

A MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN

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ERIC BUTTERWORTH

*Senior Research Fellow in Community Organisation
University of York*

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Foreword

The cultural and religious map of Europe is being changed by the migration of nearly three million people a year from the South to the North of Europe, and, in some cases, back again. Such a massive movement of people with widely varying national, racial, social and religious characteristics raises a crop of economic and moral problems of concern to the Churches, as well as questions of Church policy.

Not least amongst these concerns is that which derives from the creation of substantial enclaves of Muslims in what were hitherto predominantly 'Christian' societies. In most cases there is not only a difference of faith but there is, combined with it, a difference of race, often accompanied by colour.

How can these problems be transformed into opportunities for the deepening and enrichment of human experience and for the creation of a multi-religious and multi-racial society?

The Churches' Committee on Migrant Workers in Western Europe sought to shed some light on these matters by inviting Mr Eric Butterworth, M.A. to undertake, on its behalf, a study of one local situation, that presented by the Yorkshire woollen city of Bradford, in England. This city has within it a large community of Muslims from Pakistan. His report has value not only to Christian and other leaders in Bradford but also to any Churches anywhere who are faced with a similar situation. The report is offered as a contribution to the study and discussion of the principles, policies and programmes in which the Churches must join. Its conclusions are those of the author and not those of the European Churches Committee. They are thought by the Committee to merit the most careful consideration.

The European Churches Committee is deeply indebted to Mr Butterworth for a careful and thorough study and for the trouble he has taken to discuss his report with them. His unflinching courtesy and humility and his devotion to truth have been impressive. Mr E. J. B. Rose, the Director of the Survey of Race Relations in Britain, not only allowed Mr Butterworth to give time to this study and to use materials collected for his wider survey but he has permitted the printing of this report. The Committee is greatly appreciative of Mr Rose's generosity.

The various stages in the preparation of this report have been closely followed by the Standing Committee on Migration of the British Council of Churches and by the Board for Social Responsibility of the Church of England. The European Churches Committee is grateful to the

Board for Social Responsibility of the Church of England both for sponsoring the publication of this report and for allowing its Secretary to devote some of his time to sharing in its work.

The appendix to this report, written by Dr Kenneth Cragg, deals with what have proved to be some highly controversial issues. Dr Cragg is a leading scholar in this area of concern and his contribution to the discussion is most welcome.

EDWIN BARKER

*President, Churches' Committee on
Migrant Workers in Western Europe.*

August 1967

Preface

This study has been undertaken at the request of the Churches' Committee on Migrant Workers in Western Europe. It has drawn on a great amount of material collected for a study of the situation brought about in Bradford in consequence of the presence of large numbers of migrants. This is being financed by the Survey of Race Relations in Britain as part of the nation-wide study at present being undertaken. Other material, relating in particular to the position of the churches in Bradford, the attitudes of churchmen, and possible forms of action, has been collected specially for this report.

The project was only arranged finally in September and October, 1965, and it had to be completed by a time early in May, 1966. The detailed planning and negotiations for a research assistant took until December, and the assistant began work full-time near the end of that month. Because of the shortage of time the report was written very quickly, and although it is thought that the situation described is true in its most important respects there may well be justifiable criticism of some of the details. The samples were small, and this was not the time of year when students were available to undertake interviewing which could have supplemented, in a relatively cheap way financially, the material presented. For publication the report has been brought up to date, amended and amplified in certain respects.

I should like to record my thanks to those who have worked on the project. John Gaukroger, M.A., undertook the vast bulk of the field-work during a period of four months, including all the interviews with ministers, lay officials and local people. M. T. Pountney, B.A., my research assistant for the work on the Survey of Race Relations, was seconded to this project for the period of one month and undertook the main analysis of the data and its preparation for inclusion in the report. M. I. Kazi, B.A., an Indian Muslim, undertook some of the field-work among the Muslim community. Mrs I. Becker did voluntary secretarial work and obtained information of various kinds and Miss P. Maule-Ffinch assisted in the task of collating the material. R. J. Capper also assisted with the statistical sections of the report.

It is pleasant to be able to record the thanks of all those concerned with the project to those who spared the time to answer their questions. In particular the ministers of religion were extremely generous with their time and help in situations where the great majority were extremely busy. Many other friends, acquaintances, and officials have helped in

the discussion of specific sections of the report, and I should like to thank in particular Tony Coxon and John Goodall for their careful reading of it. None of those mentioned are responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation which may appear.

Finally, I should like to record my thanks to Mr E. J. B. Rose, Director of the Survey of Race Relations in Britain, who allowed me to plan and direct the project although I was committed to the study for the Survey during this period; to Mr E. Barker, President of the Churches' Committee on Migrant Workers in Western Europe, for his kindness and courtesy in discussions relating to the project, and to the Committee for its invitation. I hope that the report will stimulate the discussion already going on into the response the Churches could make to the presence of substantial Muslim (and other) minorities in Europe.

ERIC BUTTERWORTH
May, 1967.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Objectives

The main objectives of this Report are, first of all, to consider the relationships which have grown up between local people and migrants and between religious organisations in the time a Muslim group has been in existence in Bradford, and secondly, to suggest initiatives which might be taken in the future by the churches to supplement what has already been done to achieve some measure of social accommodation and acceptance between Muslims and the larger community in which they live. In order to analyse these problems effectively it is necessary to consider what is characteristic of the situation with regard to race relations locally. This involves providing some information about the population of Bradford, its economy, and its social capital, including housing and schools, as a prelude to an appraisal of the characteristics of the migrant groups who have settled there, the areas of migrant settlement, the contacts which have developed between coloured migrants and others, either at work or in the areas where they live, and the climate of public opinion during the past 12 or 13 years. These topics are covered in the next section of the Report (Part II).

Part III is concerned with the presentation of information collected during a survey of what were considered to be some of the most crucial issues bearing on the attitudes of clergymen and others to migrants. These involve consideration of the organisation of churches in the various denominations, their capacity to meet demands upon them in this (and other) fields, and the previous history of attempts to create a better climate of relations. It also provides information, collected by informal contacts and interviews with Muslims, of attitudes towards the Christian churches and the reasons given for holding them. At the same time the importance of the general context, involving both Muslims and others, has been stressed.

The way is now prepared for the development of ideas about the kind of role the churches could fulfil in the present situation, the scope available for individual as well as group and organisational initiative, and the priorities in the various fields of action. This comes in Part IV. Insofar as the analysis is general, in that features common to the situation of Muslim migrants in Britain appear, the recommendations will have a relevance that is also general, but some are specifically concerned with the position in Bradford.

There is a final brief section V, in which the main points made in the Report are recapitulated.

Approach

The methods used were observation, interviewing (both of formal and informal kinds) and the documentation of relevant sources. As far as possible evidence from one source was checked with evidence from another. In particular, views about the role of the Christian churches in the future can be tempered with politeness rather than frankness when British interviewers approach migrants who are English-speaking. There was the additional problem that illiterate migrants might have very different opinions from those of educated ones about questions relating to the churches and to integration and assimilation. Even the Muslim graduate engaged in the study was unlikely to be taken into the full confidence of these informants, and it would have been impracticable for him to use a formal questionnaire such as was administered to the other groups. The considerable diversity within the Muslim community was recognised from the start. One aspect of this could be the wielding of considerable power by some who are scornful of those who have contacts with local people. This was perhaps one of the main problems associated with the study. We attempted to overcome it by continually testing the validity and the representative nature of the views and ideas brought forward by discussing them with a wide range of contacts. The extent of the hostility felt by many Muslims towards the churches, which might surprise some Christians, influenced the kind of proposals put forward.

Observation was useful in checking upon certain information, such as the size of congregations, provided by answers to the questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered to three groups: ministers of religion, 53 out of 56 of whom were good enough to answer the questions, with the remaining three also providing some information; lay officials of churches in migrant areas, 34 of whom responded out of 34 who were approached, and 37 respondents out of a sample of 62 chosen from the Electoral Registers of the two wards in the city with the largest numbers of migrants.

Documentation involved the collection of material from official sources both locally and nationally, and such items as copies of sermons delivered about race relations, parish magazines, to indicate the variety of provision of a social and religious kind in the areas, and notes on the history and present position of particular churches and religious organisations. It is not possible to include much of this material in this Report.

Among informal contacts there were the people who are invariably consulted when inquiries into race relations are being made. This has probably given a much more limited view of opinions and possibilities than is actually present, and along with this has gone the idea that

inquiries are superfluous and that what is required is action. This view commands some sympathy, but it is a mistake to assume that the situation is easily definable or static. What is most apparent is the rate of change and the implications which follow from it.

Definitions

Throughout this study, words such as community, integration and attitude are occasionally used. The extent to which the Muslims in Bradford are a community is open to question. Although the lives of the majority of them are circumscribed within relatively narrow group limits, this does not apply to all of them, and there are certainly differences between the generation coming here as adults and those being brought up here, in their consciousness of the pull of their own group. In other ways the group has become more inward-looking, and economically self-sufficient. The divisions within the community are, however, often as important for practical purposes as are their similarities.

In many ways it would be more appropriate to talk about an ethnic group. By this is meant a collection of people considered both by themselves and by other people to have in common one or more of these characteristics: religion, racial origin (i.e. similar physical characteristics), national origin, and language and cultural traditions.

Integration is a term often used in a very general and imperfect sense. For some it seems to imply a total adaptation to English society and a rapid giving up of cultural and other characteristics typical of the areas from which migrants come. It is important to realise that integration can take place in a situation where there is mutual respect for the cultural traditions of both groups. This is often referred to as 'cultural pluralism' whereby the groups are distinct in certain respects but equal in terms of the rights that they enjoy. Obviously certain degrees of accommodation are necessary, although this does not mean that this should always arise on the terms of the majority group. Thus integration, in effect, can relate to the preservation of various aspects of the culture of the minority, and to the recognition that they are citizens of the society and, therefore, have equal opportunities to participate in it. To some extent the Jewish community can provide a model for a situation of cultural pluralism. There is still an identifiable Jewish community which is capable of being mobilised on certain issues, but at the same time a great number of its members make a contribution to the wider community as well.

The term attitudes is also used on occasion. An attitude means 'a tendency or cluster of tendencies to react in various specific ways to

another individual or to a group of other individuals. These reaction tendencies are considered to be either positive, neutral or negative in direction. In their *cognitive* aspects they may consist of favourable or unfavourable beliefs about the other individuals or a mixture of both. In their *affective* aspects they may consist of friendly or unfriendly feelings, or a mixture of both. In their *conative* aspects they may consist of desires to see the situation of the other individuals improve or worsen, or improve in some respects and worsen in others. The two essential components of an ethnic attitude are a *belief* about some other individual's group membership and at least one related action tendency toward him of a positive, neutral or negative attitude. . . . By *prejudice* we mean an ethnic attitude in which the reaction tendencies are predominantly negative. In other words . . . prejudice is simply an unfavourable ethnic attitude.¹

The point in asking questions about the attitudes of individuals to the presence of immigrants is to identify predispositions, and the variations within them, rather than to indicate what people actually do in a given situation involving ethnic considerations.

¹ Gardner Lindzey, Editor: *Handbook of Social Psychology*, vol. 2, chapter 27, pp. 1022ff. (Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. Inc.)

II

THE BRADFORD SITUATION

The main features of the national situation which have to be borne in mind in considering specific areas are the recent nature of the migration, the relative fluidity of the patterns of social relationships which have developed, and the change in the balance of migration which has led to a great increase in the number of women and children coming in during the years since 1962 when there has been a restriction on the entry of workers. In Britain as a whole, half of the coloured migrants, of whom there are now approaching one million, are West Indians. In the West Yorkshire conurbation, however, of which Bradford forms a part, the largest migrant group is of Pakistanis, the next largest of West Indians, and the third largest of Indians. This has implications for race relations, for the West Indians share to some extent a Western cultural heritage and the great majority speak English. The majority of Indians and Pakistanis, by contrast, do not speak English and many of them have left their families in their country of origin. The White Paper on Immigration from the Commonwealth, introduced into the British Parliament in 1965, limits the number of workers allowed in to 8,500 per year, including 1,000 Maltese. Apart from the latter, the restrictions apply to the coloured Commonwealth and not to aliens, the Irish, or those from the white Commonwealth. The effect of the White Paper, and the increasing affluence of those here for some years, has been to encourage a choice between returning home for good, since it will not be possible for all to return home for a long period and then have another spell of several years working in Britain as some have done in the past, and bringing families over for permanent settlement. Although many of those bringing families over at present, and there has been a big increase which is likely to continue at a substantial rate for some years, may expect to return home one day it seems probable that this will remain a dream for most of them. On the other hand that many think in terms of a temporary rather than a permanent settlement is significant for their attitudes.

