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The nature and significance of religion among adolescents in the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall.

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The Nature and Significance of Religion among Adolescents in the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Wales, Bangor**

by

Alan G. C. Smith

July, 2002

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Synopsis

This research examines some of the religious practices, attitudes and beliefs of adolescent Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in Walsall in the West Midlands.

Chapter one poses the questions: 'What is the importance of religion among teenagers in Walsall? To what extent is it likely to influence teenagers' attitudes?'. The second chapter sets the research in its historical and sociological context by giving an account of Asian immigration into Britain and in particular to Walsall. It includes a description of where the South Asian British people live and worship in the borough. The next chapter sets out the way that the research has been undertaken and it provides details of the methodology and sample, whilst chapter four sets the scene by giving an overview of a range of religious practices of all the adolescents who took part in the research.

Chapters five to nine are an examination of how the religious beliefs of the Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents influence their attitudes to their inner life, to relationships and spirituality, to morality, to the world of the adolescents, and to the public world.

In chapters ten and eleven the profiles of the adolescents are compared and contrasted: firstly, in the light of religion; and secondly in the light of ethnicity. Following this, in chapter twelve, the focus changes to a smaller group of adolescents, namely those who are practising their faith. The practices and attitudes of the Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs adolescents are compared and contrasted with special regard to religious experiences, to beliefs, and to their own religious community.

The final chapter, reflecting on the similarities and differences between the profiles of the adolescents in the four religious groups, highlights the importance of religion for understanding attitudes and suggest ways in which this may have implications for the churches and other religious bodies, for health education and the provision of health services, for the youth service and schools, for crime prevention and the police, for politicians (both local and national), and for those concerned with work and enterprise.

Contents

1.	The nature and significance of religion in Walsall.....	11
2.	Setting the scene: Great Britain and Walsall.....	23
3.	The research: method and sample.....	44
4.	The religion of Walsall adolescents: responses from all the participants.....	54
5.	The influence of religion on the inner life.....	67
6.	The influence of religion on relating and spirituality.....	87
7.	The influence of religion on the adolescents' views on personal moral issues..	122
8.	The influence of religion on the world of the adolescents.....	159
9.	The influence of religion on the adolescents' views of work, world and politics.....	203
10.	The influence of ethnicity on the values and attitudes of Walsall adolescents.....	239
11.	The religion of Walsall adolescents who practice their faith.....	247
12.	The influence of religion on the values and attitudes of Walsall adolescents: a review and summary.....	292
13.	Conclusions.....	311
14.	Appendices	
	14.1.0.0. The questionnaire.....	319
	14.2.0.0. Glossary.....	340
	14.3.0.0. Abbreviations.....	342
	14.4.0.0. Transliteration.....	342
	14.5.0.0. A note on nomenclature.....	343
	14.6.0.0. Statistics.....	344
15.	Bibliography.....	345

A List of Tables

- Table 1.3.0.0.a How do you describe your identity?
Table 1.3.0.0.b. Religion and colour in self-description
Table 1.3.0.0.c. How important is religion to the way you live your life?
Table 2.1.1.0.a. Ethnic group composition of Great Britain, 1991
Table 2.1.1.0.b. The ethnic origins of immigrants
Table 2.1.2.0.a. Family type with dependent children
Table 2.1.3.0.a. Adult sample (immigrants only): future intentions, by birthplace
Table 2.1.4.0.a. Ethnic minorities in Great Britain by region, 1991
Table 2.1.5.0.a. Age composition of Asians and whites, 1991
Table 2.1.6.0.a. Growth of Britain's South Asian Population
Table 2.1.7.0.a. Religious affiliation of South Asians in Britain
Table 2.2.0.0.a. Age structure of the population in the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall
Table 2.3.3.0.a. Age structure of the population in Walsall by ethnic groups
Table 2.3.4.0.a. The percentage of ethnic population in the wards
Table 2.4.1.0.a. Places of worship in Walsall
Table 3.5.0.0.a. Secondary Schools in Walsall
Table 3.5.0.0.b. The sample: gender
Table 3.5.0.0.c. The sample: year group
Table 4.1.1.0.a. Do you belong to a church or other religious group?
Table 4.1.1.0.b. Think back to the period when you were 16, would you have described yourself as belonging to a particular religion then? Which?
Table 4.1.2.0.a. Have you attended worship at any of the following places of worship during the past year?
Table 4.1.3.0.a. Have you attended any of these services at a place of worship in the last year?
Table 4.1.4.0.a. How often do you go to church or other place of worship?
Table 4.1.5.0.a. Did you regularly go to worship (i.e. at least once a month) at these ages?
Table 4.1.6.0.a. Do you pray by yourself?
Table 4.1.6.0.b. Frequency of private prayer expressed as percentage of each sex:
Table 4.2.1.0.a. Have you ever had something you would describe as a religious experience?
Table 4.2.2.0.a. Do you feel that your life is being guided by God?
Table 4.3.1.0.a. Did you regularly attend Christian Sunday School (i.e. at least once a month) at these ages?
Table 4.3.2.0.a. Do you read the bible by yourself?
Table 4.3.3.0.a. Have you been baptised/christened?
Table 4.3.4.0.a. Have you been confirmed or admitted to adult membership of a Christian Church?
Table 4.3.5.0.a. Do you go to Christian meetings/societies at school?
Table 5.1.1.1.a. Well-being: an overview of Walsall adolescents
Table 5.1.1.1.b. Well-being: Francis and Kay
Table 5.1.1.2.a. Well-being: by religion
Table 5.1.1.3.a. Well-being: the influence of Asian culture
Table 5.1.2.1.a. Worries: an overview of Walsall adolescents
Table 5.1.2.1.b. Worries: Francis and Kay
Table 5.1.2.2.a. Worries: by religion
Table 5.1.2.3.a. Worries: the influence of Asian culture

Table 5.1.3.1.a. Church and religion: an overview
 Table 5.1.3.1.b. Church and religion: Francis and Kay
 Table 5.1.3.2.a. Church and religion: the influence of religion
 Table 5.1.3.3.a. Church and religion: the influence of Asian culture
 Table 6.1.1.1.a. Religious beliefs: an overview of Walsall adolescents
 Table 6.1.1.1.b. Religious beliefs: Francis and Kay
 Table 6.1.1.1.c. Which statement best describes your beliefs about God?
 Table 6.1.1.2.a. Religious beliefs: by religion
 Table 6.1.1.3.a. Religious beliefs: the influence of Asian culture
 Table 6.1.1.3.b. Children are influenced by Christianity by attending assemblies at school with a Christian service.
 Table 6.1.2.1.a. Supernatural: an overview of Walsall adolescents
 Table 6.1.2.1.b. Supernatural: Francis and Kay
 Table 6.1.2.2.a. Supernatural: by religion
 Table 6.1.2.3.a. Supernatural: the influence of Asian culture
 Table 6.1.3.1.a. Listening ear: an overview
 Table 6.1.3.1.b. Listening ear: Francis and Kay
 Table 6.1.3.1.c. Attitude of parents to 14-15 year olds
 Table 6.1.3.1.d. When I am in trouble I
 Table 6.1.3.2.a. Listening ear: by religion
 Table 6.1.3.2.b. CRE: Age breakdown
 Table 6.1.3.3.a. Listening ear: the influence of Asian culture
 Table 6.1.3.3.b. Dyad composition of the sample
 Table 6.1.3.3.c. Frequency of use of five types of confidante and the proportion of respondents putting *family, friends*, first in the list.
 Table 7.1.1.1.a. Sexual morality: an overview
 Table 7.1.1.1.b. Sexual morality: Francis and Kay
 Table 7.1.1.2.a. Sexual morality: by religion
 Table 7.1.1.2.b. Did you first have sexual intercourse before the age of 16?
 Table 7.1.1.3.a. Sexual morality: the influence of Asian culture
 Table 7.1.1.3.b. Do you think you will be likely to use family planning or birth control methods to limit your family or not?
 Table 7.1.1.3.c. Contraceptives used by religion
 Table 7.1.1.3.d. Did you first have sexual intercourse under the age of 16?
 Table 7.1.2.1.a. Right and wrong: an overview
 Table 7.1.2.1.b. Right and wrong: Francis and Kay
 Table 7.1.2.1.c. Moral judgements: the percentages of the total of each sex who endorse the different rating categories
 Table 7.1.2.2.a. Right and wrong: by religion
 Table 7.1.2.2.b. Here are some possible ways of helping to prevent crime in Britain. How effective do you think each one is?
 Table 7.1.2.2.c. Religious faith and views on crime prevention
 Table 7.1.3.3.a. Right and wrong: by religion
 Table 7.1.3.3.b. Do you think that white people are more law abiding than Indian/West Indian/Pakistani people?
 Table 7.1.3.1.a. Substance use: an overview of Walsall adolescents
 Table 7.1.3.1.b. Substance use: Francis and Kay
 Table 7.1.3.1.c. Moral judgements: the percentage of the total of each sex who endorse the different rating categories
 Table 7.1.3.1.a. Substance use: by religion
 Table 7.1.3.3.a. Substance use: the influence of Asian culture
 Table 7.1.3.3.b. Smoking
 Table 7.1.3.3.c. Frequency of alcohol use
 Table 8.1.1.1.a. Leisure: an overview of Walsall adolescents
 Table 8.1.1.1.b. Leisure: Francis and Kay
 Table 8.1.1.2.a. Leisure: by religion

Table 8.1.1.2.b. Out of school and spare time activities

Table 8.1.1.2.c. Child survey sample: frequency of selected leisure activities

Table 8.1.1.2.d. I would like more freedom than my parents give

Table 8.1.1.3.a. Leisure: the influence of Asian religion

Table 8.1.1.3.b. What do you like to do when you are not at school?

Table 8.1.1.3.c. Leisure activities by ethnic origin and by gender: males

Table 8.1.1.3.d. Leisure activities by ethnic origin and by gender: females

Table 8.1.1.3.e. Respondents wishing to take part in activities in local authority facilities but who felt unable to do so by ethnic origin and by gender.

Table 8.1.1.3.f. If you had a daughter would you let her go to the places where white girls go?

Table 8.1.2.1.a. School: an overview of Walsall adolescents

Table 8.1.2.1.b. School: Francis and Kay

Table 8.1.2.1.c. Children's attitude to school

Table 8.1.2.1.d. On the whole I like being at school

Table 8.1.2.1.e. Attitudes to school: 16 year olds: 1985-1994

Table 8.1.2.2.a. School: by religion

Table 8.1.2.3.a. School: the influence of Asian culture

Table 8.1.2.3.b. Attitudes to school by ethnic origin

Table 8.1.2.3.c. Attitude to school

Table 8.1.2.3.d. The wishes for school-leaving ages of Asian and white groups

Table 8.1.2.3.e. Future educational intentions and wishes

Table 8.1.3.1.a. My area: an overview of Walsall adolescents

Table 8.1.3.1.b. My area: Francis and Kay

Table 8.1.3.1.c. Do you regard any of these as raising very serious social problems in Britain today?

Table 8.1.3.2.a. My area: by religion

Table 8.1.3.2.b. It is difficult to practice my religion in the area

Table 8.1.3.2.c. If I had teenage daughters I would not let them go to any of the places where white girls go in this area

Table 8.1.3.3.a. My area: the influence of Asian culture

Table 9.1.1.1.a. Work: an overview of Walsall adolescents

Table 9.1.1.1.b. Work: Francis and Kay

Table 9.1.1.2.a. Work: the influence of religion

Table 9.1.1.2.b. Vocational aspirations

Table 9.1.1.2.c. Male and female employees' earnings

Table 9.1.1.3.a. Work: the influence of Asian culture

Table 9.1.1.3.b. Unemployment among Asian and white young people (16 - 24)

Table 9.1.2.1.a. Global and national concerns: an overview

Table 9.1.2.1.a. Global and national concerns: Francis and Kay

Table 9.1.2.1.b. Response of young people to the statement 'If I had my way.....'

Table 9.1.2.1.c. Response of young people to the statement 'I'd give up a lot for.....'

Table 9.1.2.2.a. Global and national concerns: by religion

Table 9.1.2.3.a. Global and national concerns: the influence of Asian culture

Table 9.1.3.1.a. Politics: an overview of Walsall adolescents

Table 9.1.3.1.b. Politics: Francis and Kay

Table 9.1.3.2.a. Politics: the influence of religion in Walsall

Table 9.1.3.3.a. Politics: the influence of Asian culture

Table 11.1.0.0.a. Walsall adolescents: adherence to one of the four faiths

Table 11.2.1.0.a. To which church do you belong?

Table 11.2.1.0.b. Denominational affiliation shown as percentage of the total number of each sex

Table 11.2.1.0.c. To which religion or denomination do you belong?

Table 11.2.2.0.a. Which services did you attend last Sunday?

Table 11.2.4.0.a. Are you involved in any of the following at your church?

- Table 11.2.4.0.b Type of involvement: church - the responses of all the young people who claimed involvement in church
- Table 11.2.4.0.c Benefits of participation: church - the responses of all the young people who claimed involvement in church
- Table 11.2.5.0.a Attitudes towards aspects of the church
- Table 11.3.1.0.a Which mandir do you attend?
- Table 11.3.2.0.a Have you been to the mandir recently?
- Table 11.3.4.0.a Are you involved in any of the following activities at your mandir?
- Table 11.3.5.0.a Hindus: personal religious practices
- Table 11.3.6.0.a Attitudes towards aspects of the mandir
- Table 11.3.7.0.a Who looks after the shrine in your home?
- Table 11.4.1.0.a Which mosque do you attend?
- Table 11.4.2.0.a Do you attend Friday prayers?
- Table 11.4.2.0.b The frequency of visits to the mosque by Muslims, by sex and age
- Table 11.4.4.0.a Muslim adolescents: Do you do any of the following activities?
- Table 11.4.4.0.b Attendance at mosque (for those who reported attending once a week or more)
- Table 11.4.4.0.c Muslims: frequency of praying
- Table 11.4.4.0.d Do you attend any of the following activities at your mosque?
- Table 11.4.5.0.a Girls' dress at home and mosque
- Table 11.4.5.0.b Asian girls and Western clothing
- Table 11.4.6.0.a Attitudes towards aspects of the mosque
- Table 11.5.2.0.a Which days do you normally go to the gurdwara?
- Table 11.5.2.0.b Religious activities of Punjabi boys in Birmingham
- Table 11.5.2.0.c Attendance at the gurdwara: Bhattra Sikhs in Cardiff
- Table 11.5.4.0.a Are you involved in any of the following at your gurdwara?
- Table 11.5.5.0.a Questions about the adolescents' religious practice
- Table 11.5.6.0.a Attitudes towards aspects of the gurdwara
- Table 11.6.1.0.a Attendance at places of worship
- Table 11.6.1.0.c How often do you pray?
- Table 11.6.1.0.c How often do you attend worship at the mosque, temple or gurdwara?
- Table 11.6.1.0.d How often do you attend services or prayer meetings or go to a place or worship?
- Table 11.6.2.0.a Conversion: a comparison of the four religions
- Table 11.6.3.0.a Are you involved in study at your place of worship?
- Table 11.6.3.0.b Are you involved in acts of service in your place of worship?
- Table 11.6.3.0.c Are you involved in social activities in your place of worship?
- Table 11.6.3.0.d Are you involved in music in your place of worship?
- Table 11.6.4.0.a Worship is boring
- Table 11.6.4.0.b Views on religious leaders
- Table 11.6.4.0.c Spreading the faith
- Table 11.6.4.0.d Concern about local social issues
- Table 11.6.4.0.d. I would like my church/mandir/mosque/gurdwara to give clearer teaching about moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex
- Table 11.6.4.0.e. Relevance of teaching, talks and sermons
- Table 11.6.4.0.f. More young people would come to the church/mandir/mosque/gurdwara if we were more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment
- Table 11.6.4.0.g. More young people would come to the church/mandir/mosque/gurdwara if they could be involved in decision making
- Table 11.6.4.0.h. More young people would come to the church/mandir/mosque/gurdwara if there were less rules about how to live their lives

Maps

- Map 2.2.0.0.a. The wards of the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall and their population, 1991 census
- Map 2.2.0.0.b. Population density of the wards in Walsall, 1991 census
- Map 2.2.0.0.c. Population density of 5-15 year olds in the wards of Walsall, 1991 census
- Map 2.3.4.0.a. Ethnic minority population in Walsall, 1991 census

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1.0.0.0. THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION IN WALSALL

In this chapter a description is given of the questions underlying this piece of research and the approach which has been adopted in order to answer them.

Contents:	1.1.0.0. Introduction
	1.2.0.0. Religion and attitudes
	1.3.0.0. Other religious traditions
	1.4.0.0. Ethnicity and attitudes
	1.5.0.0. The attitudes of adolescents who practise their faith
	1.6.0.0. Summary and implications

1.1.0.0. Introduction

This thesis is a study of the nature and significance of religion among adolescents in the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall. Most research into ethnic minority communities in Britain has been undertaken on the basis of their ethnicity (Knott, 1992b: 4) and has viewed religion as an expression of ethnicity (Knott, 1992b: 13). Whilst it is undoubtedly true that ethnicity is an important factor in understanding a group, it is not the only one (Knott, 1986: 53) and if it is not balanced by research into other aspects, such as religion, then important insights may be missed (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990: 12; Bhachu, 1991a: 410; Knott, 1992a: 25).

As elsewhere in Britain, only a minority of people in Walsall today are practising Christians, although the majority have been brought up in a culture which has been deeply influenced by the Christian faith. This influence can be seen in the church buildings and chapels located in every part of the Borough, in the many people who still expect to have a religious funeral service, and in the civic life of the town with its annual mayoral service and the prayers which are still said at the beginning of Council meetings. The widely pervasive influence of Christianity provides the backdrop against which this study has been undertaken.

In recent decades significant number of adherents to religions other than Christianity have moved into Walsall. Many Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, most of whose families originated in the Indian subcontinent, now live in the Borough and they have brought with them their religious beliefs, traditions and practices. Their presence can be seen in the mandirs, mosques and gurdwaras which have been and are still being built, by the crowds of Muslims going to the mosques for Friday prayers, and by the Sikh and Hindu processions which sometimes take place through the town. Religion still appears to be at the heart of many of these South Asian communities in Walsall.

None of these religions is practised in isolation. The adolescents from each of the different faith communities (as well as those who now profess no religion) meet each other at school and to a certain extent at leisure. They participate in Religious Education lessons together and are expected to learn about each other's faith. This has produced a melting pot where different religious ideas and beliefs are discussed and debated. There is already a considerable body of research into the religion of the ethnic minorities in Britain, such as James (1974), Saifullah-Khan (1974), Ghuman (1975, 1980, 1994 and 1999), Jackson (1976 and 1981), Jeffery (1976), Watson (1977), the Commission for Racial Equality (1978), Ally (1979), Kalra (1980), Singh (1980 and 1992), Bhachu (1981), Bowen (1981 and 1988), Kanitkar and Jackson (1982), Johnson (1985), Barton (1986), Anwar (1985, 1994a and 1994b), Cole (1985 and 1989), Knott (1986, 1992a, 1994 and 2000), Robinson (1986), Burghart (1987), Nielsen (1987a, 1987b and 1988), Robinson and Jackson (1987), Drury (1988 and 1996), Shaw (1988), Wilkinson (1988), Badham (1989), Mizra (1989), Inglehart (1990), Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990), Law (1991), Nesbitt (1991, 1994, 1995 and 1997), Kalsi (1992), Barot (1993), Jackson and Nesbitt (1993), Raza (1993), Tatla (1993b), Ballard (1994a), Lewis (1994b and 1996), Modood, Beishon and Virdee (1994), Joly (1995), Vertovec (1996 and 1998) and Modood *et al* (1997).

As well as a large number of individual scholars, three centres in particular have produced research on the importance of religion as an important key in understanding ethnic minorities: The Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations in Selly Oak, Birmingham, The Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick and The Community Religions Project in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds (Knott, 1984 and 1988).

However, hardly any research has been undertaken into the religious practices and beliefs in the Borough of Walsall, apart from Fetcher's *Hindus in Walsall* (1980), Walsall Council for Community Relations' *Sikhs in Walsall* (1980) and Huggett's *Different Faiths: a challenge to the church in Walsall* (1991). Assumptions may have been made, but many basic questions have never been posed and their answers evaluated. For example, how many of the teenagers in Walsall believe in God? How many pray? What proportion of the adolescents attend worship on a regular basis? Have any of them had a religious experience? What do they think about religions other than their own? To answer these questions the first part of this research sets out to collect and analyse data about the teenagers in order to describe some of their religious practices and beliefs.

1.2.0.0. Religion and attitudes

The core of this research seeks to discover if these religious beliefs have any influence on the attitudes that the teenagers held and if so, to what extent. If it is possible to gain a fuller understanding of how attitudes are formed and influenced, it might make a significant contribution to a wide range of important issues, such as education, drug and alcohol use, health education, and work and employment.

In recent decades some academics have argued that religion in the Western world has very little bearing on attitudes, if indeed any influence at all. This may be partly because some sociologists and social theorists have been influenced by a theory of secularisation which

originated in the thinking of Weber (1965) and which was developed by a number of scholars such as Wilson (1966; 1976), Berger (1969), Martin (1969; 1978), Acquaviva (1979), Lechner (1991; 1996), Tschannen (1991) and Bruce (1996). Put simply, this theory has posited that in a post-enlightenment world, in which scientific methods of analysis are thought to provide the keys for understanding the world and human behaviour, the practice and influence of religion is gradually and inexorably declining. While this theory has not been without its critics (see, for example, Bell, 1980: 328 - 332), nevertheless it has been broadly accepted within many academic circles. Although the decline in church attendance of Christians in the United Kingdom over the past century is well documented and is not in dispute (Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, 1977; Gill, 1993; Brierley, 2000; Graff and Need, 2000: 123), it is not clear that there is a decline in *all* forms of religion in the West; nor is it clear whether any decline is linear or part of a cyclical pattern.

There are three main factors which have raised questions about the theory of secularisation. First, the growth of what are often called New Age beliefs and practices in the western world (Gill, 1999: 79). Secondly, the persistence of relatively high levels of religious belief and practice in the United States of America, which arguably is the country most influenced by post-modernism and which does not seem to fit with the theory (Stark and Bainbridge, 1985: 1 - 3; 1987: 279 - 313). Thirdly, a number of commentators have noted the world-wide resurgence of religion in the closing decades of the twentieth century, which appears to be not just a rise of fundamentalism among minority groups but a growth of what might be described as 'main stream religion' (Hammond, 1985; Newbigin, 1989: 212 - 213; Huntington, 1996: 95 - 101).

These, and other factors, have led some scholars to focus on the relative strength and persistence of religion in the modern world (Greeley, 1972; Stark and Iannaccone, 1994; Verweij, Ester and Nauta, 1997), whilst other scholars have re-examined the data and put forward alternative explanations. For example, some suggest that religion in the United

Kingdom is not disappearing but rather changing and evolving. Davie (1994), for example, commenting on the European Values Study, pointed out that the material tends to be clustered into two groups, 'On the one hand, those concerned with feelings, experience and the more numinous religions beliefs; on the other, those which measure religious orthodoxy, ritual participation and institutional attachment. It is, moreover, the latter (the more orthodox indicators of religious attachment) which display, most obviously, an undeniable degree of secularisation throughout Western Europe. In contrast, the former (the less institutional indicators) reveal a considerable persistence in *some* aspects of religious life' (Davie, 1994: 12).

Allied to theories of secularisation has been the widespread assumption that religion has little or no effect on attitudes or behaviour. Gill (1999: 32 - 34) traced the origin of this assumption back to research undertaken by Mass-Observation and published in 1947 under the title *Puzzled People*, to Gorer's *Exploring English Character* (1955) and to some of the early Gallup Polls, which were used by Wilson (1966). However, Gill is critical of the definitions of churchgoing use by the *Puzzled People* and the way that Gorer confused empirical and moral statements which may have 'blurred moral differences between churchgoers and nonchurchgoers' (1999: 38).

Gill claimed that many theologians and sociologists have worked on the assumption that being a member of a congregation which meets for worship has 'little (beneficial) moral effect upon churchgoers' (1999: 2), that 'a review of literature within the sociology of religion over the last few decades does seem to confirm a widespread conviction that the beliefs and behaviour of churchgoers are little different from those of nonchurchgoers' (1999: 31) and that 'churchgoing is seldom thought to be an activity that has an appreciable effect upon moral/social attitudes or behaviour' (1999: 31). Gill questioned the way that some scholars have interpreted the data and also pointed out that other polls, such as the 1954 BBC survey (BBC, 1955) and the 1964 ABC Television survey (ABC, 1965), showed a clear correlation

between churchgoing and attitudes (Gill 1999: 38 - 40). This has been backed up by an European Values Systems Study Group survey (Abrams, Gerard and Timms, 1985: 50 - 92), Francis (1982) and Francis and Kay (1995). Incidentally, a correlation has also been established in research undertaken by Bouma and Dixon (1986) in Australia.

Gill also examined data from the British Household Panel Surveys and the British Social Attitudes Surveys and concluded 'The mass of new data shows that churchgoers are indeed distinctive in their attitudes and behaviour. Some of their attitudes do change over time, especially on issues such as sexuality, and there are obvious moral disagreements between different groups of churchgoers in a number of areas. Nevertheless, there are broad patterns of Christian beliefs, teleology and altruism which distinguish churchgoers as a whole from nonchurchgoers. It has been seen that churchgoers have, in addition to their distinctive theistic and christocentric beliefs, a strong sense of moral order and concern for other people. They are, for example, more likely than others to be involved in voluntary service and to see overseas charitable giving as important. They are more hesitant about euthanasia and capital punishment and more concerned about the family and civic order than other people. None of these differences is absolute. The values, virtues, moral attitudes and behaviour of churchgoers are shared by other people as well. The distinctiveness of churchgoers is real but relative' (Gill, 1999: 197). These conclusions are backed up by the research which was undertaken by Roberts and Sachdev (1996: 107 and 110).

Bringing together these pieces of research has brought into question the notion that religion has little or no influence on attitudes or anything else. Indeed, one American doctor has gone a stage further and has researched the effect of religion on physical and mental health. He has claimed to have found a correlation (Koenig, 1997, 93-93). Putting all this evidence together was sufficient to justify a study to ascertain to what extent Christianity might influence adolescents in Walsall and in particular how it might influence their attitudes and values.

1.3.0.0. Other religious traditions

Although Gill and others have argued that there is a relationship between churchgoing among Christians and attitudes, it was decided to broaden the scope of research and to explore if there was also a connection between religious practice and attitudes among adherents of other faiths in Walsall as well as among Christians. A small amount of research has already been undertaken in this area, which points to a link. Heath, Taylor and Toka (1993: 58), drawing on material from the British Social Attitude surveys which contrasted Protestant, Roman Catholic and 'other religion', observed 'The position one takes on these [personal and moral] issues depends on religiosity, not on denomination or, more surprisingly perhaps, on nationality'. Interestingly, there is also evidence that research based on religious categories may reveal other significant insights, not just about attitudes. For example, Robinson and Flintoff (1982: 251 - 258) and Modood *et al* (1997: 113 - 114) found a relationship between religion and wage levels.

Although there was not a great deal of existing research related to this topic, there was sufficient evidence linking religious practices, beliefs and attitudes to justify a study and that, as well as Christian teenagers, the relation between Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents' religious beliefs and attitudes should be explored. In addition there were two other factors which suggest that a study of attitudes based on religious as well as ethnic categories might reveal some significant results.

The first factor was that many people from an ethnic minorities background think that religious categories are at least as important as ethnic categories in describing themselves. Modood, Beishon and Virdee (1994: 91) asked the interviewees in their research how they wished to define themselves and concluded 'Most South Asians, then, identified more with an ethnic or religious identity than with being "Asians" '. Ghuman (1994: 68 - 69) interviewed fifty Asians adolescents aged 13 - 15 years old from three Birmingham schools, which comprised

90% Asian pupils, 5% black pupils and 5% white pupils. He asked them how they would choose to describe their identity and the responses are shown in table 1.3.0.0.a.

Table 1.3.0.0.a. How do you describe your identity?

	Don't know %	English/ British %	British/Muslim Hindu identity %	Asian %
Hindu and Sikh	6	6	46	2
Muslim	4	2	30	4
Total	10	8	76	5

Source: Ghuman (1994: 68)
N = 50

It is significant that the vast majority of the adolescents chose to use religious rather than ethnic categories with which to describe themselves. However, it is important to note that the sample was relatively small, so some caution should be exercised interpreting the data. The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (Modood, Berthoud, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith, Virdee and Beishon, 1997: 292 - 294) found that compared with the Caribbeans (who considered that skin colour was more important than religion in self-description) a higher proportion of the Indians, African Asians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Chinese thought that religious categories were more important than skin colour to describe themselves (table 1.3.0.0.b.).

Table 1.3.0.0.b. Religion and colour in self-description: 'These would tell a new acquaintance something important about me'

	Caribb- ean %	Indian %	African Asian %	Paki- stani %	Bangla- deshi %	Chinese %
Religion	44	73	68	83	75	25
Skin colour	61	37	29	31	21	15
<i>Weighted count</i>	<i>765</i>	<i>606</i>	<i>290</i>	<i>397</i>	<i>141</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>Unweighted count</i>	<i>580</i>	<i>595</i>	<i>361</i>	<i>538</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>101</i>

Source: Modood *et al* (1997: 293)

They concluded 'Nationality continued to be stressed, but in the case of South Asians religion was held to be equally or more important' (Modood *et al*, 1997: 294). Other researchers have observed the same phenomenon (Hutnik, 1991: 88-91; Modood, Beishon and Virdee, 1994: 62; Knott and Khokher, 1993: 605; Nesbitt and Jackson, 1993-4: 57).

The second reason was the value that many Asians placed on religion as an important influence in their lives. Not only do many South Asians British and African Asians choose to use religious categories to describe themselves, but, compared with the white population a higher proportion consider that their religion is very important to them. This was shown by Modood *et al* (1997: 301) (table 1.3.0.0.c.).

Table 1.3.0.0.c. 'How important is religion to the way you live your life?' [The table excludes those who claimed to have no religion]

	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Church of England		Roman Catholic		Old Protestant		New Prot Car
	%	%	%	W	O	W	O	W	O	%
Very important	43	46	74	11	37	32	35	32	43	71
Fairly important	46	40	21	35	32	37	38	30	42	24
Not important	11	14	4	53	30	32	27	38	15	5

Source: Modood *et al* (1997: 301)

W = white; O = others; Prot= Protestant; Car = Caribbeans

In order to make this research manageable it was decided to limit it to five broad areas of attitudes. First, to undertake an exploration of attitudes about the adolescents' inner life: their sense of well being, their worries and their attitudes to church and religion. Secondly, to look at three aspects of relating to others and spirituality. These include religious beliefs, the supernatural and personal relationships. This was followed by an examination of three aspects of morality, namely sexual morality; views of what is right and wrong; and the use and abuse of addictive substances. Fourthly, there is an exploration of three aspects of the

adolescents' world, namely, leisure, school and the area in which they live. Finally, there is a study of their attitudes to the public world of work, global and national issues and politics.

1.4.0.0. Ethnicity and attitudes

Whilst the main focus of the research examined the influence of religion on attitudes, it has also been possible to ask to what extent does the ethnic background of the adolescents still influence the way they view things? This has been achieved by collating the material into two groups. The first group comprises those who described themselves as Christian and those who described themselves as 'non-affiliates'. The vast majority in this group were white, although there were a small number of Afro-Caribbeans and also a few non-practising Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The other group comprised those who described themselves as Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. There were very few white children who were Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs (usually the result of mixed marriages), so it is possible to define this group by their ethnic origins as 'South Asian British' (see section 14.5.0.0. for a note on the nomenclature used in this thesis), although the vast majority of them were born in the United Kingdom. It is conceivable that a small number of Afro-Caribbeans were to be found in this group. By comparing the responses of the adolescents when analysed on the basis of their religion with their responses made on the basis of their ethnic background, it would demonstrate if there are significant insights to be gained from using religious categories for research.

Having argued for the importance of comparing and contrasting two categories or approaches to research (ethnic and religious) it should be noted that a number of scholars have argued that caution should be exercised in using simplistic notions of 'culture' or 'community' as a constant (Samad, 1998: 59 - 61). The danger of describing people as an ethnic or religious groups is that they are not homogeneous and they may encompass a wide range of traditions, values and attitudes (for example, Ellis, 1991, 369 - 371; Lewis, 1997: 130. 142 - 144). Vertovec and Rogers (1998: 4) expanded on this: 'the gist of such criticisms is that both terms [religion and ethnicity] are often used to represent integrated and bounded wholes

characterised by uniform rules, values, practices and traits - or, as such understandings have come to be portrayed, both terms convey 'essentialist' meanings in which entire groups or categories of people are stereotyped as homogeneously imbued with specific attributes. 'Religion' and 'ethnicity' have also commonly been filled with essentialist connotations as well. More open, fluid, contested and socially constructed understandings of all these terms are now usually advocated instead'. What this research sets out to provide is a snapshot at one point in time of the religion and attitudes of Walsall adolescents.

1.5.0.0. The attitudes of adolescents who practice their faith

The primary focus of the research was to examine the beliefs and attitudes of all the teenagers in the sample. However, from a personal knowledge of the religious leaders and the places of worship it was clear that while many adolescents were actively involved, others did not attend worship on a regular basis and may not even consider themselves to be religious. This research provided the ideal opportunity to take a closer look at those teenagers who claimed to be practising their faith. Where and how often did they worship? To what extent did they observe the main tenet of their faith? How did they view their leaders, the worship and the activities of their place of worship? Would they like to see changes? Therefore in the final part of the questionnaire four extra sections were included, looking at young Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs: those adolescents who were practising their faith were asked to fill in a section of the questionnaire concerned with their religion. This provided a great deal of data both about their religious practices and also their attitudes towards their place of worship and their leaders.

1.6.0.0. Summary and implications

The thesis concludes by reflecting upon some implications which can be drawn from the data. What is the significance of the ways in which the teenagers view the area in which they live with its problems and opportunities? If religion is a predictor of attitude and behaviour, then does this have any implications for the formation of social and political policy, not least in the

prioritising and focusing of resources? Are there any insights to be gained from a deeper understanding of ethical and moral behaviour which might influence the sort of society we belong to?

2.0.0.0. SETTING THE SCENE: GREAT BRITAIN AND WALSALL

In order to set the research in context, an history of immigration into Britain and Walsall during the past sixty years and a description of the South Asian British population in the borough today is given. The four largest religious communities in the town, the Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs are also described.

