



MUSLIMS IN BRADFORD, UK

Background Paper for COMPAS, University Of Oxford

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List of tables and maps

1. The city of Bradford showing the two wards discussed in this Report, p. 3.
2. Bradford: Density of Pakistani population, 2001, p. 5.
3. Bradford: Density of Bangladeshi population, 2001, p. 7.
4. Muslim population in the UK and certain areas, p. 8.
5. "South Asian" Muslims living in Bradford, p. 9.
6. Ethnic make-up of the two wards, p. 11.
7. Age of population in the two wards, p. 12.
8. Housing and social deprivation, p. 13.
9. Asian councillors in Bradford 1974-2005, p. 14.
10. Unemployment figures for the two wards, p. 15.

1. Introduction

This paper explores what is currently known about Muslims in Bradford, West Yorkshire, particularly two wards: Little Horton and Bowling and Barkerend. Its particular focus is on 'community cohesion', which can be defined in terms of "*promoting greater knowledge, respect and contact between various sections of the community, and establishing a greater sense of citizenship*" (Pearce, 2004). With this definition in mind the paper provides details on the localities necessary for an investigation of factors which contribute to, or undermine, community cohesion in Bradford. Economic, political, social and cultural contexts are explored by describing the process of migration and settlement in the city from the late 1950's to the present time, alongside analysing the particular economic context of ethnic minorities and Muslims in Bradford. Demographic and ethnographic profiles provide details of the local educational, employment, health and housing situation. The paper concludes with a brief bibliography of relevant reading material.

The study was commissioned by COMPAS as part of the '**Muslims and Community Cohesion in Britain**' project funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF). Further details on this project can be found on the COMPAS website:

http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/research/migration_management.shtml

2. The Migration and settlement pattern of Bradford's Muslim community

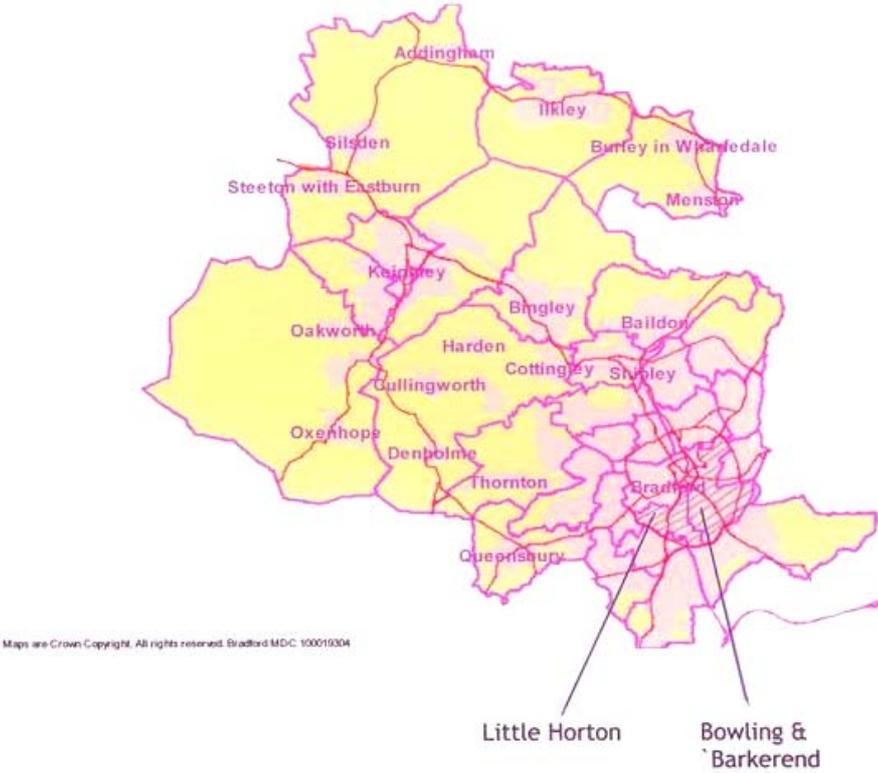
Up to the 19th century the two wards being studied consisted of the villages of Horton, Bowling and Thornbury, satellite communities of the town of Bradford (Fieldhouse, 1978). With the industrial revolution Bradford became a centre of textile excellence. However, the import of cheaper foreign materials after the Second World War meant that this strong industrial-economic basis declined resulting in high unemployment and social and urban decay. Throughout the 19th century various immigrant groups settled in the city including significant numbers of Irish, German, Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian and Italian settlers.

The first Muslims to come to Bradford were sailors who, in the early 1940s, traveled from seaports such as Liverpool, Middlesborough, and Hull to work in the local munitions factories and those of nearby Leeds (Lewis, 1994). The main flow of immigration began during the 1950s with manpower shortages in certain areas of British industry (particularly unskilled, low paid employment in textiles and other industries, the Post Office and public transport). Advertisements were placed in Pakistani newspapers recruiting workers to fill vacancies that British people were refusing.