The city of Bradford has 298,000 inhabitants and is the centre of the woollen industry in Britain. It forms part of the West Yorkshire conurbation, which has a population of 1,913,600,¹ and in which about 80% of the woollens manufactured in Britain are produced.

At present nearly one-third of the work force in Bradford is engaged in the textile industry: 46,331 out of 154,201. The other main industrial groups employ a much smaller number of workers: the distributive

¹ In 1965 (Estimate in the *Review of Yorkshire and Humberside*).

trades are next with 19,724 employees, and third is engineering and electrical goods manufacture with 18,480. The significance of textiles in the local economy is thus apparent. In recent years there has been quite a substantial decline in numbers in textiles, and another feature has been the decline in the number of women employed. This is linked with the entry of migrants in that some are doing jobs previously the preserve of women, as the latter have moved out to work in light industry, or the distributive trades, which provide better working conditions.

Apart from the early migrants, the few who arrived before 1939, the entry of coloured workers began only in the early 1950's. It was estimated that there were 350 of these migrants in 1953. By 1957 the number had gone up six-fold over the figure four years previously, and in the next year it was to double itself. All but a small number were Pakistanis or Indians, and the majority went into jobs in the woollen industry. The recession in that industry in 1958 led to a considerable falling-off in arrivals, and a not inconsiderable number of men moved to other parts of the country, such as Birmingham and Luton, where work in other industries was easier to get. This illustrates two important points about the settlement. In the first place, there was considerable mobility with many coming to Bradford and not quite so many moving out: this prevented the establishment of stable patterns of leadership and inhibited the growth of associations which were based on more than kinship or neighbourhood loyalties. Secondly, there were very few women in the Pakistani population, although Indians appeared to bring over wives and families much sooner after arrival. At the Census of 1961 only 81 Pakistani women were enumerated in Bradford out of 3,457 Pakistanis. This was a much higher proportion of women, incidentally, than in some of the smaller towns nearby. The ratio among the Indians in Bradford at that time was three men:one woman, and among West Indians it was 3:2.

In 1961 it was estimated that there were about 6,000 coloured migrants in the city, of whom nearly 3,500 were Pakistani, over 1,500 Indian, and nearly 1,000 West Indian. This was probably an underestimate. Since that time numbers have gone up considerably, and it is likely that by early 1966 there were 16,000-17,000 migrants from these countries in Bradford, over 12,000 being Pakistani, 2,500 Indian, and nearly 2,000 West Indian; the totals include children born in Britain to migrant parents. These children are technically British by birth but some born to Asian parents may reach school age (5 years) without being able to speak any English. The proportion of migrants was thus well over 5% of the total population in 1966. (At present, with a high birth-rate and continuing high levels of arrivals, the total probably approaches 20,000.)

The age-structure of the migrant groups has always been heavily weighted towards those in the age-groups between 20 and 45 among adults, but much larger numbers of children have been brought over in recent years and increasing numbers of children are being born in this country to migrant parents as well as in consequence of unions between migrant men and local women. There are now as many children under school age as there are between the ages of 5 and 15 attending schools, indicating the dramatic nature of the rise in numbers to be expected in the near future. By April, 1966, there were over 2,500 migrant children out of a school population in the city of 48,000, and in 1965 alone 1,200 immigrant children, many direct from their countries of origin, registered for school, or 2.5% of the *total* school population. The great majority of these could not speak English. The figures for January, 1967, show an increase in immigrant children (excluding those of 'mixed' marriages) to 3,100 in the total school population, or 6.5%. The largest single group was of Pakistanis direct from their country of origin.

Births to Pakistani and Indian mothers in 1965 numbered nearly 500 out of 6,000 live births. The figure for 1966 was 800. These facts suggest rapid changes in the structure of the Muslim community. If entry continues at the present rate, the population of Muslim children under 15, which is now about 15% of the total Muslim community, will soon approximate to the 25% - 33% which is characteristic of the age structure of the local population and Indian and West Indian communities. One other feature of importance is that many young people are coming in who are of secondary school age, most of these being boys. A related problem affects the situation of wives who come from a joint family background in Pakistan to what may be considerable isolation, at least initially, in Bradford. The great cultural differences and the problem of communicating with others outside their group, which are shared by the men, are reinforced by the system of 'purdah', by which avoidance is practised by Muslims towards their womenfolk. 'Purdah' in Britain does more than seclude women in their home; it may prevent them from meeting other women. A consequence of the greater use of local authority clinics by Muslim mothers and mothers-to-be has been the opportunities for social contacts with other Muslim women that have arisen from attendance. Often their husbands took them on their early visits.

Those who come from rural backgrounds and who are less educated tend to be more conservative in retaining their patterns of culture than is the case with those from towns. Here again it is important to emphasize that the great majority of Muslims in Bradford, probably 90%, are from rural areas, that most are illiterate in their own language, and that relatively few speak English at all well and fewer still write it. A number have, however, learned to speak English or improve their

performance in speaking the language because of opportunities for making contact with local people at work and in various social settings.

Local people tend to see not an individual migrant but a stereotype, and they are not aware of the considerable diversity which is to be found among the migrant groups. However, all the Pakistanis are Muslims. This diversity has consequences for action to achieve common ends and also for contact. Probably half the Pakistanis come from the Mirpur area of Azad Kashmir, a quarter from a small number of areas in the Punjab, and a quarter from East Pakistan, especially the area of Sylhet. There are also a few hundred Muslims who have come from East Africa where their families had settled. A larger proportion of these are able to speak English than is true of the other Muslims. Culturally, linguistically and ethnically there are great differences between those from the east and those from the west, and their social structures are different, too. Except among the educated there is relatively little contact between East and West Pakistanis, although they share the same religion and political system, and it is not uncommon for members of one sub-group to blame members of another for the bad 'image' Pakistanis have locally.

The Indians come from the Punjab—these being Sikhs—and from the area of Gujarat north of Bombay. Among the latter there are several hundred Muslims, giving a total of about 13,000 for the Muslim community in Bradford. The problem of language, however, cuts across religious affiliations. Sikhs, for example, speak Punjabi, as do West Pakistanis from the Punjab, whereas Bengali, the language of the East Pakistanis, is understood by hardly anyone from the West. In some respects social organisations cater for migrants from both India and Pakistan, as do the film shows on Sundays which are held at six cinemas in Bradford and attended by about 4,000 migrants each week. Other places of resort, such as pubs and coffee bars, also cater for West Indians and some local people, although some cafés are used almost exclusively by one national group or the other. The Muslim migrants have a mosque, which is a converted house, at which lessons are given at the week-ends, to the young in particular, in the principles of their religion and their native languages. Plans have been prepared for the building of an extremely large mosque in the main migrant area. Large sums of money were collected for this purpose but there is doubt as to what happened to them. It is interesting to note that the Muslims from Gujarat hold their classes in a house owned by their Gujarati association. Cutting across the regional differences between Muslims are the sectarian loyalties. The great majority of immigrants are Sunni, but there is a small group of the Shia sect which has just opened a mosque in a house.

The lack of contact between non-English speaking migrants and local

people is perpetuated by the situation in two important areas of life. The first relates to the work situation in which probably half the employed migrants find themselves. The second has to do with the characteristics of the areas in which the great majority of migrants live.

Whereas West Indian migrants often came to Britain with the idea of settlement, most Muslims came with certain limited economic objectives. Work was available and Muslims wanted to earn as much as possible and to save. They were thus available for jobs which involved poor working conditions and other inconveniences. The woollen industry was short of labour in the early 1950's, and it is said that Muslims already established in Bradford wrote to relatives and friends telling them of the opportunities available. This is in line with the observed connection between the levels of supply and demand for labour which prevailed until the agitation to restrict the entry of coloured immigrants introduced non-economic considerations. Probably 50% of the Muslim employed population is engaged in the woollen industry at present. Not all those living in Bradford work there, and there is a considerable exodus each day of workers employed in mills in nearby towns; a smaller number comes in to work in Bradford. The night shifts of many of the large woollen mills consist almost entirely of Muslims, except for supervisory staff. Few migrants have achieved promotion but many are able to earn wages of £20 per week or more by working long hours of overtime. This gives them a much higher proportion of their earnings to spend on themselves or save than is true of their fellow-workers from the local community. Living expenses are relatively cheap, especially housing, in relation to expenses in London and the Midlands.

The demands of the main processes in the manufacture of wool call for working in groups, and this arrangement lends itself to the separation of most migrants from other workers. In addition, a large number of migrants work on the night shift and have little contact with other workers in consequence. Those who are unable to understand English are to be found in a situation quite often where there are few non-migrants, and their only effective contact with anyone who speaks English may be with the one in the group who communicates with the foreman and passes on his instructions. Even when workers come together in the works canteen Muslims usually remain separate, although this is often typical of men who work together, quite apart from any racial connotation. If a man drops out of the work-group he is often replaced by someone else known to the others. By comparison, the opportunities available to those Muslims who work on the public transport system as drivers and conductors would appear to be considerable for making some contact with local people. They have had

much more education than most of those working in the mills, and quite a number of them are graduates who are not able to obtain non-manual work. There is thus a problem of a wastage of talent among this group which could lead to a more embittered view of British society on the part of some of them. Over 400 of the staff of the public transport undertaking are migrants (and a majority of these are Pakistanis) out of a total employed of under 1,200, illustrating the dependence upon migrant labour.

Apart from these sources of employment, engineering, in which many are engaged, and a limited number of others, such as building and construction, the migrant community provides work for an increasing number. Over the past five years there has been a remarkable development of commercial and business undertakings. Many are owned by men who came here and worked for a time as labourers in the woollen mills. They saved, bought houses in a number of cases, or went into businesses which served the needs of migrants and, where migrant shops are virtually the only shops in some parts, of some local people, too. The social class situation is therefore a dynamic one, although there appears to be a limited awareness among migrants of the implications of this. A recent survey undertaken by the Health Department in the city showed that there were 105 food premises of assorted kinds owned by migrants, as well as coal merchants, secondhand furniture dealers, tailors (many working in their homes), photographic dealers, dry cleaning firms, a book seller, five travel agencies, three branches of Pakistani banks, and six car-hire firms and driving schools. The great majority of businessmen are Pakistanis.

In 1962 and 1963 unemployment was very high among migrants, in part because of the great numbers coming in to beat the restrictions imposed by the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act of 1962 and in part because of a recession in the woollen industry. Over 60% of those unemployed in Bradford during some periods of those years were migrants. Since that time unemployment has been low: in December 1965, for example, 76 migrants were unemployed out of a total unemployed register of 1,102, giving a proportion of 6.9% or about the same proportion of migrants in the total labour force. (Recently, there has been a rise in the level because of the effects of the economic 'squeeze', but the ratios remain similar.) Taking into account the fact that migrants are employed in less secure occupations than those typical of the work-force as a whole this is a most satisfactory level of employment and reflects the views of some employers that migrants are more reliable and better workers than many local people. The consequence of the high unemployment rate among migrants some years ago was to lead to the expression of views that migrants had come here to live off the Welfare State. These are still current, although nothing

in the facts available supports them. The relationship between migrant employment and the state of the woollen industry is obvious; recently there has been full employment in the industry.

The second area of life, in which there is only limited contact between migrants and others, is in the neighbourhoods where they live. The build-up of migrant populations over the years since 1953 has been rapid in some areas. Even in 1961 two enumeration districts (of several hundred dwellings each) at the Census showed well over 50% migrants, and at present there are densities of over 80% in some streets. There are three main areas of migrant settlement. Pakistanis are to be found in all of them, but in some there are concentrations of Sikhs, or West Indians, or East Pakistanis, which are not to be found in others.

Common characteristics of the migrant areas include relatively large proportions of elderly people, overcrowding, depopulation (especially of the 'local' population) which is going on, in consequence of slum clearance and the tendency to move outwards, the presence of other minority groups such as Poles, Yugoslavs, Italians and Hungarians, the low level of amenity, old houses most of which were built in the nineteenth century in consequence of the considerable expansion of the population of the city, and the high level of mobility of the population.

