Research Proposal

The Radicalisation of Young Muslims in Britain: Understanding the Roots of the Problem

T o l e r a n c e   I n t e r n a t i o n a l

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Outline

Project Summary

The project is about conducting empirical research into the causes of radicalisation of young Muslims in England. The project duration is estimated to be 15 months. The aim is to understand the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism in England and to develop policy options for addressing the underlying causes. The project will result in the publication of a major study containing the findings and suggested policy options. The intended target audience is the wider public and the British government. The further aim is to make the British public and Muslim communities aware of the dangers of fundamentalism and to support tolerance and peaceful relations among them.

I.   Introduction

The 20th century was marked by the rise and decline of world-spanning ideologies such as liberalism, fascism and communism. With the collapse of the Soviet Union we seemed to have finally entered a post-ideological age in which former political frameworks such as "left" and "right" have lost much of their meaning and relevance. This was supposedly the "end of history", as Francis Fukuyama claimed in his bestselling book.[1] However, this view was incorrect on many accounts. Another major ideological force has appeared on the world stage, which has continuously expanded around the world and also in the West since the Second World War. This ideological force is Islamic fundamentalism or radical Islamism, which is very much a product of the twentieth century.[2] The West's ability (or inability) to cope with it will determine the course of the twenty-first.

At a time when religion was in retreat in the West, it became a unifying element in many countries which had just achieved independence. Islam in particular has rapidly

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[1] F. Fukuyama (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*, London, Hamish Hamilton.
[2] M. Gove (2006) *Celsius 7/7: How the West's Policy of Appeasement Has Provoked Yet More Fundamentalist Terror – and What Has to Be Done About It*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 12

expanded and is now the fastest growing religious faith in the world. There are now over 1.3 billion Muslims living in 55 countries.[3] Considering also the fact that Muslims represent a large and growing proportion of the world population and that Muslim states in the Middle East and Asia control great wealth in the form of natural resources, there can be little doubt that Islam will be one of the main ideological forces shaping the twenty first century. The question whether there can be peace and respect between the West and the Islamic world, or whether we are headed towards a century of "Muslim Wars", is one of the most important issues that mankind currently faces.[4]

Why is Islam, which is a religion perceived as promoting peace, such a serious threat to the West? The answer is that the main problem does not lie in Islam itself, but in the fundamentalist interpretation of it, which sees Islam as a complete social and political model incompatible with the West. Fundamentalists completely reject the Western style social and political system and view Western societies as inherently corrupt and evil. Fundamentalists believe that the world is divided into a *dar al Islam* or Islamic realm (house of peace) and a *dar al harb*, or a realm of decadence and paganism (house of war).[5] Fundamentalists view the world as the place of a life-and-death struggle or jihad of the forces of Islam against the forces of decadence and disbelief.[6] Therefore, in this scenario there cannot be permanent peace unless the whole world is Islamised and unified under the umbrella of an Islamic superstate. At the very least fundamentalists want to recreate a pan-Islamic empire in the Middle East and Mediterranean region, as it existed during the Middle Ages. This idea is promoted by Osama bin Laden in his second declaration of war in 1998. He also claimed that "the ruling to kill the Americans and their allies--civilians and

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[3] A.S. Ahmed (2003) *Islam Under Siege/ Living Dangerously in a Post-Honour World*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p. 7
[4] S.P. Huntington (2002) `The Age of Muslim Wars', *Newsweek Special Edition*, Issues 2002 February, pp. 6-13
[5] A.S. Ahmed (2003) *Islam Under Siege/ Living Dangerously in a Post-Honour World*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p. 17
[6] Y.M. Choueiri (1990) *Islamic Fundamentalism*, London, Pinter, p. 135

military--is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim."[7] Although this message was hardly taken seriously or even noticed in the West during that time, this has changed significantly since 9/11.

Fundamentalism is certainly not a new phenomenon. Like any other belief system, Islam has undergone periods of crisis and revival. It seems that in times of crisis people tend to turn towards what they see as the foundations of their religion, and more radical ideas become appealing to the masses. Islamism as a political ideology, emerged after the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. This event marked the centuries-long decline of the Islamic civilization. Islamic lands were eventually colonised and occupied by Western powers, and Western culture and government was imposed on Islamic societies. What is seen by many Arabs as a particular humiliation was the creation of the state of Israel, which is in their eyes a continuation of Western colonialism and power politics in the Middle East.