Contents	2.1.0.0. Immigration and settlement in Britain since the Second World War
	2.1.1.0. Countries of origin
	2.1.2.0. Phases of migration
	2.1.3.0. Process of settlement
	2.1.4.0. Size of the ethnic minority population
	2.1.5.0. The age of the ethnic population
	2.1.6.0. The growth of the ethnic population
	2.1.7.0. Religious affiliation
	2.2.0.0. Brief history and description of the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall
	2.3.0.0. Immigration and settlement in Walsall since the Second World War
	2.3.1.0. Immigration
	2.3.2.0. The ethnic minority population of Walsall
	2.3.3.0. The age structure of the ethnic population in Walsall
	2.3.4.0. The distribution of the ethnic population in Walsall
	2.4.0.0. Religion in Walsall
	2.4.1.0. The religious communities and their places of worship
	2.4.2.0. The Hindu community
	2.4.3.0. The Muslim community
	2.4.4.0. The Sikh community

2.1.0.0. Immigration and settlement in Britain since the Second World War

2.1.1.0. Countries of origin

For many centuries only relatively small numbers of immigrants came to Britain (Ali, 1996: 11-19; 35-37), but from the late 1940s they began to arrive in significant numbers. The history of this migration from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to Britain in the twentieth century has been well documented (Dahya, 1972/3: 25, 1974: 77-96; Tinker, 1977: 167-173; Ally, 1979: 1-5; Brah, 1979: 57-97; Anwar and Garaudy, 1984: 3-4; Castles and Kosack, 1985: 1-56; Robinson, 1986: 26-50; Anwar, 1991a: 1-14; Nielsen,

1984, 1992, 39-43; Wahhab, 1989: 6-12; Peach, 1990: 414-419; Bhachu, 1991b: 57-77, 1993: 163-169; Tatla, 1993b: 97-103, Parekh, 1994: 603-607; Geaves, 1995: 2-13; Ali, 1996: 39-48; Brah, 1996: 21-48; Köse, 1996: 5-10; Anwar, 1998: 1-11; Mattausch, 1998: 121-141). These immigrants came mainly from the Punjab and the Gujrat regions of India; from the Punjab, the Mirpur and the North-west Frontier regions of Pakistan; and from Sylhet and the eastern parts of Bangladesh. As well as those from the Indian subcontinent, a large group of West Indian people came to Britain and smaller groups of migrants also arrived from Malaysia, Egypt, Turkey and Iran. A breakdown of their racial origins is given in table 2.1.1.0.a

Table 2.1.1.0.a. Ethnic group composition of Great Britain, 1991

Ethnic group		%
White		94.5
Ethnic minorities		5.5
<i>Black</i>		1.6
Black Caribbean	0.9	
Black-African	0.4	
Black-Other	0.3	
<i>South Asian</i>		2.7
Indian	1.5	
Pakistani	0.9	
Bangladeshi	0.3	
<i>Chinese and others</i>		1.2
Chinese	0.3	
Other-Asian	0.4	
Other-Other	0.5	

Source: Owen (1992: 2)

Table 2.1.1.0.b. The ethnic origins of immigrants

Country	British immigrant population %
Indian	28.0
Black - Caribbean	16.6
Pakistani	15.8
Other - other i.e. from the Middle East, Iran and North Africa with people of mixed white and Asian parentage and those of other ethnic origin	9.6
Black - African	6.9
Asian - other	6.5
Black - other	5.9
Bangladeshi	5.3
Chinese	5.2

Source: Owen (1996: 6)

According to 1991 census by far the largest of the ethnic groups was from India. The relative size of the groups can be seen in table 2.1.1.0.b. above.

2.1.2.0. Phases of immigration

In the early years of the large scale immigration of the 1950s and 1960s from the Indian subcontinent most of the immigrants were young unskilled and semi-skilled men (Rex and Moore, 1967: 116; Lomas, 1975: 22; Anwar, 1994b: 21) who came to earn enough money to buy property back in their homeland. Few had any plans to settle in Britain permanently (Saifullah-Khan, 1974: 326). They tended to live together, often sharing bedrooms and those on shift work sometimes even taking it in turn to sleep in the beds (Desai, 1963: 30 - 31; Dahya, 1974: 26, 111; Saifullah-Khan, 1974: 327). Although they were poor by western standards they were not from the poorest strata of the society from which they had come. Indeed, Ballard (1994a: 10) has pointed out that many migrants were highly entrepreneurial.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the average size of Asian households was larger than white and West Indian households (Field, Mair, Rees and Stevens, 1981: 18), and they also had a higher room density (Lomas, 1975: 27).

The rate of immigration gradually increased throughout the 1950s and it reached its peak in the years leading up to the passing of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act. This Act curtailed the automatic right of immigration of many people but allowed those already in Britain to bring in their relatives. Consequently, there was a significant rise in the numbers of women and children immigrating in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Joly (1987: 63) noted that in 1966, twice as many Pakistani women as men came into Britain and over six times as many children as men. Lomas (1973: 32) pointed out that two thirds of the first generation Pakistani women arrived after 1967 and Anwar (1994a: 21 - 22), commenting on this trend, wrote 'The figures for Pakistanis show that the ratio of men to women changed over time: in 1962, 82% were male while in 1982, 58% were males.

Now, with the arrival of dependants from Pakistan and Bangladesh, the sex ratio is moving towards that of the rest of ethnic minorities: the 1991 Census showed 1,063 and 1,091 males per 1,000 females for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis respectively'. Since the late 1970s the rate of immigration has declined steadily.

Families from the ethnic minorities tend to be larger than white families. The PSI survey of 1994 gave the following average size of households: Bangladeshi 5.7, Pakistani 5.1, Indian 3.9 and white 2.4 (Anwar, 1998: 25). The 1991 census asked 10% of the sample to give details of their family and ethnic background. Their responses are shown in table 2.1.2.0.a. and show that a far smaller proportion of white families had one or more dependent children (25.0%) compared with Indian (58.8%), Pakistani (68.0%) and Bangladeshi families (75.1%).

Table 2.1.2.0.a. Family type with dependent children

Family type	Indian %	Pakistani %	Bangladeshi %	white %
Married couple	89.6	86.8	86.4	79.2
With no dependent children	20.6	13.4	8.2	35.6
With one or more dependent children	58.8	68.0	75.1	25.0
Lone-parent families	5.4	9.0	12.0	12.8

Source: Anwar (1998: 25)

Anwar (1998: 25) also gave the figures for white and Asian families with no dependent children (35.6% white and 17.5% Asian) and also for families with one or more dependent children (25.0% white and 62.9% Asian).

2.1.3.0. The process of settlement

In the early days of immigration many of the Asians thought that they would eventually return to their home countries. Richmond (1973: 245) asked immigrants about their intentions of returning to their country of origin (table 2.1.3.0.a.). Whilst some caution should be exercised with these results due to the relatively small sample, they show that

by the early 1970s more than half of the South Asians had decided to remain permanently in Britain.

Table 2.1.3.0.a. Adult sample (immigrants only): future intentions, by birthplace

	Ireland %	West Indies %	India and Pakistan %	Europe %
Stay	65	35	54	77
Return home	19	41	38	6
Not known	16	24	8	17
N =	110	160	26	36

Source: Richmond (1973: 245)
N= 322

One of the most important reasons for this apparent change of intention was the arrival of many wives and children. Other factors may also have played a part in the change of expectation. Robinson (1986: 88 - 89) summarised the reasons given by various researchers as to why most of the ethnic minorities did not return to their country of origin as:

- the high rates of inflation back in their home country would make it difficult for them to have the standard of living there they desired;
- there would be an expectation of larger dowries from someone who had worked overseas;
- the economic factors which cause the immigration in the first place had not changed;
- they might be 'forced to play the role of wealthy adventurers who had become westernised';
- the villages had changed since they left, whilst still having some of the 'undesirable characteristics such as the prevalence of corruption or abject poverty';
- fear of being unable to return to Britain at a later date;
- there was no logical reason to return at any particular time;

- the need to educate their children here;
- and the desire to accumulate enough wealth to be able to maintain their standard of living.

A small but significant phase of Asian immigration took place in 1972, when a number of East Africans who had come originally from the Indian subcontinent, were expelled from Uganda by President Idi Amin. Many of them were professional and business people who found it difficult to find employment in the early years. They were the one group of immigrants who arrived in Britain without the expectation of ever returning to their home countries (Bhachu, 1991a: 4; 1991b: 62 - 72). Research shows that very few Asians now wish to return to their country of origin (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990: 166 - 169 and 181 - 184).

2.1.4.0. The size of the ethnic population

The 1991 census showed that ethnic minorities made up between 5.5% (Owen, 1992: 2; Skellington, 1996: 57) and 5.7% of the UK population (Haskey, 1996: 33), which is

Table 2.1.4.0.a. Ethnic minorities in Great Britain by region, 1991

Regions and metropolitan counties	White		Ethnic minorities	
	%	% of GB	%	% of GB
South East	90.2	29.9	9.8	56.4
<i>Greater London</i>	79.8	10.3	20.2	44.8
East Anglia	97.9	3.8	2.1	1.4
South West	98.6	8.8	1.4	2.1
West Midlands	91.8	9.1	8.2	14.1
<i>West Midlands</i>	85.4	4.2	14.6	12.4
East Midlands	95.2	7.3	4.8	6.3
Yorkshire and Humberside	95.5	8.9	4.5	7.2
<i>South Yorkshire</i>	97.1	2.4	2.9	1.2
<i>West Yorkshire</i>	91.8	3.6	8.2	5.5
North West	96.1	11.6	3.9	8.1
<i>Greater Manchester</i>	94.1	4.5	5.9	4.9
<i>Merseyside</i>	98.2	2.7	1.8	0.8
North	98.8	5.8	1.2	1.3
<i>Tyne and Wear</i>	98.2	2.1	1.8	0.7
Wales	98.5	5.4	1.5	1.4
Scotland	98.7	9.5	1.3	2.1
	94.5	100.0	5.5	100.0

Source: Owen (1992: 3)

approximately 3.2 million people. Approximately 2.7% of the population were of South Asian origin (Skellington, 1996: 57). The vast majority of people from minority ethnic groups lived in England. Only 1.5% of the population in Scotland and Wales comprised those of other ethnic origins. Most of them settled in just a few regions of the country, as shown in table 2.1.4.0.a., with the greatest concentrations to be found in London and in the West Midlands.

2.1.5.0. The age of the ethnic population

Owen (1996: 5) observed that the 1991 census showed that nearly half (46.8 per cent) of all people from ethnic minorities living in Great Britain had been born here. The median age of ethnic minorities was 25.5 years in 1991 as compared with the median age of the whole population of 36.5 years (Owen, 1996: 7). The 1991 census also revealed the comparative ages of the different South Asian groups (table 2.1.5.0.a.) and showed that those groups with Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins had a younger age profile.

Table 2.1.5.0.a. Age composition of Asians and whites, 1991

Age group	Indians		Pakistanis		Bangladeshis		Whites	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
0 - 4	8.9	8.7	13.0	13.3	14.6	15.6	6.7	6.0
5 - 15	20.9	20.5	29.6	29.5	32.2	32.2	13.8	12.2
16 - 24	15.0	15.4	16.9	18.0	16.8	18.5	13.0	12.1
25 - 44	33.8	35.4	24.6	27.1	18.0	23.1	29.8	28.2
45 - 59/64	17.3	13.3	13.9	9.2	16.9	9.0	22.8	16.6
Pensionable age	4.1	6.6	2.1	2.9	1.6	1.6	13.9	24.8

Source: Anwar (1998: 23)

2.1.6.0. The growth of the ethnic population

Ballard (1994a: 7) gave figures showing the growth of the South Asian population in Britain over the past forty years (table 2.1.6.0.a.). Ballard noted that it was only the 1991 figures which were given in response to a question in the census which was specifically about ethnicity. The figures for previous years were estimated.

Table 2.1.6.0.a. Growth of Britain's South Asian Population

Country of birth/ethnicity	1961	1971	1981	1991
India	81400	240730	673704	823821
Pakistan	24900	127565	295461	449646
Bangladesh	-	-	64562	157881
East Africa	-	44860	181321	-
Total South Asian population	106300	413155	1215048	1431348
% South Asians in UK population	0.23	0.85	2.52	3.04

Source: Ballard (1994a: 7)

The figures for Bangladesh are only available after the break with Pakistan in 1971. By 1991 it appears that the majority of East African Asians identified themselves as Indian. With so many young South Asians in Britain it has been estimated that their numbers are likely to grow from 6% to 9% of the population (Ballard and Kalra, 1994: 10).

2.1.7.0. Religious affiliation

It is difficult to estimate the numbers of adherents of each of the major faiths in Britain (Tatla, 1999: 236) and despite attempts to include such a question in the 1991 census the Government refused, arguing that it was not permissible under the 1920 Census Act. Several different studies have attempted to calculate the numbers. The Commission for Racial Equality estimated that there were 6000 Baha'is, 130 000 Buddhists, 400 000-550 000 Hindus, 25 000-30 000 Jains, 300 000 Jews, 1m-1.5m Muslims, 350 000-500 000 Sikhs and 5 000-10 000 Zoroastrians in Britain (1997: 2). Singh (1992) quoted estimates of the proportions of those belonging to the three largest religions from the Indian subcontinent, taken from three sources (table 2.1.7.0.a.). Although they do not agree on the proportions of those of each faith in Britain, they all agree that the Muslim community was the largest, followed by the Hindu community and then the Sikh community. Anwar (1998: 27), quoting Modood, estimated that there were 45% Muslims, 24% Sikhs, 23% Hindus, 2% Christian, 3% claimed they had no religion, 1% belonged to another religion and 2% did not answer the question.

Table 2.1.7.0.a. Religious affiliation of South Asians in Britain (Percentage of South Asian population)

	Smith (1976) %	Knott and Toon (n.d.) %	Brown (1984) PSI: Black and White Britain %
Muslim	40	34.2	46
Hindu	29	29.7	27
Sikh	25	29.5	20

Source: R. Singh (1992: 4)

Gidoomal (1993:141) claimed that there were 40 000 Asian Christians in Britain, although he gives no indication of his source, nor whether they arrived in Britain as Christians or had been converted since then.

2.2.0.0. Brief history and description of the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall

Walsall is an ancient town which lies to the north of Birmingham and the east of Wolverhampton. It became a royal borough by the 11th century and was granted a charter by Henry II in 1159. It had a mayor as early as the 13th century. Its natural resources of limestone, iron ore and coal were mined from a very early period and ancient furnaces have been excavated in the area. During the Industrial Revolution the town developed rapidly and became famous for its casting. Coal was mined until the 1930s. The other important industries in Walsall are tanning, leatherwork, saddlery and associated trades such as the production of bridles and stirrups, although these have been declining in recent years.

At the 1991 government census the Borough had a population of 259 488 people living in twenty wards. Map 2.2.0.0.a. shows the wards and their population. The population density was 24.5. people per hectare, which was slightly lower than the population density for the West Midlands County of 28.4, but well above the population density for England and Wales, which stood at 3.2. persons per hectare.

Map 2.2.0.0.a. The wards of the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall and their population, 1991 census



Source: Peacock, 1995a: 2

The lowest population densities were in the more suburban wards of Aldridge Central and South and Brownhills and the highest population density was to be found in Blakenhall, Bloxwich West, Willenhall North, Darlaston South and Palfrey Wards, as shown in map 2.2.0.0.b.

Map 2.2.0.0.b. Population density of the wards in Walsall, 1991 census



Source: Peacock (1995a: 7)

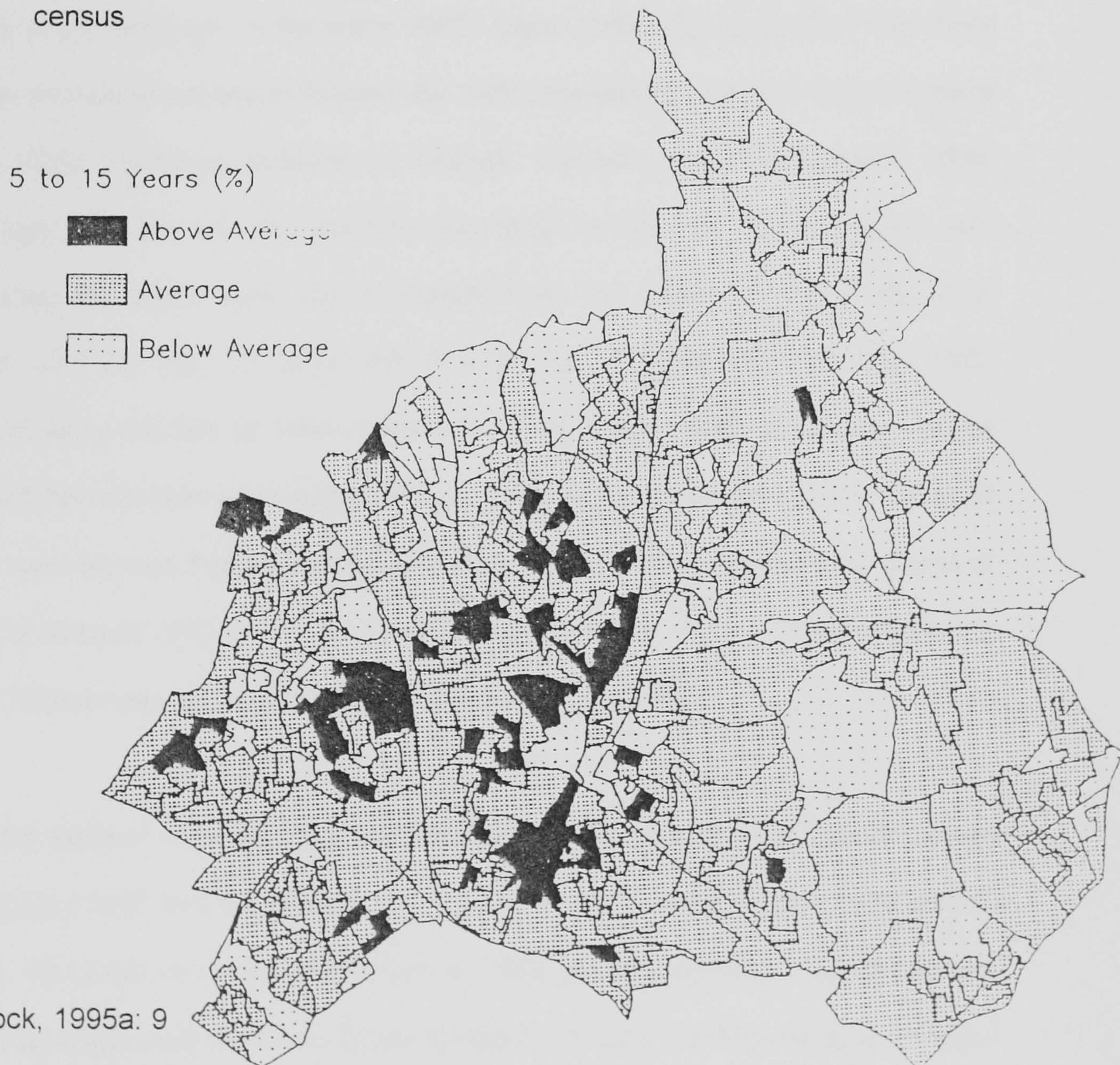
Table 2.2.0.0.a. shows the age structure of the population of the borough at the 1991 census and map 2.2.0.0.c. shows the population density of 5-15 year olds.

Table 2.2.0.0.a. Age structure of the population in the Metropolitan Borough of Walsall

Age structure	Population %
0-4	6.9
5-15	14.2
16-29	21.2
30-44	19.8
45-59	18.1
60-64	5.4
65-74	8.7
Over 75	5.8

Source: Peacock (1995b: 3)
N = 259 488

Map 2.2.0.0.c. Population density of 5-15 year olds in the wards of Walsall, 1991 census



Source: Peacock, 1995a: 9

2.3.0.0. Immigration and settlement in Walsall since the Second World War

2.3.1.0. Immigration and race relations

The first immigrants arrived in Walsall in the early 1950s, mainly from the Indian subcontinent. These were all men, most of whom were young, poor and with little education. They tended to live as cheaply as possible in order to send the maximum amount of money home. Overcrowding was a common problem throughout the 1960s (Siddiqui, 1994: 40 - 42). Most of them worked in low paid jobs in the factories, often in the dirtiest jobs and usually in shift work (Siddiqui, 1994: 34 - 40). Many spoke only limited English so they tended to socialise with one another. Most of them had little reason to integrate into British society since they did not intend to stay for long. As time went on this expectation gradually changed.

During the 1960s some of their families began to arrive and their children started to attend schools in the Borough. In the early 1960s Desai (1963: 22) estimated that there were 60 Indian immigrant houses in Walsall. By 1966 one Muslim was claiming that there were already 3000 practising Muslims in Walsall, Darlaston and Wednesbury (EM: 15.1.66). A major problem was the need for the adults to learn to speak English, and language courses for adults were run in Walsall from the 1960s (ES, 9.11.66; WO, 16.12.66; EM, 30.7.74; ES, 17.10.74; ES, 4.3.75; ES, 25.3.75; WA, 21.7.88; WO, 10.5.91). In the early months of 1994 members of the South Asian community in the town expressed their concern when some of these language courses were under threat of closure. They were worried that lack of English would harm the employment prospects of South Asians in Walsall (WO, 18.3.94). In 1974 the workforce of non-English speaking immigrants in Walsall was estimated at over 1000 (WO, 13.12.74).

Estimates of the number of South Asian British children attending schools varied. It was reported in January 1967 that the proportion of such children in Walsall was between 7% and 10% (EM, 19.12.68). A newspaper article in 1969 pointed out that 7.44% of school children in the borough were from immigrant backgrounds and the highest concentration was in Hillary Street School where the figure was 60% (ES: 18.3.69). In 1970 it was

estimated that the birth rate in ethnic minority families was three times the national average (ES, 25.2.70) and that the proportion of such children in Walsall was 8.24% (ES, 17.3.70). Many of the children could not speak adequate English (WO, 20.11.64) and therefore needed language teaching (WO, 9.12.66). In 1969 the Borough Council opened The Walsall Immigrant Induction Centre (ES, 28.1.69; EM, 28.1.69; ES, 16.7.69) and even considered adopting a policy of dispersing the Asian children to schools around the borough (ES: 17.3 70). The centre closed in 1975 when numbers dropped (ES, 15.2.75), although the need for English language teaching continued (ES, 27.3.75). It is interesting to note that the language needs began to change as parents found that some of their children were finding it difficult to speak the Asian languages of their parents. Thus, by the mid 1970s there was a Punjabi Language Association in Alumwell School (ES, 28.5.75; Huggett, 1991: 11). Some years later an article in the *Walsall Observer* pointed out that more than one thousand children had been attending 36 language classes, covering Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu (WO, 26.7.91). As in other parts of the country some of the religious leaders expressed their concern that there was an urgent need to teach vernacular languages if the religions of those from South Asia were to continue practising in their traditional form (Knott: 1991; 100 - 101).

As in other parts of the country, the Salman Rushdie affair created anger among the Muslim community in Walsall and a protest march took place (ES, 13.3.89). A number of articles and letters about it were printed in the local newspapers (WO: 3.3.89; WO: 10.3.89; WO: 17.3.89; WO 24.3.89; WO, 31.3.89). Eighteen months later, in 1990, the Gulf War was also a cause of public debate since local white and South Asian British people had family members involved on both sides of the conflict (WO: 6.9.90; WO, 28.9.90; WO, 30.11.90; WO, 18.1.91; 25.1.91; 1.2.91; WO, 8.2.91; WO: 1.3.91; WO, 15.3.91; WO, 22.3.91; WO, 29.3.91; WO, 5.4.91; WO 19.4.91).

Over the past 40 years the arrival of South Asians has created much public debate about racial issues and racial discrimination in Walsall (WO, 26.10.62; EM, 3.7.68; EM, 14.10.68; WO; 16.2.68; EM, 7.12.68; EM, 28.1.69; ES, 25.3.70; WO; 17.7.87; WO,

6.11.87; WO, 8.1.88; WA, 6.10.88; WO, 2.6.89; EM, 29.9.89; EM, 25.6.90; WO, 21.9.90; WO 28.6.91; WO, 5.11.91; ES, 6.1.92; WO, 2.7.93). During this period there have been many signs of change, involving the Council (ES, 25.1.70); the appointment of the first Asian Mayor of Walsall (WO: 17.7.87), the adoption and implementation of an Equal Opportunities Policy by the Council (WO, 5.5.89; WO, 6.11.92; WO, 10.12.93; WC; 19.7.96), Equal Opportunities in the Health Authority (WO, 4.8.89; WO, 25.8.89; WO, 15.12.89; WO, 9.7.93) and the founding of various voluntary groups concerned about racial harmony (EM, 8.11.65; ES, 14.10.68; WO, 2.6.89). However, progress has not been without setbacks, as illustrated in the mid 1990s by the Walsall's Racial Equality Council taking legal advice against the Walsall Borough Council who were considering withdrawing their funding (WO: 27.10.95).

2.3.2.0. The ethnic minority population of Walsall

The ethnic minority population of the Borough has been increasing over the past forty years. According to the 1971 census there were 12 159 people in the borough whose parents had been born in the 'New Commonwealth', which represented 4.5% of the population (Walsall Metropolitan Borough Council, 1980: appendix 2). According to the 1981 census there were 18 968 people in the borough who had been born in the 'New Commonwealth and Pakistan (7.2% of the population). This figure excluded those of Asian origin who had been born in Britain (Jassal and Gaynor, 1983: 1). In the 1991 Census respondents were asked to indicate their ethnic origins. This revealed that 24 794 people made up the ethnic minority groups in the Borough. This was 9.6% of the population, which was lower than the level in the West Midlands (14.6%), but well above the average for England and Wales (5.9%). Within the West Midlands, Walsall had the fifth highest ethnic population following Birmingham (21.5%), Wolverhampton (18.5%), Sandwell (14.6%) and Coventry (11.8%) (Peacock, 1995a: 14; Owen and Johnson, 1996: 248).

2.3.3.0. The age structure of the ethnic population in the borough of Walsall

The 1991 census provided details of the age structure of the South Asian community in Walsall (table 2.3.3.0.a.). When compared with the proportions of those who were from an ethnic minority, these figures show that the average age of the South Asian population was lower than that of the white population, which reflects the situation in other parts of the country.

Table 2.3.3.0.a. Age structure of the population of Walsall by ethnic groups

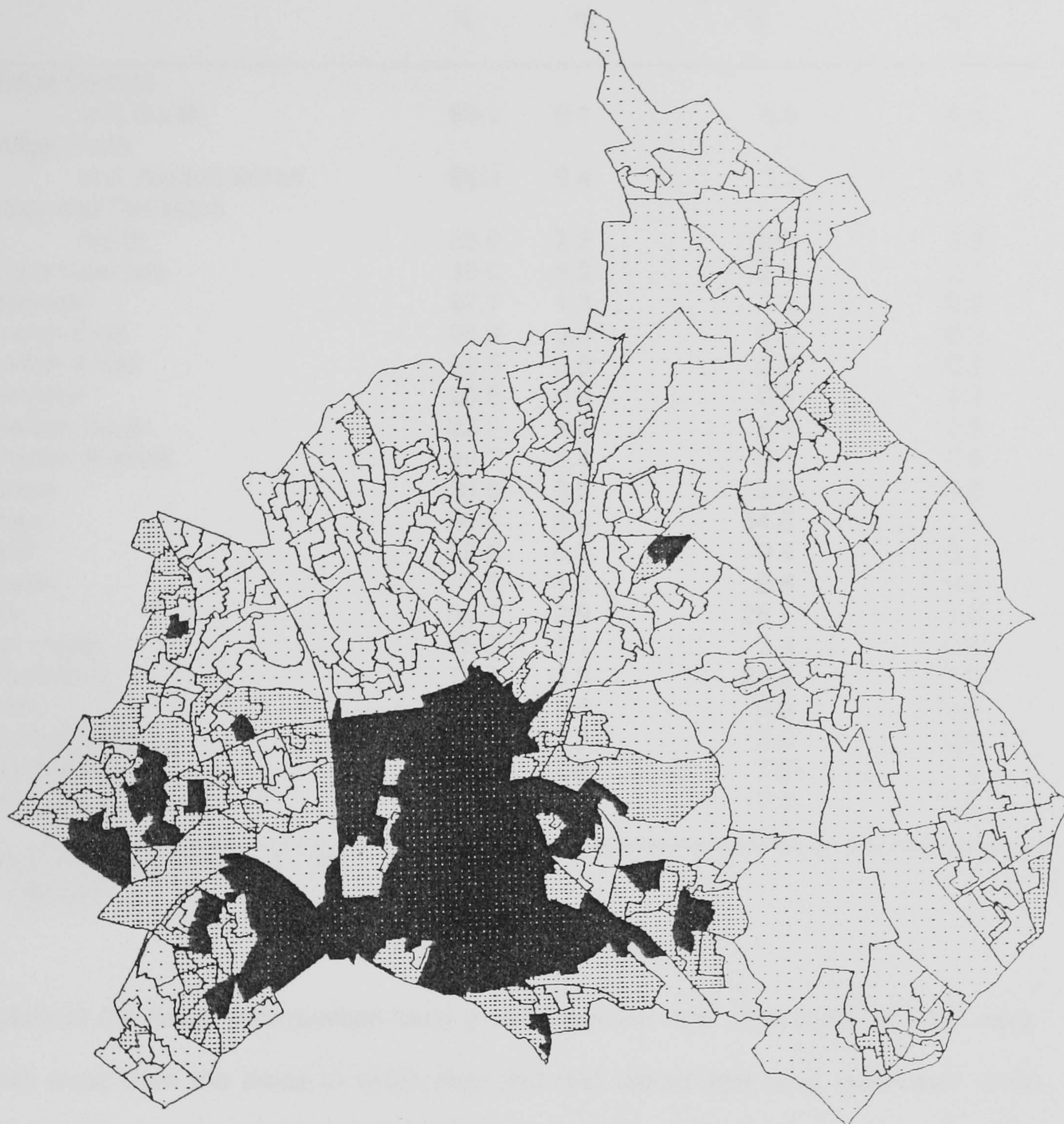
	White %	Black %	Indian/Pakistani/ Bangladeshi %	Chinese/other %
0 - 4	5.781	0.156	0.811	0.107
5 - 15	11.636	0.248	2.118	0.189
16 - 29	18.805	0.389	1.874	0.159
30 - retirement age	37.420	0.416	2.503	0.179
retirement age+	16.800	0.091	0.295	0.018
All ages	90.445	1.303	7.596	0.655

Source: Peacock (1995b: 3)
N = 259 488



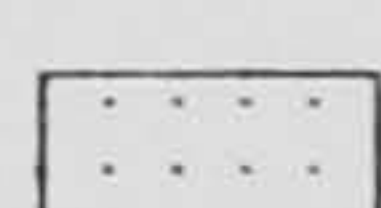
2.3.4.0. The distribution of ethnic population in the borough of Walsall

The 1991 census revealed in which wards the ethnic minority population were living (map 2.3.4.0.a.) and also the proportion of those from ethnic minorities in each ward (table 2.3.4.0.a.). Some wards had virtually no ethnic minorities living in them (for example, Aldridge Central and South, Bloxwich East, Bloxwich West, Brownhills, Pelsall, Pheasey, and Streetly), whilst three wards had sizeable ethnic minority populations (Palfrey, Pleck and St Matthew's). There is an east-west divide in Walsall, with the vast majority of South Asian British people living in the poorer, more build up wards in the west. The east part of the borough is more suburban and rural and contains more expensive housing. The population is overwhelmingly white in this area.

Map 2.3.4.0.a. Ethnic Minority Population in Walsall, 1991 census



Ethnic Minority Population (%)

-  Above Average
-  Average
-  Below Average

The 'Average' category represents a half standard deviation from the mean

Source: Peacock, 1995a: 15

Table 2.3.4.0.a. The percentage of ethnic population in the wards

Ward	White %	Black %	Indian/Pakistani/ Bangladeshi %	Chinese and others %
Aldridge Central and South	99.1	0.1	0.5	0.3
Aldridge North and Walsall Wood	98.3	0.4	1.0	0.3
Bentley and Darlaston North	85.0	2.2	12.0	0.9
Birchills Leamore	86.0	1.2	12.1	0.7
Blakenhall	97.1	1.3	1.1	0.5
Bloxwich East	98.9	0.4	0.5	0.2
Bloxwich West	98.5	0.5	0.6	0.3
Brownhills	98.8	0.4	0.6	0.3
Darlaston South	92.2	1.4	5.9	0.5
Hatherton Rushall	94.7	1.4	3.1	0.8
Paddock	86.6	0.6	12.0	0.8
Palfrey	60.7	3.3	34.6	1.4
Pelsall	98.9	0.3	0.4	0.3
Pheasey	97.6	1.2	0.8	0.4
Pleck	69.7	2.9	26.1	1.3
Short Heath	95.2	1.1	3.4	0.4
St Matthew's	70.0	3.9	24.2	1.9
Streetly	98.3	0.4	0.9	0.4
Willenhall North	94.6	1.2	3.9	0.4
Willenhall South	88.7	2.4	7.9	1.1
Total for the borough	90.4	1.3	7.6	0.7

Source: Peacock (1995b: 7 - 83)
N = 259 488

As parts of the Asian communities have grown wealthier over time some of them have moved away from the areas in which they had first settled and have purchased more expensive houses. As in other parts of the country (for example, Nowikowski and War, 1978/9: 1-10), this has happened in Walsall where increasing numbers of Asians have been moving into the more middle class areas in the Streetly and Aldridge wards.

2.4.0.0. Religion in Walsall

2.4.1.0. The religious communities and their places of worship

In 1991 Walsall Leisure Services listed the places of public worship in the borough (table 2.4.1.0.a.). However, especially in the case of house mosques, it is difficult to define a 'public place of worship'. It is also important to bear in mind that the situation is

constantly changing. Consequently, as will be seen below, the information provided by the Walsall Leisure Services was out of date. It should also be noted that the information in *Religions in the UK: a multi-faith directory* (Weller, 1997) was not completely accurate.

Table 2.4.1.0.a. Places of worship in Walsall (1991)

Religion	Denomination	Number of buildings
Christian churches	Baptist	6
	Christian Brethren	5
	Church of England	33
	Evangelical	6
	Free Church of England	2
	Independent	1
	Methodist	25
	Pentecostal	6
	Roman Catholic	13
	Salvation Army	2
	United Reformed	5
Other churches	Church of God of Prophecy	1
	Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints (Mormons)	1
	Jehovah's Witnesses	1
	Spiritualist	4
Hindu mandirs		3
Muslim mosques		7
Sikh gurdwaras		2

Source: Walsall Information Guide, No 17 parts 1 and 2, Walsall Leisure Services (1994)

Concern was expressed as early as 1966 that building sites were needed for mosques (EM: 15.1.66). This need remained and later the lack of sites for mandirs, gurdwaras and other religious buildings was also noted (ES, 18.2.80; WO: 5.11.93; WO, 17.12.93). Newspaper articles described the building of the first Sikh gurdwara in West Bromwich Street and its opening in 1972 (WO, 31.12.71; ES, 17.4.72), the Mount Street mosque (WO: 10.11.89), the Masjid-al-Farouq (WO, 22.3.90; WO, 29.7.94; WA, 4.8.94) and the building and opening ceremonies of the Shree Ram Mandir Hindu Temple and Community Centre in Ford Street (ES: 13.8.87; EM, 29.5.91).

2.4.2.0. The Hindu community

There has been a great deal of frustration in the Hindu community for many years at the problems of buying suitable building plots for mandirs and obtaining permission to build them (Fetcher, 1980: 140). At the time when the questionnaires were being used in the schools, there were three mandirs in the borough: The Hindu Samaj Mandir at 18 Salisbury Street, Darlaston and The Shree Hindu Mandir in Ford Street, The Pleck. The third mandir, Mandir Baba Balak Nath is in Caldmore Road, Walsall and, as far as it has been possible to establish, is one of only two mandirs dedicated to Baba Balak in Britain. The other one is in Coventry (Nesbitt, 1991: 37 and 1995: 35).