The elderly are people who have often brought up families who have now married and moved into the suburbs. A relatively large number are widowed and live alone. Information from the enumeration districts (areas with about 250-300 households into which the city is divided) at the Census of 1961 showed high proportions of elderly people living alone in some migrant areas far in excess of the average for the city. For example, one enumeration district had nearly 25% of its non-immigrant population over the age of 65, and over 28% of the total population of the district living alone. The averages for the city were 12.8% 65 and over, and 8.8% living alone, as a proportion of all households. Such enumeration districts are not uncommon. Despite the under-use of accommodation amongst the elderly, these same districts are often those with large proportions of immigrants and relatively high levels of overcrowding. The overcrowding level in Bradford is 3.2% of all households living at more than one and a half people per room. (A child of under 10 counts as a half.) One enumeration district has a level of overcrowding of 43.6%, and although this was much higher than any other it illustrates the way in which these different groups live close to each other. The other main group is of families or individuals who are transients and live in rented accommodation. The social problems which arise, and the social isolation from which many suffer, are not experienced only by the immigrants.

Depopulation means a relatively rapid decline in the people living in the area. In a number of central wards of the city (a ward being a local

government division of a town or city) population declined by over 20% between 1951 and 1961, long before—in many cases—the presence of immigrants was felt to any extent. The decline would have been far greater had it not been for the entry of immigrants. What it implies is not merely movement because of slum clearance and schemes of urban redevelopment, but also smaller households. The rate of household formation is going on much faster than the rate of increase of the population.

Also characteristic of the housing in the migrant areas is the low level of amenity. The three basic amenities are: piped hot water, fixed bath and water closet. In one enumeration district over 84% of all dwellings lacked the first, and nearly 92% the second of these amenities. It is perhaps significant that this district had a high proportion of elderly but only a moderate number of migrants. Although some large houses are let in lodgings, the majority occupied by immigrants have relatively few rooms, and this means that, with the exception of some women who live with migrants, there is little mixing among ethnic groups such as one gets in other parts of Britain where houses in these immigrant areas tend to be larger. A study undertaken some years ago showed that only about 15% of multi-occupied property had tenants from more than one ethnic background.

Most of the housing in which migrants live is either small terrace housing or larger houses converted into multi-occupation, although there are some migrants in the smallest types of houses which are back-to-back. This latter type is of houses in terraces with only one door by which to enter and few rooms, divided from the adjoining house by a wall which follows the apex of the roof. Bradford has a great legacy of obsolescent housing, and West Yorkshire as a whole is one of the three worst parts of Britain in relation to the standard of housing and its age.

However, there is not the same demand for housing as in parts of Britain where the population is expanding much more rapidly, and prices are much cheaper than they are in London and the Midlands. There is thus not the same incentive to rack-rent by migrant landlords, most of whom are owner-occupiers, and there are very few landlords at present who own more than a few houses.

Housing is linked with problems of public health of various kinds. There is often overcrowding where Muslim men are living together, though less than there used to be, and a relatively large number have contracted tuberculosis through a combination of poor living conditions, long hours of work, a diet unsuitable for English conditions and a high rate of saving. There is also a relatively high rate of venereal disease, though this fell by over a third from 1964 to 1965. There is an emphasis on preventive medicine and health education and the Health Depart-

ment employs two liaison officers, both Pakistanis. The Police Department employs two liaison officers, one Pakistani and one Indian, and the Education Department was to appoint a Welfare Officer later in 1966, apart from having someone whose duties at present include making contact with the families of migrant children registered for school.

Inadequate knowledge of English, life on the kinship or village pattern, the close network of relationships which is linked with the area in which migrants live or where they work, the provision of special facilities of various kinds, inhibit the development of contacts between the migrants who live in lodging houses and others. Moreover, the long hours of overtime which many work limit the possibilities of contact further, except at the week-ends.

Few migrants assert that they expect to remain in Britain, though as more families are brought over this would seem to be inevitable. The assertion that they intend to leave one day could be seen in part as a refusal to take responsibility for the state of affairs which applies in the areas in which they live, and responsibility for matters outside their own private concerns.

However, the presence of children does involve far more contact with local people, and local institutions, than have taken place in the past, and it is noticeable that migrant families do buy televisions, labour-saving devices, and aspire to better conditions of life, for example by buying houses further out from the main migrant areas. Though many children cannot speak English, and this is a great problem for the local authority, it is an opportunity as well as a problem. Great difficulties are likely to arise between migrant parents, many of whom are illiterate and therefore probably hold to their religious beliefs and particularly cultural practices with more inflexibility, and their children, who are likely to be influenced at school by the values and ways of life of other children at school with them.

Thus at the present time the Muslims in Bradford are relatively insulated. This is not to say that there is not a considerable amount of prejudice against migrants in the situation, and Pakistanis, the archetypal immigrant to Bradford people, have a bad 'image'. To make migrants aware of the needs of standards of the local community is obviously the responsibility of the local authority departments and the immigrant leaders, but it can be helped by sympathetic comments by local people who may know very little or nothing about the Muslim religion. Possibly the church can encourage this kind of contact at a social level, without expecting it to lead to a great deal of social mixing. Social mixing alone could enhance the sense of difference, and relatives rather than neighbours are invited home to meals in the local tradition.

What the church does must be attempted in the light of the facts of the Bradford situation, insofar as these are known. What is apparent is that the local authority, particularly in health and education, is pursuing positive policies by which migrants may be assimilated into the local community, not in such a way as to lose their identity but so as to expect them to benefit from knowledge of possible hazards to health or from what is offered in the educational system. There has been very little overt conflict, but to see this as stemming from the innate good sense of Bradfordians is misleading. It is true that the city has had a history of quite large-scale influxes of migrants in the past and the elements which came in earlier have become part of the wider community. The local evening newspaper, taken by 90% of the households in Bradford, has consistently pursued a moderate and informed line on migrants, and this has undoubtedly had some influence. At the same time the order and containment which show on the surface may be misleading, just as there is no discrimination apparent in situations where the immigrant does not bid for things which he feels he cannot obtain.

This is the context in which the interaction between Muslims and others takes place.

III

CHURCHES, COMMUNITY AND MUSLIMS

There are two main questions discussed in this part of the report. The first is concerned with the state of the churches, their levels of activity, the attitudes of clergymen, lay officials, and a small sample drawn from the electoral register in the two wards in Bradford with the largest number of immigrants. It also gives details of action initiated to make contact with, and help, the Muslim community. The second main question relates to the Muslim community, and their attitudes towards Christians and initiatives which affect Muslims.

The Samples

Information has come in the main from a sample of 53 ministers of religion, 34 lay officials of churches, and 37 people living in the migrant areas. Ministers were chosen either because they lived or had churches in the migrant areas, or on the margins of these areas, or because they were known to have strong views on the questions with which the survey was concerned. Some of the latter, a very small proportion, had written to the newspapers expressing their views. In selecting ministers for interview most attention was paid to the three largest denominations in Bradford (and also in the migrant areas) but it was also decided to try to give a variety of views from the smaller denominations and some of the sects to be found in migrant areas and nowhere else in the city. Three other ministers were interviewed but did not wish to follow the structure of our questionnaire.

In a few cases more than one minister was interviewed from the same church. This applied when the church attracted a large following, for example in the case of the Anglican Cathedral, the Methodist Mission (with the third largest Methodist congregation in Britain) and Catholic churches. Nineteen of the clergymen were Anglican, representing sixteen churches, ten were Methodist, representing twelve churches, and seven were Catholic, representing five churches. There were also other ministers interviewed, all representing one church, as follows: four Baptist, three Salvation Army, one Apostolic, one Elim Four Square Gospel Alliance, one Latter Day Saints (Mormon), one Moravian, one Presbyterian, one Unitarian, and two drawn from the sects operating in the area.

In choosing lay officials for the sample, it was obviously important to get a representation from the various churches involved. It is also

important to bear in mind that the role of lay officials varies considerably from church to church. Anglicans and Catholics would have relatively limited duties, at least in theory, as compared with those of lay officials in Methodist and other Nonconformist churches where the power of the minister is less. Nonconformist lay officials might be expected to play a much greater role in the lives of their churches, and in preaching and organisation. Of the lay officials, ten were Anglican, ten Methodist, two Roman Catholic and the remainder from other Nonconformist churches. These were drawn from lists of the more important officials.

The lay officials were chosen with the idea of providing an established and long-term group of Christians whose views, knowledge and background could be compared with those of ministers and local people. The sample drawn from the local population was unsatisfactory, in particular because out of 62 names originally selected only 37 were interviewed. On the other hand there were only four refusals and the remainder had either left the area or were away, for example, in hospitals and other institutions. This group should be seen as providing some indication at least of the attitudes of people living in these areas though it is in no sense a valid statistical sample. Of the sample from the local population, only two out of 37 said that they were regular church attenders.

Factors such as the ratio of ministers to congregations and size of congregations vary enormously and visits of observation were paid to some churches, partly in order to assess the content of sermons as well as numbers attending, and to obtain information about the level of activity in the church. Newspaper reports on various activities were also used, as was information about the organisation of the different denominations from their handbooks.

For the Muslims the approach was through informal interviews undertaken by an Indian Muslim who worked for a short time on the survey, and discussion with Muslims who were able to speak English. Undoubtedly problems of confidence arose between the educated interviewer and some of the non-English-speaking respondents, and a rather different impression emerges from these interviews about attitudes of Muslims as compared with that which is generally believed to be true by most influential local people.

The State of the Churches

There are 225 churches in existence in Bradford.¹ This represents a considerable decline on the totals of only a few years ago. For example, in 1962 there were over 250 churches in existence. Bradford, and West

¹ *Bradford Handbook*, 1965.

Yorkshire generally, achieved fame as areas of strong Nonconformity, where the Nonconformist conscience exerted a considerable influence socially, economically and politically. This is reflected in the fact that the largest denomination in terms of churches is the Methodist (including the Wesley Reformed Union) which has 57 churches. Next comes the Church of England with 46 churches in Bradford. Despite this relatively large number the Church of England has never exercised influence in Bradford to the extent that the Nonconformists have, and the third large denomination, the Roman Catholics, with 34 churches, is probably the most influential religious force operating in the city at the present time. Undoubtedly the Catholics were the strongest denomination in the migrant areas, particularly as some of these areas have a continuing association with the migration from Ireland which began in the 1830's and has continued up to the present time. A large influx of Poles after the second world war (with Bradford having the largest proportion of Poles in its population of any town in Britain at that time) also reinforced the strength of the Catholic church in areas close to the centre of the city.

The largest of the other denominations in Bradford, in terms of churches occupied, is the Baptist but these have declined considerably in recent years. They have, too, a relatively large proportion of elderly people among them. There are eight churches occupied by the Salvation Army, four by Jehovah's Witnesses, three Synagogues, three Christian Science churches, three run by Spiritualists. The smaller denominations and sects, apart from those mentioned, include Moravians, the original settlement coming from Middle Europe in the seventeenth century, German Evangelical, a legacy of the migrants from Germany in the early part of the nineteenth century, Russian Orthodox and Ukrainian Autocephalic which are a consequence of the settlement of Ukrainians after the war, and the Mormons.

Although some of the sects, and there are a number of Fundamentalist West Indian groups springing up, are in the immigrant areas, not all of them find a great deal of support there. It is often a question of a relatively cheap place in which to meet. Some denominations, for example, Congregationalists and Quakers, are not to be found in migrant areas and are unlikely to draw very much support from them.

There are considerable differences between the attendances achieved by churches, and their levels of activity. Although it would be naive to assume that this necessarily reflected any qualitative differences, there is obviously a great problem for some churches in keeping up attendances. Twenty-three of the 40 churches which provided information on attendances averaged between 25 and 100 persons per service. Eight averaged under 25 and nine over 100. These nine included all the Roman Catholic churches, the Anglican Cathedral and the large

Methodist Mission in the centre of the city. It was estimated that fourteen of the churches had declining congregations over the previous two years. Six of these were Anglican, three Methodist, two Salvation Army, and one Roman Catholic. On the other hand, 14 of the churches claimed relatively stable congregations and ten considered their attendances were increasing. Some ministers were not sure about the position of their own churches, since they did not keep detailed records, and a few had only been in post for a short time. Subjective assessments of this kind are necessarily fallible.

The congregations of the large Roman Catholic churches appear to be drawn from the immediate neighbourhood to an extent not to be found with the other churches. They have benefitted from the recent influxes of migrants and their congregations are more cosmopolitan in their composition. They contain many Irish and Poles and, in one case at least, West Indians from Dominica. The Church of England, on the other hand, although having many churches in the central area, suffers from the fact that the new elements of the population are seldom Anglican. The Cathedral draws its attendance from a very wide area, including several who habitually come from well outside the city boundaries, and there is little contact at that level with the population of the area. It is also the case that many officials of all churches travel in to services from outlying areas. This appears to be either because the official once lived in the area or because a particular tradition (for example, in one or two cases a High Church tradition) has appealed to him.