Consequently large numbers of immigrant workers came from the Asian sub-continent, the Caribbean and latterly from East Africa, to work in textile mills and foundries, in Yorkshire, the Midlands and Greater London. Although few people realized it at the time, this influx of immigrants to Britain symbolized an important social and cultural turning point. It was the first step by which British society was to become, what Lord Parekh described as a “*multi-ethnic, multi-faith, multi-cultural, multi-community society*” (Parekh, 2000).

The settlement of Muslims in Bradford has followed what various writers have called the “sojourners to settlers” pattern of immigration. Many Muslims arrived with the intention to stay in Britain for a brief period only, and to earn money to send to their families back home. However, seeing the benefits of a society with a high standard of living and the possibility of steady employment, many decided to stay, waiting patiently for their families to join them (Singh, 1994). “Chain migration” then followed involving the arrival of other immigrants from the Asian sub-continent and elsewhere, enticed by descriptions of Britain presented to them by the pioneer immigrants. During the so-called “beat-the-ban” period, (the eighteen months or so leading up to the 1962 Immigration Act and its tighter restrictions on immigrants), thousands of women arrived to join their men-folk. These of the second wave of immigrants then gained assistance and support from the original settlers on arrival in this country.

Map of Bradford showing the two wards considered in this Report (BCSP)



The majority of Muslims arriving in Bradford came from the Mirpur region of Pakistan, Kashmir, the Campbellpuri region of the Punjab, Afghanistan or Sylhet in Bangladesh coming as marriage partners or relatives seeking work. However, since the early 1990's other Muslims have come to Bradford, not just from the Asian sub-continent, but as asylum seekers from Eastern Europe - particularly Bosnia-Herzegovina - and other places. There are currently about 350 refugee families from Eastern Europe living within the borough of Bradford, mainly in the University and Manningham wards, although this number is constantly changing.

These immigrants, like others arriving at different cities throughout the country, lacked effective organization and central authority. A desire to live near relatives and friends, fear of an alien (and sometimes hostile) environment, finding solidarity and empathy with other Muslims, proximity to social and cultural facilities, availability of cheap housing have all been factors giving rise to what some unjustifiably call a "ghetto mentality" (Singh, 1994). A process of self-segregation has taken place in which Asians, for social, cultural and religious reasons, generally tended to settle together in certain areas of the city. Up to 1980 many Muslim immigrants lived in multiple occupancy houses mainly in two inner city areas: Manningham and Little Horton. Consequently, as with other Asian communities, the Muslim community in Bradford continues to remain divided and segregated from the wider non-Muslim society. To a certain degree such segregation can also be seen within the ummah itself with Pakistani/Pathan immigrants tending to live separately from Bangladeshi Muslims.

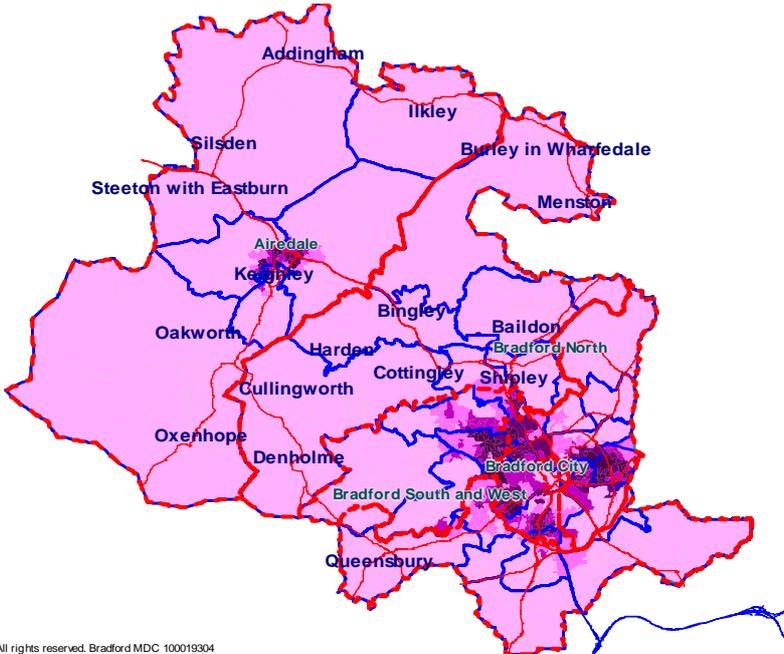
3. *Multicultural issues in Bradford*

From the 1980's onwards the Muslims of Bradford gained a reputation for being militant, if not "fundamentalist". Due mainly to the Honeyford affair of the mid-eighties, the controversy surrounding the introduction of halal meat for Muslim pupils in State Schools and the furore surrounding the Salman Rushdie affair in 1989, Bradford became the epi-centre for racial and multicultural issues nationally (Lewis, 1994). Ray Honeyford, Head teacher of Drummond Middle School, Manningham - the children of which were predominantly Pakistani - spoke out against the Council's multi-cultural educational policy. He published his views in the *Salisbury Review* ("Multi-ethnic Intolerance", *Salisbury Review*, June 1983). Seen by some as a bigot and racist, others regarded him as a crusader for freedom of speech. Honeyford argued that white children in schools with a high percentage of Asian children are at an educational disadvantage.. He objected to Muslim parents taking their children to Pakistan during term time on the basis that "*compulsory and regular school attendance is essential to the educational progress of the child*" and disagreed with a £100,000 grant given