2.4.3.0. The Muslim community

Like the Hindu community, the Muslims have had problems obtaining permission to build places for worship in Walsall (ES, 11.10.78; WO, 10.8.79; ES, 25.10.83). In addition to some purpose-built mosques, a number of Muslims have used converted houses as mosques. The Borough Council's list of seven mosques in Walsall (table 2.4.1.0.a.) of 1991 was incorrect, since there are nine main mosques in the borough at that time:

- Bangladeshi Mosque and Islamic Centre, 74 Wednesbury Road
- Central Mosque, 41 Selbourne Street
- Central Mosque, Birchills Street
- Masjid-al-Farouq, Milton Street
- Mosque and Islamic Centre, 4 Rutter Street
- Shah Jalal Mosque and Madrasa, 32 - 33 Mount Street
- Masjid-e-Umar, Bills Street, Darlaston
- Ghosia Qasmia Mosque and Darul Uloom, 34 - 35 Mount Street
- Mosque and Butts Muslim Centre, 22 Cannon Street

House mosques are to be found in various parts of the borough (such as 153 Darlaston Road and 156 Wednesbury Road), as are also Muslim community and education centres (such as 48 Cook Street and 51 Cobden Street). A number of other Muslim organisations have branches in Walsall such as the *Tablighi Jama'at* movement (which has links with Masjid-al-Farouq and the Mosque and Muslim Centre in Cannon Street), The UK Islamic Mission and Islamic Youth Movement (based at 25 Corporation Street) and The UK

Islamic Mission (Rutter Street Mosque). The Noor Centre in Caldmore is an independent book shop, selling Islamic literature, tapes and videos.

2.4.4.0. The Sikh community

There are four Sikh gurdwaras in Walsall (including the *Ravidasis*), contradicting the information from the Walsall Leisure Services (table 2.1.4.0.a.): The Guru Nanak Sikh Gurdwara (67 Walsall Road, Willenhall); The Guru Nanak Sikh Gurdwara (4 Wellington Street, The Pleck); The Guru Nanak Sikh Temple (West Bromwich Street, Caldmore) and The Shri Guru Ravidass Temple (Stafford Street).

3.0.0.0. THE RESEARCH: METHOD AND SAMPLE

Chapter three comprises a description and justification of the methods of research which were employed and gives details of the sample.

Contents	3.1.0.0. Approaches to the study of religion
	3.2.0.0. The Teenage Religion and Values Initiative
	3.3.0.0. Designing the questionnaire
	3.4.0.0. Using the questionnaire
	3.5.0.0. Details of the participating schools and the sample.

3.1.0.0. Approaches to the study of religion

Fundamental to any piece of research are the questions 'precisely what is the subject being studied?' and 'what is the most appropriate methodology to use?'. Without answers to these questions there is a danger of lapsing into generalities which are not earthed in reality (Gill, 1999: 8-22). It is possible to study many different factors in order to understand the religion of a person or of a group (Smart, 1971: 15-25; Black and Glasner, 1983: 181-186; Sharpe, 1983: 36-41; Fane, 1999: 114). For example, it is possible to ask about a person's allegiance to a particular religion or denomination, about attendance at religious services or meetings, about personal religious practices such as prayer and fasting, about attitudes towards a local religious body (whether it be a church, synagogue, mandir, mosque or gurdwara) or national religious institution, to examine whether and to what extent people claim to believe certain doctrines, or to enquire about religious or mystical experiences. All of these subjects are valid areas of research into religion and each will yield different sorts of data.

There are also many different tools which can be used to undertake the research. Hammersley and Atkinson (1994: 3-14) described two different methodological approaches adopted by social scientists. The first they called 'positivism', which is based on the methods used by the natural sciences where the researcher seeks to observe and measure, in this case by means of standardised surveys or interviews (for example, *The British Social*

Attitudes Surveys, Brook, Hedges, Jowell, Lewis, Prior, Sebastian, Taylor and Witherspoon, 1992). Stress is placed upon the role of the researcher as observer. The advantage of this approach is that there is a relatively high level of objectivity and large number of subjects can be consulted easily. One of the major drawbacks is that a limited number of categories have to be chosen in advance which consequently restrict the range of responses that can be made. For example, some of the subjects may not be happy with any of the categories from which they have to choose. In order to minimise such problems it is necessary to have a trial run of the questionnaire and then to discuss it with the respondents, so that it can be refined in order to allow the subjects to define the categories.

The second approach Hammersley and Atkinson named 'naturalism' in which the researcher, using the tools of the ethnographer, enters into the world of the subject and tries to understand the social meanings that lie behind various forms of behaviour. The researcher's task is to describe what is found in that particular culture and any attempts to posit universal laws is generally resisted. Such research may use a variety of tools such as formal and informal interviews, focused interviews, group discussions and diaries. Whilst this method allows the researcher to make a detailed account of the views of each subject, it can run into the danger of the subject being influenced by the researcher. Furthermore it can be difficult for the researcher to draw general conclusions and to make meaningful comparisons of changes or trends over time. Nevertheless, it is an approach which has been widely used by those researching religion in the United Kingdom and it has yielded a rich seam of insights which have contributed to our knowledge.

3.2.0.0. The methodology

At the initial stages of planning this research a number of different methods were considered, including those used by Francis and Kay (1995) in the *Teenage Religion and Values Initiative*. This approach, which falls within Hammersley and Atkinson's category of 'positivism', appeared to offer a relatively high level of objectivity. In addition it could provide

a large sample against which the data about Walsall adolescents could be tested and compared. Therefore it was decided to use the tools which Francis had developed and which he and others had been using widely. The major advantage of using a questionnaire was that it was possible to undertake a very large survey of attitudes. There are approximately five thousand year nine and year ten children in the Borough of Walsall and the initial aim was to get as many of them as possible to complete the questionnaire.

3.2.0.0. The Teenage Religion and Values Initiative

This initiative, which was started by Francis and has now been taken up by a number of other academics (notably Kay), has focused almost exclusively on British adolescents and has been running for about twenty-five years (Francis, 1982, 1984; Francis and Kay, 1995; Kay and Francis, 1996). It has explored the relationship between Christian beliefs, behaviour and attitudes (Kay and Francis: 1996, 1-9) and has shown that religion and personality type are important factors in understanding a wide range of issues such as drug use and abuse and attitudes towards environmental pollution (Francis, 1996 and 1997). A more detailed description of the methodology that the *Teenage Religion and Values Initiative* has used can be found in Kay and Francis (1996: 159-200). Other researchers have also noted the relationship between religion and substance abuse (Gorsuch, 1995) and health (Matthews, McCullough, Larson, Koenig, Swyers and Milano, 1998).

A large body of research has now been built up using the Francis scale of attitude towards Christianity (Kay and Francis, 1996: 241-260). Kay and Francis have expressed the hope 'that scholars working in other religious traditions will wish to extend our quest by both replicating some of our earlier studies and developing new studies with comparable instruments designed to measure attitude towards other religions' (Kay and Francis, 1996: 9). This piece of research is an attempt to do that.

It approaches the task by the use of a questionnaire in order to get an overview of the religious allegiance (if any) of the adolescents in Walsall and attempting to understand to what extent this has influenced their attitudes to a range of issues. At the same time it is possible to see the extent to which the ethnic origins of the South Asian British teenagers has influenced those same attitudes. Finally, the research takes a close look at those teenagers who were practising their faith and in particular finds out about their involvement in their place of worship and their attitudes towards it.

3.3.0.0. Designing the questionnaire

The questionnaire (see section 14.1.0.0.) was based on one first developed by Francis and which he had used in a project with over 20 000 teenagers. The first section of Francis's questionnaire sought general information about each subject such as age, gender, academic aspirations at school, parental occupation, religious affiliation, attendance at public worship and Sunday School, prayer and religious experience.

Fundamental to this approach is self-assigned religious affiliation, a method whereby the respondents are asked to specify to which religion they belong. Self-assignment as a tool has been questioned by some scholars (for example, White, 1979: 333-349), although it has continued to be used when ascertaining ethnicity in most censuses. However there is an additional problem with religious self-assignment, namely nominalism, whereby a person may claim a religious allegiance whilst rarely or never attending public worship or even necessarily believing in even the most basic of the tenets of that religion. Fane quoted a paper produced for the *2001 Census of Population and Dwellings in New Zealand*, which asserted '[T]he practical value of census information on religion is questionable, particularly in view of the fact that it does not provide an accurate indication of either the church-going practices of the population or the depth of a person's commitment to their specified religion' (Fane, 1999: 115). In her article Fane examined the problems with this approach but concluded 'There is evidence, then, to suggest that religious affiliation is, in its own right,

socially significant' (Fane, 1999: 117) and 'Self-assigned religious affiliation may be useful as a predictor of other markers of religiosity such as practice and belief, particularly when divided by denomination, but self-assigned religious affiliation may also be useful as a predictor of social attitudes and behaviours....' (Fane, 1999: 122).

In this piece of research the adolescents were asked to answer the question 'Do you belong to a church or other religious group?' and they were given seven categories from which to choose: Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh or other. If they ticked 'other' they were asked to specify which other religion they belonged to.

The second section of Francis's questionnaire was a short Eysenck personality profile. One of the original intentions of this research was to examine the personality profiles of the four religious groups. Although some work was undertaken on this it soon became evident that it was another thesis in its own right. It was therefore decided not to include this in this thesis, but it is hoped that the material will be published at a later stage.

The third section sought the views of the teenagers on a wide range of issues including religion, relationships, morality, leisure, school, work, global issues and politics. Once the data was analysed it was possible to examine the relationship between religious affiliation and the attitudes of the adolescents. The final section asked those adolescents who considered themselves to be practicing Christians a range of questions about their church, its leaders, and their involvement in its life and activities.

As is noted above, Francis's questionnaire had originally been designed to research the beliefs of adolescent Christians and it did not include any material specifically for those of other faiths. Therefore one of the first tasks was to re-examine the questionnaire and to decide how it should be adapted. Some of the changes, such as the self-assignment into the different religious groups, were obvious. Much more complex, however, was deciding which

questions to ask about the practices of those of other religions, which were to be found in two different sections of the questionnaire. Some of these were in the main body of the questionnaire while others were in the optional sections at the end of the questionnaire for those who were practising their faith. In the light of the large amount of data which the Francis and Kay research had already collected should the same statements be put to the Walsall adolescents so that comparisons could be made? Or alternatively should all the statements be completely reworked and extra ones be added, to allow for the South Asian British teenagers? If this latter course were followed then it would be more difficult to use the Francis and Kay material to make comparisons. The decision was made to pose the same questions that Francis and Kay had put and see what the response would be. Inevitably, this had produced some strange results, most of which are to be found in section 5.1.3.2. of the thesis, and it is has proved difficult to interpret some of this data. For example, what did the adolescents understand when they responded to the statement 'I believe I can be a Christian without going to church'? Were the adolescents answering for themselves or simply saying what they thought was the case for Christians? Similarly for the statements on getting married in church and having children baptised. Did the adherents of the other faiths really want their children baptised or were they presuming that the questionnaire was asking if they wanted that their children to be initiated in an equivalent way into their own faith? As is often the case in empirical research, even with a pilot study, the full extent of these problems were not foreseen and the responses in this one section have raised more questions than they have answered. However, it was felt that it was important to record all the responses for the sake of completeness, even though the interpretation of the data is unclear.

In order to compile the material for the final part of the questionnaire three separate meetings were held with Hindu, Muslim and Sikh religious leaders and parents in order to discuss the areas of research, how to phrase the statements and questions, and even which words should be used and how they should be spelt. This proved to be a more complex process than had originally been envisaged. One of the difficulties which arose at this stage

was that sometimes people used different words to describe the same thing. This is because the words have been translated from another language or even from two other languages. Indeed some of the adults spelt or pronounced the same words differently. Rather than always give what might technically be the correct transliteration of some words, it was decided to try to identify the words that the adolescents and their families used and follow their usage. Even this was not without its difficulties. For example, Nesbitt and Jackson (1993-4: 56; 1995: 108-120) have pointed out that even such words as 'God' are sometimes used in different ways, both semantically and grammatically.

A draft questionnaire was drawn up. Like Francis and Kay's questionnaire it consisted of short, unambiguous statements or questions to which the pupils were asked to respond. The questionnaire was piloted and then went through a further stage of refinement to test it (Wolf, 1997: 423-425). Consequently, in some cases a choice of terms or words were included where these were being used by the adolescents, or a spelling of a word which was nearer to the way that the Walsall adolescents pronounced it.

Consideration was given to the possibility of including a section for self-assigned ethnic origins. However, the questionnaire was already lengthy and it seemed likely that some slower pupils might already have problems completing it in forty minutes. It was therefore decided not to add an extra section on ethnicity but to use the existing data to divide the sample into white British (a group which comprised those who identified themselves as Christian) and South Asian British (a group which comprised those who identified themselves as Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs) as a way of examining the effect of ethnicity on attitudes.

3.4.0.0. Using the questionnaire

The first step was to obtain permission to run the questionnaire from the head teacher in each school. In most instances he/she delegated the task to one of the RE teachers. Wherever possible a meeting was held with all the teachers who would administer the

questionnaire in order to brief them. In addition a sheet of instructions was provided which described the project and how the questionnaire should be administered. However, in some schools it was possible only to meet with the teacher who was co-ordinating the initiative so it was necessary to rely on them and the information sheets to brief other members of staff. The questionnaires were distributed and completed between June 1996 and March 1997. At the end of this time completed responses from 3 418 children were obtained. Two schools declined to take part due to pressure on their timetables, and despite repeated approaches another school did not get round to using the questionnaires, although they had initially agreed to do so.

Two problems emerged as the questionnaire was used. At the pilot stage it had not become apparent that there were a number of children in this age bracket in the borough who could not read or whose reading ability was so low that they were unable to finish the questionnaire. In two schools the head teachers were happy for the questionnaires to be used but were not prepared, as one head put it 'to humiliate the non-readers yet again with a task that they cannot possibly complete'. In these schools the questionnaires were not used in all classes. A minority of the adolescents were unable to complete the questionnaire in the time allowed and therefore their forms could not be used.

The second problem encountered in the research was the small group of *Ravidasis* adolescents had to choose to self-assign themselves into either the Hindu or the Sikh category, when their religion draws on aspects of both faiths. Nesbitt has studied *Valmiki* and *Ravidasi* children (1990a, 9-12; 1990b, 261-274; 1991, 8-11 and 32; 1995: 34) and come across this same problem, which McLeod (1989: 112) also noted. This problem was not appreciated when the questionnaire was being designed and later when it was used. Therefore caution must be exercised when interpreting the data, especially since the number of Hindus and Sikhs is relatively small. In the case of the description of their places of worship, the *Ravidasis* have been treated as Sikhs.

Once the questionnaires had been completed the data was entered into a computer. The results were then checked by running them through *the Statistical Package for Social Sciences* (SPSS). This highlighted any inconsistencies and enabled the data to be checked before being used to draw any conclusions.

3.5.0.0. Details of the schools involved and the respondents.

There are twenty secondary schools in Walsall as shown in table 3.5.0.0.a.

Table 3.5.0.0.a. Secondary Schools in Walsall

	Approximate number of pupils in the school	Approximate number of pupils in years nine and ten	Number of pupils who completed the questionnaire	Percentage of year nine and ten pupils who completed the questionnaire
County Comprehensives				
Alumwell	940	332	22	7
Brownhills	870	300	114	38
Darlaston	1150	410	104	25
Frank F. Harrison	620	270	-	-
Joseph Leckie	910	320	217	68
Manor Farm	700	250	123	49
Pool Hayes	1070	370	248	67
Shelfield	880	320	217	68
Sneyd	1340	490	-	-
T. P. Riley	790	320	265	83
Willenhall	1460	520	-	-
Voluntary Aided Comprehensives				
Blue Coat Church of England	1020	360	283	79
St Francis of Assisi RC	1010	360	213	59
Grant Maintained				
Aldridge	1450	480	253	53
Barr Beacon	1340	470	348	74
Shire Oak	1100	420	145	35
Streetly	1120	390	177	45
St Thomas More RC	1360	480	375	78
Queen Mary's Grammar (Boys)	650	200	136	68
Queen Mary's High (Girls)	660	200	178	89
Total	20 440	7 262	3418	47

Only three schools were unwilling or unable to participate: Frank F. Harrison, Sneyd and Willenhall. The gender of the sample is shown in table 3.5.0.0.b.

Table 3.5.0.0.b. The sample: gender

	Sample N	Percentage %
Male	1656	48.5
Female	1758	51.4
Failed to answer this question	4	0.1
	3418	100.0

The year group of the sample is shown in table 3.5.0.0.c.

Table 3.5.0.0.c. The sample: year group

	Sample N	Percentage %
Year nine	1800	52.7
Year ten	1574	46.1
Failed to answer this question	44	1.3
	3418	100.0

4.0.0.0. THE RELIGION OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS: RESPONSES FROM ALL THE PARTICIPANTS

In this chapter the religious affiliation of the adolescents is described, when and how often they attended public worship, how often they prayed and if they claimed to have had any religious experiences. All the teenagers were asked to answer a range of questions about their contact with and experience of the Christian faith.

Content	4.1.0.0. Religious practices
	4.1.1.0. Affiliation
	4.1.2.0. Public worship
	4.1.3.0. Weddings and funerals
	4.1.4.0. Frequency of attendance at public worship
	4.1.5.0. Frequency of attendance at public worship by age
	4.1.6.0. Personal prayer
	4.2.0.0. Experiences of God
	4.2.1.0. Religious experience
	4.2.2.0. Divine guidance
	4.3.0.0. Christianity
	4.3.1.0. Attendance at Sunday school
	4.3.2.0. Bible reading
	4.3.3.0. Baptism
	4.3.4.0. Adult membership of a church
	4.3.5.0. Christianity at school

4.1.0.0. Religious practices

4.1.1.0. Affiliation

The Walsall teenagers were asked about their religious affiliation (table 4.1.1.0.a.), which shows that more than three-fifths (61%) were Christians, 8% were Muslims, 6% were Sikhs and 2% were Hindus. Just over one-fifth (21%) claimed that they had no religious affiliation. Furnham and Gunter undertook four surveys of 12-22 year olds in Britain during 1985. They found that 61% claimed to have a religion and 28% said they did not (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 130). This is a slightly lower proportion that was found among the Walsall adolescents.

Table 4.1.1.0.a. Do you belong to a church or other religious group?

Religion	N	%
Christian	2008	61
Buddhist	10	<1
Hindu	80	2
Jewish	2	<1
Muslim	276	8
Sikh	205	6
Hindu and Sikh	2	<1
Other unspecified	16	1
None	690	21

N = 3289

Brook et al (1992; table 4.1.1.0.b.) provides comparative statistics collected nationally and it shows there was a smaller proportion of Walsall adolescents claiming to be Christians (61% compared with 74%) and a slightly smaller proportion of Walsall adolescents who claimed that they had no religion (21% compared with 25%). Compared with the average across the country there was a higher proportion of Walsall adolescents who were Hindus (2% compared with <1%), Muslims (8% compared with <1%) and Sikhs (6.% compared with <1%).

Table 4.1.1.0.b. Think back to the period when you were 16, would you have described yourself as belonging to a particular religion then? Which?

	N = 1719	%
No religion	422	25
Christian - no denomination	37	2
Roman Catholic	187	11
Church of England	731	43
URC/Congregational	31	2
Baptist	33	2
Methodist	95	6
Presbyterian	97	6
Other Christian	29	2
Hindu	8	<1
Jew	9	<1
Muslim	10	<1
Sikh	3	<1
Buddhist	-	-
Other non-Christian	2	<1
Not answered	26	2

Source: Brook et al (1992: Q - 5)

It is interesting to note that the vast majority (more than four-fifths) of the Walsall adolescents claimed that they belonged to one of the religious traditions, compared with the three-quarters of the teenagers in the Brook sample who said they had belonged to a religious tradition when they were aged sixteen years old.

4.1.2.0. Public worship

Secondly, the adolescents were asked about their attendance at worship and their responses are shown in table 4.1.2.0.a.

Table 4.1.2.0.a. Have you attended worship at any of the following places of worship during the past year?

	N	Yes %	No %
Church	3367	51	49
Gurdwara	3368	7	93
Mosque	3367	8	92
Temple	3366	5	93
Other	3367	1	99

There was a smaller proportion of Christians who attended worship than claimed allegiance to the faith. This can be seen by comparing tables 4.1.1.0.a. and 4.1.2.0.a. which shows that of the sample 61% claimed to be Christians and 51% of them attended worship in a church in the previous year. The proportion of the teenagers who claimed allegiance to Islam and those who attended the mosque in the previous year was 8%. Six percent of the sample identified themselves as Sikhs, although 7% claimed to have attended worship in a gurdwara in the previous year. Two percent called themselves Hindus, yet 5% of the sample had attended worship at the temple in the previous year. Overall more than seven out of ten (73%) of the teenagers claimed to have attended worship in the previous year.

Furnham and Gunter asked the young people in their study about church attendance and found that 12% had been to a regular or normal religious service in a church in the

previous year, whilst 60% had not been at all and nearly one third (29%) did not know for sure whether they had been or not (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 131)

4.1.3.0. Weddings and funerals

The adolescents were asked about attendance at weddings and funerals in the past year and their responses, shown in table 4.1.3.0.a., reveal that just over half has attended a wedding and just over one quarter had attended a funeral at a place of worship.

Table 4.1.3.0.a. Have you attended any of these services at a place of worship in the last year?

	N	Yes %	No %
Wedding	3383	53	47
Funeral	3385	28	72

Furnham and Gunter found that 44% of the 12-22 year olds in their research had been to a funeral in the previous year, which was a much higher proportion than the Walsall teenagers, and that 25% had been to either a wedding or a funeral (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 130). Their findings and the responses of the Walsall teenagers show that much adolescent church going is to the occasional offices.

4.1.4.0. Frequency of attendance at public worship

The teenagers were asked about the frequency of attendance at worship. The responses (table 4.1.4.0.a.) show that 16% attended nearly weekly and another 5% once a month. In response to this question over two-fifths (43%) claimed that they never attended a place of worship.

Table 4.1.4.0.a. How often do you to church or other place of worship?

	%
Nearly every week	16
At least once a month	5
Sometimes	18
Once or twice a year	18
Never	43

N = 3378

Inglehart (1990: 200) reported the results of the *World Values Survey* (1981-1982), which drew on research from a number of countries. The survey questioned an older age group (18-24 year olds) than the one in this research. He found that 15% of them claimed that they attended religious services at least once a month, which was slightly lower than the responses from the Walsall teenagers. This may be partly due to the fact that the proportion of South Asian British is higher in Walsall than the national average and that they are more likely to attend worship than the white adolescents.

4.1.5.0. Frequency of attendance at public worship at different ages

A question was included about the regularity of worship at different ages. The responses of the adolescents are shown in table 4.1.5.0.a.

Table 4.1.5.0.a. Did you regularly go to worship (i.e. at least once a month) at these ages?

	N	Yes %	No %
5 - 6 years old	3362	38	62
9 - 10 years old	3363	42	58
13 - 14 years old	3363	27	73

There was a small increase in attendance at worship between the ages of 5-6 and 9-10, followed by a much larger decline by the time the adolescents were aged 13-14. Furnham and Gunter had also found a decline in church going as the adolescents grew older. They wrote 'The 10-14s (48%) were more likely than 15-16s (35%) or more

especially that the 17+s (18%) to attend once a week or more' (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 130)

4.1.6.0. Personal prayer

The adolescents were questioned about whether they prayed by themselves and their responses are set out in table 4.1.6.0.a., which show that 24% prayed at least once a month and nearly half never prayed alone.

Table 4.1.6.0.a. Do you pray by yourself?

	%
Nearly every day	14
At least once a week	7
At least once a month	3
Occasionally	29
Never	47

N = 3399

Cox's study of 2278 sixth formers took place in the mid-1960s, so its relevance to a study of Walsall adolescents in the mid-1990s is limited. He asked about the frequency of prayer. The responses are set out in table 4.1.6.0.b.

Table 4.1.6.0.b. Frequency of private prayer expressed as percentage of each sex

	Boys %	Girls %	All %
Pray daily	20.1	37.1	28.6
Pray occasionally	39.7	47.0	43.4
Never pray	39.7	14.3	27.0
No answer given	0.5	1.4	0.9

Source: Cox (1967: 105)

Much higher proportions of the adolescents in Cox's study said that they prayed (72%) and a smaller proportion (27%) said that they never prayed compared with the Walsall teenagers. It is not clear what the explanation is for the large gap between these figures and those for the Walsall teenagers. Furnham and Gunter's more recent research

reveals a picture much nearer to that of the Walsall adolescents. They asked about prayer and found that 14% of the adolescents said that they prayed. However 37% said that they never prayed, even if there was a time of crisis (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 131)

The overall picture we gain from these tables is that whilst many of the adolescents attend worship for special occasions, it is only a minority who pray and attend worship on a regular basis.

4.2.0.0. Experiences of God

4.2.1.0. Religious experience

The teenagers were asked to respond to a statement about religious experience. Although nearly two thirds said they had not had a religious experience, 26% were not sure and 8% claimed that they had (table 4.2.1.0.a.).

Table 4.2.1.0.a. Have you ever had something you would describe as a religious experience?

	%
No	66
Perhaps, but I am not really sure	17
Probably, but I am not certain	9
Yes, definitely	8

N = 3385

4.2.2.0 Divine guidance

Two-fifths of the adolescents did not think that their lives were being guided by God, 14% thought they were being guided and 46% responded 'perhaps' and 'probably' (table 4.2.2.0.a.).

Table 4.2.2.0.a. Do you feel that your life is being guided by God?

	%
No	40
Perhaps	29
Probably	17
Yes	14

N = 3380

From these two tables we can see that only a small minority of the adolescents thought that they had had an experience of God's presence or leading.

4.3.0.0. Christianity

A number of statements in my questionnaire were specifically about Christianity. There were two main reasons for this. Firstly, as has already been explained, this research was being undertaken against the background of a much larger survey which had studied the religious practices, beliefs, values and attitudes of adolescents from the perspective of Christianity (Francis and Kay, 1995. See section 3.2.0.0.). By including some of the same questions it meant that the data from this research could be used by other researchers as part of *The Teenage Religion and Values Initiative* at a later stage. Secondly, even though Walsall is often described as a multi-religious area, nevertheless 61% of the adolescents (table 4.1.0.0.a.) claimed to belong to a church (although, interestingly, when it came to the final section of the questionnaire in which those who considered that they belonged to a religious community were invited to respond to a range of specific statements about religious practices and attitudes the proportion dropped to 34%)(see table 11.1.0.0.a.). Therefore it was considered that these questions might produce some significant data about the influence of Christianity among Walsall adolescents.

4.3.1.0 Attendance at Sunday School

The first statement concerned frequency of attendance at Sunday School. The responses are shown in table 4.3.1.0.a.

Table 4.3.1.0.a. Did you regularly attend Christian Sunday School (i.e. at least once a month) at these ages?

	N	Yes %	No %
5 - 6 years old	3335	20	80
9 - 10 years old	3334	17	83
13 - 14 years old	3336	7	93

Unlike the profile for attendance at public worship, which included the adolescents of other religions (table 4.1.5.0.a.), this reveals a linear decline in church attendance as the children have grown older.

4.3.2.0 Bible reading

The adolescents were asked whether they read the bible by themselves. The replies are set out in table 4.3.2.0.a., which shows that more than seven out of ten of the Walsall adolescents never read the bible by themselves and that only 5% read it with any regularity.

Table 4.3.2.0.a. Do you read the bible by yourself?

	%
Nearly every day	2
At least once a week	2
At least once a month	1
Occasionally	23
Never	72

N = 3398

In Cox's research in the 1960s he asked the sixth formers about bible reading (table 4.3.2.0.b.) and found that a much higher proportion claimed to read their bible regularly or occasionally (61% compared with 28%) than the Walsall adolescents and a much smaller proportion never read the bible (38% compared with 72%).

Table 4.3.2.0.b. Frequency of private bible reading expressed as percentage of each sex

	Boys %	Girls %	All %
Read bible daily	5.8	15.1	10.5
Read bible occasionally	43.7	57.8	50.8
Never read	50.1	26.2	38.2
No response	0.4	0.9	0.7

Source: Cox (1967: 109)

4.3.3.0. Baptism

A statements was put to the teenagers about baptism/christening. Their responses (in table 4.3.3.0.a.) reveal that 61% had been baptised/christened, which is similar to the proportion who claimed that they belonged to a church (61%) (table 4.1.1.0.a.)

Table 4.3.3.0.a. Have you been baptised/christened?

	%
Yes	61
No	36
Don't know	4

N = 3391

4.3.4.0. Adult membership of a Christian Church

The teenagers were asked about adult membership of a church. Their responses (table 4.3.4.0.a.) reveal that just over 17% had been admitted to adult membership, with a slightly larger proportion not being certain.

Table 4.3.4.0.a. Have you been confirmed or admitted to adult membership of a Christian Church?

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
	17	66	18

N = 3311

4.3.5.0. Christianity at school

The adolescents were asked if they attended Christian meetings or societies at their school (table 4.3.5.0.a.) and this revealed that 13% had attended such meetings at least occasionally.

Table 4.3.5.0.a. Do you go to Christian meetings/societies at school?

	%
Never	87
Occasionally	4
Once a month	2
Once a week	2
Nearly every day	5

N = 3365

In this final section on Christianity one would expect some of the responses to be lower than the national average since by definition the adolescents of other religions in Walsall (approximately 20%) and those who claimed to belong to no religion (21%) were unlikely to read the bible, to have been admitted to adult membership of a church or to attend a Christian group at school.

5.0.0.0 THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS: THE INNER LIFE

For many adolescents the teenage years are a time of inner turmoil, with periods of self doubt and questioning. In this chapter the question is asked 'To what extent does religion influence the adolescents' inner life?'. The sense of well-being and self-worth of the teenagers is analysed, as well as some of the things that they may worry about. Finally a number of concerns about church and religion are examined.

Contents	5.1.1.0 Well being
	5.1.1.1. An overview
	5.1.1.2. The influence of religion
	5.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture
	5.1.2.0 Worries
	5.1.2.1. An overview
	5.1.2.2. The influence of religion
	5.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture
	5.1.3.0 Church and religion
	5.1.3.1. An overview
	5.1.3.2. The influence of religion
	5.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture
	5.1.4.0. The inner life: conclusions

5.1.0.0. The inner life

5.1.1.0 Well-being

5.1.1.1. An overview

Ten statements about a sense of well-being were put to the teenagers. The first two were positive statements about their lives ('I feel my life has a sense of purpose' and 'I find life really worth living'). The following three statements referred to the adolescents' sense of self-worth. Following this there are statements on loneliness and how they related to other people. The results are set out in table 5.1.1.1.a. Compared with some of the areas covered in later chapters, the adolescents were fairly clear about their opinions. that is, the proportion of those who answered with a 'not certain' was relatively low when compared with some of the responses in sections later in the research. It varied between 11%-21% of the sample. The only exception to this was the 35% of the sample who were not certain about whether their life had a sense of purpose or not. However 55% were

sure that their lives did have a sense of purpose and only 11% disagreed. Over two-thirds found life really worth living (70% agreed, 20% were not certain and 10% disagreed). Only 14% felt that they were not worth much as a person, 21% were not certain about this and 65% of the adolescents disagreed. Just over half often felt depressed (54%), 17% were not certain and 65% disagreed. In response to 'I have sometimes considered taking my own life', 28% agreed, 16% were not sure and the majority (56%) disagreed.

Table 5.1.1.1.a: Well-being: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	55	35	11
I find life really worth living	70	20	10
I feel I am not worth much as a person	14	21	65
I often feel depressed	54	17	29
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	28	16	56
I tend to be a lonely person	14	12	74
What people think of me is important	73	13	14
I don't like being in large crowds	21	15	65
I like to have a lot of people around me	75	16	9
Sometimes I have been jealous of others	77	11	12

Most of the adolescents did not think of themselves as being lonely people (14% agreed, 12% were not certain and 74% disagreed), but more than seven out of ten were concerned about what others thought about them (73% agreed, 13% were not certain and 14% disagreed). Just over one fifth of the teenagers did not like being in large crowds, although 15% were not certain and 65% did like being in crowds. The responses to the next statement backed this finding up where 75% indicated that they liked to have a lot of people around them (16% were not certain and 9% disagreed). Just over three-quarters (77%) had been jealous of other people, although 11% were not certain and 12% thought they had not been. These findings present us with a group of teenagers who are gregarious, generally positive about themselves and life, yet with a significant proportion

of them sometimes feeling depressed, anxious about what others think about them and sometimes jealous of others.

Francis and Kay asked six questions which examined the way that the adolescents viewed themselves and their life. Their responses may be seen in table 5.1.1.1.b.

Table 5.1.1.1.b. Well-being: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	45	36	9
I find life really worth living	69	22	9
I feel I am not worth much as a person	13	23	64
I often feel depressed	53	18	29
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	27	16	57
I tend to be a lonely person	16	16	68

Source: Francis and Kay (195: 44)

In response to the first six statements smaller proportions of the Walsall adolescents ticked the 'not certain' box than those in the Francis and Kay group, apart from the statement about feeling depressed. A far higher proportion of the Walsall adolescents felt that their life had a sense of purpose (55% compared with 45% agreed, 35% compared with 36% were not certain and 11% compared with 9% disagreed). The responses to the next four statements were broadly similar, with 1% more of the Walsall adolescents agreeing with the statements than those in the Francis and Kay group in each case. Thus 70% compared with 69% found life really worth living (10% compared with 9% disagreed and 20% compared with 22% were not certain), 14% compared with 13% felt they were not worth much as a person (21% compared with 23% were not certain and 65% compared with 64% disagreed), 54% compared with 53% often felt depressed (17% compared with 18% were not certain and 29% of both groups disagreed) and 28% compared with 27% had sometimes thought about committing suicide (in both cases 16% were not certain and 56% compared with 57% disagreed). A smaller proportion of the teenagers in Walsall tended to be lonely (14% compared with 16% agreed with the

statement, 12% compared with 16% were not certain, but 74% compared with 68% disagreed).

In summary, a higher proportion of the Walsall adolescents were generally more certain about their feelings than the teenagers in the Francis and Kay research. More were positive about life and fewer were lonely. Despite this a slightly higher proportion had low self-worth, became depressed and thought about suicide.

5.1.1.2. The influence of religion

Table 5.1.1.2.a. shows the responses of the adolescents when they were divided according to their religious affiliation.

Table 5.1.1.2.a. Well-being: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	62	59	66	53	48	75	.001
I find life really worth living	72	64	68	67	70	4	NS
I feel I am not worth much as a person	14	13	19	16	13	7	NS
I often feel depressed	53	60	49	55	54	4	NS
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	25	30	24	29	30	10	.05
I tend to be a lonely person	14	21	16	16	13	7	NS
What people think of me is important	78	72	71	72	70	23	.001
I don't like being in large crowds	20	17	34	18	19	31	.001
I like to have a lot of people around me	75	77	74	81	75	4	NS
Sometimes I have been jealous of others	84	87	60	72	75	90	.001

There were statistically significant differences in the responses to five of the statements.