An attempt was made to assess the churches in an all-round sense. The vast majority of churches in these areas are nineteenth century buildings which are ill-equipped for the needs of a twentieth century congregation. Only eight have been built since 1900 and only one since 1945. Most seem to be in a reasonably satisfactory condition considering these disadvantages, and only five were classified as 'poor'. This was taken to be a reflection on a low level of activity, carried on by few people, as well as on the premises. It is not surprising that in general the better organisation was found in the better buildings. Obviously a minister with an old building, a declining congregation, and lack of assistance would be forced to have a different set of priorities from one in a more favourable position in these respects. Here the churches which were middle-class when they were founded, and which have continued to attract middle-class support which has now moved out of the area, were relatively well placed compared with others.

Some of the churches, in contrast, appeared to have lost their middle-class clientele soon after they were built and never really succeeded in attracting sufficient working-class support.

The Church of England had three of the five 'poor' churches and the Methodist two. The reasons for this must apparently lie in the fact

that it was these major groupings which built the majority of their churches in the central areas and now, with certain exceptions, their congregations are moving to the outskirts. The extent to which this is happening is shown in the fact that 29% of the population of Bradford lived in the central wards of the city in 1951 whilst by 1961 only 21% did so. It is probably significant that one of the churches chosen was going to be closed in a short time and one on the original list was closed before the minister was interviewed.

Thus in all kinds of ways a minister of a church will not only have to struggle to maintain an old, decaying, and inappropriately planned building, but also fight other circumstances against him. Shortage of funds, faced by an increasing number of these churches over a period of years, requires that a disproportionate amount of time has to be given to raising funds. There will also be more demands on the minister's time because of the high proportion of elderly in the population and the relatively large numbers of others in social need. Migrants, especially those of an alien religion who are unable to speak English, are just one problem amongst many and may not be given a very high priority.

In face of this it may be asked how frequently ministers come to these areas through their own choice. What is revealed from the interviews is that ministers come often in a purely fortuitous way without any interest in or awareness of the magnitude of the social problems faced by the people living there. This may reflect in part the system of patronage which still prevails for some Anglican livings. It would obviously be better to send ministers with a particular interest in these areas and these problems, and with particular aptitudes for dealing with the problems to be found in them. Over a third of the ministers had been in these areas less than two years and over 30% between two and five years. This means a relatively small proportion with continuing experience, and it seems likely that this degree of stability will be far less than in an area further from the city centre. There are, of course, considerable problems of recruitment to the ministry and this will mean that there is a shortage of people willing to work in these areas. Often the minister appears to be conscious of a sense of isolation and powerlessness in the situation in which he finds himself. Some appear to see this as a kind of expiation for themselves and although one can sympathise with this point of view it does not help to solve the problems of the community. Quite a number of ministers were middle-aged, unmarried and appeared to be rather disenchanting. In addition the great majority had little knowledge of the background to the Muslim religion or the practices involved in it or its ethical basis. This makes for uncertainty in terms of contact. Even so, only 24 out of the 124 respondents (from all three sources) were unable to cite any specific difference between Muslims and Christians.

It is difficult to see any future in migrant areas, at this stage, for ministers who emphasize evangelising traditions and give high priority to the conversion of Muslims. To make any impact on a Muslim community which is gaining in power and which is, to some extent, conscious of its growing strength, it would seem necessary to give up completely the idea of mass conversion, which in any event takes attention away from the most important social factors in the situation. In a sense the desire for mass conversion, like the desire for the world to be less evil, can be seen as a rejection of schemes of relatively short-term action which have any hope of success.

These comments are hardly likely to be acceptable to some ministers, who assume not only the superiority of Christians but take the view that non-Christians (or Christians different from themselves) are incapable of offering suggestions of value to the church or the society. The assumption seems to be that such comments must be superficial since they are made by people denied the depth of understanding only given to Christians of their particular kind. These views do not encourage co-operation between groups, they are highly questionable, and they are more likely to lead to intolerance and inflexibility.

The importance of understanding the social context of pastoral care cannot be over-emphasized. Social class differences between some ministers and their congregations and problems of communication between people of different social groups need to be borne in mind. The high turnover of inhabitants does not encourage continuity or even the making of links with particular churches. For one area of Lister-hills ward for which figures are available, 48.4% of the electorate had moved within the space of one year.

Some ministers recognise the need for social relevance not only in what they do but also in what they say. However, most sermons delivered on the subject of race relations (broadly defined) appear to be intellectual or descriptive exercises about biblical events rather than sermons which have a meaning for this neighbourhood or are relevant to the specific situation in Bradford. The value of sermons is perhaps problematical but the ideas in them have to be put over in a language which the congregation can understand. All these points stress the importance of the work of the church in the community rather than its preoccupation with personal sinfulness.

Where the church or some of its accommodation is not being used to the full, there is the opportunity to make it available to other groups whose needs are greater. The idea of a church being transformed into a mosque was not favoured by some ministers, although there are quite a number of local examples of this: in Leeds, the Sikh Temple was previously a Nonconformist church, and in a small town near Bradford the Catholics took over an old Methodist chapel. This is not to

mention uses for old churches, such as warehouses and premises, which are increasingly frequent and which have no *social* value. The utilisation of under-used premises (especially if they are reasonably adaptable) could be a great source of strength in relations between Muslims and the rest of the community.

Too often in the past the churches have been weakest in the urbanized and industrialised areas, and administrative reforms have often provided a substitute for reorganisation based on the changing needs of the society. Although the sample of lay people was so small, it is not surprising that the level of church attendance was so low. The culture of the working-class (especially the non-Catholic working-class) lacks the tradition of religious practice, as E. R. Wickham pointed out in his book on Sheffield.¹

Missionary endeavour is usually limited to collections for churches operating in Africa and Asia, whilst the problems of the neighbourhood in which the church making the collections is held are rarely faced. The importance of these factors implicit in the social situation of the churches, is ignored in some of the thinking that goes on about its role in a modern society. Attention is focussed on the individual, irrespective of social class affiliation, age, occupation and all the other factors which have a bearing on church attendance (and the acceptance of traditional rather than new forms of organisation). In this way, and by emphasising the inadequacies of our society it is possible to do little other than talk about situations.

From this same attitude of mind perhaps stems the preoccupation with conversion, rather than its relegation to an unimportant place in a church more concerned with the social context of its work. Conversion is not necessarily something to be given up but to be seen in perspective. In a detribalised setting in Africa it may have inestimable value, but with a cohesive group such as the Muslims, whose religion appears to inform much more of their lives than is true of Christians, it is not practicable. This appears to be recognised in the few and unsuccessful attempts that have been made at conversion.

It must be recognised that the situation in Britain is extremely different from that in the countries of origin of the immigrant. In the latter, the Christian churches are frankly proselytising in intent, although they work through hospitals as well as churches. Only those who are marginal to the society, if it be a Muslim one, can expect to be converted, since the lives of Muslims are affected far more than is true of the Christian by their ethical and religious beliefs, and by the interweaving of family and kinship ties within the structure of their lives.

¹ E. R. Wickham: *Church and People in an Industrial City* (Lutterworth Press).

It is a mistake to regard the Muslim, whose religious beliefs inform his whole life, as particularly vulnerable or isolated in a spiritual sense. This is not always appreciated by individual ministers, to whom some Muslim respondents referred. For example, and for what appear to be good reasons, the Methodists in Bradford recently appointed a Pakistani as a minister. He had previously been in charge of a church in Karachi for the past 20 years. He was often referred to in hostile or derogatory terms by our informants as the 'immigrant pastor'. He is seen by many Muslims as a threat rather than a link. When he arrived he said, 'I feel this is an opportunity to serve my countrymen over here'. Although the importance of his social role has been stressed there is no doubt that many migrants expect, on the analogy of the work of some Christian denominations in their own country, that the social contacts will lead to eventual conversion, or at least that this is the idea behind his appointment.

To the Christian, eager for the conversion of souls, there is probably no awareness of the extent of the intermixing between secular and spiritual life for the Muslim. He is not able to recognise that the effect of conversion will be to cut off the convert from family and kinship connections, especially where the people concerned come from the more rural, and more intolerant, areas. The success of the attempt to convert Muslims has been negligible, and only one family, out of over a thousand, is known to be Christian, and its members belong to a small sect.

The question has thus to be posed about the priority of conversion in this context, and in the context of life in Britain. Those who are marginal, and there are an increasing number within the Muslim group, are so because of the way in which they live. This is no more to be condoned by the Christian churches than by their own. The 'marginals', those who drink, etc. become more marginal, but in groups. This experience can be seen as throwing off the chains of custom and convention. What is so attractive for them in this way of life is its freedom, or even licence, whatever its disadvantages may be.

Such people are not amenable to the claims of Christianity, and have been taught to regard it with suspicion. On the other hand, there is little exclusion of children from the undenominational school services, and some children are attending Church of England or even (a few) Roman Catholic schools. This is an apparent paradox. The fact that religious and social precepts are broken, and yet the man remains acceptable to the group implies a greater degree of secularisation in the Muslim society, and in view of what is known about Muslim society it might be feasible to assume that similar processes of secularisation are in operation there as in our own society.

The resources required to convert Muslims to Christianity in this

situation would thus be out of all proportion to the success to be achieved. In the country of origin it may be possible for some to see individual Christians as superior people, displaying great resources of character, but in the British situation this belief tends not to be held. Many Muslims are genuinely shocked at what they take to be the low moral standards of our society, and they resent the treatment they receive. In part this may be an off-loading of their own sense of guilt, but it is still a valid consideration.

The group most likely to be influenced by the appeals of conversion will be those born or educated in this country. It is possible, given an increasing number of these within the next few years, that the influence of particular friends and teachers will lead them this way, and it is the way some will be drawn to because of their need to separate themselves from some of the beliefs and attitudes of their parents. The rejection of some cultural aspects of their own society could lead to Christianity. Identification with Christianity would mean for them, therefore, a permanent rejection of the Muslim religion and its social implications. That this could happen is an indication of the tension that will develop between the two generations.

Whatever the national policies and standpoints of the churches may be, obviously the attitudes, the morale, and the perception of the situation of those carrying policies out at a local level, are quite crucial. This is not to imply that attitudes of themselves determine action, and many examples could be given of people who are prejudiced but who do not discriminate against minorities and those who are unprejudiced but do discriminate, because of what they take to be the pressure of public opinion.

Not only the background but also the present position of ministers is an important consideration. Forty out of 53 ministers were married and one interesting point is that there appeared to be some kind of difference in the attitudes of ministers according to whether they had families of young children or not. Of the 27 ministers with children, 21 had children under the age of 21. The favourable scores of ministers with children under 21, as compared with ministers either not married or those married without children, or those married with children 21 or over, were quite marked. By contrast there was relatively little difference on the grounds of age alone between the attitude scores of ministers. There appears to be a slight correlation of unfavourable attitudes with increasing age, but numbers were so small in some age groups (for example there were only two ministers aged over 65) that much more evidence would be needed to support a proposition linking age with attitude. The age range of ministers was from 25 to 69 years, with the mean age as 46 years. The age range of lay officials was from 32 to 76 years, with the mean age as 54 years. A previous study undertaken in

Bradford, on the political involvement of immigrants, showed a greater hostility to Pakistanis standing as candidates for the local council among those who were older. The survey was undertaken in May, 1963, when three Pakistanis offered themselves for election to the council in two wards. (That two stood against each other is an indication of the factionalism which prevails within the group.) Only a quarter of the indigenous sample aged over 65 agreed with Pakistanis being allowed to stand for council, as compared with nearly 36% of the total indigenous sample of 593 people.¹

The three groups considered, ministers, lay officials and indigenous people were all distinct social types. Broadly speaking, the ministers could be classified as professional people and the lay officials as predominantly small businessmen, typically shopkeepers. Among them there were also a sprinkling of skilled manual workers. The residents consisted of either semi- or unskilled manual workers or members of their families, or elderly retired people.

The question of the social class background of the three groups is an important one. In particular the class image of the minister appears to be changing, and although details were not obtained about occupation of the fathers of ministers, at the same time some of the Anglicans, the clergy with traditionally the highest social class affiliations, represented a less narrow 'class base' of recruitment than was typical of an earlier period. A recent study has distinguished between two main types of recruit entering the Anglican ministry at the present time. The first was recruited almost entirely from graduates of upper-middle-class status and to a significant extent this group was recruited from the sons of clergy. An estimate made in the 1950's showed that 55% of the sons of clergy went into the ministry. In the overall pattern of recruitment more recently about 35% of ordinands were the sons of clergy and almost the same proportion of entrants were sons of either doctors, lawyers, or teachers.