by the Council to Checkpoint, a Black Youth Club. The reaction of the Muslim community to such views was strident and unprecedented, gaining national media coverage (Lewis, 1994). Parents, having formed an Action Committee, picketed the school, set up a counter school in a nearby Pakistan Community Centre and organized a boycott of schools across the city. A legal battle ensued, reaching the Court of Appeal, in an attempt to get Honeyford removed from his post. The “Honeyford affair”, a ‘cause célèbre’ in the history of British multiculturalism, lasted for eighteen months. In December of 1985, with the offer of a substantial financial settlement, Honeyford took early retirement.

Another heated and protracted debate concerned the introduction of *halal* meat for pupils in Bradford State Schools. In November 1982 the Education Committee agreed that *halal* meat should be introduced into schools with at least ten Muslim pupils. The serving of such food began in September the following year, Bradford becoming the first local authority to introduce *halal* meat into its school meals service. Opposition soon arose mainly from animal rights supporters and those who argued it was inhumane to cut the throat of the animal, and allow it to bleed to death, causing pain without being stunned before killing. Muslims threatened to boycott schools and also legal action seeing it as a basic right to have halal food. Due to such opposition the Council held a special meeting on 6th March 1984 to discuss the issue. In a debate which lasted several hours it was decided, by 59 votes to 15, to continue the practice.

Map of Bradford: Density of Pakistani population 2001 (BCSP)



The publication of the Satanic Verses in 1988, due to its alleged blasphemous nature, was “seen by Muslims as an act of provocation against their faith” (Siddique 1993). The reaction by Muslims in Bradford to the Satanic Verses, as with the Honeyford affair, drew national media attention. Having tried appealing to various people for support, but finding little support forthcoming, the Bradford Council of Mosques (BCM) decided to organize a public demonstration. On 14 January 1989 a large crowd of Muslims gathered at the Tyrrels, in front of Bradford City Hall, where a copy of the book was burnt. The situation was worsened shortly after with the pronouncement of the fatwa by the Ayatollah Khomeini in which a large sum of money was offered to anyone who would kill Rushdie. With the media presenting all Bradford’s Muslims as militant and violent, racial tension in the city grew, resulting in several incidents where Muslims were threatened by non-Muslims. Later that year, in June, a peaceful demonstration organized by Muslims ended in violence.

4. The Muslim community in Bradford today

The Ouseley Report of 2001 described Bradford as a city “living in the grip of fear”. In the report’s opinion Bradford’s community had been “fragmenting along racial, cultural and faith lines” for years, creating a “climate of fear”. Such racial tension had come to the fore in 1976 in what the *Telegraph and Argus* had called the “Battle of Bradford”, when an anti-immigration march organized by the BNP was broken up by ordinary people who opposed right-wing views. Racial disharmony (with the connected issues of unemployment, social deprivation, poor housing and alleged discrimination) had been one of the main causes of the Manningham Riots of June, 1995 (Bradford Commission Report, 1995). Similar racial and social disharmony flared up in the riots of 2001 in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. The riots of 2001 have been described as “attempted suicide by a community – a cry for help” (Pearce, 2004). Ted Cante, in writing up his Report of these riots, visited all three towns involved and was shocked by the “depth of polarization” between communities, whose lives “often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote meaningful interchange”.

Accused of failing to react decisively to the riots of ’95, the policy of “zero tolerance” adopted by the authorities to the riots six years later, gave rise to much criticism. Prison sentences of up to five years (eight and a half years in one instance) were given by Magistrates to offenders for throwing stones and other missiles at the police. One such critic of the sentencing policy of the Courts following the 2001 riots was Sher Azam, President of the BCM, who stated:

‘Violence is a wicked thing. We must honour the police. They should not suffer. But as in many things we only see what is visible. We do not look beyond that. We need to ask why people acted in that

violent way. Young people are angry. They feel genuinely hurt, constantly ignored. They sometimes react in ways we disapprove of. We don't want our children to resort to violence, but we need to go deeper. They live in despair. We should try and listen to both sides: to both the victims and perpetrators and help them. We condemn the acts of violence in the riots as bad, wicked, but we need to help the perpetrators. We need to help them when they come out of prison. Punishment is given for bad acts but the punishment should not ruin a person's life. We should have a plan for them when they come out.' (private interview with Sher Azam, 20 August, 2004).

Bradford has become one of the most important Muslim centres in the UK. Britain's first Muslim Lord Mayor, Muhammad Ajeeb, was a Bradford man. Britain's first Muslim Alderman sat in Bradford City Hall in 1972. As early as the 1970s several of the city's Justices of the Peace were Muslim, including women. Bradford also has one of the few Muslim Girls' Schools in the country: Feversham College.