Non-affiliates

A smaller proportion of the non-affiliates felt that their life had a sense of purpose (48%) and a smaller proportion were concerned about what people thought about them (70%) than those who were affiliated to the four religious groups. Thirteen percent (NS) felt that they were not worth much as a person (the same as the Hindu adolescents) and nearly a third of the non-affiliates (30% NS) had sometimes considered committing suicide, which was the same proportion of the Hindu adolescents, but greater than the other religious groups. Stack (1991: 462-468) in a study in Sweden also found a correlation between religiosity and lower levels of suicides among the young (15-29 year olds), in both males and females.

Christianity

The Christian adolescents in Walsall were the group with the highest proportion of those who really found life worth living (72% NS) and the highest proportion who were concerned about what other people thought about them (78%). Compared with the other three religious groups a smaller proportion of the Christians stated that they tended to be lonely (14% NS).

Hinduism

A smaller proportion of the Hindu adolescents felt they were not worth much as a person (13% NS, the same as the non-affiliates) and did not like being in large crowds (17%). Conversely a larger proportion of them often felt depressed (60% NS), had sometimes considered suicide (30%, the same as the non-affiliates), tended to be lonely (21% NS) and had been jealous of other people (87%).

Islam

A larger proportion of Muslims than any other groups felt that their lives had a sense of purpose (66%) yet at the same time a larger proportion also felt they were not worth much as a person (19% NS). More of them often felt depressed (60% NS) and

considered taking their own life (30%, the same as the non-affiliates). Despite this, of the four religious groups smaller proportions of them were concerned what people thought about them (71%), liked to have a lot of people around them (74% NS) and experienced jealousy (60%). Compared with all the other groups a larger proportion of them did not like being in large crowds (34%).

Sikhism

Of the four religious groups a smaller proportion of the Sikhs felt that their lives had a sense of purpose (53%) and a larger proportion of them liked to have a lot of people around them (81% NS).

5.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture

The results of the group being divided into the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs are shown in table 5.1.1.3.a.

Table 5.1.1.3.a. Well-being: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	54	60	8	.01
I find life really worth living	70	67	2	NS
I feel I am not worth much as a person	14	17	4	.05
I often feel depressed	54	53	<1	NS
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	28	27	<1	NS
I tend to be a lonely person	13	17	5	.05
What people think of me is important	73	72	1	NS
I don't like being in large crowds	20	26	9	.01
I like to have a lot of people around me	75	77	1	NS
Sometimes I have been jealous of others	79	69	27	.001

The chi square test shows that there were statistically significant differences in the responses to five of the statements of at least $p < .05$. Much research has been undertaken both in the United States of America and in Britain examining self-esteem

and a broad consensus has emerged that levels of self-esteem of adolescents in the different ethnic groups is not greatly different (Verma and Bagley, 1975: 230; Loudon, 1978a: 226; 1978b, 207; 1980: 27; Bagley, Mallick and Verma, 1979:190; Field, 1984:12; Verma and Ashworth, 1986: 185; Verma and Mallick, 1988, 160-161; Hutnik, 1991: 75-76, 145). However, among the Walsall adolescents there appears to have been some relatively small differences. Whilst a greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents than the Christian/non-affiliates group felt that life has a sense of purpose (60% compared with 54%), this contrasted with the finding that a greater proportion of them also felt that they were not worth much as a person (17% compared with 14%). A smaller proportion of them had sometimes been jealous of others (69% compared with 79%). The Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group comprised a greater proportion of lonely people (17% compared with 13%). This finding is surprising since the proportion of Asians who live alone is much smaller than for whites and blacks (Modood, Beishon and Virdee, 1994: 32-33). The Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group also had a larger proportion who did not like being in large crowds (26% compared with 20%).

5.1.2.0. Worries

5.1.2.1. An overview

Six potential areas of worry were described in the statements in the questionnaire. They concerned the adolescents' sex life, getting on with other people, attractiveness to the opposite sex, contracting AIDS, going out alone at night and being attacked by pupils from other schools. The responses are set out in table 5.1.2.1.a.

Table 5.1.2.1.a. Worries: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I am worried about:			
my sex life	18	24	59
how I get on with other people	49	23	28
my attractiveness to the opposite sex	36	23	41
getting AIDS	58	19	23
going out alone at night in my area	36	14	50
being attacked by pupils from other schools	29	22	49

Just under one-fifth (18%) were worried about their sex life, compared with 24% who were not certain and 59% who were not worried about it. However, there was a much higher proportion who were worried about how they got on with other people (49% agreed, 23% not certain and 28% disagreed). Over one-third were worried about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (36%), although 41% were not worried about this and 23% were not certain. The area which worried the highest proportion of the adolescents was contracting AIDS where 58% agreed, 19% were not certain and 23% disagreed. Just over one third were worried about going out alone at night (36% agreed, 14% were not certain and 50% disagreed). The proportion of those who agreed that they were worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools was 29%, although 49% were not worried about it and 22% were not certain.

Francis and Kay had put the same statements to the adolescents in their research and their results are shown in table 5.1.2.1.b.

Table 5.1.2.1.b. Worries: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I am worried about:			
my sex life	17	24	59
how I get on with other people	50	23	27
my attractiveness to the opposite sex	32	24	44
getting AIDS	62	17	21
going out alone at night in my area	29	16	55
being attacked by pupils from other schools	15	22	63

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 164)

A slightly higher proportion of the Walsall adolescents were worried about their sex life (18%) than those in the Francis and Kay research (17%). Both groups had similar proportions of those who were not certain (24%) and who disagreed (59%). A slightly smaller proportion of the teenagers in Walsall worried about how they got on with other people (49% compared with 50%). The proportion of 'not certain' was the same but 1% more of the Walsall teenagers disagreed. Four percent more of the Walsall adolescents were worried about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (36% compared with 32% agreed, 23% compared with 24% were not certain and 41% compared with 44% disagreed). When it came to the question of contracting AIDS a smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents were worried than those in the Francis and Kay study (58% compared with 62%, 19% compared with 17% were not certain and 23% compared with 21% disagreed). A higher proportion of the teenagers in Walsall were worried about going out alone at night (36% compared with 29% agreed, 14% compared with 16% were not certain and 50% compared with 55% disagreed). Finally, there was a much higher proportion of the Walsall adolescents who were worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools (29% compared with 15% agreed, 49% compared with 63% disagreed and in both cases 22% were not certain). Although these differences may be due to the particular situation in Walsall when compared with the rest of the country, they could also be due to the fact that this research was undertaken at a later date than the Francis and

Kay research. Thus they may reflect attitudes which are changing across the whole country over time.

5.1.2.2. The influence of religion

Table 5.1.2.2.a. shows the statistics when the sample was broken down into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates.

Table 5.1.2.2.a. Worries: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I am worried about:							
my sex life	20	24	17	18	16	12	.05
how I get on with other people	55	56	48	53	45	27	.001
my attractiveness to the opposite sex	40	40	31	36	33	21	.001
getting AIDS	60	55	51	56	58	8	NS
going out alone at night in my area	42	44	43	35	30	47	.001
being attacked by pupils from other schools	34	32	29	31	26	20	.001

Significant statistical differences were found in the responses to all the statements except the one concerning contracting AIDS.

Non-affiliates

A smaller proportion of the non-affiliates were worried about their sex life (16%), how they got on with other people (45%), going out alone at night (30%) and being attacked by pupils from other schools (26%), than those adolescents who were affiliated to one of the religious groups. It was only worrying about getting AIDS (58% NS) where the non-affiliates had a larger proportion than the Hindus (55% NS), Muslims (51% NS) and Sikhs (56% NS), although they were all smaller than the proportion of Christians (60% NS).

Christianity

The Christian adolescents had the joint highest proportion (along with the Hindu adolescents) who were worried about their attractiveness to the other sex (40%), the highest proportion who were worried about contracting AIDS (60% NS) and the highest proportion who were worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools (34%).

Hinduism

The Hindu teenagers had the largest proportion who were worried in response to four of the statements. Nearly one quarter were worried about their sex life (24%), 56% worried about how they got on with other people, 40% were worried about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (which was the same proportion as the Christians), and 44% were worried about going out alone at night.

Islam

Compared with the other three religious groups the Muslims have the lowest proportion who were worried in five of the six areas: their sex life (17%), getting on with other people (48%), their attractiveness to the other sex (31%, which was a smaller proportion than even the non-affiliates), contracting AIDS (51% NS) and being attacked by pupils from other schools (29%).

Sikhism

The Sikh adolescents did not exhibit a very distinctive profile, apart from the fact that they had the lowest proportion of the four religious groups who were worried about going out alone at night in their area (35%).

5.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture

The adolescents were divided into Christian/non-affiliates and Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Their responses are shown in table 5.1.2.3.a. Significant statistical differences

were found only in the responses to the statements about contracting AIDS and going out alone at night.

Table 5.1.2.3.a. Worries: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I am worried about:				
my sex life	18	19	<1	NS
how I get on with other people	49	51	1	NS
my attractiveness to the opposite sex	36	34	<1	NS
getting AIDS	59	54	5	.05
going out alone at night in my area	35	40	5	.05
being attacked by pupils from other schools	29	30	<1	NS

The first statement shows that a higher proportion of the Christian/non-affiliates group were worried about getting AIDS (59% compared with 54%). Later (table 7.1.1.3.a.) it will be shown that the Christian/NA adolescents had far more liberal views concerning sex outside of marriage and sex under the legal age than the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers, which might translate into a higher level of sexual activity and therefore a greater risk of catching an infection. A higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents were worried about going out alone at night (40% compared with 35%), which may be related to the fear of racial attacks.

5.1.3.0. Church and religion

5.1.3.1. An overview

The first two of the nine statements in this section referred to religion in schools: 'Religious education should be taught in school' and 'Schools should hold a religious assembly every day'. Four statements represent popular views of church and of being a Christian which may explain why some choose not to belong to a church: 'Church is boring', 'I believe that I can be a Christian without going to church', 'The church seems irrelevant to life today' and 'The bible seems irrelevant to life today'. Two statements were designed to see how many of the adolescents were intending to come to church for one of the rites of passage: 'I want to get married in church' and 'I want my children to be baptised/christened in church'. The section ended with a statement about the clergy: 'Christian ministers/vicars/priests do a good job' The responses of the adolescents are set out in table 5.1.3.1.a.

Table 5.1.3.1.a. Church and religion: an overview

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
Religious education should be taught in school	48	27	25
Schools should hold a religious assembly every day	9	18	73
Church is boring	48	28	24
I believe that I can be a Christian without going to church	49	30	21
The church seems irrelevant to life today	27	46	27
The bible seems irrelevant to life today	28	43	29
I want to get married in church	63	18	19
I want my children to be baptised/christened in church	46	24	29
Christian ministers/vicars/priests do a good job	33	48	20

Nearly one half of the adolescents in Walsall thought that religious education should be taught in schools (48% agreed), although one quarter disagreed and 27% were not certain. However only 9% agreed that school should hold a religious assembly every day, with 73% disagreeing and 18% not certain. Just under one half thought that church is boring (48%, but 28% were not certain and 24% disagreed). A slightly higher proportion

believed that they could be a Christian without going to church (49%). Here there was a higher proportion of those who were not certain (30%) and just over one fifth disagreed (21%). In response to the statement 'The church seems irrelevant to life today' the same proportion disagreed as agreed (27%), although 46% were not certain. A similar picture emerged in response to the relevance of the bible where 28% agreed that it seemed irrelevant, 29% disagreed and 43% were not certain.

Nearly two-thirds wanted to get married in church (63%, with 18% not certain and 19% disagreed) but under one half wanted to have their children baptised/christened in church (46%), 29% did not and 24% were not certain. The final statement indicated that one third of the adolescents agreed that Christian ministers do a good job, one fifth disagreed and nearly half were not certain (48%).

The same statements were put to the adolescents in the Francis and Kay research and the results are set out in table 5.1.3.1.b.

Table 5.1.3.1.b. Church and religion: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
Religious education should be taught in school	33	36	31
Schools should hold a religious assembly every day	6	21	73
Church is boring	51	27	22
I believe that I can be a Christian without going to church	50	33	17
The church seems irrelevant to life today	27	46	27
The bible seems irrelevant to life today	30	43	27
I want to get married in church	78	17	5
I want my children to be baptised/christened in church	57	27	16
Christian ministers/vicars/priests do a good job	36	47	17

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 187)

The responses to the first two statements show that the Walsall adolescents generally had a more positive attitude toward religion in schools than did the teenagers in the

Francis and Kay research. A much higher proportion of them thought that religious education should be taught in schools (48% compared with 33% agreed, 27% compared with 36% were not certain and 25% compared with 31% disagreed) and that schools should hold a religious assembly every day (9% compared with 6% agreed, 18% compared with 21% were not certain and in both groups 73% disagreed).

Compared with the adolescents in the Francis and Kay sample, a smaller proportion of the teenagers in Walsall thought that church was boring (48% compared with 51% agreed, 28% compared with 27% were not certain and 24% compared with 22% disagreed) and that you can be a Christian without going to church (49% compared with 50% agreed, 30% compared with 33% were not certain and 21% compared with 17% disagreed). Their response to the statement 'The church seems irrelevant to life today' was exactly the same as the adolescents in the Francis and Kay study. A slightly smaller proportion thought that the bible was irrelevant to life today (28% compared with 30% agreed, 43% were not certain in both groups and 29% compared with 27% disagreed).

A smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents expected to use the church for the occasional offices: 63% compared with 78% thought they would get married in church (18% compared with 17% were not certain and 19% compared with 5% disagreed). With regard to having children christened in church, 46% of the teenagers in Walsall compared with 57% of those in the Francis and Kay research thought they would do this (24% compared with 27% were not certain and 29% compared with 16% thought they would not). Finally, a smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents thought that Christian ministers do a good job (33% compared with 36% agreed, 48% compared with 47% were not certain and 20% compared with 17% disagreed).

Compared with the larger Francis and Kay sample more of the Walsall adolescents were positive about religion in school but a smaller proportion of them were positive about the church and the effectiveness of the clergy.

5.1.3.2. The influence of religion

The positive responses of the adolescents were separated into the four main religious groups and the non-affiliates. These are shown in table 5.1.3.2.a.

Table 5.1.3.2.a. Church and religion: the influence of religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ	p<
Religious education should be taught in school	60	67	74	63	32	335	.001
Schools should hold a religious assembly every day	11	12	26	9	5	139	.001
Church is boring	38	23	32	28	61	226	.001
I believe that I can be a Christian without going to church	67	19	11	17	47	396	.001
The church seems irrelevant to life today	22	23	25	22	31	37	.001
The bible seems irrelevant to life today	24	21	18	18	34	65	.001
I want to get married in church	86	8	3	8	65	1012	.001
I want my children to be baptised /christened in church	76	5	2	4	40	822	.001
Christian ministers/vicars/priests do a good job	55	22	20	22	20	419	.001

The chi square test demonstrates that there were significant differences of at least $p < .001$ in all cases. As has already been noted in section 3.3.0.0., the responses in this chapter raise as many questions as they answer. Whilst there was a rationale for asking all the teenagers to respond to these statements it is difficult to know how to interpret some of the responses in any meaningful way, since they were originally designed for a predominantly Christian or post-Christian group. Therefore caution must be exercised in this section.

Non-affiliates

Not surprisingly, the non-affiliates had a distinctive profile with regard to church and society. They had by far the smallest proportion of those who thought that religious education should be taught in schools (32%) and that there should be a religious

assembly in school every day (5%). A much higher proportion than those in the religious groups thought that church is boring (61%), that it is irrelevant to life today (31%) and that the bible is irrelevant to life today (34%). Despite this 65% of the non-affiliates still expected to get married in church and 40% intended to have their children christened in church. Only 20% of the non-affiliates thought that Christian ministers do a good job.

Christianity

Compared with the other three religious groups the Christians had the smallest proportion (60%) who thought that RE should be taught in schools and the highest proportion (38%) who thought that church is boring. Over two-thirds (67%) thought that they could be a Christian without going to church. Surprisingly, a larger proportion of the Christian adolescents thought that the church seems irrelevant to life today, which is the same proportion as the Sikhs, but lower than the Hindus and the Muslims. Also a larger proportion of the Christians thought that the bible seems irrelevant to life today than the other three religious groups. The vast majority (86%) wanted to get married in church and have their children baptised (76%). Just over half (55%) thought that Christian ministers do a good job, which was the highest proportion of any of the groups.

Hinduism

Compared with the other groups the Hindus had the smallest proportion who thought that church is boring (23%).

Islam

The adolescent Muslims had the most distinctive religious profile of the four religious groups. They had the highest proportion who thought that RE should be taught in schools (74%), that there should be religious assemblies (26%) and who thought that the church seems irrelevant (25%). They had the smallest proportion who agreed 'I believe I can be a Christian without going to church' (11%), that the bible seems irrelevant (18%, the same as the Sikhs), who wanted to get married in church (3%), have their children baptised in church (2%) and thought that Christian ministers do a good job (20%). Thus

we see a group who are very positive about religion and the bible but most critical about the church and the clergy.

It is clear that many Muslims are eager to have their faith taught in schools. Parker-Jenkins (1991: 571-572) noted the frustration of some Muslims at the lack of facilities and flexibility of the school timetable to allow children to make their ablutions and their daily prayers. Anwar (1994a: 29-30) quoting research in 1975 and 1983 wrote 'About eighty per cent of both [Muslim] parents and children agreed that there was not sufficient formal teaching of Islam in schools. Many Muslims felt that there should be facilities within the school system for religious instruction. One of their worries was that if children are not taught Islam in school, they may be influenced by Christianity. Half of the Muslim parents and 40 per cent of young Muslims felt that this may be the case. Those who felt strongly about this issue said that because of the influence to which Muslim children are exposed, they tend to think about Christianity more than about their own religion'.

Tomlinson and Hutchinson (1990: 31), reporting on the research among Bangladeshi parents in Tower Hamlets, wrote 'A majority of parents, forty-two per cent of mothers and forty-five per cent of fathers thought that if religion was to be taught to their children it should only be the Islamic religion. Six per cent of mothers and thirty per cent of fathers thought that children should study all religions, and thirty per cent of mothers and twenty-five per cent of fathers thought that Islam should be studied separately but were not completely against their children learning something about other religions'. Joly (1995: 39) pointed out an example of a school in Birmingham where Islam has been brought into RE lessons and assemblies.

Sikhism

The Sikh adolescents were the least enthusiastic about daily school religious assemblies (9%). However along with the Christians they had the smallest proportion who thought that the church is irrelevant (22%) and that the bible is irrelevant (18%, the same as the

Muslims). Like the Muslims some Sikhs have wanted their own schools (Sahgah and Yuval-Davis, 1992: 183-186)

5.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture

In order to assess specifically the influence of Asian culture on attitudes, the sample was divided into the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents and their responses are set out in table 5.1.3.3.a.

Table 5.1.3.3.a. Church and religion: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
Religious education should be taught in school	44	69	114	.001
Schools should hold a religious assembly every day	7	18	63	.001
Church is boring	52	29	89	.001
I believe that I can be a Christian without going to church	55	14	286	.001
The church seems irrelevant to life today	28	23	4	NS
The bible seems irrelevant to life today	30	19	28	.001
I want to get married in church	73	5	877	.001
I want my children to be baptised christened in church	54	3	463	.001
Christian ministers/vicars/priests do a good job	35	21	37	.001

Apart from the statement 'The church seems irrelevant to life today', the differences in responses to all the other statements were significantly significant to $p < .001$. A much higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents than the Christian/non-affiliated teenagers thought that religious education should be taught in schools (69% compared with 44%) and that there should be a daily religious assembly (18% compared with 7%). It is interesting that a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents thought that church is boring (29% compared with 52%), that you can be a Christian without going to church (14% compared with 55%), that the church is irrelevant to life today (23% NS compared with 28% NS) and that the bible is irrelevant (19% compared with 30%).

A tiny proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers wanted to get married in church (5% compared with 73%) and to have their children christened in church (3% compared with 54%). Also only 21% thought that Christian ministers do a good job compared with 35% of the Christian/non-affiliate teenagers.

5.1.4.0. The inner life: conclusions

At the beginning of this chapter the question was posed 'To what does extent religion has an influence of the inner life of the adolescents in Walsall?'

Christians

Some of the responses of the adolescent Christians were not surprising. Of the four religions groups they had the highest proportion who wanted to get married in church, who wanted to get their children baptised in church and who thought that clergy do a good job (table 5.1.3.2.a.). However one might not have expected to find that they had the largest proportion who were worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools (table 5.1.2.2.a.), who thought that church is boring, that the bible seems irrelevant to life today and who agreed that one can be a Christian without going to church (table 5.1.3.2.a.). They also had the smallest proportion who thought that religious education should be taught in schools and, equal with the Sikhs, who thought that the church seems irrelevant to life today (table 5.1.3.2.a.). The young Christians did not seem to be very positive about the church, the bible or about the Christian faith.

The profile of the teenage Christians reveals them as the group with the highest proportion who were concerned about what other people thought about them (table 5.1.1.2.a.) and who were worried about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (equal with the Hindus) (table 5.1.2.2.a.).

Hindus

The Hindus adolescents had the largest proportion who had been jealous of other people (table 5.1.1.2.a.), were worried about their sex lives, worried about how they got on with other people, worried about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (equal with the Christians) and who worried about going out alone at night (table 5.1.2.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who did not mind being in large crowds (table 5.1.1.2.a.) and who thought that church was boring (table 5.1.3.2.a.). Overall we get a picture of group with high proportions of teenagers who were gregarious yet who were worried about personal insecurities.

Muslims

When it came to the teenage Muslims a higher proportion than in the other three religious groups appear to have felt relatively secure in themselves. For example, they were the group with the highest proportion who felt their lives had a sense of purpose and the group with the smallest proportion who were concerned about what others thought about them, who had been jealous of others (table 5.1.1.2.a.), who were worried about their sex lives, worried about getting on with other people and worried about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (table 5.1.2.2.a.).

They had the largest proportion who were positive about religion in school, that is who thought that religious education should be taught in schools and that schools should hold a daily religious assembly (table 5.1.3.2.a.).

It is not particularly surprising that they had the smallest proportion who thought that one can be a Christian without going to church, who wanted to get married in church, who wanted their children to be baptised in church and who thought that Christian ministers do a good job. They had the largest proportion who thought that 'the church seems irrelevant to life today' (table 5.1.3.2.a.).

They had the highest proportion who thought did not like being in large crowds (table 5.1.1.2.a.) and the smallest proportion who were afraid of being attacked by pupils from other schools (table 5.1.2.2.a.). In summary, compared with the other three groups, the Muslims exhibited the most distinctive profile, compared with the other three religious groups, with a smaller proportion showing concern about their relationships and contacts with those around them and with a high level of concern for religious teaching and worship in schools.

Sikhs

Compared with the other groups the Sikh respondents had the smallest proportion who felt their lives had a sense of purpose (table 5.1.1.2.a.), who were worried about going out alone at night (table 5.1.2.2.a.), who thought that schools should hold a religious assembly every day, who thought that the church seems irrelevant to life today (equal with the Christians) and that the bible seems irrelevant to life today (equal with the Muslims) (table 5.1.3.2.a.).

6.0.0.0. THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS: RELATING AND SPIRITUALITY

This chapter explores the extent to which the adolescents' faith and beliefs influences the way that they relate to their families, to friends, to God and to the supernatural.

Contents	6.1.1.0. Religious beliefs
	6.1.1.1. An overview
	6.1.1.2. The influence of religion
	6.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture
	6.1.2.0. Supernatural
	6.1.2.1. An overview
	6.1.2.2. The influence of religion
	6.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture
	6.1.3.0. Listening ear
	6.1.3.1. An overview
	6.1.3.2. The influence of religion
	6.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture
	6.1.4.0. Relating and spirituality: conclusions

6.1.0.0. Relating and spirituality

6.1.1.0. Religious Belief

6.1.1.1. An overview

Twelve statements were put to the adolescents which explored a variety of beliefs. Four of the statements were general and applicable to all the teenagers ('I believe in God', 'I believe God punishes people', 'I believe in life after death' and 'I believe God made the world'). Since it had been decided to base the questionnaire on the one used previously by Francis and Kay, it was felt prudent to retain two specifically Christian statements of belief ('I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God' and 'I believe that Jesus Christ really rose from the dead'). However, I included a statement about reincarnation and another about Mohammed: 'I believe that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God'. Finally it was decided to find out what proportion of the adolescents held an exclusivist position with regard to their own or to another religion. Therefore four new statements were added: 'I believe that Christianity/Hinduism/Islam/Sikhism is the only true religion'. The responses of the Walsall adolescents are shown in table 6.1.1.1.a.

Table 6.1.1.1.a. Religious beliefs: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I believe in God	46	28	26
I believe God punishes people who do wrong	30	33	37
I believe in life after death	51	33	16
I believe that God made the world	37	35	28
I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God	45	31	25
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	28	41	31
I believe in reincarnation	30	41	29
I believe that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God	14	42	44
I think Christianity is the only true religion	20	28	52
I think Hinduism is the only true religion	3	20	77
I think Islam is the only true religion	9	20	72
I think Sikhism is the only true religion	4	21	74

In response to most of the statements a relatively high level of uncertainty was shown. Nearly one half (46%) believed in God, while just over one quarter were uncertain (26%) and 28% were not certain. The responses to 'I believe God punishes people who do wrong' were fairly evenly divided with 30% agreeing, 33% uncertain and 37% disagreeing. Just over one half of the teenagers believed in life after death (51%). Only 16% did not believe this and 33% were not certain. When it came to 'I believe that God made the world' the responses were fairly evenly spread with 37% agreeing, 35% not certain and 28% disagreeing.

It is interesting to note that nearly the same proportion of the adolescents believed that Jesus Christ is the son of God as believed in God (45% compared with 46%). A quarter did not believe this and 31% were not certain. Some years earlier Cox asked the sixth formers in his study whether Jesus is the son of God: 56% of them were either 'completely' or 'fairly' confident that he was (Cox, 1967: 37).

Just over two-fifths of the teenagers were not certain whether Jesus really rose from the dead (41%), while 28% agreed and 31% disagreed. In response to the statement on

reincarnation 30% agreed, 41% were not certain and 29% disagreed. The 1985 Gallup survey found that 19% of the 16-19 year olds claimed to believe in reincarnation (Heald and Wybrow, 1986: 262). 'I believe that Mohammed is the Prophet of the one God' found agreement from 14% of the teenagers, with 42% not certain and 44% disagreeing. The responses to these last two statements illustrate the way in which religious beliefs from one religion are sometimes held by adherents from other religions or no religion. Thus reincarnation is traditionally a Hindu belief and yet far more than the Hindus claim to believe in it. Also the statement about Mohammed being the Prophet of the one God finds agreement with more than just those who claimed to be Muslims.

One-fifth thought that Christianity was the only true religion, 52% disagreed and 28% were not certain. As would be expected a much smaller proportion (3%) agreed with the proposition 'I believe that Hinduism is the only true religion', although only 2% of the sample claimed that they were Hindus. One-fifth were uncertain and 77% disagreed. The proportion of adolescents who claimed to be Muslims was 8%, but just under one-tenth (9%) agreed that Islam is the only true religion. Again one-fifth were not certain and 72% disagreed. The responses to the statement on Sikhism as the only true religion received a broadly similar response with 4% agreeing, 21% not certain and 74% disagreeing. However in the initial section of the questionnaire 6% of the adolescents had claimed that they were Sikhs. It would appear that a smaller proportion of the Sikh teenagers were willing to make exclusivist claims about the truth of the Sikh religion than their Hindu and Muslim counterparts.

Francis and Kay put some similar statements to the adolescents in their study, although their statement on creation was more specific ('I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh') in order to explore the adolescents' views on creationism (Fulljames and Francis, 1988; Fulljames, Gibson and Francis, 1991). In this piece of research the purpose was not to examine whether some of the adolescents had a particular view about the literalness of the biblical story of creation, but rather to compare the beliefs of adolescents from the major religions in Walsall about God's role

in creation. Consequently the statement was rephrased. Also Francis and Kay did not include statements on Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. The results of their research is shown in table 6.1.1.1.b.

Table 6.1.1.1.b. Religious beliefs: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I believe in God	39	35	26
I believe God punishes people who do wrong	19	39	42
I believe in life after death	41	41	18
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh	17	42	41
I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God	47	34	19
I believe that Jesus Christ really rose from the dead	30	43	27
I think Christianity is the only true religion	16	42	42

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 137)

In each case a larger proportion of the Walsall adolescents were definite in what they believed or did not believe than those in Francis and Kay's research. A larger proportion of them claimed to believe in God (46% compared with 39%), 28% were not certain compared with 35% and in both groups 26% disagreed. The 1985 Gallup survey found that 57% of 16-19 year olds claimed to believe in God (Heald and Wybrow, 1986: 262). Furnham and Gunter asked the 12-22 year olds in their research if they believed in God or some other supernatural being. Just over one quarter (26%) claimed to believe 'in the existence of a higher force which has some influence over events in their lives', while 36% disagreed and 39% were uncertain (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 132). The World Values Survey of 1981-1982 revealed that 67% of the 15-24 year olds in Britain said they believed in God, while only 34% described themselves as 'a religious person' (Inglehart, 1990: 190-191). In the second survey of the European Values Systems Study Group, which questioned 1 474 people, Timms reported that 45% of the 18-25s said that they believed in God (Timms, 1992: 69). Roberts and Sachdev interviewed 580 adolescents aged 12-19 in the summer of 1994, using a multiple choice questionnaire and asked

about their belief in God. The responses are shown in table 6.1.1.1.c. and reveal that 58% of the teenagers believed in God.

Table 6.1.1.1.c. Which statement best describes your beliefs about God?

	%
I don't believe in God and I never have	16
I don't believe in God now, but I used to	17
I believe in God now, but I didn't used to	13
I believe in God now, and I always have	45

Source: Roberts and Sachdev (1996: 131)

The differences in responses in these various pieces of research are interesting and can most easily be ascribed to the particular wording of the various statements which could lead them to be open to differing interpretation. Another consideration is the age difference in the respondents to the various pieces of research.

Just under one third of the teenagers (31%) believed that God punishes people compared with 19%. One third were uncertain compared with 39% and 37% disagreed compared with 42%. In response to the statement about life after death, 51% of the Walsall teenagers agreed compared with 41%, while 33% compared with 41% were uncertain and 16% compared with 18% disagreed. Furnham and Gunter's research showed that 33% of the young people in their sample believed in life after death, 24% did not believe in it and 44% were not certain (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 133). This is similar to the Gallup Survey of 1985 which showed that 33% of 16-19 year olds claimed to believe in life after death (Heald and Wybrow, 1986: 262) and Timms (1992: 69) found a slightly higher level (36%) amongst the 18-25 year olds a few years later.

Due to the different wording the statements on creation are not directly comparable. Not surprisingly, a much larger proportion of the Walsall adolescents agreed with the statement than those in the Francis and Kay cohort (37% compared with 17% agreed, 35% compared with 42% were uncertain and 28% compared with 41% disagreed). The

responses to the statement on resurrection produced a more similar response, with 28% of the Walsall adolescents agreeing compared with 30% (with 41% and 43% respectively being not certain and 31% compared with 27% disagreeing). When comparing the exclusivist claim about Christianity we find that a larger proportion of the Walsall adolescents agreed (20% compared with 16%) and a larger proportion disagreed (52% compared with 42%), whilst a smaller proportion were uncertain (28% compared with 42%).

6.1.1.2. The influence of religion

The sample was divided into the four main religious groups and the non-affiliates and the results are shown in table 6.1.1.2.a.

Table 6.1.1.2.a. Religious beliefs: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I believe in God	64	83	91	75	23	832	.001
I believe God punishes people who do wrong	32	54	83	58	16	600	.001
I believe in life after death	58	71	73	60	41	160	.001
I believe that God made the world	50	45	88	57	19	653	.001
I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God	73	42	13	38	32	577	.001
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	52	22	20	21	15	471	.001
I believe in reincarnation	33	63	11	50	28	128	.001
I believe that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God	8	14	98	14	6	1622	.001
I think Christianity is the only true religion	36	0	2	6	14	314	.001
I think Hinduism is the only true religion	2	29	1	2	3	201	.001
I think Islam is the only true religion	2	1	79	1	3	1774	.001
I think Sikhism is the only true religion	1	3	1	40	3	635	.001

In all cases there was a significant statistical difference of at least $p < .001$.

Non-affiliates

It is interesting to examine the beliefs of the non-affiliates. Nearly one quarter claimed to believe in God (24%) and 16% believed that God punishes those who do wrong. Nearly one third believed that Christ is the son of God (32%) and 15% believed that Jesus really rose from the dead. Over two-fifths believed in life after death (41%) and 28% believed in reincarnation. About one-fifth believed that God made the world (19%). Some of the non-affiliates expressed exclusivist views of the various religions: 14% for Christianity and 3% each for Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. A small proportion believed that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God (6%).

Christianity

Of the four religious groups the Christians had the smallest proportion who believed in God (64%), that God punishes people who do wrong (32%), in life after death (58%), that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God (8%) and, equal with the Muslim adolescents, that Sikhism is the only true religion (1%). In contrast the Christian adolescents had the largest proportion who believed that Jesus Christ is the son of God (73%), that he rose from the dead (52%) and that Christianity is the only true religion (36%).

Hinduism

Compared with the other three religious groups the Hindu adolescents had the smallest proportion who believed that God made the world (45%), that Christianity is the only true religion (0%) and, equal with the Sikhs, that Islam is the only true religion (1%). They had the largest proportion (63%) who believed in reincarnation and believed that Hinduism is the only true religion (29%).

Islam

Of all the groups the Muslims had the highest proportion who believed in God (91%), that God punishes people who do wrong (83%), in life after death (73%) and that God made the world (88%). These are all fundamental Islamic beliefs so these responses are not particularly surprising. For example, *Akhirah* (life after death) is a basic belief for

Muslims (Hewitt, 1993: 2) and Knott (1992a: 39) found that it was widely held by the adolescent Muslim girls in West Yorkshire, although some of them were not afraid to question it. The teenage Muslims also had the highest proportion of those who believed that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God (98%) and that Islam is the only true religion (79%). They had the smallest proportion who believed that Jesus Christ is the son of God (13%), in reincarnation (11%), that Hinduism is the only true religion (1%) and, equal with Christianity, that Sikhism is the only true religion (1%). Compared with the other three religious groups it had the smallest proportion who believed that Jesus Christ really rose from the dead (20%).

Sikhism

The profile of the adolescent Sikhs in this section is most similar to the profile of the Hindus. Three-quarters claimed belief in God. However only 58% agreed that that God punishes those who do wrong and only three-fifths agreed with the statement 'I believe in life after death'. Fifty-seven per cent agreed with the statement that God made the world. Nearly two-fifths (38%) believed that Jesus is the son of God and 21% that he rose from the dead. One half believed in reincarnation, but, like the Hindus, only 14% believed that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God. The Sikh teenagers had the highest proportion (40%) who believed that Sikhism is the only true religion while only 1% believed that Islam is the only true religion.

These statistics reflect the fact that Sikhism has never been an exclusivist religion and has been open to assimilate ideas and practices from other traditions. As Singh noted 'It is not unusual to find a glittering Christmas tree in the front room of many Sikh households; the exchange of Christmas greeting cards between Sikh families is rather more common than that of Diwala or Gurburb greeting cards' (1992: 40).

6.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture

The sample was divided between the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and their responses are shown in table 6.1.1.3.a.