For some time Middle Eastern states tried to embrace Westernization and secularisation according to the example of the Kemalists in Turkey. But this flirtation of Middle Eastern elites with Western conceptions of the state and society only caused an aggressive fundamentalist reaction among religious leaders and the ordinary people. An important example of this is Egypt in which the movement of the *Muslim Brotherhood* was founded. Its leader was Sayyed Qutb, one of the fathers of radical Islam, who claimed that Islam is incompatible with secularism and that Muslims should aim to overthrow secular governments in order to replace them with Islamic states upholding the shari'a law.

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[7] O. bin Laden (1998) "Text of Fatwah Urging Jihad Against Americans", published in Al-Quds al-'Arabi on Febuary 23, 1998

Islam and its radical interpretation was an important factor in the decolonisation of the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East and North Africa. It has proved to be more durable and successful than Arab nationalism and it spread through the West through immigrants and the communities they built. An important turning-point in history was the Iranian Revolution of 1979 that brought an Islamic fundamentalist regime into power and propagated Islam as an alternative to the model of the Western secularised state. The Iranian Revolution proved the point that Islam was not simply a religion like any other: it could function as a complete social system with its own social, political and cultural dimensions.[8]

II.   Relevance of the Problem

Today millions of Muslims from the Middle East and Asia are living in the West. They often represent the biggest cultural/religious minorities in many Western states. For example, in the United Kingdom, there are more than 1.6 million Muslims living among a population of just 60 million.[9] Their radicalisation through fundamentalist ideologies, which are spread by Islamic states, organisations and certain individuals, poses a great threat to the West, as these ideologies encourage Muslims to reject integration and to take part in a general jihad against the West and the Western concept of a liberal society.

Identifying the reasons for Islamic fundamentalism is crucial for addressing the issues. For a long time Britain has, like many other Western countries, simply ignored the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism. Robert Baer accuses Western security services of being particularly complacent about the threat posed to Western societies by Islamic fundamentalism rising in their midst. He claims that "in most parts of the Middle East, bookstores are forbidden from selling radical Islamic tracts that openly advocate violence,

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[8] D. Hiro (1989) *Islamic Fundamentalism*, London, HarperCollins, p. 61
[9] M. Phillips (2006) *Londonistan/ How Britain Is Creating a Terror State Within*, London, Gibson Square Books, p. 35

but in London's Arabic bookstores there were racks of them."[10] In his book he paints a picture of the Muslim communities in the West as being a "hothouse of Islamic fundamentalism". Other more recent popular books like Melanie Phillips' *Londonistan* or Bruce Bawer's *While Europe Slept* confirm this view of Britain as "Europe's Islamic terror factory".[11] At the same time, other public figures such as Tariq Ramadan and Labour MP George Galloway continue to say that there is nothing wrong with Islam and that Western provocations are to blame for Muslim outrages. There is no clear position on the extent and causes of the fundamentalist threat.

It is apparent that some of the 9/11 terrorists, most prominently their leader Mohammed Atta, had lived many years within Western countries. The terrorists involved in the 7/7 attacks in London had lived for many years in England. There is little doubt that there are Islamic fundamentalist groups within the UK, which are prepared to take part in a global jihad against the West. However, the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism in England is little researched and at the moment it is far from obvious what actually drives young men, who are living in a free and democratic society, to become radical and martyrs for an idealised version of Islam. Popular polemic treatments of the subject like Phillips' and Bawer's mirror a growing diffuse Islamophobia in the British society. Books on Islamic terrorism like Rohan Gunaratna's *Inside Al Qaeda* seem to suggest that virtually any Muslim organisation in the West is subverted and sponsored by terrorists and fundamentalists.[12]

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[10] R. Baer (2002) *See No Evil/ The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism*, New York, Crown Publishers, p. XV

[11] M. Phillips (2006) *Londonistan/ How Britain Is Creating a Terror State Within*, London, Gibson Square Books and B. Bawer (2006) *While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam Is Destroying the West from Within*, New York, Random House

[12] Gunaratna, R. (2002) *Inside Al Qaeda/ Global Network of Terror*, London, Hurst & Co

These books do little to enlighten us on the causes of Islamic fundamentalism. Even the British government has problems understanding Islamic fundamentalism and in finding appropriate ways of tackling the problem, which is best illustrated in the Abu Hamza affair. The Finsbury Park mosque preacher incited violence against infidels and the enemies of Islam for many years until British authorities finally arrested him because of US pressure. The British authorities still seem unwittingly to look closely at the problems to investigate its Islamic roots. A senior Metropolitan police officer for example claimed that "Islam and terrorists are two words that do not go together", while the suggestion of the Home Office Security and Policing Working Group report was to simply avoid drawing media attention to Islamic extremism.[13] This research project aims to explore the causes of fundamentalism within the concept of an Islamic experience of the West, and tries to develop viable policy options for dealing with fundamentalism in England. It could make a real difference for British policy and to British society.