Bradford: Density of Bangladeshi population 2001 (BCSP)



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By 2001 the city's population had risen to 467,665, of which just over 366,000 were white, about 68,000 were Pakistani, 12,500 Indian and almost 5,000 originated from Bangladesh. A further 16,000 came from other, smaller, ethnic groups such as African, Chinese, "other Asians" and Afro-Caribbean. To put this in a national context the general Asian population in Bradford is about 19%

while throughout the country as a whole the figure is less than 5% (BCSP, 2005). According to the 2001 census the size of the Muslim population in Bradford, compared to the UK (England/Wales) generally, and other areas is shown as follows:

Muslim population in the UK and certain areas:

UK as a whole	2.78%
Tower Hamlets	36%
Brent	12%
Newham	24%
Blackburn/Darwen	19%
Oldham	9%
Leicester	11.3%
Bradford	16%

Concerning those members of the Muslim population born outside the UK Bradford differs from other cities such as Leicester whose Muslim immigrants came predominantly from Southern and Eastern Africa and Brent which has a migrant group mainly originating from the Middle East and S. E. Africa. The census of 1991 revealed that 13.6% of Muslims in Bradford (62,243) were of “South Asian” origin. The subdivisions of this group are shown in the diagram below.

There is a definite social/ethnic divide in Bradford. As both Ouseley and Cattle argue people live “parallel lives”. The Asian community in Bradford, as the 1991 and 2001 census’s reveal, is concentrated in particular wards within the city. Today the Muslim population is concentrated in the original areas of settlement, namely the Great Horton, University, Manningham, Little Horton and Bowling and Barkerend Wards. The majority of Pakistani residents are concentrated in these five areas.

“South Asian” Muslims living in Bradford:

3,653 or 0.8%	Bangladesh.
45,280 or 9.9%	Pakistan.
11,713 or 2.6%	India.
1,597 or 0.3%	“other Asian”

The 2001 census reveals that they form 36.4% of the residents of Bradford Moor (5,972), 21.7% of the population of Heaton (3,651), 21.4% of the population of Little Horton (3,953), 44.6% of the people living in Toller (7,844) and 52.8% of the University Ward. (9,973). This settlement pattern is understandable in the light of the fact that the original immigrants, most of whom could not speak English and were totally unfamiliar with life in the west, sought solace with others who shared the same faith, cultural background and faced the same difficulties. Retaining a strong cultural and

religious identity such segregation, to a great extent, has been self-perpetuating. Such a relatively high concentration of Asian residences in certain areas of the city has been accentuated by the occurrence of so-called “White-flight”, the movement of white residents from inner city districts to the more salubrious (usually white, middle-class) suburbs. Long term demographic profiling indicates that the ethnic minority community will increase by an estimated 35% over the next ten years, with the majority of that increase being in the younger age groups.

5. The different Muslim groups in Bradford

The *ummah* of Bradford is a patch-work of differing sects and traditions. Deobandi; Birelwi; jamaati-Islami; Tablighi-jamaati; Salafi; Wahabbi; and Ahmadiyya are just some of the different Sunni groups to be found in the city. The main languages spoken by the Muslims of Bradford include Urdu, Gujarati, Pushtu, Punjabi (Mirpur dialect) and Bangladeshi (Sylheti dialect).

Disagreements occur between these different groups over various issues. Tension exists between the generations: the first generation eager to maintain the values and customs practiced back in the country of origin, and the younger generation, mainly born in this country, unaware of, and indifferent to, the original culture. The Deobandi tradition, which began as a reform movement in India in the nineteenth century, emphasizes a return to a classical form of Islam, a strict application of *Shari'a* and the removal of *bidat*, accretions or innovations added later to the faith. Although recognizing *pirs* (holymen), Deoband reject the idea of *pirs* as intermediaries, the veneration of such saints, the importance given to holy sites and shrines, and the celebration of *urs* (festivals associated with the death of a saint). They also practice *dhikr* (the methodical repetition of divine names) and *tasawaf* (commitment to God). Birelwi, founded in India at the end of the nineteenth century, accept *pirs*, shrines and many practices which the Deoband regard as superstition. Although accepting Muhammad as a man, they argue that he possesses *Ilm-i-Ghaib*, hidden knowledge, and, still being alive, can be prayed to and can intercede with Allah on a person's behalf. Out of the forty-four Mosques in Bradford 19 or more are Birelwi and 17 Deobandi. It must be stressed however that although different mosques are linked to different traditions Muslims of any tradition tend to worship at any mosque, usually the one handy at the time concerned. The only exception to this general trend is the refusal of mainstream Muslims to worship with members of the Ahmadi sect mainly because Ahmadi believe that there can be prophets after Muhammad, albeit lesser prophets, an idea regarded as blasphemous by other Muslims (Valentine, 2003).