Table 6.1.1.3.a. Religious beliefs: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I believe in God	39	84	362	.001
I believe God punishes people who do wrong	22	70	475	.001
I believe in life after death	48	68	71	.001
I believe that God made the world	31	70	293	.001
I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God	48	26	86	.001
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	30	21	17	.001
I believe in reincarnation	30	33	2	NS
I believe that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God	7	55	863	.001
I think Christianity is the only true religion	23	3	109	.001
I think Hinduism is the only true religion	2	6	19	.001
I think Islam is the only true religion	3	39	753	.001
I think Sikhism is the only true religion	2	16	191	.001

In all cases there was a significant statistical difference of at least $p < .001$, except in response to the statement 'I believe in reincarnation'. Turning to the first group of four questions we find that in each case a higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents were in agreement with the statements. For example 84% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group believed in God whereas only 39% of the Christian/non-affiliates group believed. This is in line with other findings such as Sigelman (1977: 290), quoting Gallup Polls taken in a number of countries in 1975, who illustrated the different levels of beliefs. In response to the question 'Do you believe in God or a universal spirit?', 76% of the British agreed, 14% disagreed and 10% replied that they did not know. Interestingly this compared with the respondents from India where 98% agreed and only 2% disagreed.

Over two-thirds (70%) believed that God punishes people who do wrong compared with 22%. The proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents who believed in life after death was 68% (compared with 48% of Christian/non-affiliates group) and the proportion who believed that God made the world was 70% compared with 31%.

The responses to the two statements about Jesus Christ show a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents agreed with the statements. Just over one quarter (26%) believed that Jesus Christ is the son of God, compared with 48% of Christian/non-affiliates group and 21% believed that Jesus really rose from the dead, compared with 30%. The levels of response to the statement 'I believe in incarnation' were fairly similar, although they were not statistically significant. There was a much higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers who agreed that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God (55% compared with 7%).

Relatively small proportions of the adolescents held exclusivist views about the various religions. What was surprising was those who identified themselves with one religion and yet indicated that they believed that another religion was the only true one. However some of the non-affiliates in the Christian/non-affiliates group could be non-practising Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. Nearly one quarter (23%) of the Christian/non-affiliates adolescents thought that Christianity is the only true religion, compared with 3% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group. Two percent of the Christian/non-affiliates group thought that Hinduism was the only true religion, compared with 6% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents. Three percent of them thought that Islam was the only true religion, compared with 39% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group and finally 2% of the Christian/non-affiliated teenagers agreed that Sikhism was the only true religion, compared with 16% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents. Part of the reason for this apparent confusion may be due to the cross fertilisation of ideas in the teaching of religious education and in school assemblies. In the *Commission for Racial Equality Report* (1978:21) the young Asians were asked if they thought that they were influenced by Christianity by attending assemblies at school with a Christian assembly. The results, shown in table 6.1.1.3.b.,

indicate that around two-fifths of them thought that they were being influenced by the assemblies.

Table 6.1.1.3.b. Children are influenced by Christianity by attending assemblies at school with a Christian service.

	All	Sikh	Hindu	Muslim
Agree	41	43	40	41
Neither agree nor disagree	11	15	10	41
Disagree	48	42	50	50
N =	1117	254	391	426

Source: Commission for Racial Equality (1978: 21)

N.b. the total sample also included 46 other adolescents who described themselves as Christian (30), agnostic (9) and 'not stated' (7)

6.1.2.0. Supernatural

6.1.2.1. An overview

In most religions there is a gap between the faith as it is taught by the religious leaders and how it is practised by many of the adherents. This gap is seen particularly clearly when one examines belief in the supernatural. The main religions and cultures have different beliefs and practices about the supernatural. In order both to make comparisons between the religions and also in order to compare this research with the research of Francis and Kay (1995) it was decided to restrict the statements to those used by Francis and Kay and not to attempt to look at any to the beliefs in the supernatural which may be specific to each of the different religions and cultures (for an introduction to these see, for example, Musk (1989) and Knott (1994)).

The section comprises eight statements about the supernatural. They begin with belief in the devil, black magic and the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. The next statements are about predicting the future and deal with horoscopes and fortune-tellers. 'I believe in ghosts' is followed by two statements of what the adolescents might fear, such as going into a church alone and walking through a graveyard alone. Their responses are shown in table 6.1.2.1.a.

Table 6.1.2.1.a. Supernatural: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I believe in the devil	27	25	48
I believe in black magic	25	34	41
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	33	31	36
I believe in my horoscope	40	27	33
I believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future	24	32	44
I believe in ghosts	48	26	26
I am frightened of going into a church alone	14	25	60
I am frightened of walking through a graveyard alone	41	14	45

Just over a quarter believed in the devil (27%), 25% were uncertain and 48% disagreed. A larger proportion were not certain about black magic (34%), although nearly the same number (25%) believed in it as believed in the devil, while 41% disagreed. The responses to the statement 'I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead' were fairly evenly spread with 33% agreeing, 31% not certain and 36% disagreeing. Two-fifths believed in their horoscopes, about one third disagreed (33%) and 27% were not certain. Just under one quarter believed that fortune-tellers can tell the future (24%) but a much larger proportion disagreed (44%) and 32% were not certain. Nearly one half (49%) believed in ghosts and just over one quarter were uncertain (26%) and disagreed (26%). When asked if they were frightened of going into a church alone 14% agreed, a quarter were not certain and three-fifths disagreed. Finally 41% agreed that they were frightened to walk through a graveyard alone, 14% were uncertain and 45% disagreed.

Francis and Kay put the same questions to the adolescents in their research and their responses are shown in table 6.1.2.1.b.

Table 6.1.2.1.b. Supernatural: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I believe in the devil	19	28	53
I believe in black magic	18	31	51
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	31	32	37
I believe in my horoscope	35	31	34
I believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future	19	30	51
I believe in ghosts	37	29	34
I am frightened of going into a church alone	11	22	67
I am frightened of walking through a graveyard alone	39	15	46

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 152)

A greater proportion of the Walsall adolescents believed in the devil (27% compared with 19% agreed, 25% compared with 28% were not certain and 48% compared with 53% disagreed). The 1986 Gallup Survey had found a comparable level of belief in the devil

among 16-19 year olds (28%) (Heald and Wybrow, 1986: 262) and Timms (1992: 69) found that 26% of the British 18-25 year olds in the *European Values Systems Study* survey undertaken believed in the devil. These different studies would suggest that approximately one quarter of the adolescents claim to believe in the devil.

A higher proportion of the teenagers in Walsall believed in black magic than those in the Francis and Kay study (25% compared with 18% agreed, 34% compared with 31% were not certain and 41% compared with 51% disagreed). The responses to the statement 'I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead' were broadly similar (33% compared with 31% agreed, 31% compared with 32% were not certain and 36% compared with 37% disagreed).

More of the teenagers in Walsall believed in horoscopes than those in the Francis and Kay study (40% compared with 35% agreed, 27% compared with 31% were not certain and 33% compared with 34% disagreed). The 1985 Gallup survey's research into the beliefs of 16-19 year olds found that 35% believed in 'astrology, the stars', which is similar to the responses found in the Francis and Kay cohort (Heald and Wybrow, 1986: 262). However Furnham and Gunter found that that a smaller proportion of the young people believed in their horoscope (28%) than those in Walsall, 37% did not believe and 33% were uncertain (Furnham and Gunter: 1989: 133).

A larger proportion of the Walsall teenagers believed in fortune-tellers than those adolescents in the Francis and Kay study (24% compared with 19% agreed, 32% compared with 30% were not certain and 44% compared with 51% disagreed). Furnham and Gunter asked the young people in their research if they thought that some people have the ability to foresee the future. In response, 30% agreed, 22% disagreed and 48% did not know (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 137).

In response to the statement 'I believe in ghosts', 48% of the Walsall teenagers agreed compared with 37% of the Francis and Kay cohort, 26% compared with 29% were not

certain and 26% compared with 34% disagreed. A few years earlier Furnham and Gunter's study revealed that 19% of the adolescents 'believed that there are such things as ghost or poltergeists, or anything like that', 24% did not believe in them and 58% did not know (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 135).

A higher proportion of the Walsall adolescents were fearful of going into a church alone (14% compared with 11% agreed, 25% compared with 22% were not certain and 60% compared with 67% disagreed) and walking through a churchyard alone (41% compared with 39% agreed, 14% compared with 15% were not certain and 45% compared with 46% were uncertain).

The overall picture we gain of the adolescents in Walsall is that a greater proportion of them believed in the supernatural compared with the sample from Francis and Kay.

6.1.2.2. The influence of religion

The sample was divided into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates (table 6.1.2.2.a.)

Table 6.1.2.2.a. Supernatural: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I believe in the devil	30	13	41	15	25	55	.001
I believe in black magic	21	21	32	33	26	23	.001
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	37	18	14	21	35	75	.001
I believe in my horoscope	40	45	25	42	41	25	.001
I believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future	26	21	15	33	24	21	.001
I believe in ghosts	51	35	45	41	48	14	.01
I am frightened of going into a church alone	12	10	16	12	16	10	.05
I am frightened of walking through a graveyard alone	43	49	53	42	37	30	.001

Statistical differences of at least $p < .001$ were found in responses to all the statements except for 'I believe in ghosts' where $p < .01$ and 'I am frightened of going into a church alone' where $p < .05$.

Non-affiliates

The non-affiliates did not exhibit a very distinctive profile, although this was the group which had the smallest proportion of those who were frightened of walking through a graveyard alone (37%) and, equal with the Muslim adolescents at 16%, the highest proportion frightened of going into a church alone.

Christianity

Compared with all the other groups the Christian adolescents, equal with the Hindu teenagers, had the smallest proportion who believed in black magic (21%). They had the highest proportion who thought that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead (37%) and who believed in ghosts (51%).

Hinduism

Knott (1994: 224-226) had met Mochi and Gujarati mediums in Leeds who claimed to be able to contact the dead and to heal, although she did not give any estimates about how widespread their influence was. In Walsall the Hindu adolescents, along with the Christian adolescents, had the smallest proportion who believed in black magic (21%). They also had the smallest proportion who believe in the devil (13%), in ghosts (35%) and who were frightened of going into a church alone (10%). They had the largest proportion who believe in their horoscope (45%).

Islam

Of all the groups it is the adolescent Muslims who exhibited the most distinctive profile. There was a greater proportion who believe in the devil (41%), who are frightened of going into a church alone (16%, equal with the non-affiliates) and who are frightened of

going through a graveyard alone (53%). They had the smallest proportion who believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead (14%), who believe in their horoscope (25%) and agreed that fortune-tellers can tell the future (15%). I have not been able to find any research specifically about belief in the supernatural among Muslims, although Knott and Khokher refer it in their profiles of young Muslim women (1993: 602-606).

Sikhism

Compared with the other groups the Sikh adolescents had the highest proportion who believed in black magic (33%) and that fortune-tellers can tell the future (33%). In theory the Sikh religion does not approve of such things (Sidhu, 1973: 39). However, as James (1974: 35) put it, 'But there are Sikh astrologers, some practising in Britain and advertising in Punjabi newspapers. Some families obtain horoscopes for their children when they are born, and these are often consulted, especially when a compatible marriage has to be arranged. Astrologers are also consulted about auspicious days, say for a wedding ceremony, for undertaking a new business, or moving into a new house.'

6.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture

The responses of the adolescents show the comparisons between the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. These results are shown in table 6.1.2.3.a.

Table 6.1.2.3.a. Supernatural: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I believe in the devil	27	27	<1	NS
I believe in black magic	24	30	10	.01
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	36	17	71	.001
I believe in my horoscope	41	34	7	.01
I believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future	25	22	2	NS
I believe in ghosts	49	42	10	.01
I am frightened of going into a church alone	15	14	<1	NS
I am frightened of walking through a graveyard alone	39	48	15	.001

Statistical differences of $p < .001$ were found in response to the statements about contacting the spirits of the dead and walking through a graveyard alone. Statistical differences of $p < .01$ were found in response to the statements about black magic, horoscopes and ghosts. The differences were not significant in the other cases.

There were no significant differences between the Christians/non-affiliates and the Hindus/Muslims/Sikhs in the proportion of those who believed in the devil (27% NS). However 6% more of the Hindus/Muslims/Sikhs believed in black magic (30% compared with 24%). More than twice the proportion of Christian/non-affiliates group believed it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead (36% compared with 17%) and 7% more believed in their horoscopes (41% compared with 34%) and fortune-tellers (25% compared with 22% NS). Belief in ghosts was found more among the Christian/non-affiliates than among the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents (49% compared with 42%). There was no statistically significant differences between the two groups when it come to being fearful about going into a church alone, but 9% more of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh youths were frightened of walking through a graveyard alone (48% compared with 39%).

A greater proportion of the Christian/non-affiliated adolescents believed it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead, in their horoscopes and in ghosts that among the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents. Conversely a greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents believed in black magic and were fearful of walking through a graveyard alone.

6.1.3.0. Listening Ear

6.1.3.1 An overview

Nine statements were put to the teenagers. The first statement sought to explore the extent to which the adolescents would like to be able to turn to other people for advice. The following eight statements were designed to find out to whom the adolescents would like to turn to for advice. Statements two to six were concerned with their attitudes to people from the professions, all of whom in different ways have a responsibility for the adolescents in their care. The final three statements related to their family and friends. The responses of the Walsall adolescents can be seen in table 6.1.3.1.a.

Table 6.1.3.1.a: Listening ear: an overview

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I often long for someone to turn to for advice	36	27	37
I would be reluctant to discuss my problems:			
with a school teacher	42	29	30
with a youth club/ group leader	41	32	27
with a doctor	34	35	31
with a Christian minister/vicar/priest	34	35	31
with a social worker	35	36	29
I find it helpful to talk about my problems:			
with my mother	49	19	32
with my father	31	22	47
with close friends	66	17	17

Just over one third (36%) of the adolescents in Walsall often longed to turn to someone for advice. Of the five groups of professionals they were least reluctant to seek advice from a Christian minister/vicar/priest (34%), a doctor (34%), then a social worker (35%), a youth club/group leader (41%) and a school teacher (42%). When it came to friends and family, fathers were consulted by only 31% of the Walsall adolescents. This was much lower than the figure from mothers (49%) and close friends (66%).

Looking at those who disagreed with the statements, an even larger proportion of the adolescents did not 'often long for someone to turn to for advice' (37% compared with

the 36% who did). The proportion who would not be reluctant to discuss their problems was smallest for youth club/group leader (27%), followed by social worker (29%), school teacher (30%), doctor (31%) and Christian minister (31%). Only 17% thought that they did not find it helpful to talk about problems with friends, whilst a larger proportion said they did not find it helpful to talk with their parents (mothers 32% and fathers 47%).

In response to all the statements there was a relatively high proportion who were not certain about what they thought. This ranged from 17% when questioned about friends up to 36% when questioned about social workers. Francis and Kay (1995) asked the same questions and their findings can be seen in table 6.1.3.1.b.

Table 6.1.3.1.b. Listening ear: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I often long for someone to turn to for advice	35	26	39
I would be reluctant to discuss my problems:			
with a school teacher	46	28	26
with a youth club/ group leader	48	30	22
with a doctor	32	34	34
with a Christian minister/vicar/priest	41	33	26
with a social worker	40	37	23
I find it helpful to talk about my problems:			
with my mother	51	19	30
with my father	31	23	46
with close friends	61	20	19

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 15)

A slightly greater proportion of the Walsall adolescents (36% compared with 35%) often longed to turn to someone for advice. The proportion of the Walsall adolescents who disagreed with this was 37% compared with 39%. Those who were not certain were 27% compared with 26% of the Francis and Kay group.

Turning to the professionals a smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents were reluctant to discuss their problems with a school teacher (42% compared with 46% agreed, 29% compared with 28% were not certain and 30% disagreed compared with

26%), a youth club/group leader (41% compared with 48% agreed, 32% compared with 30% were not certain and 27% compared with 22% disagreed), a Christian minister (34% compared with 41% agreed, 35% compared with 33% were not certain and 31% compared with 26% disagreed) and a social worker (35% compared with 40% agreed, 36% compared with 37% were not certain and 29% compared with 23% disagreed). The statistics reveal that generally a greater proportion of the Walsall adolescents would be willing to turn to professionals for advice. The only exception to this is in the case of a doctor, to whom a greater proportion of the Walsall adolescents than the Francis and Kay teenagers would be reluctant to turn (34% compared with 32% agreed, 35% compared with 34% were not certain and 27% compared with 34% disagreed).

When we compare the statistics for friends and family we find that a smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents found it helpful to talk about their problems with their mothers (49% compared with 51% agreed, 19% were uncertain in both groups and 31% compared with 30% disagreed). The responses to the statements about their fathers revealed that both groups had almost identical attitudes (31% agreed in both groups, 22% compared with 23% were not certain and 47% compared with 46% disagreed). In Willmott's study of 246 adolescents in Bethnal Green the teenagers were asked about the attitude of their parents towards them (table 6.1.3.1.c.), which shows that these adolescents also found that their mothers were more empathetic than their fathers. Noiler and Callan (1991: 86) identified the same phenomenon.

Table 6.1.3.1.c. Attitude of parents to 14-15 year olds

	Mother 'understands' %	Father 'understands' %
'Very well'	52	43
'Fairly well' or 'Quite well'	45	46
'Not too well' or 'Not much at all'	3	11
N=	62	56

Source: Willmott (1966: 61-62)

In response to the statement 'Do your parents understand you alright?', Simmons and Wade (1984: 76) found that 48% of the 820 fifteen year old adolescents in their study agreed, 12% disagreed and 30% replied 'sometimes'.

A higher proportion of the Walsall adolescent found it helpful to talk with their friends than the teenagers in the Francis and Kay study (66% compared with 61% agreed, 17% compared with 20% were not certain and 17% compared with 19% disagreed).

The overall picture is that a greater proportion of Walsall teenagers were uncertain about whether or not to turn to professionals and, apart from turning to a doctor, a smaller proportion thought they would be reluctant to turn to a professional. Similar proportions were likely to turn to their fathers, whilst a smaller proportion wanted to talk to their mothers and a larger proportion wanted to talk to their friends.

Eppel and Eppel (1966) asked the adolescents what they do when they are in trouble (table 6.1.3.1.d.).

Table 6.1.3.1.d. When I am in trouble I

	Boys %	Girls %	All %
Seek help:			
from family	21	31	26
from other adults	9	14	11
from friends	10	11	11
pray to God	-	3	1
Take individual responsibility	33	23	28
Expect punishment not help	12	12	12
Never in trouble	5	3	4
Emotional reactions only	10	5	7

Source: Eppel and Eppel (1966: 91)
N = 225 (115 boys and 110 girls)

They found that the adolescents were more likely to turn to members of their family for help than to anyone else (26%). Following this they said they would seek help from other

adults (11%). Friends (11%) made up the smallest group. The adolescents in Walsall and in the Francis and Kay (1995) group appear to have placed a greater emphasis on turning to friends rather than to other adults, although the questions were slightly different so comparison can only be made with caution.

In 1976 the National Children's Bureau published a report entitled *Britain's Sixteen Year-Olds*, edited by Fogelman. It was part of the National Child Development Study and it studied more than 12 000 adolescents by the use of a questionnaire. He found that 86% claimed to get on well with their mothers, 8% were uncertain and 5% did not. A smaller proportion (80%) said they got on well with their fathers, with 13% being uncertain and 7% did not (Fogelman, 1976: 36). Whilst the questions were not exactly comparable with the ones that I used, they are consistent with my findings that a higher proportion of the adolescents related more closely to their mothers than their fathers.

6.1.3.2. The influence of religion

Table 6.1.3.2.a. shows the responses of five different groups of adolescents in Walsall: those who identified themselves as Christian, Hindu, Muslim or Sikh or non-affiliates.

Table 6.1.3.2.a. Listening ear: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I often long for someone to turn to for advice	39	42	40	40	33	16	.01
I would be reluctant to discuss my problems:							
with a school teacher	45	46	29	34	42	28	.001
with a youth club/ group leader	44	45	25	35	41	34	.001
with a doctor	36	45	36	36	32	12	.05
with a Christian minister/ vicar/priest	35	35	22	24	36	26	.001
with a social worker	39	40	28	28	34	19	.001
I find it helpful to talk about my problems:							
with my mother	52	42	50	46	48	7	NS
with my father	33	27	28	26	32	6	NS
with close friends	70	67	63	65	64	12	.05

The chi square test reveals that there were significant statistical differences between the groups in all areas except where they were responding to statements about their parents.

Non-affiliates

A smaller proportion of non-affiliates than in any of the religious groups often longed to turn to someone for advice (33%). This might suggest a greater level of self-sufficiency or independence among the non-affiliates, which is consistent with the converse situation revealed in McGlone, Park and Roberts's research (1996: 69) which found that adults who were associated with a religion were more likely to seek advice.

Christianity

Compared with the other three religious groups, a smaller proportion of the Christians (39%) often longed to turn to someone for advice. It might have been expected that the Christian adolescents would have been the least reluctant of all the groups to talk to a Christian minister, but this was not the case.

Hinduism

A greater proportion of the Hindu adolescents often longed to turn to someone for advice (42%) than any other group. It is therefore surprising that of the four religious groups they had the largest proportion who were reluctant to discuss their problems with professionals that is, 46% were reluctant to discuss problems with a teacher, 45% with a youth group leader, 45% with a doctor and 40% with a social worker. After the Christian adolescents they had the second greatest proportion were more likely to turn to close friends (67%).

Islam

Of the five groups a smaller proportion of the adolescent Muslims were reluctant to discuss their problems with professionals. It is particularly interesting that a smaller proportion were reluctant to turn to a Christian minister/vicar/priest than the adolescent

Christians (22% compared with 35%). However, of the four religious groups a smaller proportion of the Muslims found it helpful to discuss their problems with close friends.

Much has been written about the Muslim way of life. It is claimed that Muslims place great emphasis on the family. Traditionally, they have tended to live a communal lifestyle in extended households and this is especially true for those who originally came from the Indian sub-continent (R. Ballard, 1982: 181-183). Anwar undertook a piece of research, which was sponsored by the Commission for Racial Equality (1978), entitled *Between Two Cultures: a study of relationships between generations in the Asian community in Britain*. The project began with interviews with 175 community leaders, in order to find out information about Asian groups in the area, to gather information about relationships between generations in the Asian community and other issues which might be included in the research. The next stage was a pilot study which involved 80 parents and adolescents being interviewed. In the summer and autumn of 1975 the main study took place. It involved interviews with 1117 Asian adolescents, aged 13-20, who were still living at home, and 944 parents. Two types of interview were used. In the first type parents and adolescents were interviewed together. Then the adolescents were interviewed, followed by their parents.

The interviewers asked questions which clustered around four areas: family, culture (which was divided into religion, clothes, marriage patterns and education and language), freedom and leisure, and work. This latter area included a number of questions on Asian women and work. The data was used to explore the conflicts between the generations in the Asian community. The interviews took place in Brent, Crawley, Dewsbury, Glasgow, Leamington, Leicester, Manchester, Oxford, and Tower Hamlets. The religious groups represented by the adolescents comprised 22% Sikh, 35% Hindu, 38% Muslim, 3% Christian, 1% Agnostic and 1% not stated. 55% of the sample were boys and 45% were girls (Commission for Racial Equality, 1978: 64-65). The age breakdown of the sample can be seen in table 6.1.3.2.b.

Table 6.1.3.2.b. CRE: Age breakdown

	15 years or less %	16-19 years %	20 years or over %
Adolescent males	17	25	13
Adolescent females	16	22	8

Source: Commission for Racial Equality (1978: 64-65)
N = 1117

The final stage of the research involved a small number of interviews with adolescents who were no longer living at home because of conflict with their parents. Anwar (1994a: 25) concluded that the vast majority of Muslims preferred to live in joint families, although the situation may be changing: 'Fifty-eight per cent of young Muslims agreed with the statement: "When I have a home of my own, I would prefer to have only my husband/wife and children living with me" '. Also 'Overwhelmingly, both parents and young Muslims felt that Muslim children respect their parents more than their white counterparts do'. When asked in 1975 whether Muslim children had more respect for their parents than white children had, most of those interviewed agreed that this was so. Nine out of ten parents and young people alike stated that they felt that Muslim children had more respect for their parents than white children had. However, in 1983, fewer young Muslims, eight out of ten, agreed with this.

Many Muslim women do not go out to work and they will often spend much of their time together in each others homes. Almost without exception all single girls live at home. Girls are still sometimes sent back to the family's country of origin to get married. Joly (1995: 169) quoted an Asian girl '...if you have a family, if you keep in touch with them, as we are expected to in our Asian culture, then you have something to fall back on and something to support you, to rely on, and it is very good to keep you going, all that support and all that advice'.

Afshar (1989) studied Muslim Pakistani women in West Yorkshire who were living in households which included three generations of women. The project was based on

twelve households and the women were interviewed over a period of three years. She found considerable tensions in the relationships between mother and daughter, 'In all cases the break with the traditional concepts of familial unity and the close mother-daughter ties were broached with difficulty and were fraught with guilt and tensions. For the Muslim daughters the problem of accommodating contradictory public and private ideologies became virtually insoluble' (1989: 213). The mothers were more worried about bringing up their daughters than bringing up their sons.

Caroline Hayden in the *Times Educational Supplement* (22.8.78) (quoted in Joly, 1995: 121) saw in the young Asians' tendency to opt for an academic rather than vocational orientation 'a reflection of parental values'. Beetham studied immigrant school leavers in Handsworth during the summer of 1966. His sample comprise 49 Asians, 68 West Indians and 200 white adolescents and he used questionnaires as well as interviews. He discovered that parental influence was much more important among Asians than West Indians and whites when it came to choosing a job, 'The aspirations of immigrant children, then, seems to derive largely from the aspiration their parents have for them' (1967: 20).

All the above might lead one to presume that there would be a significant statistical difference between the Muslims and the Christians/non-affiliates with regard to finding it helpful to turn to their parents to discuss problems. However, this was not the case in Walsall. There was a significant statistical difference ($p < .001$) between the groups turning to close friends and it is interesting that the adolescent Muslims are least likely of all the groups to do this.

Sikhism

Of the four religious groups the Sikhs, after the Muslims, were the next least reluctant to turn to professionals, including Christian ministers. When Thompson studied young Punjabi *Jat* Sikh men in Coventry he observed the strong sense of family and community and pointed out that none of them lived alone (1974: 244). Families normally included

sons and their wives (1974: 245). He also noted that most of the second generation adolescents belonged to Punjabi peer groups, 'The peer groups give a framework outside the family for young people to maintain their Punjabi identity. The groups exert strong pressures on rebels, who are either forced to conform or are squeezed out, so that nearly all their links with their former friends are severed.....The young second-generation boys who become rebels do not quickly pass a point of no return by, say, forgetting Punjabi completely, finally walking out of the joint family, or marrying an English girl' (1974: 248). It is interesting to compare the statistics of the Sikh adolescents in Walsall with the statistics from Francis and Kay's survey (1995). The Sikhs were less likely to turn to their mothers (46% compared with 51%), fathers (26% compared with 31%) or close friends (65% compared with 61%).

6.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture

The responses of the adolescents may be seen in table 6.1.3.3.a.

Table 6.1.3.3.a. Listening ear: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I often long for someone to turn to for advice	35	40	5	.05
I would be reluctant to discuss my problems:				
with a school teacher	43	33	18	.001
with a youth club/ group leader	42	32	21	.001
with a doctor	34	37	3	NS
with a Christian minister/ vicar/priest	35	25	22	.001
with a social worker	36	30	7	.01
I find it helpful to talk about my problems:				
with my mother	50	47	1	NS
with my father	32	27	5	.05
with close friends	66	64	1	NS

The chi square test shows that there were statistically significant differences in the responses to five of the statements. However, there was no significant statistical differences in response to the statements concerning doctors, mother and close friends.

The data revealed some clear differences between the two groups. A greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents (40%) compared with the Christian/non-affiliates group (35%) often longed for someone to turn to someone for advice. A smaller proportion of them were reluctant to discuss their problems with professional than the Christians/non-affiliates: school teachers (33% compared with 43%), youth club/group leader (32% compared with 42%), vicar/priest (25% compared with 35%) and social worker (30% compared with 36%). The exception was the doctor, when the differences were not statistically significant (37% compared with 34%).

When it came to family and friends a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents found it helpful to talk about their problems to their mothers (47% compared with 50% NS), their fathers (27% compared with 32%) and their close friends (64% compared with 66% NS). At least some of these differences may be explained by the home situations in white and Asian households. The Commission for Racial Equality Report (1978:17) discovered that about one in three of all the Asians surveyed were living in extended families and two thirds were living in nuclear households. There were small differences within the religious groups: 32% of Sikhs, 37% of Hindus and 29% of Muslims lived in extended families.

Saeed and Galbraith undertook research on a sample of 79 Asian boys and 21 Asian girls from four schools in Croydon, aged 11-19 years old, using a questionnaire. They asked the adolescents to respond to the statement 'It is enjoyable to live in a large family with aunts and uncles'. The boys responded with 43 agreeing, 28 disagreeing, 2 were neutral and 6 did not know. The girls were less positive with 9 agreeing, 10 disagreeing and 2 neither agreed or disagreed (1981/2: 449). Owen (1996: 15), commenting on the 1991 census, noted that while the average household in Britain contained 2.47 people,

there were on average 4.2. people in Asian households. The largest households were the Bangladeshi (5.34), the Pakistani (4.8), followed by the Indian (3.8). There were also likely to be more adults in Asian households 'While 31 per cent of white households contained only one adult, 25.4 per cent of households with a head from an ethnic minority contained three or more adults' (Owen, 1996: 16). Only one tenth of Asian families were single parent families, compared with 13.1% of white families. Clearly Asian adolescents have more adults in their homes to whom they can turn for advice if they wish. Anwar (1998: 102), quoting figures from the 1991 Census, showed that Asians were much more likely than white people to live in houses containing at least two families and that these families were more likely to be extended families, not just nuclear family.

Brah (1978) discovered that the experience of Asian adolescents varied. She used a variety of methods in her research: a questionnaire completed by more than three-hundred fifth form boys and girls; in-depth interviews with more than fifty of these children and their parents; group discussions outside of school; and participant observation. The Asians in Southall were predominantly Punjabi with Gujaratis represented in substantial numbers. The majority were Sikhs, followed by Hindus, Muslims and Christians respectively. However, Brah did not examine the influence of each of the religious traditions. Rather she focused on 'Asians'. She interviewed fourteen Asian boys and thirteen Asian girls, aged between fifteen and sixteen years old, who were either born in Britain or who came here before the age of seven, 'There was thus considerable variation in the quality of communication with parents as reported by these teenagers. Only four respondents (two boys and two girls) expressed resentment against parents with whom their relationships, especially with the father, were far from amicable. In two of these cases, the fathers appeared to be authoritarian and traditional' (Brah, 1978: 204). In her thesis, Brah suggested that the difficulties of communication may be because 'certain features of the children's socialisation outside school are beyond their [the parents] own range of experience' (Brah, 1979: 279). However, neither Brah's findings on the level of communication between teenagers and parents nor Anwar's report on greater levels of respect for parents among Asian adolescents (Commission for

Racial Equality Report, 1978: 18) were translated into vastly different levels of willingness of the Asian adolescents in Walsall to discuss problems with parents than the white adolescents.

Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) surveyed groups of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and whites from the Birmingham area. These Asians were selected on two criteria: the parents had come originally from the Indian sub-continent; and 'they had at least one son or daughter aged between 18 and 21 who had been at least ten years in Britain' (1990: 15). Details of the sample are shown in table 6.1.3.3.b. Although the sample they used was older than the one in this study, nevertheless it still provides some interesting data.

The interviewers used a questionnaire with a total of 116 questions, but were also encouraged to ask supplementary questions where they felt it was appropriate. The main focus of the study was on marriage, the family, living in the UK, prejudice, social contacts, customs, personal identity and their views on the future. They compared 'British' and Asian parents and adolescents by asking them who they confided in most frequently and who they put first on their list. The finding can be seen in table 6.1.3.3.c.

Table 6.1.3.3.b. Dyad composition of the sample

	Type of dyad			
	Father/Son	Mother/Son	Father/Daughter	Mother/Daughter
British	8	12	13	7
All Asian	27	23	27	23
Hindu	11	9	10	10
Muslim	10	10	7	13
Sikh	6	14	10	10

Source: Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990: 17)

Table 6.1.3.3.c. Frequency of use of five types of confidante and the proportion of respondents putting *family, friends*, first in the list.

Confidante type	Asian		British	
	Parents	Young people	Parents	Young people
Total N =	120	120	40	40
Household family				
N using	117 (98%)	103 (86%)	37 (93%)	38 (95.%)
(%) in first place	86	73	78	71
Family near				
N using	81 (68%)	38 (32%)	24 (60%)	14 (35%)
(%) in first place	14	29	4	36
Family far				
N using	54 (45%)	19 (16%)	5 (13%)	0
(%) in first place	6	32	20	0
Friends				
N using	53 (44%)	64 (53%)	17 (43%)	23 (58%)
(%) in first place	2	36	29	17
Professionals				
N using	92 (77)	98 (82)	36 (90%)	34 (85%)

Source: Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990: 143)

Their findings contrast with my research where I found that there were statistically significant differences between the religious groups in Walsall with regard to turning to professionals and to friends. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane found that a greater proportion of the 'British' adolescents (95%) turned to members of their household family than the Asian adolescents (86%). There was not a very large difference between the Asian and 'British' adolescents when it came to 'family near' (32% and 35% respectively). However when it came to 'family far' there was a large difference (16% compared with 0% respectively). This might be accounted for by greater emphasis by Asians on the family. Rex (1982: 59) observed this when he wrote, 'Asian families, be they Sikh, Hindi or Muslim, Pakistani, Indian or Bangladeshi, are all, compared with English families, tight-knit and attached more or less strongly to a culture pattern far more sharply differentiated from English culture than working-class culture is differentiated from the middle-class culture of the schools. The child has very strong ties to quite specific kin, either in Britain or in the Indian sub-continent'.

When it came to friends Stopes-Roe and Cochrane found that there was not a very great difference between Asian and 'British' adolescents (53% and 58% respectively). Among the Walsall adolescents a greater proportion of the Christian/non-affiliates group found it helpful to turn to friends (66% NS), whilst a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group found it helpful (64% NS).

In contrast to results found from this research Stopes-Roe and Cochrane found that a slightly higher proportion of the 'British' adolescents turned to 'professionals' than the Asian adolescents (85% compared with 82%). They did not break down the section 'professionals', but it included GPs, Health Visitors, religious leaders, teachers, welfare workers, bank managers, employers, careers officers, foremen and personnel officers. Obviously a number of these were only applicable to the adult part of the survey. This piece of research suggests that the differences between the groups are not so much to do with Asian culture but rather arise from differences between the religions, as shown in table 6.1.3.2.a. and discussed later in this chapter.