III. An International Context

The danger of Islamic fundamentalism has an external as well as an internal dimension. Both are inextricably linked to each other and there is no way of addressing the domestic issues without at the same time addressing the international issues. This basic truth has shown itself in the Salman Rushdie affair of 1989, which first brought the problem of fundamentalism to the attention of the British public and government.[14] Rushdie had published his book *Satanic Verses*, which was perceived by Muslims as highly offensive because it ridiculed Prophet Mohammed and claimed that some verses in the Quran are

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[13] M. Gove (2006) *Celsius 7/7: How the West's Policy of Appeasement Has Provoked Yet More Fundamentalist Terror – and What Has to Be Done About It*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 101 and p. 105
[14] G. Kepel (1997) *Allah in the West/ Islamic Movements in America and Europe*, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 126-146

the work of the devil. It led to a fatwa by Ayatollah Khomeini against Rushdie demanding his death, after Margaret Thatcher had refused to ban the book in Britain. It also resulted in violent outbursts in Bradford, West Yorkshire, in which copies of Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* were burned.

The series of real and perceived offences against Muslims has not stopped. The latest outrage was caused by the so-called Mohammed cartoons that appeared in a Danish newspaper in 2005. Again it caused violent attacks by Muslims in Europe, though not in Britain.

One way of looking at these broader conflicts is in terms of Samuel Huntington's concept of a civilizational struggle that has replaced the Cold War world order.[15] Huntington certainly does not suggest that a "clash of civilizations" is inevitable, but contends that it might be a possible future scenario. The emerging core state of the Islamic civilization is Iran, and there is the possibility of Iran's conflict with the West turning into another regional war. Short of conventional war, terrorism has become a highly effective new form of war, which can be employed by weaker states against the much more powerful Western states. Terrorist sponsors can use ideology and their financial reserves to fund radical Islamic groups in the West and encourage them to commit terrorist attacks against the infidels.

An awareness of this broader context is clearly necessary for the proposed study. Obviously, not every Muslim in the West is a fundamentalist and there are lots of Islamic organisations of a very benign nature. At the same there are radicals and terrorists hiding within Muslim communities, and there are Islamic organisations, which are closely linked to global terrorism. Distinguishing the benign from the dangerous has become extremely difficult. Some Westerners might ask 'why bother?', as Islam appears ever more

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[15] Compare S.P. Huntington (1997) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, London, Simon & Schuster

threatening and ever more extreme counter-terrorism and security measures appear to be necessary. The proposed research project, however, intends to make that distinction and to show the relationship between the benign side of Islam and its dangerous side in the form of fundamentalism. It is a project that can address some of the most important issues of our time and give some guidance to British society in the coming decades.

IV.   Literature Review

There is a growing body of literature available on Islamic fundamentalism and Islam in the West from which this research project can draw. The literature can be divided into theoretical and historical studies on Islam, and its relation to and perception in the West. The broadest and most popular theory is Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, which interprets the post-Cold War international system as divided along civilizational lines with Islam as an ascendant civilization.[16] Benjamin Barber's *Jihad vs. McWorld* similarly interprets the world as locked into a cultural conflict between Western consumerism and Islamic backwardness.[17] While Islam is for Huntington a rising threat and for Barber a failing societal model, Bernard Lewis traces the decline of Islamic civilization in his historical study *What Went Wrong*.[18] Akbar Ahmed tries to explain theoretically why Islam is currently on a collision-course with the West in his book *Islam Under Siege.*[19] A large volume edited by Ken Booth and Tim Dunne, *Worlds in Collision* sets the scope of the conflict between Islam and West.[20] These books give some explanation for the rise of fundamentalism, but lack a sufficient empirical grounding.

