves, 1996: 206).

The third is the Islamic Society of Britain which was founded in June 1990 as an umbrella of many Islamic organizations. The mission is "Toward Just Society" which shows their intention to be associated with JI. In addition, they claim the organization as a *da'wa* organization which stresses on introducing Islam to both Muslims and Non-Muslims.

The fourth is The Islamic Foundation which was founded by Khurshid

⁷ Syafiq, M. (2001) in El-Affendi (ed.) P. 108.

Ahmad and Ahmed Nasiruddin in 1973. Their relationship with JI can be acknowledged by many English books, translated from the ideas of some JI figures such as the founder of JI Mawdudi, Khurshid Ahmad (the Director General of JI in 1973) and Khuram Murad (Khurshid Ahmad's successor in 1978). During 1970s and 1980s, the publication of the Islamic Foundations has conveyed Islamic values within a selective framework, tending to neglect as *bid'a* (innovations) the alternative epistemologies of sufism and Shi'ism (McLoughlin, 2005: 63). Other facts that show close relationships between the organization with *Jama'at-i Islami* is because Khurshid Ahmad is one of the dominant figures. As an early follower of the founder of this organization, even he was an editor and translator of Mawdudis' works (Esposito and Voll, 2001: 44).

On their publicity video, they define their organization as a training, educational, and research institution and as a nucleus for the community (Geaves, 1996: 202). Perhaps, that is why the Islamic Foundation now begins to attract attention from many American and European scholars. Some of them study about the educational approach and its development and transformations of the Islamic Foundation. Janson (2003:170) as quoted by McLoughlin (2005) says that the IF began to imitate more secular institutions and has less interest in proclaiming

their ideological orientations. He also insists that the Islamic Foundation is very concerned on packaging Islam for English-speaking audiences. Moreover, Peter (2003) highlights that the Islamic Foundation also focuses on faith-based public engagement particularly on interfaith relations. McLoughlin (2003) thinks that the IF has emphasized their original concern for *da'wa* including a home office-endorsed Cultural Awareness Training Program on Muslims in Britain for non-Muslims professionals. Philip Lewis (1994: 110) insists that their strategy of *da'wa* is based on their creation of a revivalist 'counter-culture'.

East London Mosque and London Muslim center are other Islamic organizations aiming at enhancing community cohesion. To achieve this vision, they have organized many events with various approaches such as to boost social interactions between Muslims and Non-Muslims. Furthermore, they contribute to the social, religious and economic enhancements of the whole community. Also, they actively promote peaceful Islamic values and reject extremism.⁸

In brief, instead of claiming that their organizations are independent from JI, many researches show that the organizations above have similar ideology and tradition which make them

⁸ See www.eastlondonmosque.org.uk, accessed on Monday 17th November 2008 at 4.10 pm

overlap their memberships and agendas. Interestingly, one thing that unites those organizations is that they have an awareness and willingness to promote Islam within the wider British society (Geaves, 1996: 209). They do not take position as an enemy to the West, like what has been done by radical-extremist groups. On the contrary, they want to make Islam exist in the UK where Muslims can integrate within the British society. Furthermore, this is a factor that makes young Muslims different from their elders. Some young Muslims argue that their parents' perspective on Islam seems backward, focusing only on their own traditional and ritual issues. They do not try to integrate into British cultures because they thought that they would eventually return to their home countries. Whereas, young British Muslims have had far more exposure and mastery of the Western education, they appreciate the improvement of technology and science and they think that they need to be engaged with the wider British society (Lewis, 2007). They also describe themselves as British (Lyon, 1997: 190). Perhaps, this is what the so called "generation gap" means (Wictorowicz, 2005: 99).

Despite having different names and forms of these organizations, some similarities can be found on the characteristics of JI such as (1) an ideology; all organizations above have the same ideology which emphasizes the unity

of religion and the state, (2) the recruitment system; they recruit their members from schools, universities and mosques, (3) approach in disseminating the messages; they use their publications, student discussion groups, research institutes, preaches, social services and youth centers for promoting their ideas (4) their efforts in combining religious commitment with modern learning in producing new educated leaders who would represent many sectors of the society.

The Different Movement Styles of HT and JI in Britain

These two Islamic organizations have been implementing different approaches on spreading Islamic teachings within Muslims in Britain. They have different backgrounds of ideas that result from their theological views on the interpretation of *Qur'an* and their cultural norms. Hizbut Tahrir insists that the best things that Muslims could do are to implement *dawlah Islamiyah* (an Islamic state) under caliphate leadership with the implementation and the formalization of *syari'ah* (Islamic law). They, therefore, think that Muslims in Britain should isolate themselves from the wider British society because the British systems are incompatible with Islamic teachings. By contrast, JI-related organizations in Britain believe that Muslims should integrate with the British cultures by participating in

educational, social and political sectors. These organizations support the British Muslims to actively engage with non-Muslims in their public life.

However, both the founder of HT and JI have similarities in their ideas on the comprehensive ways of Islamic teachings that should manage the religion and the state. This idea means that Muslims should refer and follow the Islamic values in all aspects of their lives. Therefore, Muslims are not allowed to refer their attitudes to the Western values. As a result, they are associated to the extremist and radical Islamic groups. Interestingly, both the followers of HT and JI in Britain show the different ways in interpreting the idea that Islam covers both the religion and the state. The members of HT seem very 'consistent' with their aspiration to establish the Islamic caliphate and have the similar movement styles in all HT branches throughout the world. While the followers of JI-related organizations show the flexibility of their ideas and practices, the JI-related organizations such as the UK Islamic Mission, the Islamic Foundation, Young Muslims UK, East London Mosques and the Islamic Society of Britain have a strong tendency to accommodate modernity into their cultures.

Many researchers argue that these organizations experience the transformation of beliefs and practices that are implemented in their contemporary movements. The transformations of

their ideas and movements towards the moderate and progressive ways need to be studied further whether it is only a sort of strategy to gain broader attention from Muslims and the British society in seeking public recognition or it emerge to be a good response towards the challenge of modernity in secular Britain.

Conclusion

To conclude, there are some differences in beliefs and practices of JI and HT in Britain regarding the idea of Muslims' integration, isolation or rejection within the British society. These dissimilarities of the movement ways were the results of the interaction of their Islamic commitments with the socio-political context in Britain.

In my opinion, however, JI and HT should play their roles as guidance and educators for Muslims and the wider British society. It would be better if Muslims, non-Muslims and the British government, cooperate to create an open and advanced society. I hope that such efforts would drive Muslims to have a better understanding on the principles of dialogues and the openness in facing the diversity in multicultural Britain. Moreover, it is an Islamic duty for Muslims to contribute to the public with the aspects of it becoming a wider society so that Islam would really become *rahmatan lil 'Alamin* (blessing for the whole world and all of mankind). □

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