It would have been interesting if Stopes-Roe and Cochrane had found out how often the Asian adolescents had turned specifically to social workers or to youth group leaders since this has sometimes been seen as an area where there have been difficulties. One Community Relations Commission report claimed 'Social workers who work in multi-racial areas reported that they most commonly find themselves facing problems in ethnic minority communities for which they feel themselves inadequately trained and prepared' (1977b: 27). They also observed 'It was also clear that ethnic minority youths were seldom able to make use of the conventional youth service because of the hostility of white young people. A fear of rejection leads to minority youth avoiding other agencies as well of youth clubs' (1977b: 29). Tyler (1978: 36) claimed that 'There appears generally to be considerably less help [that is, counselling services] for young Asians, who may be suffering particularly severely from the conflicting demands of differing cultures'. My research points to significant differences between the groups in Walsall, although this did not appear to be due to Asian cultural factors but rather to religious

factors. For example the greatest differences were between the Hindu adolescents who were the most reluctant to discuss problems with a youth club/group leader (45%) and the Muslims who were the least reluctant (25%). These compare with the reluctance of the Christians (44%) and the non-affiliates (41%).

6.1.4.0. Relating and spirituality: conclusion

The responses of the teenagers to a range of statements about relationships and beliefs have been described. What do these tell us about the young people?

Christians

Compared with the other three groups the Christians had the smallest proportion who believed in God, that God punishes wrongdoing, in life after death (table 6.1.1.2.a.) and who often longed to turn to someone for advice (table 6.1.3.2.a.). They had the highest proportion who believed in black magic and ghosts (table 6.1.2.2.a.). They appear to be the group with the smallest proportions who held what have been considered to be orthodox religious views and with the largest proportion who believe in what some would describe as 'folk religion'.

Hindus

The Hindus had the smallest proportion who thought that God made the world (table 6.1.1.2.a.), who believed in the devil, in black magic (equal with the Christians), in ghosts and were frightened of going into a church alone (table 6.1.2.2.a.) and the largest proportion who believed in reincarnation (table 6.1.1.2.a.) and who believed in their horoscope (table 6.1.2.2.a.). They had the highest proportion who longed for someone to turn to at the same time as having the highest proportion who were unwilling to discuss their problems with a professional, such as a school teacher, youth club leader, doctor, vicar (equal with the adolescent Christians) or social worker (table 6.1.3.2.a.).

Muslims

The adolescent Muslims had the highest proportion of any group who believed in God, that God punishes wrongdoing, who believed in life after death, that God made the world (table 6.1.1.2.a.), in the devil and who were frightened of going into a church alone and through a graveyard (table 6.1.2.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who believed that Jesus Christ really rose from the dead (table 6.1.1.2.a.), that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, in their horoscope and that fortune tellers can predict the future (table 6.1.2.2.a.). Thus we can see that compared with the other three religious groups the Muslims had the most distinctive profile concerning religious matters. They had highest proportions who believed the orthodox teachings of their faith and the smallest proportions who believed in what might be described as 'folk religion' or 'implicit religion'.

A smaller proportion compared with the other three religious groups were reluctant to discuss their problems with a professional, such as a school teacher, youth club leader, vicar or (equal with the Sikhs) a social worker. They had the smallest proportion who found it helpful to discuss their problems with friends (table 6.1.2.2.a.).

Sikhs

These adolescents had the highest proportion who believed in black magic and that fortune tellers can predict the future (table 6.1.3.2.a.). Their responses reveal a group with the least distinctive religious views compared with the other three groups. Equal with the Muslims they had the smallest proportion who were reluctant to discuss their problems with social workers (table 6.1.3.2.a.).

7.0.0.0. THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS: VIEWS ABOUT PERSONAL MORAL ISSUES

There is much debate today in our society about the morals of young people. This chapter explores the extent to which the religious beliefs of the Walsall adolescents effect their views on sexual morality, on issues of right and wrong behaviour, and finally on the use of drugs, smoking and drinking alcohol.

- 7.1.1.0. Sexual morality
 - 7.1.1.1. An overview
 - 7.1.1.2. The influence of religion
 - 7.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture
- 7.1.2.0. Right and wrong
 - 7.1.2.1. An overview
 - 7.1.2.2. The influence of religion
 - 7.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture
- 7.1.3.0. Substance use
 - 7.1.3.1. An overview
 - 7.1.3.2. The influence of religion
 - 7.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture
- 7.1.4.0. Morality: conclusions

7.1.0.0. Morality

7.1.1.0 Sexual Morality

7.1.1.1. An overview

Research has shown that attitudes towards sexual and personal morality vary greatly between age groups and in different cultures (Inglehart, 1990: 194-211). In order to examine the attitudes of the adolescents in my study the participants were asked to respond to six statements about sexual matters: sex outside marriage, divorce, contraception, abortion, sex under the legal age, and homosexuality. Their responses are to be found in table 7.1.1.1.a. In each case only a minority of the teenagers agreed with the statements.

Less than one fifth (16%) thought that it was wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage, 14% were not certain and 70% disagreed. A slightly higher proportion thought that divorce was wrong (19% agreed, 26% were not certain and 55% disagreed).

Table 7.1.1.1.a. Sexual morality: an overview

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage	16	14	70
Divorce is wrong	19	26	55
Contraception is wrong	7	20	73
Abortion is wrong	40	27	33
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (16 years)	28	19	53
Homosexuality is wrong	38	22	40

Contraception was the issue which attracted the smaller proportion of those who disapproved (7%), with 20% not certain and 73% disagreeing. Two-fifths thought that abortion was wrong, 27% were not certain and 33% disagreed. Just over a quarter (28%) disapproved of sexual intercourse under the legal age (19% were not certain and 53% disagreed). A newspaper report published just before this research took place stated that the number of unmarried mothers in Walsall was in the region of 40% compared to the national average of 26% and that the borough had one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancies in the country (WO, 4.8.95). There was a wide spread of responses to the statement on homosexuality (37% thought that it was wrong, 22% were not sure and 40% disagreed).

Francis and Kay (1995) asked the same six questions of 13 000 teenagers and their results are shown in table 7.1.1.1.b. A greater proportion of the Walsall adolescents were conservative in their views than the Francis and Kay group in four areas: sexual intercourse outside of marriage (16% compared with 13% agreed and 70% of both groups disagreed), contraception (7% compared with 5% agreed, whilst 73% compared with 72% disagreed), sexual intercourse under the legal age (28% compared with 24%

agreed and 53% compared with 54% disagreed and abortion (40% compared with 38% agreed; 33% compared with 32% disagreed).

Table 7.1.1.1.b. Sexual morality: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage	13	17	70
Divorce is wrong	20	26	54
Contraception is wrong	5	23	72
Abortion is wrong	38	30	32
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (16 years)	24	22	54
Homosexuality is wrong	39	25	36

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 83)

In a much earlier study Cox found that 56% of the boys and 81% of the girls in his study thought that premarital sexual intercourse was always or usually wrong (Cox, 1967: 149), which is a much higher proportion than found in Walsall. Bromley and Curtice (1999: 215) in the sixteenth *British Social Attitudes Survey* found that 59% of the 235 respondents who were educated to degree or higher education standard thought that abortion should be allowed by law if a woman decides that she does not want to have children, whilst 58% of the 361 respondents educated to intermediate level, and 47% of the 278 respondents questioned who had no educational qualifications, thought that abortion should be allowed.

A smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents than the teenagers in the Francis and Kay study thought that divorce was wrong (19% compared with 20% agreed and 55% compared with 54% disagreed). *The World Values Survey* (1981-1982) found that 8% of the 15-24 year olds in Britain thought that divorce could never be justified (Inglehart, 1990: 197), which is a smaller proportion than either the Francis and Kay cohort or the Walsall teenagers. This might be accounted for by the different wording of the questions. Scott, Braun and Alwin (1998: 27) in the fifteenth *British Social Attitudes Report*, found that 18% of the 984 adults questioned thought that a married couple should stay together

if they did not get along, even when there were no children. When they had children 44% thought that they should stay together. Nearly half of the respondents (47%) agreed that 'Divorce is usually the best solution when a couple can't seem to work out their marriage problems'. All these statistics need to be seen against the backdrop of a rising rate of divorce (Wilkinson and Mulgan, 1995: 68).

A smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents thought that homosexuality was wrong (38% compared with 39% agreed, but 40% compared with 36% disagreed). This is a higher level than that found by *The World Values Survey* (1981-1982) where 31% of the 18-24 year olds in Britain thought that homosexuality could never be justified (Inglehart, 1990: 194). Wellings *et al* (1994: 248) in *Sexual Behaviour in Britain* reported on the results of a survey of 18876 people, aged 16-59, which was carried out in 1990 and 1991. They asked the respondents if they thought that sex between two men or two women is always or mostly wrong. The table in the book is so small that it is impossible to give exact figures, but the 16-24 year old age range shows that approximately 68% (N = 1930) of men and 52% (N = 2104) of women thought it is wrong for two men to have sex and approximately 62% (N = 1916) of men and 54% (N = 2115) of women thought it is wrong for two women to have sex together. Although this research has some bearing on my own research the question has such a different focus that it is not easy to draw any useful comparisons. Bromley and Curtice (1999: 215) in the sixteenth *British Social Attitudes Survey* found that 30% of the 285 respondents who were educated up to degree or higher education standard thought that sexual relations between two adults of the same sex is not at all wrong, whilst 28% of the 421 respondents educated to intermediate level did not think that it was wrong, and 13% of the 355 people who had no educational qualification thought that sex relations between two adults of the same sex was not at all wrong.

Like the attitudes towards divorce, the attitudes towards homosexuality are gradually changing. This is shown by *The British Social Attitudes* surveys which found that the proportion of adults who consider that sexual relations between two adults of the same

sex is always wrong has been declining from 1987 (74%) to 1989 (69%) to 1993 (64%) (Ahrendt and Young, 1994:86).

In summary, when compared with the adolescents from the Francis and Kay study the Walsall teenagers were generally more certain in their views and were less approving of sexual intercourse outside marriage, contraception, abortion and sexual intercourse under the legal age. However, a greater proportion did not think that divorce and homosexuality were wrong.

7.1.1.2. The influence of religion

When the responses of the Walsall adolescents were divided into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates it produced the results which are set out in table 7.1.1.2.a.

Table 7.1.1.2.a. Sexual morality: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage	15	23	56	26	10	361	.001
Divorce is wrong	19	15	49	26	14	181	.001
Contraception is wrong	5	4	21	6	6	93	.001
Abortion is wrong	44	25	62	39	35	86	.001
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (16 years)	31	40	57	33	20	177	.001
Homosexuality is wrong	37	22	53	26	38	46	.001

There were significant statistical differences in the responses to all six questions of p<.001.

Non-affiliates

In response to three of the statements the non-affiliates group proved to be the most 'liberal', that is they included the smallest proportion of those who thought that sexual

intercourse outside of marriage (10%), divorce (14%) and sexual intercourse under the legal age (20%) were wrong.

Wellings *et al*, using questionnaires as part of *The National Surveys of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle*, found that 'Those affiliated to no religious denomination are less likely to disapprove of premarital sex (only 2.6% men and 3.8% women in this group do so), those of Christian faiths other than Anglican or Roman Catholic (mainly Baptist) more likely to do so (20.3% men and 22.0% women), and those of non-Christian religious affiliation very much more likely to do so (46.2% of men and 41.3% women believe premarital sex to be always or mostly wrong) (1994: 248). This is broadly in line with my conclusions, although I found some interesting differences among the non-Christian groups as will be seen below.

Wellings *et al* also asked the respondents if they had had sexual intercourse before the age of 16, which was a question about behaviour rather than attitude (1994: 54). Their responses are shown in table 7.1.1.2.b.

Table 7.1.1.2.b. Did you first have sexual intercourse before the age of 16?

Religion	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Church of England	2039	13.4	3403	5.1
Roman Catholic	731	19.5	1171	5.1
Other Christian	882	14.6	1538	5.7
non-Christian	342	10.8	383	4.6
None	4240	22.7	3834	12.3
All religious groups	8234	18.8	10329	7.8

Source: Wellings *et al* (1994: 54)

What this revealed that those who belonged to a religious group were less likely to have had sexual intercourse under the age of 16 than those who did not profess a religion. It also showed that a smaller proportion of those from non-Christian religions had had

sexual intercourse under the age of 16 than those from the Christian faith. These findings are consistent with the attitudes expressed by the Walsall adolescents.

Christianity

Compared with the other three religious groups a smaller proportion of the Christians thought that sexual intercourse outside of marriage was wrong (15%) and that sexual intercourse under the legal age was wrong (31%). Schofield's research (1965) involved face-to-face interviews with 478 boys and 475 girls aged fifteen to seventeen and 456 boys and 464 girls aged seventeen to nineteen. He found that 'early starters' (that is, boys whose first experience of sexual intercourse is at fifteen or younger; girls whose first experience of sexual intercourse is at sixteen or younger) were less likely to come from religious homes: '14% of early starters came from homes where one or both of the parents went to church compared with 22% of the other experienced boys' (1965: 71). This echoes my finding that 15% of the Christian group thought that sexual intercourse outside of marriage is wrong, compared with 10% of the non-affiliates. Schofield also asked the young people about the reasons they may have for not having sexual intercourse. 'Religious reasons' were mentioned by 3% of the boys and 5% of the girls and 19% of the boys and 40% of the girls referred to 'moral reasons' (1965: 129) In a discussion about the characteristics which distinguish the sexually experienced 17-19 year olds from those who are not sexually experienced he discovered that 'It made no difference if they came from a church-going home, and there was no difference as between those in the Church of England and Nonconformists, Roman Catholics or Jews' (1965: 224) 'The religious influence is the same with girls as it is with boys. The experienced girls were less likely to go to church and less likely to hold views which were favourable to religion, but they were just as likely to come from church-going homes' (1965: 229).

In response to the statement that 'homosexuality is wrong' the adolescent Christians (37%) in Walsall (and the non-affiliates 37%) were broadly similar to the average for all the Walsall adolescents (38%) and the survey of teenagers by Francis and Kay (39%).

Hinduism

Of the four religious groups the Hindu teenagers had the smallest proportion who thought that divorce was wrong (15%). However, after the Muslim adolescents (57%) the Hindus had the second highest proportion (40%) who thought that it was wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age. Desai (1963) claimed that extra-marital relationships among Hindus were not uncommon and did not generally result in the people being cast out of their community. However, Hiro (1972: 9) pointed out that the Hindu understanding of divorce may be influenced by the experience of those who came from India: 'Marriage is regarded as a spiritual union and therefore indissoluble. Hindu law, reformed in 1955 by the Indian Parliament, allows divorce, but the country's divorce rate is negligible'. Whilst Brah (1978a: 202) agreed 'The Hindus...regard marriage as a sacrament and as such it cannot be dissolved', Jackson and Killingley (1991: 19) wrote 'In Hindu terms, a wife can only have one husband in her present lifetime, though a man is permitted to remarry'. Warriar (1994: 195) pointed out that the situation is even more complex, since 'Prajapatis accept the legitimacy of both divorce and widow-remarriage, both of which are shunned by higher-caste Gujaratis as violations of Brahmanical codes of morality'. Despite the traditional teaching of the Hindu faith, Khera noted the growing phenomenon of single parent families in Southall (1981: 107).

A smaller percentage of Hindu adolescents agreed with the statement 'Contraception is wrong' than any other group (4%), which reflects Hindu teaching on the subject. 'For most Hindus there seems to be no specific religious ruling either permitting or prohibiting artificial methods of birth control, though members of some sects may follow special rulings' (Henley, 1983a: 52). However Jackson and Killingley (1991: 20) pointed out that some Hindus believe that the only purpose of sexual intercourse is procreation.

Hindus tend to disapprove of abortion, although it is not uncommon (Henley, 1983a: 53; Jackson and Killingley, 1991: 20). This research found that a smaller proportion of Hindu adolescents disapproved of abortion (25%) than any of the other groups, including the

non-affiliates. Compared with the other four groups, fewer of the teenage Hindus thought that homosexuality was wrong (22%).

Apart from their views on sexual intercourse under the legal age, the general picture of the Hindu adolescents is that they had more liberal views on sexual morality than any of the other three religious groups and in some cases more liberal than the non-affiliates.

Islam

The proportion of Muslims who thought that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage (56%) was more than twice that of Sikhs (26%) and nearly four times that of the Christians (15%). Whilst the Qur'an forbids sex outside of marriage (Darsh, 1984: 5; Sarwar, 1992: 8; Hewitt, 1993: 16), Brown (1970: 135) claimed that in the early days of immigration when many of the young Pakistani men had come to work in Britain without their families, it was not unusual for them to resort to prostitution and Butterworth pointed out that 'Figures, for example, for venereal disease and the number of children born to local women and Pakistani fathers indicate that many were living with or otherwise involved with local-born women' (1969: 147).

Today many Muslim leaders are concerned at the way sex education is taught in schools (Murad, 1986a: 5; Akhtar, 1993: 28-35; Sarwar, 1994: 9). The Muslim Liaison Committee in Birmingham thought that sex education should be a parental responsibility (July 1995: 152). The Muslim Educational Co-ordinating Council UK has circulated guidelines to all educational authorities for the teaching of Muslim children and this includes a section of sex education (New Horizon, 349, June 1988). However Raza acknowledged that sexual activity outside marriage was not uncommon among Muslims teenagers (1993: 58).

Part of the reason for this is the concept of honour (*izzat*), which means that if a woman is discovered to have committed adultery then her husband is under a duty to satisfy his honour unless he is prepared to lose face within the community. This idea is still found in the UK and occasionally a case is reported in the newspapers.

Nearly half of the Muslim adolescents in Walsall thought that divorce was wrong (49%). Hashnie (1967: 5) claimed that divorce is disapproved of in Islam, although in exceptional circumstances it is allowed but only after reconciliation has been tried (Darsh, 1984: 11-12; Hewitt, 1993: 19). The general view is that it is considered shameful if a woman divorces and in the sight of other Muslims she loses *izzat* (Wilson, 1978: 104-105; Afshar, 1989: 214). Afshar (1989: 214-216) found that the divorced Muslim Pakistani women in West Yorkshire in her study had faced considerable opposition and even rejection by their families. Surprisingly, Hiro (1991: 147) thought that in the Indian sub-continent divorce was more common among Muslims than among Hindus and Sikhs. This was certainly not reflected in the attitudes of the Walsall adolescents.

With regard to contraception, the Muslim adolescents still had the largest proportion who thought it was wrong. However, it was only 21% which is probably because there is no specific teaching on contraception in the Qur'an. Sarwar's view was that in certain limited situations Islam allows it (1992: 11) and this view was backed up by Omran (1992: 225-238). Henley (1983c: 49) noted that some Muslims preferred not to use contraception since they think that it was against nature. Hewitt claimed it was not allowed except when the health of the mother is at risk (1993: 26). Baraitser (1999: 138) found that none of the twenty Muslim or three Sikh women who were interviewed in Glasgow 'felt that their religion had any bearing on the use of contraception by married women'.

The proportion of Muslims who thought that abortion was wrong (62%) was considerably greater than the Christians (44%), the Hindus (25%) and the Sikhs (39%). There is no universally held view of abortion in Islam. Omran (1992: 191-192) described the opinions of eight Islamic schools, all of which had different rulings. This was reflected in the views of British Muslims although in general they were against abortion. For example, Sarwar stated that Islam only allowed abortion when the mother's life was at risk (1992: 12) and Iqbal (1981: 63) wrote 'The intellectually sound and theologically well-informed Muslim believes that the sole aim of sexual intercourse is procreative, rather than recreative'.

Just over three-fifths (61.9%) of the Walsall adolescents were against abortion, which was much more than any other group.

Muslims are taught that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (Sarwar, 1994: 10), although in practice the situation may be different. However, Joly claimed 'The treatment accorded to boys and girls is also different. Parents are more lenient to boys who may go through a phase which, if known to parents, would attract their disapproval. They go to cafes, play with fruit machines, drink, smoke, go to discos, have girl friends and generally "hang around". They thus lead a double life. Some got up to a great deal of mischief, yet behaved perfectly well at home.....Girls generally do not and cannot follow this pattern' (1995: 167). Shaw, approaching her research with the methodology of a social anthropologist, found a similar situation among some of the Pakistani families in east Oxford (1988: 173-174). I found that 57% of the adolescent Muslims in Walsall thought that it was wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age, which was a greater proportion than any other group and more than twice the proportion of adolescents nationally (Francis and Kay, 1995: 83).

The traditional Muslim teaching, based on the Qur'an, is that homosexuality is wrong (Sarwar, 1992; Hewitt 1993: 29). Just over half (53%) of the teenage Muslims reflected this teaching in their response to the question. Again this was the greatest proportion of any of the five groups questioned.

In conclusion we see that in response to all six questions a higher proportion of the Muslim adolescents than any other group thought that such behaviour was wrong, revealing a very distinctive profile of their attitudes. This is in line with the sentiments expressed by Siddiqui (1990: 13), when he quoted 'One of the goals of the Muslim Community in Britain', which was: 'To develop the Muslim community as an island of peace, harmony and moral excellence, free of promiscuity, sexually transmitted diseases, drinking, gambling, drug-addiction, fornication and the related social and moral disorders which plague our age....'

Sikhism

After the Muslims, the adolescent Sikhs had the second highest percentage who thought that sexual intercourse outside of marriage is wrong (26%). Thompson (1974: 245-246) studied second generation Punjabi boys in Coventry. He found that the good reputation of these boys was very important if they were to be married to Punjabi girls and therefore they were not expected to have sex before marriage. However, this piece of research demonstrated that only 26% of the Sikh adolescents thought that sex outside marriage was wrong. This was a smaller proportion than the Muslims (56%) but greater than the Hindus (23%), the Christians (15%) and the non-affiliates (10%).

After the Muslim the Sikh adolescents had the second highest proportion who thought that divorce was wrong (26%). In the Sikh scriptures marriage is considered to be indissoluble. However in practice Sikhism allows the remarriages of divorcees when a marriage has broken down (Kohli, 1974: 55).

The Sikh religion does not forbid family planning (Henley, 1983b: 44). C. Ballard (1979: 126) quoted the example of a young Sikh woman who used contraception and the expectations of the older Sikh women who were waiting for her to get pregnant. According to Simons' study of 307 Sikh women, aged 18-44, who had come from the Indian sub-continent (that is, excluding those who came via East Africa) 'almost 80% of the Sikhs report the practice of some form of birth control' (1982: 176). He concluded 'Sikhs are now inclined to have families of moderate size at most. They resemble the general population in the practice of birth control: a majority use modern methods and these are now adopted early in marriage' (Simons 1982: 173). This is in line with findings from this research that 6% of the Sikh adolescents thought contraception was wrong.

Henley asserted that 'Abortion is generally disapproved of' (1983b: 44) although I found that only 39% of the Sikh adolescents in Walsall thought that abortion was wrong. One third of the adolescent Sikhs in Walsall thought that it was wrong to have sexual

intercourse under the legal age, which is higher than the average for the young people in the research by Francis and Kay (1995: 83)(24%). This is a smaller proportion than Walsall Hindus (40%) and Muslims (57%). Just over a quarter (26%) of the adolescent Sikhs in Walsall thought that homosexuality was wrong, which was a smaller proportion than the teenagers in the Francis and Kay research (39%) and apart from the Hindus (22%) was the next smallest proportion of the groups in the Walsall findings.

7.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture

Table 7.1.1.3.a. shows the results when the sample was divided into the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

Table 7.1.1.3.a. Sexual morality: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage	12	40	258	.001
Divorce is wrong	16	35	108	.001
Contraception is wrong	5	13	40	.001
Abortion is wrong	38	48	18	.001
It is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (16 years)	25	46	99	.001
Homosexuality is wrong	37	39	<1	NS

There were statistically significant differences of at least $p < .001$ in all areas, except in response to the statement on homosexuality, where there was no significant difference. These statistics reveal that the Christian/non-affiliates group was more liberal than the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group in all areas except on their views of homosexuality, where the statistics were broadly similar (37% and 39% NS respectively).

The views of the two groups were most divided about sexual intercourse outside of marriage where 12% of the Christian/non-affiliates thought it was wrong compared with 40% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikhs adolescents. Ironically, many of the South Asian British

adolescents live in the Calmore and Palfrey of Walsall which is the main red light district of Walsall. Prostitution has been a cause of great concern to the South Asian British community for a number of years (WO, 28.4.89; WO, 29.9.89; WO, 22.10.93; WO: 6.7.94; WO, 29.7.94; WO, 19.8.94) and attempts have been made to crack down on it (WO, 20.10.95).

Divorce was disapproved of by 16% of the Christian/non-affiliate teenagers compared with 35%. R. Ballard (1982: 192) noted that divorce was not usual in the Indian sub-continent and it was the duty of both families to help the couple sort out their problems. In Britain Asian families are also likely to get involved and to offer support or sanctions if there was any hint of separation, since divorce means that the family loses *izzat*. Brah (1978: 202; 1979: 261) discovered amongst her sample of Asian teenagers in Southall that generally they disapproved of divorce strongly, although some of them referred to instances where the woman had remarried successfully.

The two groups expressed different views about contraception. Of the Christian/non-affiliates group 5% felt that it was wrong compared with 13% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group. Evans (1970) wrote a book which gave the results of a questionnaire which was completed by 150 Indians in Southall, 150 West Indians in Handsworth and 150 Pakistanis in Bradford. They were all male and aged between 16 and 24 years old. A number of areas were examined including questions of integration, employment and unemployment, family, police and law and order. There was no attempt to separate the group by religious affiliation. He (1971: 23) asked his sample of 450 West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis about their views on contraception. The results can be seen in table 7.1.1.3.b. It is reasonable to presume that the vast majority of the Pakistanis were Muslims. The 17% of them who thought that they probably would not use family planning compares with the 21% of the Walsall Muslims who thought that contraception was wrong. The 11% of the Indians who thought they would not use family planning is a greater percentage than the 4% of Hindus and the 6% of Sikhs in Walsall who thought

that contraception was wrong, although we need to bear in mind that some Muslims and Buddhists may be included in the groups of Indians.

Table 7.1.1.3.b. Do you think you will be likely to use family planning or birth control methods to limit your family or not?

	Indians %	West Indians %	Pakistanis %
Yes	80	57	62
No	11	31	17
Can't say	9	12	21

Source: Evans (1971: 23)

Table 7.1.1.3.c. Contraceptives used by religion

Method of contraception	No religion	Christian: C of E	Christian: RC	Christian: other	Non- Christian	Total
men						
Pill/IUD/condom/ diaphragm/ pessaries/ sponge/douche	83.6	62.1	71.5	67.1	75.9	75.1
Safe period	3.0	2.7	2.8	2.1	1.6	2.7
Withdrawal	7.4	5.6	8.3	5.5	6.1	6.8
Female sterilisation	8.4	10.9	7.5	10.5	4.6	9.0
Vasectomy	10.8	18.6	9.0	14.4	4.5	12.8
Abstinence	1.8	0.9	1.6	1.9	0.4	1.5
Other method	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.3
None	15.1	18.7	22.7	19.8	26.5	17.6
Base*	3676	1823	639	736	274	7148
Women						
Pill/IUD/condom/ diaphragm/ pessaries/ sponge/douche	76.0	54.2	66.7	64.0	58.0	64.6
Safe period	2.1	1.2	2.9	2.1	2.6	1.9
Withdrawal	4.2	4.1	5.3	3.7	4.8	4.2
Female sterilisation	9.4	13.4	7.0	13.7	8.6	11.1
Vasectomy	10.3	16.4	8.8	13.8	7.0	12.6
Abstinence	1.0	0.8	1.7	0.8	1.8	1.0
Other method	0.5	0.7	1.4	0.6	1.9	0.7
None	16.9	22.6	24.3	23.0	32.1	21.0
Base*	3339	2978	1004	1277	299	8897

Source: Wellings et al (1994: 341)

Wellings et al (1994: 341) asked their sample about the sort of contraceptives used (table 7.1.1.3.c.) and found that those from the non-Christian religion were less likely to use contraceptive than those of no religion or of the Christian faith. Nearly two-fifths of the Christian/non-affiliates group disapproved of abortion (38%) compared with 48% of the other group. Wellings et al (1994: 257) also found 'Bivariate analysis shows that respondents whose religious affiliation is Roman Catholic are very much more likely to oppose abortion than those of another affiliation or none. 58.9% of women reporting Roman Catholic affiliation believe abortion to be mostly or always wrong, compared with 33.7% of Anglicans and 31.7% of those with no affiliation; for men the comparable figures are 58.8%, 29.3% and 28.0%. Respondents of non-Christian and 'other' Christian denominations were also more likely to oppose abortion though the difference for these groups is less marked'.

Finally, there was a gap of 21% between two group when questioned about their attitudes on sexual intercourse under the legal age (25% agreed it was wrong compared with 46% respectively). Wellings et al (1994: 54) asked their sample if they had first had sexual intercourse before the age of 16. The responses are shown in table 7.1.1.3.d.

Table 7.1.1.3.d. Did you first have sexual intercourse under the age of 16?

Ethnic Group	Men		Women	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
White	7749	18.9	9760	8.0
Black	157	26.3	218	9.6
Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian	186	10.7	189	1.1
Other	120	14.0	139	5.0
All ethnic groups	8212	18.8	10307	7.9

Source: Wellings et al (1994: 54)

This research shows that a much smaller proportion of the Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians had sexual intercourse under the age of 16 than the whites and is consistent with

the attitudes of the Walsall teenagers. These figures may hide differences between males and females, as C. Ballard contended 'Girls are under stricter surveillance than boys, for it is felt that too much freedom might spoil a girl's reputation and thus damage her chances of making a good marriage. In addition the status and prestige of the family as a whole depends upon keeping its reputation, much of which rests with the chaste behaviour of its women, irreproachable (C. Ballard, 1979: 117).

7.1.2.0. Right and Wrong

7.1.2.1. An overview

Eleven statements were put to the adolescents in Walsall. Seven of them were couched in terms of 'There is nothing wrong in.....' and they dealt with shoplifting, travelling without a ticket, cycling after dark without lights, playing truant from school, buying cigarettes and alcohol whilst under the legal age, and writing graffiti. The next three statements concerned relations with other people: 'I have never stolen anything in my life', 'I have never told a lie' and 'I have sometimes taken advantage of other people'. The final statement was 'The police do a good job'. Their responses can be seen in table 7.1.2.1.a.

Table 7.1.2.1.a. Right and wrong: an overview

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
There is nothing wrong in:			
shop-lifting	8	9	83
travelling without a ticket	18	28	55
cycling after dark without lights	19	13	68
playing truant from school	17	17	66
buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	32	18	50
buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	44	19	37
writing graffiti wherever you like	16	21	64
I have never stolen anything in my life	31	14	55
I have never told a lie	11	4	85
Sometimes I have taken advantage of people	60	24	16
The police do a good job	44	21	35

On most of the subjects the adolescents had quite decided views. The main exceptions to this was travelling without a ticket (28% not certain), taking advantage of other people (24% not certain), writing graffiti (21% not certain) and the effectiveness of the police (21% not certain).

Only 8% thought that there was nothing wrong with shoplifting against 83% who disagreed and 9% not certain. There was a wider spread of opinion about travelling

without a ticket (18% agreed and 55% disagreed), cycling after dark without lights (19% agreed, 68% disagreed and 13% were not certain) and playing truant (17% agreed, 66% disagreed and 17% were uncertain). When it came to buying cigarettes and alcohol under the legal age the adolescents were divided more evenly (32% agreed, 50% disagreed and 18% were not certain; and 44% agreed, 37% disagreed and 19% were not certain respectively).

Just under one third (31%) claimed that they had never stolen anything, against 55% who admitted that they had and 14% who were not certain. A minority (11%) agreed with the proposition 'I have never told a lie', but 85% disagreed, while 4% were not certain. Three-fifths had taken advantage of others sometimes, although 16% thought that they had not. More than two-fifths (44%) believed that the police do a good job and over one-third (35%) disagreed. The Gallup Survey of Britain (1985) found that 48% of the general public thought that they police were efficient and did their job well (Heald and Wybrow, 1986: 266). Despite these figures, concern has been expressed about racism in the Walsall police and attempts have been made to recruit more officers from ethnic minorities (WO, 1.7.88; WO, 19.5.89; WO, 25.10.91).

Francis and Kay put seven of the eleven statements to the adolescents in their research and their results can be seen in table 7.1.2.1.b.

Table 7.1.2.1.b. Right and wrong: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
There is nothing wrong in:			
shop-lifting	7	8	85
travelling without a ticket	19	24	57
cycling after dark without lights	15	10	75
playing truant from school	18	19	63
buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	27	16	57
buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	39	20	41
writing graffiti wherever you like	16	19	65

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 98)

The overall picture we gain from these comparisons is that the Walsall adolescents were generally more uncertain of their views, the exceptions being truancy (17% compared with 19%) and buying alcohol under the legal age (19% compared with 20%). When we compare the attitudes to shop-lifting we see that there is not a great deal of difference between the two groups (8% of the Walsall teenagers thought there was nothing wrong with it compared with 7%, 9% compared with 8% were not certain and 83% compared with 85% disagreed). Cox (1967) asked the sixth formers in his research about their attitudes towards lying and stealing (table 7.1.2.1.c.) and found that 98% of the boys and 99% of the girls thought that it was always wrong.

Table 7.1.2.1.c. Moral judgements: the percentages of the total of each sex who endorse the different rating categories

		Always wrong %	Usually wrong %	Undecided %	Sometimes wrong %	Never wrong %
Lying	Boys	19.1	73.9	1.3	5.2	0.5
	Girls	23.8	72.8	0.9	2.2	0.3
Stealing	Boys	70.8	27.5	0.8	0.6	0.3
	Girls	71.2	27.8	0.4	0.5	0.1

Source: Cox (1967: 149)

Due to the larger proportion of the Walsall teenagers who were uncertain about travelling without a ticket (28% compared with 24% in the Francis and Kay group) it is difficult to make any useful comparison. Whilst a slightly smaller proportion thought there was nothing wrong with travelling without a ticket (18% compared with 19% agreed), 55% disagreed compared with 57% of the adolescents in the Francis and Kay research.

A larger proportion of the Walsall teenagers thought that there was nothing wrong with cycling after dark without lights (19% compared with 15% agreed; 13% compared with 10% were not certain and 68% compared with 75% disagreed). When it came to attitudes concerning truancy the Walsall adolescents were more conservative than those in the

Francis and Kay study. Seventeen per cent agreed that there was nothing wrong in playing truant compared with 18%. When we look at those who disagreed the same picture emerges with 66% disagreeing compared with 63%.

The Walsall teenagers were noticeably more liberal in their views about buying cigarettes and alcohol under the legal age. Nearly one-third (32%) compared with 27% thought that there was nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age, 18% compared with 16% were not certain whilst 50% compared with 57% disagreed. A similar picture emerges towards alcohol where 44% of the Walsall teenagers compared with 39% agreed and 37% compared with 41% disagreed. The views of the adolescents concerning graffiti were roughly comparable, with 16% of both groups agreeing, 21% compared with 19% were not certain and 64% compared with 65% disagreeing.

Wilkinson and Mulgan noted a growing preparedness to break the law 'There is also some evidence that younger generations have become more willing to protest. Public tolerance for illegal demonstrations has risen over the last decade with 68 per cent now agreeing that there are times when protesters are justified in breaking the law, an increase of 14 per cent since 1984' (1995: 104).

7.1.2.2. The influence of religion

The responses from the Walsall adolescents were divided into the four religious groups and the non-affiliate and are set out in table 7.1.2.2.a. The chi square test reveals that there were significant statistical differences of at least $p < .001$ in all the responses, except 'There is nothing wrong in travelling without a ticket' ($p < .01$) and 'I have never stolen anything in my life' where there was no significant statistical difference.