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[16] S.P. Huntington (1997), *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, London, Simon & Schuster
[17] B. Barber (2003), *Jihad vs. McWorld*, London, Corgi
[18] B. Lewis (2003), What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson
[19] A.S. Ahmed (2003), *Islam Under Siege*, Cambridge, Polity Press
[20] K. Booth and T. Dunne (2002), *Worlds in Collision/ Terror and the Future of Global Order*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan

There are a few empirical studies on Muslims and fundamentalism in the West. Most important is probably Gilles Kepel's work.[21] Kepel has looked at the historical development of Islamism and Islamic communities in the US, France and Britain and he believes that Muslims disengage themselves from the societies they are living to cherish an alternative way of life that is in conflict with Western values and laws. A recent Policy Exchange Study on multiculturalism has researched the attitudes of Muslims in Britain and claims that religiosity is on the rise.[22]

Finally, there is a wealth of politicised and polemic treatments of the subject, among them the aforementioned books by Melanie Phillips and Bruce Bawer, which mainly point at the failure of the concept of the multicultural society.[23] The book by Michael Gove is much more balanced and also looks beyond domestic issues.[24] These books mainly look at the public debate of the issue of Islamic extremism and discuss the related problems.

The available literature does only give a rather incomplete picture. The causes for the radicalisation of Muslims in the West have not yet been properly researched. This research project aims to fill this gap in the literature and to contribute to the solution of the problem by making the right policy suggestions.

V.   Research Question

The aim of the research project is to explore why Muslims in England become fundamentalists and to what extent ideological subversion is responsible for this development. The main question is: what is Islamic fundamentalism, and what attracts

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[21] Compare G. Kepel (1997), *Allah in the West/ Islamic Movements in America and Europe*, Cambridge, Polity Press and G. Kepel (2003), *Jihad/ The Trail of Political Islam*, London, I.B. Tauris.
[22] Compare M. Mirza, A. Senthilkumaran, and Z. Ja'afar (2007), *Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism*, London, Policy Exchange
[23] Compare M. Phillips (2006), *Londonistan/ How Britain Is Creating a Terror State Within*, London, Gibson Square Books and B. Bawer (2006), *While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam Is Destroying the West from Within*, New York, Random House.
[24] Compare M. Gove (2006), Celsius 7/7: *How the West's Policy of Appeasement Has Provoked Yet More Fundamentalist Terror – and What Has to Be Done About It*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Muslims living in Western societies to it? There are several possible explanations that can be found in the literature.

1) <u>Islamic civilization has failed to adapt to modernity and is still in terminal decline.</u>[25] Fundamentalism becomes attractive to people as it promises a revival of Islam's glorious past. Fundamentalists reject Western societies and life styles mainly because of the relative weakness of Islamic states and societies in political and economic power and cultural influence. In this moment of crisis the West is identified as the main outside enemy. This helps to achieve political cohesion among Muslim states and communities around the world and this gives Muslims the strength necessary to restore Islam as one of the world's most powerful societal and political models.

2) <u>The cause for Muslims in the West turning to fundamentalism is their political and economic marginalisation and their failure of integration in Western societies.</u>

   The argument has been made that poverty, unemployment and lack of education was responsible for the rise of fascism and communism in Europe and Russia early in the 20th century. Hitler, it is said, came to power because he reflected a general sentiment of the German working class and promised an easy solution to Germany's extreme misery during the Great Depression. Similarly, it could be the case that Muslims in the West are radicalised because they have fewer opportunities than Westerners in terms of education and job prospects. At the same time they feel powerless as they feel excluded from the political process in the Western countries in which they are living. Such people have little to lose and this of makes them susceptible to ideologies that promise a solution to their personal situation. This encourages radicalisation.

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[25] B. Lewis (2003), *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

3) <u>European societies have become a "hothouse of terrorism" because of ideological subversion through fundamentalist states and groups</u> like Iran and al Qaeda, which nurture radicalisation. The main cause of radicalisation is then identified as outside ideological subversion that happens in Islamic community centres, organisations and mosques. Immigration is then crucial for supplying terrorists and ideologues, who can spread radical ideas and carry out terrorist attacks. Muslims living in the West become radicalised because easy access to Western societies and freedom of opinion allows fundamentalists to more or less openly advocate jihad against Western society and values. The openness and liberties of Western democracies make them particularly vulnerable to ideological attacks against which the West has no counter-ideologies to offer.

Identifying the real reason for the rise of fundamentalism in the West has major implications for the way in which the problems of fundamentalism and terrorism should be addressed. In the first case it might be just a matter of time until "they" become exactly like us: freedom-loving-market-economy-embracing individualists, as is suggest by Fukuyama and Barber.[26] The second case would suggest that it would be crucial to address the socio-economic issues of Muslims in the West and in the Middle East in order to make them turn away from a highly politicised interpretation of Islam. In the third case the most important measure would be to cut off this detrimental outside influence and to integrate Muslims more into the framework of Western societies by offering immigrants an alternative identity and ideology.