The second type of recruit is coming from a different social background, and some of them may have entered the ministry as a second rather than a first choice of occupation. Very few are sons of clergy (only 4% in 1962), only a quarter are graduates, and the majority come from skilled manual worker home backgrounds. The status image of this type is much closer to that of the working class.

The training of Anglican ministers has emphasized the 'liberal' background (i.e. a general education) rather than a narrow preoccupation with the needs of the work. The growing professionalisation in terms of approach to the work, and the emphasis on specialisation, is

¹ E. D. Butterworth: Aspects of Race Relations in Bradford, *Race*, vol. vi, No. 2, Oct. 1964, pp. 129-141.

also indicative of the changing situation of the clergy, which has affected all denominations quite apart from the Anglicans to some extent.

Attitudes

A reason for choosing the three groups of people arose from a desire to find out whether there were significant and identifiable differences in attitudes between them. A study of the role of ministers in Little Rock, Arkansas, during the crisis following the desegregation of the high schools in 1957, showed that there was a great deal of role conflict implicit in their situation. On the one hand their congregations were composed of white people who were hostile in the main to the idea of desegregation, and ministers too were part of the white community. On the other hand they were propounders of a Christian ethic of brotherhood, and the major churches nationally approved integration as a policy. In short, there was a considerable problem for the minister in the interaction between his personal beliefs, the policy of his church, and the expectations of his congregation.

To some extent, although the problem was not so crucial, this kind of dilemma could be observed in Bradford. It was to be expected that, on the analogy of the Little Rock study the ministers would be more 'liberal' on the racial issue than would members of their congregations or would other people living in the locality.¹ The extent to which the views of the individual ministers were expressed in action on this issue could obviously have repercussions. It was important to discover the extent to which initiatives were adopted, either by the minister as a private individual, or as head of a congregation to meet the situation as he saw it. The different kinds of relationship between ministers and congregations would obviously be important here, as would the role the minister saw himself performing, especially in so far as this was oriented towards the community as a whole or to the congregation attending his church.

One of the early questions concerned the number of coloured people in the congregations of the churches covered. This was to find out not only whether there had been any impact on the non-Christian sections of the coloured minorities in Bradford but on the West Indian group, whose attendance at church would be far higher in their countries of origin than is common in Britain. Altogether it was said that 682 coloured people were attending church, including Sunday school, on estimates made by the ministers concerned. It should be mentioned that there are some discrepancies between estimates of ministers and

¹ E. Q. Campbell and T. F. Pettigrew: *Racial and Moral Crisis: The role of Little Rock ministers*, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 64, 1958-59.

those made by lay officials attending the same churches. Even so there are not insignificant numbers of coloured people who attend. The figure given was West Indians 612 which amounts to nearly a third of the total West Indian population in Bradford at that time. In addition there are 53 Indians regarded as attending church and among these are three members of choirs. Two of these are men and one is a woman. They attend three different churches.

It may be surprising that relatively so many Indians attend churches since there has been little impact on a Muslim community which has at least four times as many members as the Sikh and Hindu communities combined. Undoubtedly some of the Indians are children sent to Sunday school and a relatively large number of them attend churches on the margins of immigrant areas which may or may not be linked with the level of aspiration of their parents. Hindus in particular often seem open-minded about attendance at churches, stressing that it is the same God who is worshipped. Only six Pakistanis, however, were claimed as attenders at any of the churches. All of them were male and their attendance was spread over four churches, three being Anglican and one Baptist. One of the Anglicans acted as a sidesman. As with the majority of Indians the churches attended were not in the central areas.

One possible reason for this lack of response by Pakistanis, and the implicit hostility involved, is that the colonisation of the Orient might be seen in religious terms by the Muslims as a wrong requiring retribution. This point is made in a recent book on the Christian approach to the Muslims.¹ There has been a basic misunderstanding of the Christian faith by many Muslims, and there remains a tendency to think of Christianity as a corruption of the true faith. An approach, the book suggests, must proceed by a sympathetic appraisal of Islam, thus attempting to convince the Muslims of the integrity of Christianity and its ability to provide a viable and creative form for the development of society in the twentieth century.

To return to the comparison of the answers of the ministers, lay officials and the residents, the difficulties must not be underestimated. A rank order of attitudes which could be interpreted as being favourable or unfavourable to immigrants was developed and various statements were used for this part of the study. It should be pointed out that a number refer to attitudes towards immigrants generally and not specifically to Muslims.

Heightened perception of numbers, or rather the tendency to exaggerate the numbers of a particular minority, has often been seen in relation to prejudice. On the other hand there are really considerable

¹ G. E. Marrison: *The Christian Approach to the Muslims*, Edinburgh House Press, 1964.

fluctuations in the estimates that are made, and one is conscious in the centre of Bradford of a far higher proportion of migrants than in the city as a whole. The fact that they are concentrated round the city centre, and to all intents and purposes ring the area, makes it impossible to travel into the centre without passing through a coloured area.

The sample of respondents from the neighbourhood also included seven who were unable to estimate the number of coloured people and seven who had no idea of the population of Bradford. This is despite the fact that seventeen had been born in Bradford, and only two had settled in Bradford since the beginning of 1963. (None of the 37, incidentally, had changed their address at all in the previous year.) Five of this sample underestimated the number of coloured people, but six thought it was between 25,000 and 50,000 and two between 50,000 and 100,000. Ten estimated the total population of Bradford as over 500,000 and four as between 50,000 and 150,000.

When looking at the ministers, it was found there were differences in the rank order by denomination of attitudes favourable to immigrants.

Methodist	+0.39
Church of England	+0.21
Other	+0.04
Roman Catholic	-0.02

The maximum favourable 'score' was +2 and the minimum unfavourable 'score' was -2. Not too much attention should be paid to the figures in themselves or to the sign: the scale is both arbitrary and relative, but the rank order is correct.

The rank order may be significant in that churches that intend to have dealings with immigrants of alien churches will have to lose their insularity of outlook and be prepared to work outside their usual field of operation. It may be significant that the rank order of attitudes unfavourable to immigrants and that of ministers who put the congregation before the community are identical. On the other hand if we consider the three groups, ministers, lay officials and indigenous population, then the rank order is as follows:

Ministers	+0.20
Lay Officials	-0.02
Indigenous	-0.51

Bearing in mind similar qualifications with regard to these figures as those above, it can be seen that the ministers are far more favourable towards the migrants and, although this is a blanket category, ministers will be well aware that it included such sub-groups as Muslims.

Regarding contact with the Muslim community there is some difficulty in establishing a datum by which the level of contact can be measured. People in Bradford see the situation in terms of coloured

Commonwealth immigrants, and answer questions in these terms. Thus it seemed important to establish the level of contact in these terms first. That the churches can successfully link up with such groups is demonstrated by the successes claimed for their relationship with the West Indian migrant. Twelve of these are holding official positions in the church, two of the Methodists in fact being preachers, and there seems to be full interaction between the ministers and their congregation. As far as the West Indians are concerned the minister is accepted as playing a full role in the community and he is consulted on many practical matters.

With specific reference to the Muslims the ministers and the lay officials were questioned with regard to their attitudes to the establishment of Muslim communities in their area. Though the majority had no well defined feeling either way 26.2% of the ministers were in favour as against only 14.7% of the lay officials. Thus whilst the lay officials were certainly not antagonistic the ministers were more positively favourable.

While 17 of the lay officials (50%) had overseas experience, 33 of them (97%) had lived in Bradford over ten years. Similarly with the general sample, 91.9% had lived in Bradford over ten years. This compares with 23% for the ministers residing in the area over ten years. Thus we might expect to find a less insular outlook for this reason alone. However, 'specialised' travel such as war service may leave one's perception unawakened, and even missionary service may not be a great advantage when dealing with members of a different religion.

Considering the more general level of contact first questions were asked of all respondents regarding contact with coloured migrants. Ministers were also asked whether they had made any specific attempts to get coloured people to come to church. Six ministers said they had.

The replies to the questions concerning contact with coloured migrants are as follows:

'Have you talked with a coloured person in the last week? (Not just greeted.)'

	<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Lay Officials</i>		<i>Indigenous</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes .	25	47.2	9	26.5	16	43.2
No .	28	52.8	25	73.5	21	56.8
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	53	100.0	34	100.0	37	100.0
	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Number spoken to</i>	<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Lay Officials</i>		<i>Indigenous</i>	
1	11		4		8	
2-4	5		2		2	
5+	9		3		6	
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	25		9		16	
	—	—	—	—	—	—

'Have you eaten at the same table as a coloured person last week?'

	<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Lay Officials</i>		<i>Indigenous</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes	8	15.0	1	2.9	1	2.6
No	45	85.0	33	97.1	36	97.4
	<u>53</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>100.0</u>

<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Lay Officials</i>	<i>Indigenous</i>
1	4	—	1
2-4	2	1	—
5+	2	—	—
	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>

The level of contact is noticeably lower for lay officials than for the indigenous sample. Many lived outside areas in which churches were placed. The extremely low number of shared meals may be accounted for by the fact that it would indicate a much deeper level of involvement and also working class people still tend to eat at relatives' houses if they eat out at all. The level of contact is very low by any standards for the churchpeople if they see this as important: 73.5% of the lay officials and 52.8% of the ministers had not spoken to a coloured migrant in one of the most densely populated migrant areas in the country. On the other hand, as a majority are either Muslims or Hindus ministers may not see it as their concern.

'After your primary responsibility to the teachings of your church do you see yourself as more responsible to your congregation than the community at large, or vice versa?'

The responses were as follows:

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Community first	12	22.7
Equal	15	28.0
Congregation first	20	38.0
Other/N.A.	6	11.3
	<u>53</u>	<u>100.0</u>

An interesting point was that there was a strong correlation between those putting congregation first and those holding views unfavourable to migrants:—

<i>Rank order by denomination</i>	<i>Number putting congregation first</i>	<i>Number asked</i>	<i>Rank order by denomination of attitudes unfavourable to migrants</i>
Roman Catholic	7	7	Roman Catholic
Other*	7	15	Other*
Church of England	4	19	Church of England
Methodist	2	12	Methodist
	<u>20</u>	<u>53</u>	

*Other—this group consists of the churches in the sample with relatively small numbers of adherents.

The next step was to try and determine the level of social awareness and intensity of feeling towards Muslims. Here again it is not very useful to try and distinguish between Muslims and migrants in general. Certain points did, however, emerge. The respondents were asked questions regarding their views on the district. No clear cut issue emerged from this. This in itself may have some significance since it indicates there is a lack of strong feeling on any of the issues we were concerned with. It was interesting to note, however, that of the things they disliked about the district only 13 of the 124 respondents specifically mentioned coloured migrants. On the whole the criticisms were of amenities such as housing, and the general untidiness and dirtiness of the area. Twenty-four people, however, found nothing wrong with the district at all. Of the things liked about the district amenities such as shops scored highly, and 28 replies commented on the friendliness of the people living there. Not all of these replies refer to exactly the same area but it seems significant that this sort of reply was obtained in 'migrant districts' and areas marginal to them.

When asked 'Do you think immigration is an important issue facing this country?' all three groups thought it extremely important (49) 91.2% of the ministers answering 'yes' as did 92.5% of the lay officials and 83.2% of the indigenous sample.

We have not attempted to account for the difference between the figures for the 'churchpeople' and the indigenous population but it is probable that the former see this as an area of social need and are also more aware of the social pressures being engendered by the change in the social structure that the influx of these migrants from an alien culture has helped to bring about.

When asked 'Do you think that the government should restrict immigration further—that it should stop so many people from other countries from coming to live in Britain?', the response was:

	<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Lay Officials</i>	<i>Indigenous</i>
Yes	32.0%	32.4%	64.0%
No	36.0%	41.1%	22.1%
Don't know	32.0%	26.5%	13.9%
	—	—	—
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The state of legislation at this time was that entry was restricted, by the White Paper of 1965, to 8,500 workers per year, including 1,000 Maltese. Otherwise the other groups affected were coloured migrants. At the same time an increasing number of dependents have come in since 1962, and the annual figure at the present time is around 50,000.

This is not essentially a 'loaded' question. Many see restriction as a reasonable solution to a practical problem hence 'no' is the most interesting answer. It seemed likely that the difficulty in eliciting

response from the ' church ' respondents could be due in part to a clash of prejudice with (Christian) conscience. The indigenous population had a more clear cut approach possibly because they all lived within the area of highest immigrant density, while some ministers for example lived on the periphery of the area and perhaps were not so concerned.