Other Islamic groups meeting in Bradford include the Ahl-i-hadith, a non-political reform movement, which rejects Sufism, *pirs* and saintly shrines. The Tablighi jama'at, arising from within the

Deobandi tradition in the late 1920s, consists of teams of preachers, men living simple pious lives so as to propagate their version of truth. The preaching, or daw'a, carried out by the movement however is almost totally amongst Muslims. In contrast to the Tablighi jama'at Islamists, with radical political views, are active in the Bradford region. Al-Muhajiroun engages in missionary work, particularly amongst students at the university. Jama'ti-Islami, or the Islamic Party, a small sect, founded by the famous political thinker Abdul A'la Maududi (1903-79) which rejects Westernization and attempts to transform Muslim countries into Islamic ideological states, has followers in various Mosques around the city. Wahhabism, a strict, puritanical reform movement founded by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab in eighteenth century Arabia, and a small, but significant, Shi'ite community, is to be found in Bradford. A significant Sufi presence can be found in the city (mainly members of the Naqshbandi and Chishtiyah orders), many Sufi practitioners attending the Hanfia mosque, Carlisle Road. The Ahmadi, regarded as heretical and non-Muslim by mainstream Islam due mainly to its insistence that prophecy (albeit in a limited, non-law giving sense) can continue after Muhammad, have established a small but significant group in the city with their mosque (a former Victorian swimming baths) on Leeds Road (Valentine, 2003).

In many ways Bradford, or the parts of Bradford which have large numbers of Asian immigrants, is a microcosm of the Indian sub-continent. The hostility between the different Muslim groups in Bradford usually replicates the power struggles taking place abroad. The conflicts, tensions, and situations that occur in the Middle East and in the Asian Sub-Continent today, reverberate in Bradford tomorrow. For example, following the attack by Hindus on the Babri Masjid Mosque at Ayodhia in India in December '92, due partly to rumours that some Hindu activists from Bradford had helped to demolish the Mosque and that one Hindu businessman exported bricks to help lay the foundations of a temple on the site, Hindu places of worship in Britain were attacked by arsonists, including five such places in Bradford. Strong links are maintained by the different Islamic groups with headquarters in Pakistan, India or Bangladesh. Birelwi have their headquarters at Bareilly, India; the jamaat-i-Islami gain advice from leaders at their centre at Mansurah in Lahore, Pakistan; while the Ahmadi, although having their spiritual head, the Kalifah, residing in exile in London, regard Rabwah, Pakistan, and Qadian, India, as their international administrative centres.

6. Ethnic grouping in the two wards studied

The ethnic make-up of the wards is as follows (BCSP, 2005):

Ethnic group	Bowling and Barkerend		Little Horton		Bradford District
White	11149	61.3%	8,229	47.3%	78.3%
Pakistani	4435	24.4%	6,573	37.8%	14.5%
Indian	942	5.2%	751	4.3%	2.7%
Bangladeshi	762	4.2%	259	1.5%	1.1%
Mixed	363	2.0%	620	3.6%	1.5%
Other Ethnic group	307	1.7%	321	1.8%	1.0%
Black or Black British	242	1.3%	644	3.7%	0.9%

[Mixed comprises White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian and other Mixed. The statistics available do not differentiate between “Black Caribbean” and “Black African”]

7. Age of population in both wards

Both Little Horton and Bowling and Barkerend have a younger age profile than the district generally. In the Little Horton ward nearly one third of the population is under 15 years of age and nearly half under the age of 24. The district average for the proportion of the population under 24 years of age is 35.9%. Only 21.6% of the population is over 45 years of age, compared to the district average of 36.1%. In the Bowling and Barkerend ward 41.9% of the population is under 24 years of age. The proportion of the population over 65 years of age (12.9%) is lower than the average for the district as a whole (14.4%) (BCSP).

	Little Horton		Bowling & Barkerend		Bradford District
Population	17368	100%	18226	100%	100%
0-4 years	1766	10.2%	1668	9.2%	7.1%
5-15 years	3547	20.4%	3381	18.6%	16.3%
16-24 years	2773	16.0%	2563	14.1%	12.5%
25-44 years	4851	27.9%	5072	27.8%	28.0%
45-64 years	2835	16.3%	3179	17.4%	21.7%
65-74 years	919	5.3%	1211	6.6%	7.7%
75+ years	678	3.9%	1152	6.3%	6.7%

8. Housing and social deprivation

In the Little Horton ward 23.5% of all households consist of a couple with dependent children. This is slightly higher than the district average of 22.8%. In Little Horton 15.2% of all households are

overcrowded, compared to 8.3% for the district as a whole. Over one third of all households do not have central heating or the sole use of a bath and inside toilet, and over half are without access to a car/van. Over half of the houses in the area are terraced houses, 23.2% are semi-detached and 16.4% are flats or shared dwellings. Just over half of all households are homeowners.