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[26] F. Fukuyama (1992), *The End of History and the Last Man*, London, Hamish Hamilton and B. Barber (2003), *Jihad vs. McWorld*, London, Corgi.

VI.   Methodology

The aim of the project is to conduct empirical research into Muslims and Muslim communities in England using quantitative and qualitative social research methods. The objective is to find out about their attitudes, belief sets, behaviour, social and economic situation and their participation in local and national British politics. It will be necessary to identify the main geographic areas where Muslims live and also particular representative Islamic communities in England. The research will include the review of relevant literature, the analysis of official statistics, Internet research, interviews, questionnaires and observation. For understanding the problem it is essential to define Islamic fundamentalism and to look at its origins and the reasons for its rise in the West.

The focus will be on finding out whether the primary challenge for young Muslims is cultural, personal, political or religious. The Channel 4 Dispatches survey (2006)[27] and the Policy Exchange study (2007)[2] have conducted quantitative surveys of attitudes and examined the proportions of Muslim people who are sympathetic to the radicals' points of view. The Policy Exchange study also investigated the social context of their feelings. However, they have not examined in detail the reasons why individual young people have the feelings that they do. Our study sets out, for the first time, to examine the precipitating factors in radicalisation for individual young Muslims. Our study poses some very important questions:

- What are the typical catalysts for radicalisation among young Muslims in Britain?

- At what point do radical Islamist political ideologies take root for a small minority?

- How quickly is this small minority of young people affected by these teachings?

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[27] Dispatches 'What Muslims Want' [online] 2006, available at
http://www.channel4.com/news/dispatches/article.jsp?id=412, accessed 07 August 2006
[2] M. Mirza, A. Senthilkumaran, and Z. Ja'afar (2007), *Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism*, London, Policy Exchange

- What conclusions can be drawn for social policy?

The aim of the study is to relate the feelings that are expressed as radicalisation to the specifics of individual experience. At what point do these feelings drive individuals into radical politics? Is this change the result of a gradual process, or is it typically precipitated by a particular event (racial discrimination, encounter with a charismatic teacher, news reports from the Muslim world)? The context for this will be to find out what young people (aged 15-35) are feeling and the particular reasons for these young people's feelings; whether they are happy; why some may choose to live apart; and the nature of their families and friendships. The study will therefore concern itself with their broad feelings towards the tradition of Islam and the decisive, radicalising experiences in their lives.

The main hypothesis of the study is that the points that precipitate radicalism are distinct and identifiable and relatable to particular experiences. They may have suffered inequality and discrimination. They may have started to feel that their only way of identifying with the 'Ummah' (Muslim brotherhood) is by feeling sympathy and empathy with other oppressed Muslim people in the world.[28] They may have been shocked or angered by a news report. But the question is: at which point do they start to feel so disconnected from the mainstream of British society within which they are living that they reject it and act against it? Are they affected by living in Britain, one of the rich countries of the world, and yet suffering from poverty? Does this affect their perspectives on political Islam?[29]

The information and data collected through a literature review, the online survey, interviews and focus groups will be used to develop a theoretical model that explains why certain young Muslims are more susceptible to radicalism than others. This would help to

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[28] Conflict resolution through engagement with Muslim minorities **as citizens**
(ref: Policy Exchange report 29.01.07 Living together, Apart), see M. Mirza, A. Senthilkumaran, and Z. Ja'afar, (2007), *Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism*, London, Policy Exchange.
[29] UNICEF report on childhood in industrialised countries UNICEF (2007) Report Card 7*, Child Poverty in Perspective: An Overview of Child Well-being in Rich Countries*, Florence, The United Nations Children's Fund.

find adequate policies for reducing this susceptibility and for fighting fundamentalism in general.

VII. Research Plan

The research will focus on young Muslims living in England in the age group 15 to 35. The main research methods will be a literature review, the analysis of secondary statistical information, an online survey, interviews and focus groups. The research will be carried out in the following geographic areas: London, Birmingham, Manchester and West Yorkshire. These are the areas with biggest and oldest Muslim communities in England. They are also the areas where most tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims have erupted in the past. The research will initially focus on the London area and will at a later stage expand to the other identified areas.