The overall impression obtained from the answers to the questions was that there was an awareness of the problems and issues involved without a great deal of overt hostility being present. This latter point was underlined by the response to questions relating to migrant inferiority and threat to the jobs of white workers. Only four people thought coloured people were inferior, the same number as thought migrants were a threat to white employees.

Action so far

The next step is to consider what is being done and what has been done in the field of the relationship of the churches with the Muslims.

At the organisational level, the Bradford Council of Churches established about ten years ago a sub-committee to consider the questions raised by the migrants settling in Bradford. It has had few resources and has taken few initiatives. This is a typical situation with voluntary organisations in that performance often falls far behind intention, although in this case through no lack of goodwill and endeavour.

The only concrete thing achieved, apart from various meetings designed to introduce people to others of different cultures, was the establishment of a centre to which it was hoped to attract migrants. Apart from a few West Indians and West Africans, who were mainly students, virtually no other migrants arrived and the project closed fairly recently.

When considering the fate of this venture it should be pointed out that there appeared to be no clear idea about the purpose the centre was to serve apart from providing a social focus. There was also the assumption, marked in any event among English people, that Pakistanis for example did the same kinds of thing in their leisure time as do Christians. Thus the whole venture was oriented to an English way of life and not knowledgeable about the close-knit kinship and village basis of migrant life. The social life of migrants, especially unattached males, is fairly close-knit, and the provision of amenities of a fairly low quality, however kind the motive behind them, was probably doomed to failure, as some members of the committee pointed out at the time. There was an attempt by some clergymen linked to the centre to interest Muslims in the Christian religion and this too, whatever the motive behind it, generated a good deal of suspicion.

In 1965 the sub-committee sponsored a visiting team from the Overseas Students Commendation Centre. This Centre was set up by the National Assembly of the Church of England so that the various bodies previously involved in looking after students from overseas could pool their resources. This was a group of young Pakistani and Indian women and the purpose was to establish contact with the families of migrants, especially wives, who it was thought were becoming isolated due to language difficulties. Their suggestions on ways of improving the contact between local and migrant populations stressed the need for some English people to learn Urdu and pointed out that the churches should educate their congregations about the countries, cultures and faiths of the migrants.

Recently the emphasis of the sub-committee's work has shifted and they are now concerned with a travelling exhibition aimed at promoting better understanding of the migrants in the host community.

Apart from the sub-committee of the Council of Churches, a committee was set up in 1963 which was a sub-committee of the Executive Committee of the Bradford Council of Social Service. This got together representatives from local authority departments as well as migrant organisations, churches and other voluntary organisations. Its main role was to exchange ideas, to stimulate discussions about the need for positive policies and the difficulties these policies met, but again not a great deal was achieved in terms of anything outside what local authority departments were contemplating. On the other hand it should be congratulated because its existence indicated the desire to tackle the problems that were arising not only on a statutory basis but also by voluntary bodies.

Although both committees mentioned have attempted to work with representatives of migrant groups in part they experienced difficulties in evolving a response from these groups; this was because of problems of leadership. There were few channels of communication available, and messages that were passed along the channels that were available were not necessarily delivered in the form in which they were given.

A new consultative committee, with representatives from the local authority and voluntary organisations, including those of immigrants, was formed early in 1966 under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Bradford. This committee is in a stronger position to tackle the problems that have arisen than was the previous one which was much more narrowly based in terms of membership. On the other hand different views have been expressed about the scope of the work of the committee, and particularly whether there should be a reference to problems of discrimination in the constitution. The stated aims of the new committee include promoting and assisting the general good and well-being of the migrant citizens; collection and dissemination of

information and co-ordinating and advising on the work being carried out in Bradford to assist the process of integration.

At the same time there are assumptions about what is good for migrants and what the needs of migrants are, made both by local authority officials and leaders which need to be examined in considerable detail. It is necessary to develop a dialogue between various groups in order to promote the development of realistic policies.

In the early 1960's the Y.W.C.A. had a reasonably well attended International Club for both sexes. This, however, tended to cater for English-speaking migrants of a rather higher 'social class' than average. A decline set in, attributed by one of the persons concerned with the venture to the fact that the migrants began forming their own clubs. The International Club has now ceased to function although there is a possibility it may be revived in the near future. There are over four hundred youth clubs and youth organisations in the city. They might usefully be thought of as long term instruments of social policy in the field of race relations. All were circularized with reference to any Commonwealth migrant members they might have. A representative sample of fifty-seven replies was received. Sixteen had between them fifty-eight such members. Forty of these members were West Indian and twenty-four of them in fact belonged to a specifically West Indian club run by one of the Roman Catholic Churches. Thus the other fifteen clubs had a total of only thirty-four Commonwealth migrants. Many youth clubs and organisations have a direct connection with a religious body. This is not necessarily the reason why children from the Muslim migrant group stay away. Although all respondents in migrant areas professed a ready welcome to migrants in their clubs only one or two had seen fit to make a more positive effort. The secretary of one of the clubs which had made a special effort to attract Pakistani children explained how they had first been approached in schools they attended. Having established contact and interested them in joining the club they were allotted a special night, for Pakistani members only. Attempts were made to determine the activities they would prefer: despite this the project failed within a short time. The secretary made the obvious but nonetheless noteworthy point that to Pakistani and Indian children, familiar with a close-knit village society based on the joint family, the whole idea of a club is somewhat incomprehensible.

At this more individual level examples were obtained of action by specific churches. An Anglican church had organised a group project to examine the social situation with reference to the migrant community. A group of Methodist 'Young Wives' had gained contact with some Pakistani and Indian ladies through one of their members. This resulted in a series of talks and discussions. One prominent

minister was in favour of a churches' liaison officer and was canvassing the idea amongst his colleagues. A Church of England minister had invited an Imam to speak to the Chapter. It is relevant that the assumption which appears to be made here, and in some other cases, is that the Imam has a higher status in the Muslim community—similar to a bishop perhaps—than is in fact the case. The Imam has greater scope for acquiring and exercising power in Bradford, since he has acted with others for the Muslims on matters such as the dress which schoolchildren must wear, but he is not in any sense a religious leader who wields undisputed authority.

The Muslims

It is important to realise the considerable differences between sections of the Muslim population even though the great majority are fairly similar in a number of respects. There are some educated members who are more or less completely westernised and other educated ones who are not strict Muslims but still retain a positive relationship with their fellow-countrymen. With the less educated there may be lapses from the dietary rules with particular regard to drinking beer and eating food cooked in pork dripping. There is also considerable guilt about the association of many of them with prostitutes and local girls. Vice is well organised. Migrants may refer to the lower moral standards of the local population as a way of excusing their own conduct.

On the other hand the diversity within the Muslim group must be recognised. Our informants fell into one of four categories. The first is of educated people connected with formal social organisations in the general community. Secondly, there are the educated people who are not connected with formal social organisations of any kind. Thirdly, are those connected with religious organisations. Fourthly, there are the great majority of the Muslim group, almost all of whom are uneducated and work in factories. All the educated categories referred to the Christian churches as they had experienced them in their own countries, and how they started social work in the name of humanity but ultimately converted people to Christianity. It was thought that the Christian churches had worked particularly in areas where there was the greatest amount of poverty and ignorance. To some extent it was suggested that these attitudes were carried over in Bradford. As one informant said, 'the priests have approached the uneducated Muslims and not the educated ones because they know that uneducated people can be easily misguided'. There is some doubt as to the strength of this in view of the fact that the great majority of the uneducated are not able to communicate in English. Ministers of religion are said to visit hospitals to try and explain to uneducated immigrants about Christianity. The educated were on the whole of the opinion that the church by itself

should not take any positive action with regard to immigrants and their welfare. This they saw as the primary responsibility of the local authority and the government because the immigrants are also tax payers.

A number of examples were given of the insincerity of ministers. One was about a Muslim dismissed from the Transport Department who approached an English minister and asked him to intervene in the matter so that justice could be done. Nothing further, it was stated, was heard from the official. Here again is an example which may be capable of more than one interpretation and the view that there was no social justice in this country expressed by an educated Muslim may be a reflection of his own attitude of mind and the consequence of personal frustrations he had suffered. The allegation was made that some Muslim children were being indoctrinated into Christianity as they had been prevailed upon to attend Sunday school and that they were being given money to come again.

On the social level some Muslims felt that Muslims and Christians could work together to the mutual benefit of the community as a whole. There is felt to be a great need to educate English people about such things as the culture of Muslims. A frequent grievance made was that the English did not differentiate between the educated and the uneducated immigrant. This also reflects the considerable social stratification within the immigrant group and the tendency apparent among many Muslims to accept the low level of contact of many of their uneducated fellow countrymen.

A great number of misconceptions were expressed even by the educated about the low moral standard of British society. It was remarked that there are no emotional bonds of any significance between members of the family in England. Instances about the indifference of the English to the plight of elderly parents were mentioned.

As far as the uneducated immigrants are concerned they know very little about the differences between Islam and Christianity. In the same way they were indifferent to the idea of social intercourse or social integration. Many of them had very little leisure because of their work and very few mixed with English people because of problems of communication. Many of them were said to have been approached by ministers to visit churches. A number have received literature on Christianity in Urdu but few had bothered to look at it.

Migrants have come to terms with some features of local life which may have affected their religious affiliation to some extent, although for all but a small minority religion is central in their culture, however much they may fall short of its ideals. In the early stages of settlement there was no religious focus as such, and in this situation it was relatively easy to achieve the abandonment of practices, such as covering

the legs of secondary-age girls, linked with religion. Especially when there has been a diminution in the degree of geographical mobility (which inhibits the formation of stable patterns of leadership) there may arise a sense of the identity of the group, or at least of the greater identity of individuals in certain sub-groups with each other, rather than with the world outside. One expression of this is in the establishment of works with a religious or community aspect, such as the founding of a mosque and fund-raising for a much bigger mosque.

Religion could be used to encourage an inward-looking set of attitudes in the Muslim community as a whole. A Muslim commented, 'We know that our people have come to this country for economic reasons. Here earnings are high which give a better standard of living to our people, but we must do everything to preserve our culture and religion. In the past church priests approached many uneducated Muslims with a view to converting them but we must counteract the influence of English education and English society by religious teachings. If people understand their own religion then there is no danger of their being misguided. It is really unfortunate that even some teachers approach the Muslim parents to allow their daughters to adopt the English way of life, such as having boy friends, which is totally unacceptable to our culture'. It may be emphasized by encouraging the idea that local people want integration on their terms, by which migrants and migrant culture become indistinguishable from that of local people. This may be an accurate interpretation of local opinion.

For Muslims religion provides a focus of loyalty even in a situation where the full extent of religious observance is difficult to practice because of the arrangement of the working day. It could thus be seen as in the interests of religious leaders or those who seek leadership in the migrant group to generate, or to maintain, a suspicion of the motives of local people and local organisations. This applies to the churches in particular, since it is a widely held belief among migrants that the churches would like to convert them all to Christianity. It is also assumed that the Christian churches have no particular function outside the community of the faithful.

To some extent, the latter point is true, and some churches have little contact except with a limited number of their adherents; others emphasize their role in the community, though some stress the evangelising as well as social rule. A number of Muslims have had literature about Christianity in Urdu and other languages of the migrant from well intentioned people, and most of the others have heard about these cases.

The original attitude of suspicion felt by the Muslims towards the Christian churches is explainable in part because of their ignorance of

its role. It is also a continuation of attitudes held in Pakistan where the Christian churches are seen as primarily an evangelising agency, possibly offering in the first place medical aid which will then be followed by gradual conversion. There are few opportunities to evangelise except through those who are marginal in their own community, those who because of increased affluence are socially aspiring, those who are married to English wives and have moved to suburban environments, and the children who have been brought up for most of their lives in Britain.

Unable to make much progress with the English the churches turn to a less sophisticated migrant group. This view, held by some educated Muslims, has certain implications for the kinds of contacts which should be made. For example, one Muslim informant suggested that if the churches are to do anything in a social way it must be away from church premises.

It is important in the creation of a sense of identity, and the feeling of power which accompanies it, to have something to stand *against*. This role is fulfilled in part by some church institutions but also by others. Apart from migrants who have contact with organisations, some of which are directly linked with religious impetus and others of which contain members who are religiously motivated, the majority of migrants remain relatively untouched. Even Indian Muslims in Bradford meet at the Indian Association building rather than at the mosque.