In the Bowling and Barkerend ward 20.8% of households are all pensioner households. The proportion of households consisting of a couple with dependent children is similar to the district average of 21.2%. The proportion of lone parent families is 10.6%, slightly higher than the district average of 8.6%. 12.9% of all households are overcrowded. 36.4% do not have central heating or the sole use of a bath or inside toilet and almost half have no access to a car/van. Terraced houses account for over half of the houses in the area. 20.9% of dwellings are flats or shared dwellings (BCSP). Housing details for the two wards are as follows:

Housing details for the two wards					
	Little Horton		Bowling & Barkerend		Bradford district
Household characteristic					
Households	59731	100%	6723	100%	100%
Average household size (people)	2.89		2.68		2.55
Overcrowded houses	909	15.2%	865	12.9%	8.3%
Households without amenities	2206	36.9%	2449	36.4%	23.2%
Household without a car/van	3142	52.6%	3241	48.2%	32.5%
One or more people in the Household have a long term illness	2563	42.9%	2828	42.1%	36.4%
All dwellings	6885	100%	7476	100%	100%
Detached houses	304	4.4%	308	4.1%	13.5%
Semi-detached houses	1595	23.2%	1539	20.8%	36.4%
Terraced houses	3860	56.1%	4047	54.1%	35.8%
Flats, conversions, shared dwellings	1127	16.4%	1562	20.9%	14.3%

9. Political context

MPs for Bradford include Ann Cryer (Labour); Marsha Singh (Labour, Bradford West); Terry Rooney (Labour, Bradford North); Gerry Sutcliffe (Labour, Bradford South); Philip Davies (Conservative, Shipley) (see DLDS).

As on 1 January 2006 there are 90 councillors in Bradford: 35 Conservative; 29 Labour; 15 Liberal Democrat; 4 BNP; 4 Green; 2 Independent and 1 vacancy.

Asian councillors 1974-2005 (MCR, 2004-2006)

1974/75	1	1984/85	2	1994/95	11	2004/05	20
1975/76	1	1985/86	2	1995/96	11	2005/06	20
1976/77	1	1986/87	3	1996/97	11		
1977/78	1	1987/88	4	1997/98	11		
1978/79	2	1988/89	6	1998/99	12		
1979/80	2	1989/90	6	1999/00	12		
1980/81	3	1990/91	7	2000/01	13		
1981/82	3	1991/92	10	2001/02	13		
1982/83	3	1992/93	11	2002/03	13		
1983/84	3	1993/94	11	2003/04	13		

In Bradford there are almost 250 JPs, 19% of which are from ethnic minority groups. The city's Magistrate shadowing scheme recently attempted to encourage more members of the ethnic minority groups to consider training as magistrates (Asian Eye, 2 June 2003).

10. Unemployment

Unemployment in this area is well above the Bradford average, and household income is low, which in turn serves to exacerbate problems of overcrowding in a relatively large number of households. In Little Horton only half of all people between the age of 16 and 74 are either working or seeking work. The district average is 63.4%. 14.9% of people are economically active but unemployed. The district average is 6.9%. Concerning those who are economically active 17.3% are retired, compared to 35% for the district as a whole. 28.8% are economically inactive as they look after their families/homes, compared with a district average of 20.9%. 17% of the economically inactive are students and 18.4% are permanently ill or disabled. 37% of the unemployed in Little Horton have not worked for two or more years. This is higher than the district average of 31.9%. 16.2% of unemployed have never worked. 32.6% of unemployed persons are under 24 years of age while 12.1% are over 50. (BCSP).

In the Bowling and Barkerend ward 56.6% of all people between the ages of 16 and 74 are either working or seeking work. The percentage of people economically active, but unemployed, is 12%. Concerning those who are economically inactive 24.4% are retired, 26.2% are economically inactive because they look after families/home. 14.2% are students and 19.2% are permanently ill or disabled. Over one third of unemployed people in this ward have not worked for two or more years; 14.9% have never worked and 31.9% are under 24 years of age (BCSP).

With the decline of both the textile and engineering industries in this area new modern industrial units have replaced the older, larger mills. Certain projects have been implemented, many of which by Bradford Trident, a community led company running a £50 million, 10 year, regeneration scheme in West Bowling and other areas of Bradford. Bradford Trident, financed by the government's New Deal for Communities Fund, is involved in jobs and business; crime and community safety; housing; community involvement; health; youth and education. Other projects include the job brokerage scheme; Job Start bursaries, New Deal for business; the Development Loan fund and Trident E-Business. Although much still needs to be done in terms of improving housing and employment opportunities these projects have started various schemes, particularly in the Bowling and Barkerend Ward. For instance a job brokerage project created a free recruitment service for employers in which suitable candidates, from all ethnic groups in the ward, are matched with vacancies; job start bursaries, usually grants of £500, have been made available for unemployed people in the area helping the poor to prepare for interviews with money to buy suits, traveling and postal costs, tools, haircuts, childcare and other items deemed necessary; and development loan funds aimed at new and existing small businesses who may have little or no trading experience