The project will consist of four phases: planning, implementation, production and dissemination. The project duration will be 15 months. It will require a team of three researchers. Estimated costs are £90,000 to cover salaries, equipment, travel expenses, office space, the costs of the dissemination of the results and other expenses.

Phase One: Planning & Piloting

Duration: four months, ending with a preliminary statement (Sep/Nov)

Purpose: to prepare the ground for the empirical research

In the initial phase of a research project it is crucial to identify and to define the precise research problem and to think about of the best way of collecting relevant information. A hypothesis concerning the phenomenon that is to be researched needs to be formulated. The working hypothesis at the moment is that Islamic fundamentalism in the West is linked

primarily to identifiable individual experiences, within a context of underlying socio-economic factors that prepare the ground for ideological subversion from the outside.

At the beginning there should be a review of relevant secondary literature and statistics on fundamentalism, sentiments of Muslims in the West, immigration and policies and the historic development of immigrant communities in Britain. This will help to clarify what kind of information is already available and what information still needs to be collected. Secondly, once it is decided what information needs to be collected and from where, the details of the research implementation can be planned. For example, this includes designing an online survey, questionnaires and interview strategies and planning the progression of the project. An online survey could include 40 questions relating to age, ethnicity, disability, social class, earnings, savings, type of housing, area of the country and highest educational level. It would also be necessary to establish quotas for selecting representative samples of young Muslims. Thirdly, Muslim community leaders, Muslim organisations in England (e.g. the Muslim Public Affairs Committee, the Muslim Institute, the Muslim Council of Britain) and other knowledgeable people (academics and politicians like Michael Gove or Tariq Ramadan) would need to be contacted to arrange informal interviews and to gain further information and potentially their cooperation for this project. It would also be necessary to carry out a pilot study and to test the research methods.

Phase Two: Implementation

Duration: six months

Purpose: the collection of data through quantitative and qualitative methods

In this project phase relevant data is collected according to the research planning. In addition to the online survey there will be in-depth interviews and focus groups with young Muslims from sample groups/communities. About 40 interviews and ten focus groups can

be reasonably conducted within six months, which would be the target. In this process it will be unavoidable to make adjustments to the initial plan, as obstacles may appear and as first results become available. The initial focus will be on the London region and after three months the research will include the areas outside London. The collection effort will involve a lot of travelling, but it might be possible to carry out a significant proportion of data collection by phone, mail, e-mail or observation of websites and weblogs. Interviews will be summarised in short reports and information derived from questionnaires can be inputted in databases and summarised in tables and charts.

Phase Three: Production

Duration: three months

Purpose: to analyse the collected data and to turn it into publishable material

In the final phase the data collection is completed and the data is analysed with respect to testing the initial hypothesis. The aim of research is to develop a theory or at least a model that would allow the interpretation of the observed phenomenon and maybe the prediction of its future development. In the production phase the research methods and results will be written up and prepared for publication. The results will then be published either in the form of several articles or as a single major publication. So it might be necessary to find a suitable publisher and to bring the material into an appropriate format. This process could take three months.

Phase IV: Dissemination

Duration: three months

Apart from the production of a scientific study, it is the intention of Tolerance International to disseminate the results to a much wider audience than just academia. The results will

need to be disseminated through a range of media including booklets, seminars, lectures, and potentially radio and TV, to English and Muslim communities. Another important recipient for the research results is the British government. The British government has an interest in maintaining peace and good relations with the immigrant communities and any effort toward understanding Islamic fundamentalism and educating people about its dangers could find the support of the government. There may be opportunities of working together on this issue with local councils and even the Home Office.

An important aspect of the research project is a connected community engagement programme. This could take many forms, for example, the establishment of discussion groups and web forums, the organisation of community events and the participation in local government. It is very difficult in the beginning to determine what kind of measures and efforts will be most successful in raising the awareness of the dangers of fundamentalism. This is simply one of the things that can only be figured out by doing it. In any case, it is necessary to start cautiously and to first build up trust between the parties involved before taking too great and too ambitious steps. In fact, it would be recommendable to leave the community engagement programme to a later stage of the research project when it has become clear what levels of cooperation and support are possible from the side of the Muslim communities as well as the British government.

Projected Cost breakdown

Cost Item	pa	Total
Salaries	£57,000	£68,750.00
IT Services		£3,000.00
Training		£500.00
Equipment		£3,400.00
Information/data		£3,400.00
Travelling		£1,600.00
Facilities		£500.00
Supplies		£500.00
Dissemination		£5,000.00
Total costs		**£86,650.00**
Project overhead		£3,350.00

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