Prominence has been given to the religious activities of Muslims. A recent news item reported the setting off of a party led by the Imam to visit Mecca. They were travelling by van. Apart from such occasions, and the generosity of responses to appeals for money, there appears to be relatively little influence exercised by religious leaders, although there have been cases where men have taken time off work to attend prayers, especially on the occasion of the Eid festivals. Moreover, many children are attending mosques even on weekdays for regular religious instruction. In this way, religion underlines group identification. On the other hand they help to make representations to local authority departments, and this in itself gives them claims to leadership at the least. Since leadership is paradoxically in part a function of upward mobility (in that claims to it are made by those who have been economically successful, wherever they happened to start in the social structure) there may be a tendency to attempt unification behind a leader using religious appeals. This would obviously be one way of retaining a strong sense of identity, as is hostility towards other groups such as Indians.

The social and economic structure of the group has diversified and expanded but leadership is still small-scale, intermittent, and instrumental.

IV OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTION

General

The scope for action is indeed considerable, but as with all choices which are open it is important to determine priorities in the light of the resources which are available and will be available in the future. Insofar as some generalisations are possible from the evidence which has been presented, it may be stated that in the migrant areas churches are less able to cope with the needs of the community and the congregation than elsewhere. There are many exceptions to this rule and the Catholic churches and those churches or chapels which are evangelical in approach attract many worshippers. On the whole the congregations in these areas tend to be smaller, the voluntary workers harder to find, the clergymen more hard pressed, the churches less suitable for the purposes of the congregation, and the feeling one of withdrawal from the world rather than involvement in it.

Before detailing the kinds of provision which could be made, and are being made in some instances, it should be stressed that there is no single way of improving the climate of race relations. It is true, however, that it is far more important to influence the opinion leaders in a community than any members of it chosen at random. The 'opinion leaders' are not just those who hold civic power, but those who, like clergymen, teachers, trade unionists, and public officials, influence the opinions and expectations of others. Many clergymen in the sample expressed a desire to do something about race relations without being clear what the opportunities were.

The first section here, therefore, deals with the need for various forms of education to develop a more enlightened public opinion on race relations. Since it is necessary not only to prescribe remedies for others but to recognise the need for education in one's own group, some suggestions about the education of ministers are made. The minister may have to depend more on his personal qualities today than he does on his status in society, but he can be a leader within the community in which he operates if he wants to be. It is important to contest the view that sympathy plus ignorance is a suitable basis for action on race relations. There is a long history of it but it has had little success.

What is required is knowledge of the whole social situation in which not only migrants but all in particular areas live. It implies a knowledge of diverse ways of life and an absence of the tendency to make moral judgments.

The suggestions in this field come under two main headings:

- (1) The education of ordinands, which will vary according to the denomination, in order to enable them to understand social issues more fully. The assumption that migrants are human beings and, therefore, understandable does not necessarily help in the resolution of very real problems, which derive from cultural differences in the main, and conflicts of interest.
- (2) Courses giving background information on the social conditions in migrant areas and possibly attended by local authority officials, teachers and others concerned, as well as ministers. The aim would be to provide more information and more opportunity for analysis to those already working in the areas concerned, and more opportunity for exchange of views.

Public Opinion and Education

Quite apart from the education of ministers it is necessary to look at what is provided for children at school in the way of information about other countries, particularly those from which Muslims come. The Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church control a number of schools in Bradford, some of which are attended by Muslim children, and it is important to have the best books available from which to teach rather than those, which have often been in circulation some time, which give some support to outdated and inaccurate views on such matters as race, religion and cultural differences. This is obviously a long-term view, but it is an area in which some of the churches in Bradford can do something positive.

To obtain a more harmonious situation than has prevailed so far much more can be done in the field of public opinion and developing a favourable public opinion. As far as the churches are concerned these include stimulating discussions on matters to do with other religions and cultures, involving possible visits of educated migrants to the meetings of some church organisations, as has already been done in some cases. One of the great fallacies which is widely current is the idea that if race relations are left to themselves time will automatically solve the problems in existence at the present. In fact, conflict is more likely to arise in the future in a situation where young migrants are seen to be competing for jobs with young people from a local background, and where in other spheres of life migrants desire equal opportunities and an end to the forms of discrimination practised against them.

It is noticeable that even in situations where there is relative good will about migrants views are held about them which are a misleadingly

simplified version of reality. There are thus a large number of groups of people who are relatively uncommitted, and also possibly relatively prejudiced on the racial issue (for example, members of Towns Women's Guilds, Rotary Clubs, Business and Professional Women's Clubs) and ignorant about it. Some of their members would respond to a more objective version of the facts than is obtained from most newspapers and a more sympathetic approach.

There is a need to counter prejudgments and attitudes of mind stemming from educational conditioning from the past. People may take the educational impressions they formed in their youth with them throughout their lives in the absence of attempts to bring them up to date. This is not to suggest that the problem is purely one of educating people or that those who are told the 'facts' will necessarily believe them. This assumption is nineteenth century in origin, and completely untenable now when there is much relevant evidence to support the view that facts are selected, from the mass of those available, to support positions already taken up.

Moreover, many of the 'facts' about the situation of migrants are unpalatable in certain respects, though not so bad as is generally believed. But the churches must not only be concerned with taking a moral stand on the issue, and providing, probably in co-operation with other bodies, the opportunity for intensive public education and discussion of the issues, but also be prepared to work in a practical way.

Public education is, however, a vital issue. There must always be emphasis upon the provision of accurate information, the complexity of the situation (as against the simple, causal explanation of individuals), constructive proposals which involve co-operation with Muslims and other minority groups and which are directed towards specific ends. A more internationalist outlook is required in Britain; this might include some increasing awareness of the contribution that migrants make to the economic welfare of the community as well as to its stock of social problems.

Individual ministers of religion are able to do a considerable amount, quite apart from the firm stand which the churches have taken on racialism, to combat prejudice. For example, letters embodying prejudiced points of view are to be found quite often in newspapers and in general the questions posed by them are not answered. There have been refreshing exceptions to this state of affairs in Bradford recently but it is still true that the more prejudiced are more vocal than the less prejudiced. In addition some newspapers play up racial tensions and give undue prominence to the sensational reporting of events to do with Muslims. Ministers of religion could play their part in preventing these journalistic excesses by lobbying the editors. To some extent

these points may involve either membership of groups outside the church or co-operation with other bodies. Since the churches have taken such an unequivocal stand on racialism it is important that some ministers at least are involved with movements which are aimed to ensure social and economic justice for Muslims and others. A policy for race relations in Bradford, devised by the churches in co-operation, would be a start.

In all this the Muslim community may be seen as having a purely passive role, and indeed one danger is to assume that Muslims are people for whom one does things rather than people with whom one works. There is no tradition of joining organisations and exercising influences amongst Muslims in quite the way that is typical in Britain, but more could be achieved if Muslims are associated with specific initiatives.

There are booklets in existence, prepared by various churches, which provide useful bases for the study of issues concerned with race relations but these tend to be preoccupied with personal and individual responses. It is important to encourage their use in a much wider way. It is necessary, however, to be aware of the context of contacts. Prejudice does not always lead to discrimination, and the unprejudiced may discriminate because of what they think others believe. Prejudice, however, will not disappear because of the dissemination of more rational ideas, and the problem is really one of creating an enlightened rather than unenlightened atmosphere in situations where people meet together. On the whole it is possible for highly prejudiced remarks to be made in public places, for example in buses, without people who disagree saying anything about it. It is important to create a situation where those who might make prejudiced remarks think twice before doing so, and the churches, their ministers, and their congregations, can do something in this respect by accepting their individual responsibilities when these occasions arise.

Continuing Initiatives

There are a number of initiatives which have provided opportunities for contact between Muslims and local people and others which exemplify in their composition the commitment of the churches and other bodies to harmonious race relations. Among the latter may be mentioned the new Liaison Committee of which the Bishop of Bradford is Chairman which also has representation from other churches. Given the large increase likely in the number of young Muslims in Bradford it is obvious that more needs to be done in encouraging them to join organisations such as youth clubs. There is a danger that they may mix only with people of their own religion and this is not in their best

interests. There are apprehensions in the minds of Muslim parents about allowing their children to mix with other young people and to acquire habits of thought and action which are different from those of their own culture. On the other hand, the patterns of life of the migrants cannot remain unaffected by living in Britain, and it is necessary to encourage some adaptation by which the more important elements in the Muslim culture could be retained. There are, however, problems of considerable magnitude which arise from such questions as 'purdah' and beliefs which allot to women a role in society which the young Muslim girl will find hard to reconcile with the behaviour of her English school-fellows.

Despite the difficulties, some clubs have managed to get young migrants into their membership, but a good deal more can be done in this respect. It might be possible to develop a youth club which is multi-racial in aim and not one which merely allows young migrants to join. As the migrant population spreads further from the centre it will be logical to assume that young migrants will have opportunities to join a much wider range of clubs and that campaigns to enrol members from them should be mounted. Among other youth organisations which have given attention to the problems of a multi-racial society are the Scouts and Guides. Despite many efforts to interest young migrants there has been only a limited success so far, but as more young migrants are present in the population there is more likelihood of getting them to join. Open Days and publicity which may be given to inter-denominational attempts to make contact between the various groups residing in a particular area might be tried more often and include some information about the ways of life in the countries of origin of the migrants. Film shows develop some kind of interest, although at a fairly superficial level, and this may be exploited in other ways. (Much depends here on parental attitudes.)

New Areas of Action

How far the churches can act in the present situation is determined in part by their resources, by their motivation, and by their morale. Perhaps it would be more realistic for the churches to act in concert with other organisations. Among initiatives which might be considered to have a special relevance and importance are:

(1) *A Neighbourhood Project.* This might be started in one of the main migrant areas, and its main object would be to stimulate action in the locality by creating a sense of purpose among its inhabitants. There are various American precedents for this. Broadly speaking, what is involved is the creation of a belief that it is possible to get things done to improve the conditions in which people are living. To look at

migrants alone in migrant areas takes attention away from other important questions, such as the numbers of old people living in isolated conditions. What stands out are the similar kinds of conditions that migrants and others face in the environment: poor housing, dirty streets, low levels of amenity, and limited social contacts. Social workers on such a project would be employed as advisers when response developed rather than initiators of action. Institutions could be provided and information circulated about them: one great shortage is of suitable premises at which to meet. Churches could help with this if it were made clear that there was nothing specifically religious in the offer of premises.

(2) *Specific Projects.* In the absence of sufficient funds to mount a large-scale project employing social workers, and oriented to the neighbourhood as a whole, other more limited initiatives are possible. These include:—

(a) the formation of a neighbourhood association with the objectives of looking after the welfare of people living in that particular area, whatever their ethnic origins or background, and trying to improve the amenities of the area. One great difficulty here is the absence of grass-roots leadership. Where there is leadership of a kind it is often provided by social workers who live elsewhere. Arguments are sometimes heard against doing anything positive because the areas will be cleared eventually: this is true to some extent, but much of the property has a life of from five to ten years—sufficient to bring up a generation of children in it.

A neighbourhood association could provide amenities of a cultural and recreational kind which a number of our educated Muslim informants have said are necessary. How far other Muslims would agree is open to question, since there is an obvious gap in many respects between educated and uneducated.

(b) the formation of multi-racial youth clubs which is mentioned above. The difficulties in the way of this might be overcome by starting a club for migrants and then introducing others later, or developing close links with nearby clubs which lead to numerous joint activities and possibly eventual amalgamation. There is a danger that clubs attended only by migrants will encourage separatist tendencies, and there is also the problem of parental attitudes. One possible way of approaching this is to try and obtain helpers from among non-Christian migrants who have contacts with local people as well as with migrant organisations.

(c) the provision of pre-school play groups because of the isolation of Muslim mothers, and the consequent inability of some Muslim children to speak any English when they go to school at the age of five or make any contact before then with local children. It might

be necessary to start a Muslim group at the beginning and then introduce others later on, since there is the psychological problem of introducing newcomers, particularly those speaking little or no English and from a tradition which makes them shy of contact with others, into organisations which are already established.

(d) the organisation of a multi-racial housing association, on the model of some existing associations run by churches nationally. In the changing circumstances, in which many Muslim families are being established, it might be opportune to finance such a project, but there would be great difficulties in raising the money and probably also in finding a suitable site.

One source of help which has not been exploited sufficiently up to the present time, and which would provide people to work on projects such as those mentioned above, is that of volunteers. Many of these would come from the sixth forms of local schools, other students, members of youth organisations, and churches. Already a successful project, on elderly people in Exchange Ward, organised by the Secretary of the Bradford Council of Social Service, has been carried out by volunteers from schools. Various forms of practical action can be undertaken. Involvement in these forms of community service should be encouraged by the churches. There is a need for channels by which information about needs, organisation and the most effective forms of action may be distributed, but in many parts of Britain this movement is developing a considerable momentum. It extends further than the race relations field, but it provides in places like Bradford, where there are many migrants, an opportunity for young people, including the increasing number of migrant young people, to work together. There are obvious difficulties in using untrained volunteers but there are ways of giving them some preliminary orientations, and ensuring that they are used effectively, providing benefits for the community and some satisfaction for themselves.