(BTPU, 2005). In talking to Muslims in the area it is clear from comments made that these and other projects are having a positive effect on the Muslim community locally. Bary Malik for example, President of the local Ahmadiyyah Jama'at, businessman and JP, recently remarked: "such projects are giving much needed hope to many people within the Asian community, people who have for a long time felt neglected and marginalized". Unemployment figures are as follows:

Unemployment details for the two wards

	Little Horton		Bowling & Barkerend		Bradford District
people between the age of 16 and 74 either working or seeking work	5765	50.7%	6809	56.6%	63.4%
economically active but unemployed	861	14.9%	820	12.0%	6.9%
those economically inactive in this age range	5612	49.3%	5231	43.4%	36.6%
economically inactive because they look after their homes/families	1619	28.8%	1370	26.2%	20.9%
students	953	17.0%	745	14.2%	15.1%
permanently sick or disabled	1034	18.4%	1002	19.2%	16.7%
not worked for two years or more	319	37.0%	285	34.7%	31.9%
unemployed 16-24	281	32.6%	262	31.9%	32.3%
unemployed 50+	105	12.1%	79	9.6%	14.6%
unemployed who have never worked	139	16.2%	122	14.9%	14.0%

11. Health

In the two wards there are 2 main hospitals: St Luke's hospital, Little Horton Lane and Leeds Road Hospital, Browning St, just off Leeds Road. It is a matter of concern amongst local residents that there is no accident and emergency hospital in the area (St Luke's not having such a department).

According to the information contained in the 2001 Census 12.4% of the population in Little Horton, and 12% in Bowling and Barkerend described their health as “not good”. The average for the Bradford district is 10.1%. 19.2% of the population in Little Horton, compared with 20.7% in Bowling and Barkerend, has a long term illness that limits their daily activities. This may include any problems related to old age. This is higher than the District average of 18.5%. Medical Centres in the two wards include the following:

Barkerend Health Centre

Birch Lane Medical Centre

Bowling Hall Medical Centre

Horton Park Surgery

Laisterdyke Clinic

Manchester Rd Medical Centre

New Cross St Health Centre

Rooley Lane Medical Centre

Community, Youth and Health Centres

With money available from the Government funded ‘New Deal for Communities Fund’ numerous groups and organizations, across the ethnic divide, have been established in the two wards under consideration. The Hindu Cultural Centre on Leeds Road, the Council for Mosques Day Centre on Spencer Road and the Karmand Community Centre on Barkerend Road have been able to provide information for members of their respective communities on legal, housing, Benefit and other issues. The Thornbury Centre, a Christian organization run by the local Anglican community caters for people of any race or creed. The West Bowling Youth Centre on Parkside Road has done much work in various recreational activities, the development of individual skills for the work place and in helping young people to find employment.

Arc, the

Council for Mosques Day Centre

Emerge, Youth & Community Centre

Hindu Cultural Centre

Karmand Community Centre

Light of the World Gospel Hall Community Centre

Punjab Community Centre

The Thornbury Centre
West Bowling Youth Initiative
YMCA, MCmillan Centre
YMCA, Trinity Rd
Youth Base
Youth Empowerment

Citizen's Advise Centres and Public Libraries

CAB, 17 Canal Rd
East Bowling Library
Great Horton Library
St Augustine's library
Thornbury Library

Voluntary organizations:

The Council, leading the development of the 2020 Vision for the district, and Bradford Congress provides a clear and accountable framework for regeneration in the district. Other initiatives include the Health Action Zone; Education Action Zone; the Crime Reduction Strategy and welfare to work programs.

Bradford Community Accord
Bradford Trident
Bradford Vision: Bradford Design Exchange
Community Statistics
SureStart
The Urban Regeneration Company
Yorkshire & Humberside Consortium

Education: Schools & contacts

Nearly half of the population in the Little Horton and Bowling and Barkerend wards aged between 16 and 74 have no formal qualifications. This is higher than the district average of 35.1%. Only 8.9% have a professional / degree level qualification, compared to 15.9% for the district as a whole.

There are currently 48 independently funded faith based schools, and one state funded Muslim college for girls (Feversham College), in Bradford. The other faith schools include 20 RC primary schools; 26 CE primary schools; 4 RC secondary schools and 2 CE secondary schools. More than half the children in the inner city state schools are Muslim. A list of educational groups and schools is as follows:

Serco Learning

School Governor Service

Schools include:

Bradford Moor Community School

Bradford Cathedral Community School

Carlton Bolling College

Fagley Primary School

Feversham College

Hanson School

Ja'amiatul Imam Muhammad Zakaria school

Knowleswood Primary School

Lapage Middle School

Laisterdyke High School

Lindley House School

Ryan Middle School

Ryecroft Primary School

St Augustine's CE Community School

St Matthew's First School

St. Michaels First School

Inter-faith organizations, Mosques and religious groups

As stated above out of the forty-four Mosques in Bradford 19 or more are Birelwi and 17 Deobandi. The mosques in these wards are loosely connected under the Bradford Council of Mosques. However, as one young Muslim stated; "the BCM is nothing to us. It has lost sight of what is going on locally and nationally. It doesn't provide the leadership needed today".