Non-affiliates

The non-affiliates revealed a distinctive set of attitudes in response to the first seven statements, which involved issues of the law. In each case it showed that a higher

proportion of the non-affiliates thought there was nothing wrong compared with those who had a religious affiliation.

Table 7.1.2.2.a. Right and wrong: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
There is nothing wrong in:							
shop-lifting	6	4	6	7	10	19	.001
travelling without a ticket	15	12	15	15	20	15	.01
cycling after dark without lights	16	10	16	11	23	41	.001
playing truant from school	13	4	18	15	20	38	.001
buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	29	17	21	23	38	61	.001
buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	42	35	17	32	51	127	.001
writing graffiti wherever you like	13	6	13	18	19	24	.001
I have never stolen anything in my life	30	32	35	24	33	8	NS
I have never broken my promise	23	8	34	23	23	28	.001
I have never told a lie	8	4	14	10	13	23	.001
Sometimes I have taken advantage of people	60	67	48	64	61	19	.001
The police do a good job	52	39	50	33	39	59	.001

Roberts and Sachdev found that 6% of the adolescents in their study thought that religion would be very effective in preventing crime and 26% thought that religion would be quite effective in helping prevent crime. They concluded 'Taking religion more seriously is not regarded as an effective means of crime prevention: 66% thought that this would not be very or not at all effective compared with 32% who thought it would be very or quite effective' (1996: 87). Their findings are shown in table 7.1.2.2.b. However, they also found that those who were religious were more likely to think that belief in God would be a factor in discouraging people from committing crimes (see table 7.1.2.2.c.).

Table 7.1.2.2.b. Here are some possible ways of helping to prevent crime in Britain. How effective do you think each one is?

	very effective %	quite effective %	not very effective %	not at all effective %
Less violence on television	11	40	39	9
Religion	6	26	47	19
More prison	17	42	30	8
Less prison	2	16	49	28
Family discipline	24	54	15	4
School discipline	22	56	19	2
Less poverty	28	49	14	4

Roberts and Sachdev (1996: 86)

Table 7.1.2.2.c. Religious faith and views on crime prevention

	Don't believe in God %	Believe in God now, did not before %	Have always believed in God %
Less crime on television	43	56	54
Religion	16	39	43
More prison	56	62	58
Less prison	22	20	18
Family discipline	76	79	81
School discipline	77	78	80
Less poverty	79	76	78

Roberts and Sachdev (1996: 88)

The responses of the Walsall adolescents show that a higher proportion of those who are from a religious background have law abiding attitudes.

Christianity

Compared with the other three religious groups a higher proportion of the Christian adolescents thought that there was nothing wrong with buying cigarettes under the legal age (29%) and in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (42%). Also a higher proportion thought that the police do a good job (52%).

Hinduism

In their responses to the first seven statements, the Hindu group of adolescents had the smallest proportion who agreed with breaking the law, apart from buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age: thus shoplifting (4%), travelling without a ticket (12%), cycling without lights (10%), playing truant (4%), buying cigarettes under the legal age (17%) and writing graffiti (6%). They were also the group with the smallest proportion who thought that they had never broken a promise (8%) and had never told a lie (4%). A higher proportion appear to be more honest and law abiding than any of the other groups. Despite this a higher proportion admitted to sometimes taking advantage of people (67%) than in any other group.

Islam

Compared with the other three religious groups the adolescent Muslims in Walsall had the highest proportion who thought that there was nothing wrong in playing truant (18%) and the smallest proportion who thought there was nothing wrong in buying alcohol (17%) under the legal age. A higher proportion than any other group claimed that they had never stolen (35% NS), had never broken a promise (34%), had never told a lie (14%). A smaller proportion than any other group indicated that they had not take advantage of people sometimes (48%). After the Christian group the Muslim adolescents had the next highest proportion who thought that the police do a good job. Joly (1987: 73) noted that some Pakistanis in Birmingham had representation on the Police Liaison Committees and that 44% of mosques in Birmingham sent delegates to their local Police Liaison Committees (1995: 79). King (1994: 54) described the problems of young Bengali men in Tower Hamlets who were constantly being stopped and searched by the police.

Sikhism

Compared with the other three religious groups there was a higher proportion of Sikh adolescents who thought that there was nothing wrong in shop-lifting (7%) and in writing graffiti (18%). However, they had the smallest proportion who thought that they had never stolen anything (24% NS) and that the police do a good job (33%).

7.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture

The adolescents were divided into Christian/non-affiliates and Hindu, Muslim and Sikh.

The results are set out in table 7.1.2.3.a.

Table 7.1.2.3.a. Right and wrong: by religion

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
There is nothing wrong in:				
shop-lifting	8	6	3	NS
travelling without a ticket	18	15	4	.05
cycling after dark without lights	20	13	13	.001
playing truant from school	17	15	2	NS
buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	34	21	36	.001
buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	47	25	89	.001
writing graffiti wherever you like	16	14	2	NS
I have never stolen anything in my life	32	30	<1	NS
I have never broken my promise	23	26	3	NS
I have never told a lie	11	11	<1	NS
Sometimes I have taken advantage of people	61	57	3	NS
The police do a good job	44	42	1	NS

Significant statistical differences were found in the responses to only four of the statements, that is, travelling without a ticket, cycling after dark without lights and buying cigarettes and alcohol under the legal age. In each of these cases a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group agreed that there was nothing wrong in these actions, compared with the Christian/non-affiliates group.

Evans (1971: 28) asked his sample of 450 Indian, West Indian and Pakistani men aged between 16-24 how law abiding white people were when compared with Indians, West Indians and Pakistanis. The results are set out in table 7.1.2.3.b.

Table 7.1.2.3.b. Do you think that white people are more law abiding than Indian/West Indian/Pakistani people?

	Indians %	West Indians %	Pakistanis %
Indians/West Indians/Pakistanis are more law abiding	50	25	62
White people are more law abiding	13	22	16
No difference	34	48	20
Can't say	3	5	2

Source: Evans (1971: 28)

Evans found that the perceptions that the Indians and Pakistanis had of themselves was that they were more law-abiding than the white population. These results are similar to those from the Walsall adolescents.

When it comes to attitudes towards the police, other research has revealed some ambivalent feelings. Saeed and Galbraith asked 100 Asian teenagers to respond to the statement 'The police in this country are busy catching criminals and do their job well'. Sixty-nine percent agreed, 17% disagreed, 9% neither agreed or disagreed and 5% answered 'don't know' (1981/82: 452). Anwar (1998: 91) reported that the results of a 1983 survey on police protection among 570 young Asians revealed that only 15% thought it was good, 42% thought it was average, 24% said it was poor and 12% did not know.

Overall we are given a picture of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents who have more law abiding attitudes than the Christian/non-affiliates adolescents.

7.1.3.0. Substance Use

7.1.3.1. An overview

Five statements about substance use and abuse were included in the questionnaire. They were phrased in terms of 'It is wrong to...' and they looked at glue sniffing, marijuana and heroin usage, drunkenness and cigarette smoking. The results can be seen in table 7.1.3.1.a.

Table 7.1.3.1.a. Substance use: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
It is wrong to sniff glue	75	10	15
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	42	29	30
It is wrong to become drunk	23	17	60
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	39	18	43
It is wrong to use heroin	66	16	18

Of all the substances mentioned it was glue sniffing that the highest proportion of teenagers were against. Three-quarters agreed that it was wrong and only 15% disagreed, while 10% were not certain. The response to the statement about marijuana was more mixed. Just over two-fifths (42%) thought it was wrong to use it, while 29% were uncertain and 30% disagreed. Becoming drunk attracted the lowest level of disapproval (23%), with 17% not certain and a majority (60%) who disagreed. Similarly when it came to smoking cigarettes there was a higher proportion who disagreed (43%) than agreed (39%), with 18% in the 'not certain' group. Two-thirds were against the use of heroin, 16% were not certain and 18% disagreeing that it was not wrong to use it.

Francis and Kay asked the same questions and the results are in table 7.1.3.1.b. The Walsall teenagers were less certain in their views about substance use than the group studied by Francis and Kay, that is in every case a higher proportion were 'not certain', except in the case of alcohol where a similar proportion were uncertain (17%).

Table 7.1.3.1.b. Substance use: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
It is wrong to sniff glue	81	6	13
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	58	19	23
It is wrong to become drunk	22	17	61
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	45	17	38
It is wrong to use heroin	79	10	11

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 112)

Becoming drunk was the only one of the five statements where a larger proportion of the Walsall adolescents thought that it was wrong (23% compared with 22% agreed with 60% compared with 61% disagreed). In an earlier study Cox asked the sixth formers in his research about drunkenness and smoking (table 7.1.3.1.c) and found that 77% of the boys and 89% of the girls thought that it was always wrong to get drunk. This illustrates how much teenage attitudes have changed over the past thirty years.

Table 7.1.3.1.c. Moral judgements; the percentage of the total of each sex who endorse the different rating categories

		Always wrong %	Usually wrong %	Undecided %	Sometimes wrong %	Never wrong %
Drunkenness	Boys	30.6	46.5	3.0	17.9	2.0
	Girls	44.9	44.4	1.8	7.8	1.1
Smoking	Boys	14.9	10.2	10.9	32.4	31.6
	Girls	12.3	8.9	18.2	36.2	24.4

Source: Cox (1967: 149)

A smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents thought that it is wrong to sniff glue (75% compared with 81% agreed and 15% compared with 13% disagreed), to use marijuana (42% compared with 58% agreed, while 30% compared with 23% disagreed), to smoke cigarettes (39% compared with 45% agreed, with 43% compared with 38% disagreeing) and to use heroin (66% compared with 79% agreed and 18% compared with 11% disagreed). As is shown in table 7.1.3.1.c. Cox discovered that 25% of the boys and 21% of the girls thought that it was wrong to smoke. It is interesting to note that in the case of

getting drunk the teenagers had become more liberal in their views, whilst in the case of smoking a much greater proportion were now against it.

In the thirteenth *British Social Attitudes* survey (1996) just over one thousand adults were asked a series of questions about illegal drugs. Nearly one third (31%) thought that smoking cannabis should be legalised (Gould, Shaw and Ahrendt, 1996: 103), which compares with 30% of the Walsall adolescents and 23% of the teenagers in Francis and Kay who did not think that it was wrong to use it.

These results give us a picture of the Walsall teenagers who were generally less certain what they thought about substance use in general and less concerned about substance use than the adolescents in the Francis and Kay study.

7.1.3.2. The influence of religion

The teenagers were divided into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates (table 7.1.3.2.a.).

Table 7.1.3.2.a. Substance use: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
It is wrong to sniff glue	78	85	73	73	74	11	.05
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	50	51	38	35	37	51	.001
It is wrong to become drunk	22	31	70	30	15	387	.001
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	42	53	55	42	34	58	.001
It is wrong to use heroin	72	73	71	60	61	43	.001

Statistically significant differences of at least $p < .001$ were found in the responses to all the statements except 'It is wrong to sniff glue' where the difference was $p < .05$

Non-affiliates

The non-affiliates in the study had the lowest proportion who thought it was wrong to become drunk (15%) and to smoke cigarettes (34%).

Christianity

Francis and Mullen (1993: 669) have shown that religion is a significant factor in adolescents' attitudes towards different types of drugs and Cochrane and Sukhwant (1990: 759) found there was a clear association between alcohol use and religion in their study of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and white men in Birmingham. They found that the group which was most likely to be regular drinkers were the Sikhs, followed by the whites and then the Hindus. Only a small number of Muslim men drank regularly, but on average they consumed the most alcohol.

Compared with the other religious groups the adolescent Christians in the group had the lowest proportion who thought it was wrong to become drunk (22%) and, equal with the Sikhs, the lowest proportion who thought it was wrong to smoke cigarettes (42%).

Hinduism

Traditionally, Hinduism has been against the use of tobacco, alcohol and other drugs (Henley, 1983a: 51). However, there is a wide variety of both practice and attitudes within the Hindu community concerning substance use. For example, it is rare for Gujarati men to smoke or drink, but not unusual to find Punjabi men who go to pubs and are used to drinking alcohol and to smoking tobacco (Knott, 1986: 36; Vertovec, 1996:79). The Valmikis, a caste which draws on elements of both Hinduism and Sikhism, do not forbid the drinking of alcohol (Nesbitt, 1994: 139), while members of the Hare Krishna movement eschew all stimulants such as alcohol, tea, coffee or coke. In my research I did not attempt to differentiate between forms of Hinduism so one must be aware that my data only gives a general picture of the situation. Modood, Beishon and Virdee (1994) produced a piece of research supported by the Policy Studies' Institute which was based on interviews and group discussion with 74 adults, of whom 25 were

Caribbeans, 13 were Pakistani Muslims, 10 were Bangladeshi Muslims, 13 were Punjabi Sikhs and 13 were Gujarati Hindus. The sample comprised 'roughly equal proportions of women and men', the age range 'clustered around the ages of 60 and 20' and the interviewees were from Birmingham and Southall. They asked questions on religious practice and compared the answers of first and second generations. They discovered that most of the second generation Sikhs they interviewed 'tended not to observe the restrictions on alcohol' (1994: 51). This research project revealed that the Hindus were the group with the greatest proportion against sniffing glue (85%), using marijuana (51%) and heroin (73%). When it came to alcohol only 31% thought that it was wrong to become drunk. The results show that significant numbers of Hindus were against substances use.

Islam

Islam teaches that Muslims are not supposed to take any sort of drug (Hewitt, 1993: 32). For example, in the *Newsletter of the National Association of Young Muslims* (7, 1986) it is stated that 'There is no evidence yet that Muslim young people are involved in that [drug taking, particularly heroin] to an alarming extent....Only one case has come to our knowledge'. The article went on to encourage Muslim youth organisations to inform young people of the dangers and described a number of warning signs which might indicate when someone was taking drugs. The Muslim and Sikh adolescents groups had the lowest proportion who thought it was wrong to sniff glue (73%).

Islam similarly forbids the drinking of alcohol. Even if a drop of alcohol is used in cooking it makes it unlawful (*haram*) to eat the food. Most orthodox Muslims would not admit to drinking alcohol and it would be disapproved of by many (Collins, 1957: 171). Despite this, some Muslims do drink alcohol (Saifullah-Khan, 1974: 318; Jeffery, 1976: 157; Wilkinson, 1988: 20-21). Seventy percent of the adolescent Muslims in Walsall in the survey thought that it was wrong to become drunk.

There is no specific prohibition on smoking in the Qur'an, so it is surprising that the Muslim teenagers have the highest proportion of all the groups who thought that it was wrong to smoke cigarettes (55%).

Sikhism

Sikhism is against the use of substances. Nevertheless, as with Muslims, the Sikhs had the lowest proportion of the religious groups who thought that it was wrong to sniff glue (73%) and the lowest proportion compared with all other groups who thought it was wrong to use marijuana (35%) and heroin (60%).

The Sikh religion forbids the drinking of alcohol (Kohli, 1974: 43 and Henley, 1983b: 43). In the late 1970s Ghuman studied Bhatta Sikhs in Cardiff. Although he conducted semi-structured interviews with twenty families, he mainly used participative observation over a three month period and drew on informal discussions with community leaders and others. He produced some statistics but these only related to the twenty families he interviewed, so it would be unwise to place too much weight on his findings. Ghuman (1980: 314), however, claimed that most of the Bhatta Sikh men in Cardiff went to the pub or had drinks at home, and DeWitt (1969: 30) asserted that 'the social life of the Punjabi settlements revolved around the lodging house, the gudwara (sic)...., the pub.....and the IWA'. Thompson (1974: 248) wrote of second generation Punjabis 'They visit the pubs, the cinemas and the temple together'. Tinker (1977: 180) made the extraordinary statement that 'Drinking is something in which the Asians, especially the Sikhs, can outdo the native British'. Agnihotri (1987: 56) found that 'Only in 19% of the families were there members who visited the pub frequently; in 18%, no one ever went to the pub; in the remaining 63%, pub-going was rare'. Drury (1991: 395 and 1996: 101) found that 60% of her sample of Sikh girls did not drink alcohol. 30% did drink alcohol, but said that it was at home and in moderation. The remaining 10% drank alcohol but did not tell their parents about it. In Walsall I found that only 30% of the adolescents thought that it was wrong to become drunk.

Smoking is strongly disapproved of by Sikhs (Department of Education and Science, 1967: 17; Kohli, 1974: 69; Henley, 1983b: 43; R. Singh, 1992: 10). Drury (1988: 204; 1991: 395 and 1996:101) also found that none of the Sikh girls in his study smoked cigarettes. In Walsall only 42% of the teenage Sikhs thought that it was wrong to smoke cigarettes.

7.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture

The sample was divided into the Christian/non-affiliates and Hindu, Muslim and Sikh.

The responses are set out in table 7.1.3.3.a.

Table 7.1.3.3.a. Substance use: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N. A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
It is wrong to sniff glue	75	75	1	NS
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	42	39	2	NS
It is wrong to become drunk	18	50	252	.001
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	37	50	30	.001
It is wrong to use heroin	66	67	1	NS

Statistically significant differences of at least $p < .001$ were only found in the responses to the statements about becoming drunk and smoking cigarettes. In both these cases there was a wide gap between the proportion of those from the Christian/non-affiliates group who thought that becoming drunk (18%) and smoking cigarettes (37%) was wrong compared with those from an Hindu/Muslim/Sikh background, where 50% of the adolescents thought that they were wrong.

Fogelman, whose sample was white, found that 64% of the adolescents did not smoke, 7% did not drink alcohol and 13% could not remember or were uncertain when they had last drunk alcohol (Fogelman, 1976: 20). These statistics provide a snapshot twenty

years before this piece of research and may reflect the changes which have taken place over time among white adolescents.

Nazroo (1997), drawing on *The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities*, gives statistics for smoking (table 7.1.3.3.b.) and frequency of drinking alcohol (table 7.1.3.3.c.). Nazroo's research was carried out among adults and so comparisons with this research must only be made with caution.

Table 7.1.3.3.b. Smoking

	All ethnic minorities %	Caribbean %	All South Asian %	Indian %	African Asian %	Pakistani %	Bangladeshi %	Chinese %	White %
Ever smoked									
Men	37	51	31	22	29	39	53	39	67
Women	15	36	4	5	4	4	<1	6	56
Total	26	42	17	13	16	22	26	24	61
Current smoker									
Men	31	42	26	19	22	33	49	31	34
Women	12	31	4	5	3	4	<1	3	37
Total	21	36	15	11	12	19	24	18	36
Smokers who have given up	16	16	15	13	24	13	8	24	42
Weighted base	2574	783	1595	646	392	420	138	195	2867
Unweighted base		2579	614	1861	638	350	584	289	104
	2867								

Source: Nazroo (1997: 28)
N = 2867

The differences between the South Asians and the white group are marked. Of the South Asians 15% were smoking currently and only 17% claimed to have ever smoked in the past. This compared with 36% of the white group who were currently smoking and 61% who had smoked at one time. Over seven out of ten (72%) of the South Asian British teenagers claimed they had never drunk alcohol and only 14% drank alcohol once a week or more. This contrasted with 13% of the Christian/non-affiliates group who had

never drunk alcohol and 56% who drank once a week or more. These findings are consistent with the data obtained from the Walsall adolescents.

Table 7.1.3.3.c. Frequency of alcohol use

	All ethnic minorities %	Carib-bean %	All South Asian %	Indian %	African Asian %	Pakis-tani %	Bangla-deshi %	Chinese %	White %
Once a week or more									
Men	32	50	25	40	32	4	2	32	69
Women	11	23	4	6	8	0	0	11	46
Total	21	35	14	22	20	2	1	22	56
Less than once a week									
Men	25	37	17	26	24	4	1	37	23
Women	25	51	10	12	19	<1	2	40	37
Total	25	45	13	19	21	2	2	38	31
Never									
Men	43	13	58	34	45	92	96	32	8
Women	64	26	86	82	74	100	98	49	17
Total	54	20	72	60	59	95	97	40	13
Weighted base	2567	782	1591	643	391	419	138	195	2866
Unweighted base		2574	613	1857	637	349	582	289	104
	2866								

Source: Nazroo (1997: 30)
N = 2866

Despite the views of the South Asian British adolescents Gaskin, Vlaeminke and Fenton's research (1996: 17) found that they were very sympathetic to those people who had drink and drug problems.

7.1.4.0. Morality: conclusions

Having described the responses of the young people to the statements about a variety of personal moral issues, what do they tell us about the influence of religion on the attitudes of the teenagers?

Christians

This group of adolescents had the smallest proportion who thought that sexual intercourse outside of marriage and sexual intercourse under the legal age were wrong (table 7.1.1.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who thought there was nothing wrong in buying cigarettes and alcohol under the legal age (table 7.1.2.2.a.) and the lowest proportion who thought it wrong to become drunk and to smoke cigarettes (table 7.1.3.2.a.). Of the four religious groups they were the most liberal in their attitudes towards sexual intercourse and towards alcohol and tobacco. At the same time they had the highest proportion who thought that the police did a good job (table 7.1.2.2.a.).

Hindus

The Hindus had the smallest proportion who thought that divorce, contraception, abortion and homosexuality were wrong (table 7.1.1.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who thought that there was nothing wrong with shoplifting, cycling after dark without lights, playing truant, buying cigarettes under the legal age and writing graffiti. They had the smallest proportion who claimed never to have told a lie (table 7.1.2.2.a.). They had the largest proportion who thought that it is wrong to use marijuana and heroin (table 7.1.3.2.a.). As noted above the Christians had the most liberal views on sexual intercourse. However, the adolescent Hindus emerged as the most liberal group with regard to sexual morality, whilst being relatively conservative in their views about abiding by the law and substance use.

Muslims

Compared with the other groups the Muslims were the most distinctively conservative in their attitudes towards sexual morality. Thus they had the highest proportion who thought that it was wrong to have sexual intercourse outside of marriage, to have sexual intercourse under the legal age; and the highest proportion who thought that divorce, abortion, contraception and homosexuality are all wrong (table 7.1.1.2.a.). They also had the highest proportion who thought that there was nothing wrong in playing truant, who had never broken a promise, and who had never told a lie. They had the smallest

proportion who thought there was nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (table 7.1.1.2.a.), yet they had the largest proportion who thought it was wrong to smoke cigarettes (table 7.1.3.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who claimed to have taken advantage of other people (table 7.1.1.2.a.).

Sikhs

The responses of the adolescent Sikhs to the statements concerning sexual morality show that they did not have a distinctive profile when compared with the other groups (table 7.1.1.2.a.). They had the highest proportion who thought there was nothing wrong in writing graffiti and the smallest proportion who thought that the police do a good job (table 7.1.2.2.a.). Compared with the other three religious groups they were the most liberal with regard to addictive substances, that is they had the smallest proportion who thought it was wrong to use marijuana, heroin and (equal with the Christians) to smoke cigarettes (table 7.1.3.2.a.).

8.0.0.0. THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS: THE WORLD OF THE ADOLESCENTS

Much of the adolescents' time is spent in their immediate locality at school and at leisure. We know little about what they and their parents think concerning their use of leisure time, what they think about their schools and the education they provide, nor about what they like and dislike in their locality. In this next section I examine these issues and how religion influences their views on them.

- 8.1.1.0. Leisure
 - 8.1.1.1. An overview
 - 8.1.1.2. The influence of religion
 - 8.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture
- 8.1.2.0. School
 - 8.1.2.1. An overview
 - 8.1.2.2. The influence of religion
 - 8.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture
- 8.1.3.0. My area
 - 8.1.3.1. An overview
 - 8.1.3.2. The influence of religion
 - 8.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture
- 8.1.4.0. The world of the adolescents: conclusions

8.1.0.0. The world of the adolescents

8.1.1.0. Leisure

8.1.1.1. An overview

Eight statements were put to the adolescents. The first three were about the use of leisure time. These were followed by two statements about youth clubs. Finally, there were three statements about parental views of the adolescents' leisure time. The results are shown in table 8.1.1.1.a.

Just over two-thirds (67%) agreed that they often hung about with friends doing nothing in particular, whilst 10% were not certain and 24% disagreed. Only 19% agreed that there were lots of leisure time activities for young people but 65% thought that there were not, with 16% of the adolescents being uncertain. Nearly two-thirds (64%) wished that they

had more things to do in their leisure time, 13% were not certain and 23% disagreed. Only 12% were not frightened of going to the Youth Centre, whilst 69% were frightened. Nearly one-fifth (19%) were not certain. Nearly two-fifths (39%) were not certain whether or not the Youth Centre was boring. The proportion who thought it was boring was 44%, while 18% disagreed.

Table 8.1.1.1.a. Leisure: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I often hang about with my friends doing nothing in particular	67	10	24
In my area there are lots of things for young people to do in their leisure time	19	16	65
I wish I had more things to do in my leisure time	64	13	23
I am frightened of going to a Youth Centre	12	19	69
My Youth Centre is boring	44	39	18
My parents prefer me to stay in as much as possible	27	18	55
My parents allow me to do what I like in my leisure time	47	17	37
My parents do not agree with most of the things that I do in my leisure time	34	20	46

Just over one quarter (27%) of the adolescents thought that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible, although 55% disagreed with the statement and 18% were not certain. Nearly a half (47%) of the teenagers agreed that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time compared with 37% who disagreed and 17% who were not certain. However 34% of the adolescents agreed with the statement that their parents did not agree with most of the things they did in their leisure time, one-fifth were uncertain and 46% disagreed with the statement about their parents.

Francis and Kay put the same statements to the adolescents in their research and their results can be seen in table 8.1.1.1.b.

Table 8.1.1.1.b. Leisure: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I often hang about with my friends doing nothing in particular	67	10	23
In my area there are lots of things for young people to do in their leisure time	27	16	57
I wish I had more things to do in my leisure time	58	15	27
I am frightened of going to a Youth Centre	8	16	76
My Youth Centre is boring	34	42	24
My parents prefer me to stay in as much as possible	17	18	65
My parents allow me to do what I like in my leisure time	49	17	34
My parents do not agree with most of the things that I do in my leisure time	28	18	54

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 125)

The responses of the Walsall adolescents to the statement 'I often hang about with my friends doing nothing in particular' mirrored the responses of the teenagers in the Francis and Kay research almost exactly. Willmot (1966: 28) found that 52% of the 14-15 year olds in his study said that the main activity in their leisure time was 'hanging about', 'larking about', which was a smaller proportion than either the Francis and Kay study or the Walsall teenagers.

A smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents agreed that there were lots of things to do in the area (19% compared with 27% agreed, 65% compared with 57% disagreed and in both cases 16% were not certain). A larger proportion wished they had more to do in their leisure time (64% compared with 58% agreed, 23% compared with 27% disagreed and 13% compared with 15% were not certain).

The Walsall adolescents also had a slightly different attitudes to Youth Centres. A larger proportion were frightened to go to the Youth Centre (12% compared with 8% agreed, 19% compared with 16% were not certain, and 69% compared with 76% disagreed) and a larger proportion agreed that they are boring (44% compared with 34%. However 39% were not sure (compared with 42%) and 18% disagreed (compared with 24%).

The perceptions of the Walsall adolescents about parental attitudes also showed a number of differences. A larger proportion of the Walsall teenagers agreed that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (27% compared with 17% agreed, 55% compared with 65% disagreed and in both cases 18% were not certain). A smaller proportion agreed that their parents allowed them to do what they like (47% compared with 49%), although 37% disagreed compared with 34% and in both cases 17% were not certain. A larger proportion of the Walsall teenagers agreed with the statement 'My parents do not agree with most of the things that I do in my leisure time' (34% compared with 28%). The 'not certain' were 20% and 18% respectively, while 46% disagreed compared with 54%. The responses to the last three statements show that a higher proportion of the Walsall teenagers felt that their parents were more restrictive than those in the Francis and Kay study.

8.1.1.2. The influence of religion

The sample was broken down into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates and the results are shown in table 8.1.1.2.a.

Table 8.1.1.2.a. Leisure: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I often hang about with my friends doing nothing in particular	67	62	50	59	71	49	.001
In my area there are lots of things for young people to do in their leisure time	18	21	31	23	18	27	.001
I wish I had more things to do in my leisure time	66	69	70	64	62	9	NS
I am frightened of going to a Youth Centre	13	9	11	14	11	3	NS
My Youth Centre is boring	46	28	26	32	47	59	.001
My parents prefer me to stay in as much as possible	24	46	55	55	22	220	.001
My parents allow me to do what I like in my leisure time	47	37	37	32	50	38	.001
My parents do not agree with most of the things that I do in my leisure time	29	32	44	42	36	33	.001

Statistically significant differences of at least $p < .001$ were found in response to all the statements, except 'I wish I had more things to do in my leisure time' and 'I am frightened of going to a Youth Centre'.

Non-affiliates

Compared with the four religious groups a larger proportion of the non-affiliates often hung around with their friends doing nothing (70%), thought that Youth Centres were boring (47%) and claimed that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time (50%). A smaller proportion wished they had more to do in their leisure time (62%) and claimed that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (22%).

Christianity

A larger proportion of the Christian adolescents than any of the other three religious groups often hung around with their friends doing nothing (67%), thought the Youth Centre was boring (46%) and thought that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time (47%), but a smaller proportion thought that there was a lot of things for young people to do (18% which the same proportion as the non-affiliates), claimed that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (24%) and thought that their parents did not agree with most of their leisure time activities (29%). This profile of the Christian adolescents has a greater similarity with the profile of the non-affiliates than that of any of the other three religious groups.

Hinduism

The Hindu adolescents did not present a very distinctive profile when compared with the other groups, apart from the fact that a smaller proportion of them were frightened of going to a Youth Centre (9% NS) than any other group. Only 21% thought that there were lots of things for young people to do in the area. As long ago as 13th September 1974

there was a report in the *Walsall Observer* pointing out that although there was an urgent need for better facilities for Asians in the town: 'An application for a cultural centre for Asians was turned down by Walsall District Council because it would cost too much'. The perceptions of a majority of the Hindu adolescents are that the situation has not changed much.

Livingstone (1977) undertook a study in Slough on behalf of the *Scout Association*. She interviewed 423 Asian boys aged 8-14 and found that generally smaller proportions of Hindu adolescents joined clubs or groups than the Muslims or Sikhs, with the exception of out-of-school clubs (41%), but a larger proportion played with their friends (30%). These results are shown in table 8.1.1.2.b.

Table 8.1.1.2.b. Out of school and spare time activities

	Hindus %	Muslims %	Sikhs %
Member of school club or group	24	24	27
Member of out-of-school club or group	41	28	34
School sports club	31	34	38
Out-of-school sports club	22	20	26
Youth Club membership	3	8	8
Scout membership	0	2	2
Homework/study	9	3	12
Help parents	2	7	1
Play with friends	30	18	28
Read/write	18	24	16

Source: Livingstone (1977: 51-54)

In some areas the Hindu community has attempted to arrange activities for their young people. Knott (1986: 50) listed a number of such organisations and groups. In particular she referred to the *Hindu Swayam Sevak Sangh*, which is a youth club for boys which has branches in Britain and in India. She also mentioned the existence of a *garbha*, or mixed-sex dance group. In Leeds there was also a youth group for Indians providing weight-lifting, badminton and table-tennis. Hiro (1991: 156) noted the popularity of Hindi films and music among the adolescents, whilst many of them also appreciated Western

pop music. Warriar (1994: 208) noted the wide diversity of youth activities when describing the leisure interest of young Gujarati Prajapatis in London 'Thus while they may well follow the progress of their favourite pop groups and go to rock concerts at Wembley Arena with their friends, they are equally enthusiastic about dressing up and going to *garbha* dances during the *Navrati* festival or simply visiting the Bhajai House, a well-known snack bar on Ealing Road. Yet despite this eclecticism, the great majority of those whom younger people identify as 'close friends' turn out to be fellow Gujaratis - even if not of the same caste or sect'.

The adolescents' relations with their parents varied between the religious groups, although it appears that the Hindu adolescents thought that their parents were less restrictive than the Muslim and Sikh parents.

Islam

A smaller proportion of the Muslim adolescents in Walsall than any other group often hung around with their friends doing nothing (50%) and thought that the Youth Centre was boring (26%). Conversely a larger proportion of the adolescent Muslims in Walsall thought that there were lots of things for young people to do in the area (31%). These figures suggest that a larger proportion of the Muslim adolescents were purposeful in their attitude to leisure. Part of the reason for this may be that much of the social life of a typical Muslim is centred on the family and the mosque.

As part of research undertaken by Dickinson *et al* (1975), Kleinberg and Martin asked a group of Pakistani Primary School children how often they partook in various activities. The results are shown in table 8.1.1.2.c. These statistics show that much of these children's free time is spent in the mosque and playing games.

Table 8.1.1.2.c: Child survey sample: frequency of selected leisure activities

	Mosque %	Cinema %	Games %	Shopping %	Formal clubs %	Other clubs %
1 per week or less	22	85	67	90	82	93
2-4 per week	48	15	4	2	9	93
5+ per week	30	0	29	6	0	0
Non response	0	0	0	2	9	0
N	137	137	225	220	22	44

Source: Dickinson, Hobbs, Kleinburg and Martin (1975: 137)

Livingstone (table 8.1.1.2.b.) found that a larger proportion of the Muslim adolescents spend their spare time helping their parents (7%) than the adolescent Hindus (2%) or Sikhs (1%). Also in many areas across the country Muslim leaders, concerned at the way that some young Muslims have drifted away from Islam, have organised their own youth activities and even camps as an alternative to youth clubs. *The National Association of Young Muslims* has promoted the formation of youth clubs, the running of camps and student groups for Muslims. As early as 1969 a club was established for young Muslims in Bolton, called the Deane and Derby Recreational Club. In 1984 they were able to lease their own building (Newsletter, *The National Association of Young Muslims*, Issue 5, 1985). Attempts have been made to start Muslim scout groups and these have been opened in Saltley (Joly, 1995: 38) and Tower Hamlets (*Clarion*, 2, February 1988). In issue 6 of *Clarion* it was reported that Akitur Rahman had been given responsibility for organising the *National Association of Young Muslims'* activities in Walsall. Joly (1995: 180) discovered that eight out of ten of the young Muslims in her research played team sports and she cited football, cricket, hockey and *kabaddi* as the most popular sports. In *The Muslim News* (no 33, November 1991) there was a report of the third National Islamic Relief Youth Games which was held on 13th October at the National Exhibition Centre, Birmingham. It was reported that over 4000 people attended, of which about 1000 took part in the sporting activities. It raised funds to 'help the needy'. Joly (1995: 57) also noted the development of Islamic camps for young people.

Despite all these activities a larger proportion of the Walsall Muslims than the other religious groups wished they had more things to do in their leisure time (70% NS), thought that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (55%, the same proportion as the Sikhs) and that their parents did not agree with most of their leisure time activities (44%). Part of this may be due to the attitudes of their parents and the imams, some of whom condemn what other would consider to be commonplace leisure activities. For example, some imams have taught that Muslims should not play musical instruments (Sarwar, 1994: 14-17), although other leaders consider that it is permissible (Iqbal, 1981: 66). The Bradford Council of Mosques condemned *bhangra* music in schools in 1988 (Lewis, 1994b: 181) and there has been an ambivalent attitude towards music in Islam (Baily, 1990: 153-155). However, *bhangra* is as an important part of entertainment for some adolescent Asians, both in listening to the CDs and tapes as well as attending concerts (Banjeri and Bauman, 1990; 137-152).