Problems of Organisation

The extension of initiatives leads to problems. It is better to start on a small scale with a good organisation rather than attempt something too ambitious. There must be an analysis of the situation, a thinking out of aims and a careful matching of resources with aims. Large committees cannot do this so well, and small action groups, with responsibility for limited operations but with a co-ordinating group drawn from them, would be more effective in this respect.

To obviate vagueness and lack of a particular sense of commitment some of the larger denominations might consider the appointment of ministers with a special responsibility for matters relating to migrants

in the city, who would be relieved of most of the normal responsibilities of ministers with congregations and churches to look after. These ministers might work together as well as independently, making contacts, lobbying particular bodies and groups, disseminating information and mounting initiatives of various kinds to underline the commitment to the community as a whole.

V

GENERAL

Bradford would appear to be a promising field for action. To an extent probably not found anywhere else in Britain the traditional causes of conflict are modified because of the local situation. Housing is available, and many of those living in migrant areas are perhaps too old or too unconcerned, or too used to the low standards of their environment, to express strong views about the presence of migrants. Moreover, the local authority is aware of many of the problems. At work, there is often separation and little sense of competition for jobs, since migrants are engaged in occupations which manifestly attract fewer local workers. This situation need not necessarily always continue, and already there are signs of a contraction in the range of jobs available.

Other changes which are taking place are, however, considerable. Migrants are moving out of areas of first settlement: more families are being established and becoming aware of aspects of western culture and increasingly being influenced by them. Many young people of migrant parents will move on to higher education and will compete for jobs which are not at, or close to, the bottom of the social hierarchy. Tendencies of this nature could lead to increasing accommodation with local people unless there is an attempt to mobilise Muslim opinion in favour of separatism and the inflexible maintenance of their religious, social and cultural traditions. There will be particular problems for young people, astride two quite different cultures. An alternative development would be increasing segregation of the migrant groups which could be brought about by the hostility of local people, or discrimination in fields of housing, employment, or social opportunity.

There is no reason to believe that these problems cannot be met, though it is not realistic to think in terms of once-for-all solutions. The role of the churches, and other bodies which want to take action, must be based on knowledge of the total situation, coupled with a determination to act based on the recognition of responsibility to the community as a whole. What is obvious from the study is the fact that there is a considerable amount of good-will and already a significant level of effort to improve the situation. A greater understanding of the possibilities, and the aims of particular forms of action, is desirable, and it is important for co-operation to develop between Muslims and members of the local community in order to achieve these common ends.

All these things are relatively easy to prescribe but much more difficult to accomplish. It is easy too to criticise. Some of the forms of action suggested are possible to put into operation even in the present

situation. Others will demand more organisation and effort. The importance of what is being attempted can hardly be exaggerated. The pattern of race relations which develops within the next generation, whether in Bradford or elsewhere, may well determine the opportunities of generations of coloured citizens.

APPENDIX

Statement by the Rev. Dr Kenneth Cragg

'You know the heart of a stranger,' runs a piece of the law in Exodus 23. 9. Solicitude for the sojourner is a remarkable and recurrent feature in the Old Testament where 'strangers in the gates' find mention also in the Decalogue. There is paradox, surely: for if the stranger's heart is truly known is he any longer a stranger? Yet the sense is clear. There has to be about us this capacity to exchange places imaginatively with the outsider. How little in fact we do know him! The immigrant situation in England is part of the larger problem of material imbalance between nations in the world and in the Commonwealth (odd expression as that word is, in economic perspective!). Jobs and prospects here, even at the lower end of the scale, have an attraction where conditions are vastly more depressive. And certain trends in our own society have the effect of leaving the more humdrum or taxing jobs for such incomers. Juridically, of course, the notion of the 'Commonwealth' means a certain interchangeability, or at least accessibility, and this has facilitated the mobility that makes the problem of the immigrant. There is in some senses a poetic justice about the matter, given our long material interest in the products of Empire and our traditional assumption about the propriety, over colonised peoples, of our authority and control. We can hardly now immunise our homeland and our society from their access in the new period of their independence and our legacies. For the problems from which their people emigrate reach back into long decades of *our* sovereignty over their economies and education. And there has been since our departures an accentuating disparity between the developed and the under-developed, despite all the heralded economic aid.

Knowing the stranger, however, takes us further than these considerations, important as they are (and often overlooked). The expatriate, be he Pakistani, Indian, African, West Indian, or European, has a fundamental insecurity of spirit. Many of the factors are analysed and documented in this Report in respect of Pakistanis in Bradford. Identity is of course a sharpened emotion in such circumstances, and religion is inseparably part of it—not, necessarily, devotion and piety, but allegiance and adherence. Conditions of foreign residence only intensify the social, communal, and corporate aspects of religion, which are paramount even in the countries of origin. Asian and African Muslim society has never regarded belief as the sort of privately determinable thing that western concepts of the individual, and Christian ideas of conversion, take it to be. The Islamic 'belonging' means a participation which is heightened communally by conditions of residence among us even when it is attenuated dogmatically.

All this, if we know the heart of it, creates an exacting situation for Christian relationship, with its proper instinct for evangelism and its duty of imagination in simple human concerns. There is the impulse and conviction which, no doubt in many instances with due care for courtesy and tact, demands to make active witness for Christ and conceives all its activities with this objective, immediate or ultimate. And there is the realisation, no less compelling to other minds, that such a proceeding is questionable, if not self-defeating, for the reason that it does not know the heart of a stranger and lacks the patience of the Gospel itself. The essence of the misgiving here is that care for men and women, in the expatriate situation, when all its elements are wisely known, precludes the deliberate will or effort to concert conversion. For such an effort, in the given situation, disqualifies certain other concerns the mind of Christ teaches. It also consolidates suspicion, betrays important dimensions of hospitality and so obviates the full understanding of Christ. Or so it seems by the criteria within which, on this view, evangelism must be set.

So there arises a conflict of interpretation of Christian duty and a potential clash between 'mission' and 'neighbourliness', between faith-interest and right action. On the one hand, there is the view that Christian 'interest' in people must be 'disinterested', caring for them rather than for their recruitment to our 'side'. And reacting to these sentiments, there is the conviction that what preaching and conversion intend is in the deepest interest of all men as only the Gospel knows how to diagnose and satisfy their souls, and it is not ours to withhold, or discriminate in, the trust of salvation.

There is no easy hope of reconciling such contrasting interpretations of what Christian relation to immigrants involves. The evangelisers will continue to pursue their understanding of obedience and the 'good neighbours' will insist that sociological and compassionate realism must be followed. It is, therefore, the more important that both should think strenuously about possible common principles of action, even at some strain to their instinctive positions—the strain perhaps of realising that one has over-simplified the complexities within which one moves.

The first of these surely relates to the question: what is foreign residence doing to the quality of the Islam the Muslim retains and expresses? This question assumes, on our part, that there is a challenge implicit in the very business of accommodating to a host country and a new milieu, and to the demands of integration, however partial, into the receiving culture, with its sharpened impact upon old attitudes and static ways. This is not the naive and superficial question sometimes mooted, as to whether it is our aim to make the Muslim a better Muslim, which of course the evangeliser scouts and the sociologist, perhaps superciliously, approves. It is sometimes much more profound. It is

a realisation that, in this field, the whole immigrant problem opens up, often in awkward form, the duty to each other of different dimensions of the Divine, and of all of them severally, to human society around. When that society becomes markedly pluralist (as is the case where there are varied immigrants) and heavily secularised at the same time, these ultimate bearings of each religion, in concord or discord, *vis-à-vis* society, are the more vital and come in for more radical examination than ever happened in their former seclusions from each other and from the facts of contemporary life.

It is, doubtless, true that this is a realm in which many immigrants, through poor education, economic insecurity and psychological tension, have little or no competence to move. Indeed, one of the major problems throughout is that of communal leadership, of bigness of heart and openness of mind. But the more realistically we see that, the more urgent is our business to do all we can to foster the temper we want to see, by reciprocal relationships which will evoke and serve it. 'With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you.' This is one of the pressing reasons for magnanimity and a large sympathy. Given these, we may hopefully expect a searching, a sifting, an alerting, of the resources of Islam, which a precipitate evangelism alarms into obduracy, but a more patient one may be able to address. But this pre-supposes 'knowing the heart of the stranger', refusing to take Islam as wholly antithetical to Christianity, and being alive to the several senses in which Muslim faith as to God, creation, law, mercy and eternity provides a living field of doctrinal and spiritual relationship for a Christian ministry of word and action.¹ The 'Christian' reasons for Islamic emphases, and the 'Islamic' reasons for being Christian, have often been set out. It needs a big faith to see the immigrant situation as releasing some of them into effective awareness on both sides of the relationship. But it only needs a scant inattention to miss them, and they cannot be denied.

So our first duty, in readiness of mind and spirit, is to venture the sort of Christian relations with Muslim communities as serves first this inward search into the Muslim meanings, duties and tests of Islam, as the immigrant situation, known by them and incumbent on us, points them up, with a mind for the realism, the fluidity, and also the natural defensiveness, which that situation imports into the long loyalties of Islam and new exposures of Muslim society through expatriation.

Within this duty fall certain very practical questions. One is the accommodation problem as analysed in this Report and the task of bringing about within the host communities the maximum tolerance and a constructive habit of reaction. Among the matters relating to

¹ See, especially, *International Review of Missions*, vol. lv, no. 220, October, 1966.

physical amenities is the difficult issue of places of worship. There has of late been an unfortunate tendency in some Christian circles to foster a vocal resistance to occasions of common prayer or worship in which different religions represented in the Commonwealth take part. This resistance has castigated the use of places of Christian worship for such interfaith acts of prayer. Much of this is based on misunderstanding and a fear that some equivalence of all religions is intended or argued in such events. This is far from being so. What is meant without compromise of the integrity of any, is a will to express, where circumstances of common involvement suggest (such as Commonwealth conferring or local social action, etc.), an inter-communal sense of their Divine dependence and of Divine sovereignty. Whether by silence, or the agreed use of liturgical language each supplies and all take up, such joint worship can, and does, unite religious wistfulness across doctrinal disparity and does so without necessary loss of integrity. Rather it deepens the criteria by which integrity is tested. It is idle to protest that if this can happen the convert will inquire why ever he bothered to make the change. (Surely such a question betrays a quite superficial 'conversion'.) Nor is it relevant further to argue that distinctiveness is lost. On the contrary: it is discovered more worthily in the very will to express a single humanity and the Lordship of which every will to prayer is expressive, however brokenly (cf. Acts 17. 23). No one is suggesting the crude merging of different worships belonging to mosque, synagogue, church, or temple, within their respective communities, but only such cognisance of their several ultimacies in 'Godwardness' as common *human* partnerships may from time to time propose.

A more lively, less timid, attitude on this score would go far to deepen our religious and social relationships. By contrast, such protests as those at St Martin-in-the-Fields and Westminster Abbey, whatever their sincerity, only serve to isolate, to seclude, to alienate and even to suggest that somehow Christianity is only secure in immunity from other faiths, or only loyal when it is preaching.

But the immediate further question here, which the same mentality presumably would exclude, is the possibility of the use of premises for Muslim worship made available by Christian parishes. The precedents cited here from Cologne and elsewhere would appear, as yet, to have no parallel in England. Plainly churches themselves could not, and should not, be available; Muslims themselves would find this undesirable. But is it impossible that a church hall, or some building under parochial purview, could be loaned for the purpose of the Muslim community? It would certainly provide, as it were, a sacrament of the Christian will to neighbourliness and it would so symbolise the whole inter-religious problem as to help ordinary folk in both communities to gauge its ultimate dimensions. There is much to be

said for doing practical things even before one has sorted out all the implications. Or at least so the Abrahamic tradition avers. It is not always an attitude of faith to ask where we are going, so long as the impulse and the direction are truly of the Spirit. These in turn depend upon whether we 'see our calling brethren'. And for that there must be the ever moving debate of all our minds, however apart their impulses mutually may seem. The fact is that we have in our midst, in permanent and perhaps accentuating form, a problem of the spirit, no less than, and always because of, the issues that are social, economic and psychological. As a Christian Church within a former imperial nation, now, population-wise, on the receiving end of empire, what is for us the meaning of the words: 'I was a stranger and you took me in'?

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