Abu Bakr mosque

Ahmadiyyah Jama'at
Baitul Aman Jamia mosque & Madrassa
Baitul Hamid, Ahmadiyyah Jama'at
Interfaith Education Centre
Islamic Cultural and Educational Association
Jalalabad Islamic Centre & Jamia Mosque
Jame Masjid, Ahli-hadith
Jamiyat Tabligh-UI-islam Mosque

12. Present issues of concern:

Mukhtar Ali, Lib/Dem councilor for the Bowling and Barkerend ward considers the vast majority of matters raised by residents to be crime related issues. Recent surveys, and regular newspaper articles, reinforce this view. 54.9% of residents interviewed ranked crime as the main problem in the area while 52.4% of them believed they were likely to be victims of crime during the coming year (NDC, 2000). The same survey also revealed that 40.9% of residents were afraid to go out after dark because of their fear of crime while 82% of car owners surveyed were concerned at the level of car crime. In recent days there have been several articles in the local newspapers highlighting the increase in drugs related crime. Trident is just one of several bodies aiming to reduce the level of crime in this area through community policing, neighbourhood wardens, target hardening and a CCTV network.

Many Muslims are greatly concerned at the link between drug related crime and the ummah generally in Bradford. During the past three years there have been many drug related crimes, including three shootings in which two people were killed, in the Bradford area. As one elderly Muslim attending the Abu Bakr mosque remarked: "many of our young people are turning to drugs and trade in drugs to earn money. We tell them it is wrong but for many it is the only way to get "izzat (honour) and recognition". Many residents (Muslim and non-Muslim) believe that crime, and other issues, have given Bradford a very bad image nationally. As one elderly resident on Bolling Hall Road stated: "*Bradford used to be a great city, a world leader in textiles and other trades, but look at it now. God, you go down to the city centre on a Saturday and all you see are run down buildings, gangs of kids causing trouble, derelict buildings, shops closing down and graffiti*". Mary, a young A level student at Bradford College, shared similar views when she remarked: "*Bradford's a real hole. We will never recover from the riots. What businessman in his right mind would want to invest in a city which is simmering on the edge of more racial trouble?*" In talking with students at the University it becomes clear that Bradford is seen as "a dump", in contrast to nearby Leeds, the so-called "24 hour city".

As stated earlier the ummah is a fractured society as different rival sects compete for pre-eminence. Of particular interest is the antipathy, if not hatred, many mainstream Muslims have towards members of the Ahmadi movement. The mid 1980s witnessed anti-Ahmadi riots in Bradford which received national press coverage. Refusing to recognize the movement as an Islamic group the Bradford Council of Mosques in 1985 organized an opposition campaign against the Ahmadi. Individual Muslims, influenced by relatives and leaders arriving from Pakistan, made threats against those who should have been regarded as fellow Muslims. Events came to a head when the Ahmadiyyat organized a Religious Founder's day in Bradford Central Library. A large mob, led by local Mullahs, marched through the city centre, intent on disrupting the meeting. Stones were thrown, threats made and at least one window was broken. The police, fearing an escalation of violence, instead of arresting the trouble-makers, brought the Meeting to an end and led those attending the meeting to safety through a back door of the Library. Opposition to Ahmadi was also seen in the protest of Orthodox Muslims over the Global Village Book. In 1996 the local Council, and the Council for Voluntary Services, decided to publish a Directory, entitled "*Global village Guide to Bradford*", of black and other minority community groups in the Bradford Metropolitan District. Due to apparent diplomacy, and temerity in facing the opposition of the larger Main-stream Muslim community, the official involved in compiling the Directory placed the Ahmadiyya Jamaat in the section entitled "other" faith groups, rather than in the section for "Muslim". Due to objections raised by the Ahmadi the Directory was withdrawn although having already been sent to over 200 organizations in the city. This hostility towards the Ahmadi is still an issue within the city. Naseem Bajwa, Imam at the Ahmadi mosque on Leeds Road, expressed his concern about how many of the attenders at his mosque have been threatened by other Muslims, their cars have been vandalized and how some have even been beaten up.

When talking with Muslims in the Bradford area it becomes clear that many feel threatened by British society which is seen as immoral and corrupting. "*There is an enormous amount of pornographic literature, which denigrates the status of women in western civilization to just being objects of lust*", declares one local Muslim writer (Siddique, 1993). "*Alcohol intake...is part of Western culture, excessive materialism, gambling, free mixing of the sexes, sexual licentiousness, cohabitation outside marriage, women parading semi-naked, exhibiting their physical beauty, open display of kissing and the scarcity of modesty are some distinct features of the current emancipated Western culture*". This fear of the corrupting influence of British society is seen as one of the main factors preventing Muslims from integrating fully with the host society. In talking with local Muslims of all ages one senses a "them-and-us" culture, a climate of frustration amongst the ummah generally in which Muslims feel that they are constantly the victims of Islamophobia. Such concerns have been highlighted with the recent arrest of four Muslim students at the local university for alleged terrorist links.

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