Other imams have been against dancing (Jeffrey, 1976; 96 and Sarwar, 1994: 14). Between 1969 and 1972 Jeffrey studied 20 Punjabi Muslim households and 10 Pakistani Christian households in Bristol. She visited the households regularly over two years and conducted her research by informal conversations. Whilst Jeffrey did not deal specifically with adolescents, her research provides important background on South Asian family life in Britain. Jeffrey (1976: 93) did not find any of the people in her study ever went dancing. Hewitt (1993: 37-40) claimed that Muslims are not allowed to play musical instruments. These examples illustrate that there is a wide range of views expressed by the imams as to what is acceptable and what is not. Lewis (1996: 7) quoted one imam who ruled that it was sinful to visit the cinema and the theatre, whereas another felt it depended on the content of the programme, since sport, documentaries and educational programmes are allowable.

Wade and Souter (1992) administered a questionnaire to 50 fifteen to sixteen year olds girls. Apart from one Sikh and one Hindu, all of them were Muslim. The study focused on reading ability and habits and provided some useful data on the way that Asian girls

spend their leisure time. Twenty of the girls 'attended a single-sex school situated on a large council estate, to which girls travel by bus; twenty-two girls from co-educational inner city schools, and eight girls attending suburban schools'. The sample is rather small and so any conclusions should be treated with care. They questioned girls about the amount of television that they watched. 'Only six of the girls viewed for 10 or fewer hours in a week, with substantially more than half spending in excess of 30 hours a week viewing, an average of 4 hours a day. The average viewing per week for the whole group was 3.5 hours a day' (1992: 59).

In the *Commission for Racial Equality's* report (1978) the adolescents were asked if they would like more freedom than their parents gave them (table 8.1.1.2.d.). They found that a smaller proportion of the Muslim adolescents wanted more freedom than they were given, compared with the Hindus and Sikhs.

Table 8.1.1.2.d. I would like more freedom than my parents give

	All	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh
N =	1117	391	426	254
	%	%	%	%
Agree	35	33	31	40
Neither agree or disagree	7	7	6	10
Disagree	58	60	63	50

Source: Commission for Racial Equality (1978: 37)

Sikhism

Compared with the other three religious groups a smaller proportion of the Sikh adolescents in Walsall wished they had more things to do in their leisure time (64% NS) and compared with the other four groups a smaller proportion thought that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time (32%). Ballard (1972/3: 19-21) has commented on the strong sense of shared family life in the Sikh community in Leeds. This is in line with the findings of the *Commission for Racial Equality's* report (1978) that 50% of the Sikhs, 60% of the Hindus and 63% of the Muslims adolescents

disagreed with the statement 'I would like more freedom than my parents give' (*The Commission for Racial Equality*, 1978: 37). Drury (1988: 378) asked the 52% of the girls in her study who were unhappy with the way that they spent their free time why they felt this way. Fifty-seven percent answered that they were not allowed to go out on their own even during the day.

A larger proportion were frightened of going to the Youth Club (14% NS) than in any other group and 55% claimed that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible. This was the same proportion as the Muslim group, which was greater than any other group. This is a slightly surprising result since Livingstone (table 8.1.1.2.b.) had found that generally a greater proportion of the adolescents Sikhs joined clubs or groups than the Hindus and Muslims.

Like the Muslim community, the Sikh community focuses a great deal of social life around the gurdwara and has often organised social and sporting activities for young people. Kalra (1980: 63) noted that Sikh youth groups and clubs have opened in some areas. In 1971 a *bhangra* group from Walsall won a prize at the International Welsh Eisteddfod (N. Khan, 1976). Helweg (1979: 119) described the way in which the Sikhs in Gravesend tried to protect their children who were being over-influenced by British culture. He wrote, 'Older boys out of school are also encouraged to go in groups, and the Indian Youth Federation was formed to keep the young boys together and out of trouble. Community elders encouraged this organisation as a source of friends for their boys and as a purposeful channel for youthful energy. The gurdwara also sponsors the Gurdwara Sports Federation, which caters to youth, encouraging Punjabi boys to compete throughout England in *kabaddi* matches and other sporting events. The sports programme is a major item in the gurdwara budget'. Tatla noted the growth of *kabaddi*, and the way in which some teams have travelled overseas to play in international tournaments (1993b: 120-122). R. Singh (1992: 25) mentioned two organisations in Bradford, the Indian United Sports Club and the Guru Nanak Charitable Trust, which organise sporting activities.

One of the factors behind the large proportion who said that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible may be the way that many Sikh families treat their daughters. R. Singh (1992: 54) noted that, like Muslim parents, many Sikh parents do not like their daughters to be involved in mixed sex swimming or PE lessons, which means there are less sporting activities open to Sikh girls. Kalra (1980: 64) observed that many Sikhs encourage the girls to occupy themselves with activities at home and estimated that '90% of the Sikh girls spend 90% of their leisure time in cooking, knitting, sewing and watching television'. Only 'A very small minority of Asian girls go to youth clubs, discos, parties, theatre, and the cinema with their friends'.

Beatrice Drury began research on young Sikh women in Nottingham in the early 1980s, with a follow up study in the mid 1980s and wrote it up in a thesis *Ethnicity amongst Second Generation Sikh Girls: a case study in Nottingham* (1988). In 1991 she published an article in *New Community* (1991, 17 (3)) and later a chapter in Ranger, Samad and Stuart (1996: 99-111): 'The sample consisted of 102, sixteen to twenty year old girls of Sikh origin who were either born in the United Kingdom or had arrived in this country when five years of age or under. A combination of methodologies - interview questionnaires, group discussions and some participant observation were used' (1996: 111). Drury found that a majority of the girls in her study 'expressed strong feelings about their relative lack of 'freedom' vis-à-vis Sikh males. It was felt by this majority that although young men were expected to marry in the arranged way, they were nevertheless allowed to 'go out, even with girlfriends and have a good time' - something which was denied to young women like themselves' (1991: 396). She also found 'that although there was a substantial minority who did go out with their friends - even to discos and parties - most of my respondents either stayed at home: watching television and videos, listening to music, doing their homework if they were still studying, helping to entertain family friends, looking after younger siblings and generally helping out or, they were to be found with their parents at social activities within the Sikh community' (1991:

397). In a later article (1996: 103) she wrote: 'In contrast to these girls, thirty per cent of my respondents faced far fewer restrictions, insofar as they went out in the evenings with their friends and were, in general, not restricted to social activities within the community. For instance, they went to discos, parties and pubs. Most of those who went to discos and parties did so with parental knowledge whilst going to pubs was far more problematic, since the majority of those who went there did so either covertly or in open defiance of parental wishes'. Drury (1991: 390) also gave statistics for those who did not go to discos/parties (70%) [this needs checking], listened to Hindi songs (87%) and watched videos of Indian films (95%). *The Commission for Racial Equality's* report (1978) found that there was a larger proportion of Sikh adolescents who wanted to have more freedom than their parents gave them than Muslim or Hindu adolescents (table 8.1.1.2.c.)

8.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture

The responses of the adolescents when there were divided into Christian/non-affiliates and Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group are shown in table 8.1.1.3.a.

Statistically significant differences of at least $p < .001$ were found in response to all the statements, except 'I wish I had more things to do in my leisure time' and 'I am frightened of going to a Youth Centre'.

In the early years of migration little information was reported about social facilities for the Asian community in Walsall, although this has changed gradually over the years (ES, 11.8.67; WO, 27.3.75; WO, 20.9.83; Adnews, 28.7.88; EM, 20.9.90). There were also few reports of social, sporting and cultural activities, but these too have been reported more frequently as time has gone on (ES, 9.7.70; WO, 1.12.89; WO, 5.1.90; WO, 26.1.90; WO, 5.7.90; WO, 2.8.90; WO, 2.8.90; WO, 16.8.90; WO, 15.1.93; WO, 5.2.93; WO, 24.9.93).

Table 8.1.1.3.a. Leisure: the influence of Asian religion

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I often hang about with my friends doing nothing in particular	69	55	38	.001
In my area there are lots of things for young people to do in their leisure time	18	26	21	.001
I wish I had more things to do in my leisure time	63	68	3	NS
I am frightened of going to a Youth Centre	12	12	<1	NS
My Youth Centre is boring	47	29	57	.001
My parents prefer me to stay in as much as possible	23	54	215	.001
My parents allow me to do what I like in my leisure time	49	35	34	.001
My parents do not agree with most of the things that I do in my leisure time	33	42	15	.001

A smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents in Walsall often hung around with friends doing nothing in particular (55% compared with 69%). A greater proportion thought that there was a lot of thing for young people to do in the area (26% compared with 18%).

Taylor, Evans and Fraser undertook research in Manchester and Sheffield. It began with an exploratory study in 1990 with four focus groups, followed by 28 one-and-a-half hour discussions with 178 people aged 16 and over in 1992-3. They also spoke to groups of people who they considered would be under-represented in public spaces. They also spoke to 89 teenagers aged 13-15 in schools (1996: 91). They found that a smaller proportion of adolescent Asians went to 'town' on a weekly basis and that they were far more likely to identify strongly with their local area (1996: 213).

A greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents wished that there were more things to do in their leisure time (68% compared with 63% NS). Similar proportions of both groups were frightened of going to a Youth Centre (12% NS). A much smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers thought that their Youth Centre was boring (29% compared with 47%). These statistics should be seen in the light of the 1993 report which was critical of provision of youth work for ethnic minorities in the town (WO, 1.10.93).

Cross (1976/77: 489-494) published an article in *New Community*, which described and discussed the results of four surveys undertaken on behalf of the Community Relations Commission, examining the participation of New Commonwealth young people in youth clubs and activities. One of the surveys looked at immigrants aged between 16 and 20 in eight areas throughout England. It found that 33% had been associated with clubs in the past and 11% were still attending some kind of youth club. Asians from Pakistan, India and East Africa were less likely to have been involved in a youth club than West Indians or Cypriots. Asian adolescents born here were just as likely to have been to a youth club as those who were immigrants. Of those who had not attended a youth club, one in three did not go because they thought there was no youth club in the area. The rest said that they were not interested in attending. Of the 11% attending youth clubs, they mainly went to sports clubs organised by schools or Local Education Authorities. The rest were organised by churches or religious organisations. Of the total sample 65% liked the clubs for the sport, the others liked them for the opportunity they gave to meet friends. Girls were slightly more in favour of a club where people were sociable and friendly. Five per cent said they would like a club specifically for their ethnic group. Asian groups were consistent in being less likely to want discos and dancing, whereas West Indian adolescents who were born in the country were more likely to want them.

Another of the CRC surveys described by Cross which looked at the views of Asian adolescents throughout England supported the findings of the first survey. It also found that most adolescents wanted to go to multiracial clubs. It also revealed that generally

Asian parents discourage their children from attending youth clubs since they fear that they might be tempted to smoke, drink and other undesirable activities. Hasnie (1977: 35) also reported that out of the 2310 members of youth clubs in Huddersfield, only 71 were Asian.

Livingstone (1977: 38-39) discovered that only 25% of the Asian boys attended clubs or groups in their school. Of these the most popular were sports clubs (35%) and outdoor activities (13%). Just under one-third (31%) of the boys belonged to clubs outside school. The most popular were sports clubs (21%) and youth clubs (7%). Only 4% went to exclusively Asian clubs. The boys were asked about their leisure activities and the response can be seen in table 8.1.1.3.b., showing that the most popular activity was playing sport.

Table 8.1.1.3.b. What do you like to do when you are not at school?

	%	N
Play sport	49	205
Watch television	20	83
Homework/study	9	36
Play with friends	24	102
Help parents	3	14
Go out	11	48
Read/write	18	74
Hobbies	18	75
Miscellaneous	2	10

Source: Livingstone (1977: 40)

Verma and Darby (1994) researched ethnic minority participation in sporting and physical activity. They used a questionnaire and also interviewed one in ten of those who completed the interview. The sample was aged 16-30 and comprised 100 males and 100 females for each ethnic group studied. The ethnic groups were Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Indians (divided into Hindus and Punjabi Sikhs), East African Asians, Chinese and Afro-Caribbeans. The questionnaire sought information about the ethnic origin, religious affiliation and friendship patterns of those involved in the study. The second section

asked questions about which sporting activities and recreational activities they participated in or why they ceased. They also asked about the facilities which they used. The third section elicited data on fitness and perception of sport and fitness in the media. In another section questions were asked about involvement in a range of activities, where they took place and influences upon them. Finally, the respondents were asked which sporting or leisure activities they might like to join in with. They found a wide range of leisure activities, which are shown in tables 8.1.1.3.c. and 8.1.1.3.d.

Table 8.1.1.3.c: Leisure activities by ethnic origin and by gender: males

Ownership of place	Bangladeshi %	E. African Asian %	Indian %	Pakistani %	White British %
Local Authority	34	27	35	23	46
Sports club	8	39	19	18	10
Own community	28	15	7	2	<1
Religious group	1	-	3	1	1
Education	6	-	7	19	7
Private company	6	3	16	18	20
Youth club	3	6	2	7	<1
Other organisation and home	8	3	9	9	9
Don't know	6	-	4	4	6

Source: Verma and Darby (1994: 133)

Table 8.1.1.3.d: Leisure activities by ethnic origin and by gender: females

Ownership of place	Bangladeshi %	E. African Asian %	Indian %	Pakistani %	White British %
Local authority	23	33	18	28	47
Sports club	14	8	17	13	7
Own community	5	-	2	5	1
Religious group	-	-	-	-	1
Education	32	13	12	18	10
Private company	2	4	2	6	5
Youth club	-	4	1	2	3
Other organisation and home	21	33	28	24	17
Don't know	5	4	20	4	9

Source: Verma and Darby (1994: 134)

They went on to look at the influence that religion had on whether people participated in sport or physical activity. They concluded 'For males it did not seem to matter what religion they adhered to, and how important their beliefs were for them as far as general participation in sport was concerned. The pattern for Hindus and Muslims was very similar, and although Christian and Sikh patterns were a mirror image of each other there was no suggestion of a significant interaction. It is interesting to note that when religion was of no importance in day-to-day life - even when professed - the mean participation scores of the four groups were virtually identical.

The responses given by women, however, provided a different pattern. There was a significant statistical difference between the Christians and Muslims ($p < .01$) and between Christians and Hindus ($p < .05$) overall. This was noted earlier as the cause of the difference between religious groups when the sexes were combined. But of greater interest was the significant interaction indicated in Hindus and Muslims. For women, it did not appear that the level of importance they gave to their belief in Christianity had any effect on overall participation, but for Muslims, and also for Hindus although they were a much smaller group, it seemed that participation tended to rise as the importance of religion decreased' (Verma and Darby, 1994: 131). Verma and Darby also asked about the respondents' desire to participate in activities. The results are shown in table 8.1.1.3.e. and show that the situation is far more complex than a simple South Asian British/White divide.

Table 8.1.1.3.e: Respondents wishing to take part in activities in local authority facilities but who felt unable to do so by ethnic origin and by gender.

	Bangl- adeshi	African	Carib- bean	Chin- ese	East African Asian	Indian	Pakis- tani	White British	Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Males	16	24	14	9	6	16	4	6	12
Female	18	24	26	9	50	16	19	26	21

Source: Verma and Darby (1994: 137) n.b. the sample was relatively small and should be treated with caution (N = 52 (males) and 99 (females)).

The responses to the final three statements shows the greater parental influence in the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh families. More than twice the percentage of Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents thought that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (54% compared with 23%), 35% compared with 49% said that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time and 42% compared with 33% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers thought that their parents did not agree with most of the things that they did in their leisure time.

Field and Haiken (1971: 94) wrote 'In short, immigrant parents often expect their children's leisure to be disciplined and purposeful, if possible directed towards further education and particularly in the case of Asians, separate from the opposite sex. It is important to appreciate this when trying to understand the reluctance of parents to let their children join local youth clubs'. Hasnie (1977) reported that the Asians in Huddersfield were asked if they would let a teenage daughter go to the places where white girls go. The results are in table 8.1.1.3.f.

Table 8.1.1.3.f. If you had a daughter would you let her go to the places where white girls go?

	Yes %	No %
Men	2	88
Women	2	78
Boys	16	66
Girls	no figure given	60

Source: Hasnie (1977: 27)

Brah (1978a: 204) found that most of the 15-16 year old Asians in her study in Southall were free 'to visit friends of their same sex, go shopping, go to the cinema with the family, attend school functions and, in a minority of cases, attend privately-arranged discos. The girls, however, were restricted from roaming in the streets without reason

and from going out in the evenings unless they were planning to attend a school function'.

Saeed and Galbraith found that half (mainly the older adolescents) of their sample of 100 Asian adolescents 'reported that they like to be able to come in and go out of their houses during the day or late at night, the majority accepted the restrictions place on their movements by their parents as being for their 'own good' '(Saeed and Galbraith, 1981/2: 449-450).

The Arts Council of Great Britain research, undertaken by the Harris Research Centre (1993) examined Black and Asian attitudes to the Arts in Birmingham. The sample comprised a group of Asian females, a group of Asian males and a mixed gender group of African/Caribbeans, aged between 21-35. One of their conclusions was 'The main difference observed between the two ethnic groups in terms of these activities, was the fact that Asians tended to socialise more in large family groups, and seemed to participated in more locally organised activities usually of a religious nature. The social activities of the African/Caribbean respondents appeared to be far more loosely structured. They tended to socialise in friendship groups, away from the immediate family or community environment (Harris Research Centre, 1993: 9). They also found that there was a 'thriving market in cultural specific home videos amongst the Asian Community' (1993: 9).

8.1.2.0 School

8.1.2.1. An overview

Education is a major concern for many of the South Asian British community, which is why, after many years of debate, it has now agreed that they should have the right to have their own schools (Iqbal, 1975; Kanitkar, 1979; Nagra, 1981/2; McLean, 1985; Joly, 1988; Halstead, 1986 and 1988; Hiskett, 1989; Sarwar, 1989 and 1994). However, the vast majority of South Asian British adolescents are still being educated in state schools and their views are important if we are to understand some of the issues that particularly concern them.

Eight statements concerning school and teachers were put to the teenagers in Walsall. Three statements looked at their worries (school work, exams and bullying), four were concerned with their attitudes to their school ('I am happy in my school', 'I like the people I go to school with', 'school is boring, and 'my school is helping to prepare me for life'). The other statement sought their views on teachers. Their responses can be seen in table 8.1.2.1.a.

Table 8.1.2.1.a: School: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I am happy in my school	72	15	13
I like the people I go to school with	90	6	4
I often worry about my school work	64	13	23
School is boring	42	20	38
I am worried about my exams at school	73	12	15
I am worried about being bullied at school	32	19	49
Teachers do a good job	47	27	27
My school is helping to prepare me for life	67	19	14

More than two thirds were happy in their school (72%, with 15% being uncertain and 13% disagreeing) and the vast majority liked the people they went to school with (90% agreed, 6% were uncertain and only 4% disagreed). Despite this nearly two-thirds (64%) were worried about their school work, although 13% were not certain and 23% claimed they

were not worried about it. Just over two-fifths (42%) agreed with the statement 'school is boring' . However, one fifth were not certain about this and 38% actually disagreed that it is boring. A large proportion of the teenagers were worried about their exams (73% agreed, 12% were not certain and 15% disagreed) and being bullied (32% agreed, 19% were not certain and 49% disagreed. Nearly half (47%) thought that teachers do a good job (27% were not certain and 27% disagreed). Just over two-thirds thought that their school was preparing them for life (67% agreed, 19% were not certain and 14% disagreed).

In *Teenage Religion and Values* (1995) Francis and Kay asked the same eight questions and the results are shown in table 8.1.2.1.b.

Table 8.1.2.1.b. School: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I am happy in my school	71	18	11
I like the people I go to school with	90	7	3
I often worry about my school work	62	17	21
School is boring	35	23	42
I am worried about my exams at school	73	14	13
I am worried about being bullied at school	25	23	52
Teachers do a good job	42	31	27
My school is helping to prepare me for life	67	21	12

Source: Francis and Kay (1995:32)

In each case the adolescents in Walsall were more definite in their views than those in the national survey of Francis and Kay, that is in the responses to each of the statements the percentage of those who indicated that they were 'not certain' was lower. The responses of the Walsall adolescents was fairly similar to that of the teenagers in the Francis and Kay's study. A marginally higher proportion of the Walsall group were happy in their school (72% compared with 71% agreed and 13% compared with 11% disagreed). Hargreaves (1967) studied 103 fourth form boys in Lumley Secondary Modern school using questionnaires and interviews. His findings are broadly in line with

the results of this research, since he found that 74% of the pupils liked school and 26% did not (1967: 52).

Fogelman (1976) questioned the pupils in his study concerning their attitudes to school. their responses can be seen in table 8.1.2.1.c. He found that 55% of the pupils disagreed with the statement 'I don't like school' and 30% agreed.

Table 8.1.2.1.c. Children's attitude to school

	Very true %	Partly or usually true %	Cannot say %	Partly or usually untrue %	Not true at all %
I feel school is largely a waste of time	3	8	10	20	59
I am quiet in the classroom and get on with my work	8	53	11	22	7
I think homework is a bore	30	24	16	19	11
I find it difficult to keep my mind on my work	12	24	10	32	22
I never take work seriously	4	11	9	26	50
I don't like school	16	14	14	20	35
I think there is no point in planning for the future; you should take things as they come	10	8	8	15	59
I am always willing to help the teacher	19	40	18	15	7

Source: Fogelman (1976:51)

The Young People's Leisure and Lifestyle Project interviewed 9 916 Scottish adolescents in 1987 and asked whether they liked school, which is slightly different that the question

Table 8.1.2.1.d. On the whole I like being at school

	13-14 %	15-16 %
Males	69	59
Females	82	69

Source: Hendry, Shucksmith, Love and Glendinning (1993: 79)

in this research. The responses are shown in table 8.1.2.1.d. and shows a slightly smaller proportion liked their school than those in Walsall and in the Hargreave's study who were happy at their school.

Returning to table 8.1.2.1.a., the same proportion in both the Francis and Kay cohort and the Walsall group liked the people they went to school with (90%), with 4% and 3% respectively disagreeing. A slightly higher proportion of the Walsall teenagers often worried about their school work (64% compared with 62%) but 23% compared with 21% did not. School was perceived as more boring in Walsall since 42% compared with 35% of the teenagers agreed with the statement, while 38% compared with 42% disagreed. Fogelman found that 54% of the pupils in his study thought that homework was boring (table 8.1.2.1.c.). Furnham and Gunter's research discovered that in response to the statement 'I get bored and fed up with school and do not really enjoy anything connected with it', 39% agreed, 34% disagreed and 27% were not certain (1989: 168), which is a similar proportion to the Walsall and the Francis and Kay teenagers.

The same proportion of teenagers in both the Walsall group and the Francis and Kay group were worried about their school exams (73%), although a larger proportion of the Walsall adolescents indicated they were not worried about them (15% and 13% respectively).

Bullying was clearly seen as a larger threat in Walsall since 32% of the adolescents compared with 25% agreed and 49% compared with 52% disagreed. The teachers' performance rated higher in Walsall where 47% thought that 'teachers do a good job' (compared with 42%). In both groups 27% disagreed with the statement. Furnham and Gunter asked a more general question about teachers teaching ability and found that in response to the statement 'Teachers are good at getting their ideas across in the classroom', 34% agree, 32% disagree and 34% were uncertain (1989: 168).

Just over two-third (67%) in both groups felt that their school was helping to prepare them for life, although a higher proportion of the Walsall teenagers disagreed (14% compared with 12%). The *Youth Cohort Study* produced by the Department for Education and Employment asked 16 year olds about their attitude to school. The responses are shown in table 8.1.2.1.e.

Table 8.1.2.1.e. Attitudes to school: 16 year olds: 1985-1994

	1985 %	1986 %	1987 %	1989 %	1991 %	1992 %	1994 %
Percentage of 16 year olds who agreed:							
School helped give confidence to make decisions	49	51	52	59	62	64	65
School has taught me things which would be useful in a job	52	54	52	60	60	60	61
School has done little to prepare me for life when I leave school	56	52	50	44	43	44	42
School has been a waste of time	11	11	10	8	8	8	8

Source: The Department for Education and Employment (1996: 22)

This study found that in 1994 42% of the pupils thought that their school had done little to prepared them for life (which is a larger proportion than in Walsall), although the proportion of pupils who felt this had been declining annually. They also found that 8% of the teenagers thought school had been a waste of time.

8.1.2.2. The influence of religion

The four religious groups were compared with the non-affiliates and their responses are shown in table 8.1.2.2.a. The chi square test showed that there were significant statistical differences in all of the areas of at least $p < .001$ except for 'I like the people I go to school with' where there were no significant statistical differences

Table 8.1.2.2.a. School: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I am happy in my school	76	86	81	70	68	41	.001
I like the people I go to school with	91	94	88	89	90	3	NS
I often worry about my school work	69	81	69	74	59	54	.001
School is boring	38	22	27	35	49	81	.001
I am worried about my exams at school	77	90	86	87	66	101	.001
I am worried about being bullied at school	34	36	40	37	28	29	.001
Teachers do a good job	56	51	60	46	39	99	.001
My school is helping to prepare me for life	72	71	70	74	62	40	.001

Non-affiliates

When comparing the non-affiliates with those who claimed a religious affiliation a number of differences emerge. A smaller proportion of the non-affiliates were happy in their school, were worried about their school work, school exams, and being bullied at school. A smaller proportion thought that teachers do a good job and that their school was helping them to prepare for life. A larger proportion of the non-affiliates thought that school was boring (49%) than those from the four religious groups.

Christianity

Of the four religious groups it was the Christian adolescents who had the smallest proportion who worried about their school work (69%), their exams (77%) and being bullied (34%). Compared with the other three religious group a higher proportion of them thought that school was boring (38%). The Christian adolescents appear to be more relaxed or complacent than the teenagers in the other religious groups

Hinduism

A greater proportion of the Hindu adolescents in Walsall than any other group were happy at school (86%), liked the people they went to school with (94% NS), were worried

about their school work (81%) and their exams (90%). They were the group with the smallest proportion who found school boring (22%). They appear to be the group which is most satisfied and serious about their schooling.

Islam

A smaller proportion of the Muslims liked the people they went to school with than any other group (88%), although these differences were statistically not significant.

Islam has developed a view of education which concerns the development of the whole person (Nasr, 1987: 147-163). In practice many Muslim parents place a great stress on education for their children (Saifullah-Khan, 1974: 296-298; Butterworth, 1969: 149; Shaikh and Kelly, 1989: 17-118; Joly, 1995: 119-125). In her study of the Kashmiri community in Saltley Joly found that all the families wanted their sons to stay at school after they were sixteen (Joly, 1995: 120). These high expectations may be why a smaller proportion of the Muslims (70%) than any of the other religious groups thought that their school is helping them to prepare for life. Add to this the fact that a higher proportion of them were worried about being bullied at school (40%) than any other group, and we may have some of the reasons why in parts of the Muslim community there has been such a strong desire to establish Muslim schools. Modood et al (1997: 325) described some research on Muslim parents' preference for Muslim schools. Traditionally, those from the Indian sub-continent have had a great respect for teachers (Joly, 1995: 122). Many of the Muslim adolescents attended Islamic classes after school each day where they would have experienced very different teaching styles. Indeed during the late 1980s concern was expressed that children were routinely being beaten at one of the mosques in Walsall (WA: 8.1.87; EM, 6.1.87; WO: 16.1.87). A greater proportion of the Muslims (60%) than any other group thought that 'teachers do a good job'.

Sikhism

Generally Sikh parents have high expectations of the educational system and high aspirations for their children (Ballard, 1989: 216).

Bhachu began her research of the East African Sikh community in Southall, which she later expanded by studying 36 Sikh families in the West Midlands (1991b: 78). She used a variety of methods based on participative observation and informal interviews. Bhachu (1985b: 5-7) noted that Punjabi parents had high expectations for their children, as a way of enhancing the reputation and power of the family. She developed this in the book by giving five case studies. 'In conclusion, although there are families who are not educationally inclined...Punjabi society in general is highly status conscious and respectful of educational achievement which is greatly encouraged amongst its young. To fail in the educational system is tantamount to failing as a social being within the Punjabi world' (1985b: 22)

Like the Muslims, the Sikhs have a very high expectation of schools. However compared with the other three religious group they have the smallest proportion who are happy at their school (70%) and the smallest proportion who thought that teachers do a good job (46%). Despite this more Sikhs claimed that their school was helping them prepare for life (74%) than any other group.

8.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture

Table 8.1.2.3.a. School: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N. A. %	Hindus Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I am happy in my school	71	77	9	.01
I like the people I go to school with	90	89	<1	NS
I often worry about my school work	63	72	18	.001
School is boring	45	29	43	.001
I am worried about my exams at school	71	87	61	.001
I am worried about being bullied at school	30	38	13	.001
Teachers do a good job	45	53	11	.001
My school is helping to prepare me for life	66	71	6	.05

The Christians and non-affiliates were compared with the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents in table 8.1.2.3.a., above. The chi square test shows that there were significant statistical differences in all of the results except in response to the statement 'I like the people I go to school with'.

Schools in Walsall, as elsewhere, have had to make changes to adapt to the South Asian British pupils (WO: 12.1.90). A larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents were happy in their school (77%) than the Christian/non-affiliates (71%). Generally more of them worried about their school work (72% compared with 63%), exams (87% compared with 71%) and being bullied (38% compared with 30%). A smaller proportion thought that school was boring (29% compared with 45%). A larger proportion thought that teachers do a good job (53% compared with 45%) and that school is helping them to prepare for life (71% compared with 66%). Brooks and Singh's study of school leavers in Walsall and Leicester discovered that the Asian youths were more likely to stay in full time education after the minimum leaving age than the white teenagers (Brooks and Singh, n.d.: 16), indicating the high value they placed on education. Drew, Gray and Sime (1992) asked the participants in their study questions about school and the results are shown in table 8.1.2.3.b.

Table 8.1.2.3.b. Attitudes to school by ethnic origin (agreeing with statement)

	Afro-Caribbean %	Asian %	White %	None of these %
School has helped to give me confidence to make decisions	52	67	53	51
School has been a waste of time	10	8	11	15
School has done little to prepare me for life when I leave school	54	45	54	53
School has taught me things which would be useful in a job	58	64	55	56
N =	483	910	26082	985

Source: Drew, Gray and Sime (1992: 10)

In each case they found that the Asians were more positive about their schooling than the Afro-Caribbeans, the white and others. Field (1984:25) and Brah (1979: 297, 369) produced similar findings. Dove (1975) used a questionnaire with 545 adolescents who were aged 15 and 16 years old in three London comprehensive schools in 1972. Black teenagers made up 20% of the sample, 11% were Asian, 55% were white and 15% were Cypriots. She asked them about their attitude to school and their responses are shown in table 8.1.2.3.c.

Table 8.1.2.3.c. Attitude to school

	like school %	neutral %	dislike school %
Cypriots	54	40	7
Asians	66	34	2
West Indians	46	50	3
Whites	44	45	12
All groups	48	44	8

Source: Dove (1975: 63)
N = 545

Dove discovered that higher proportion of Asians liked school than any other ethnic group in her study. She also found that the Asians had the highest proportion who considered that they had a favourable relationship with their teachers and the highest proportion who wanted to stay on at school until they had passed their A level examinations (1975: 63). The Department of Education and Science produced a report *Young People in the '80's: a survey* (1983) which surveyed 635 adolescents, aged 14-19 years. This comprised 442 'Caucasians' (70%), 97 West Indians (15%) and 96 Asians (15%). 51% were male and 49% female. The report found that 'Asians like school even more than West Indians, who in turn, like it more than whites'. My research backs up these conclusions. However, as I have shown above the situation is more complex when the religious groups are examined separately. For example, a higher proportion of the Hindus (86%) and Muslims (81%) were happy in their school than any other groups.

although a lower proportion of Sikhs (70%) expressed happiness than the Christian group (76%).

Gupta (1977) studied a group of 92 Asian and white school leavers' educational and vocational aspirations in two comprehensive schools in London in the academic year 1973-4. The two groups were matched as nearly as possible, although the average age of the Asians was 16.1 and that of the whites 15.72. Using a questionnaire, Gupta asked questions in three main areas. First, he asked about educational plans and aspirations. Secondly, he examined the sorts of jobs they hoped to get when they finished their education. Finally, he compared the occupations of the parents with the hoped-for jobs of the pupils. This research provides data on the adolescents' views of school and work. He asked the pupils at what age they hoped to leave school and their responses are shown in table 8.1.2.3.d.

Table 8.1.2.3.d. The wishes for school-leaving ages of Asian and white groups

	N=	Asian		White	
		Boys 27 %	Girls 15 %	Boys 27 %	Girls 23 %
Before 16		4	0	15	21
At 16		11	7	48	43
After 16		85	93	37	36

Source: Gupta (1977: 189)
N = 92

He found that the differences between the Asian and the white adolescents were statistically significant ($p < .01$). He also asked them about their intentions and wishes for higher education after leaving school. The results are seen in table 8.1.2.3.e.

Table 8.1.2.3.e. Future educational intentions and wishes

	N=	Asians		Whites	
		Boys 27 %	Girls 15 %	Boys 27 %	Girls 23 %
Continuity of education after leaving school		48	86	22	13
Those who wished for higher education		52	87	26	13

Source: Gupta (1977: 190)
N = 92

Again the differences were found to be statistically significant. Gupta (1977: 191) pointed out that these results were in line with those of Beetham (1966) and Taylor (1973a and 1973b). Penn and Scattergood compared the vocational and educational aspirations of 375 fifth-formers in Rochdale. They found that a higher proportion of the Asian adolescents (81%) expected to continue their education after the end of compulsory schooling as compared with 63% of the non-Asian adolescents (1992: 84). Drew, Gray and Sime found that that adolescent Asians had higher levels of academic success at both 'higher grade' and A levels than their black or white contemporaries (1992: 25-26) and greater proportions stayed on to study full time (1992: 30). The relatively higher levels of academic aspiration were also found by Hilton (1972: 80), Fowler, Littlewood and Madigan (1977: 69-70), *The Swann Report* (1985: 113), Jones (1993: 34-35), Drew (1995: 92) and Department for Education and Employment (1997: 18 and 1998: 14; 1999a: 16; 1999b: 13). Summarising the PSI research, Jones (1993: 154) wrote 'Both Pakistani and Bangladeshi young people are more likely than whites to stay in full-time education after age 16. However, in terms of overall educational attainment they still lag far behind. The Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are by some way the least likely groups to hold formal qualifications. This is especially true for women of whom high proportions have never received any formal education at all'.

Some of the conclusions of my research supports the assertions made above. For example, compared with the Christians/non-affiliates, a higher proportion of the Asian

adolescents in Walsall were worried about their school work and exams and a smaller proportion thought that school was boring, demonstrating that they were more concerned to be successful academically.

8.1.3.0 My Area

8.1.3.1. An overview

Ten statements were put to the adolescents concerning the locality in which they were living. The first three statements were positive ('I like living in my area', 'I like my area as a shopping centre' and 'My area cares about its young people'). Following this six problems were put to them which might be experienced in the locality (vandalism, crime, violence, unemployment, drug taking and drunks). The final statement was 'Walsall is a boring place'. The results can be seen in table 8.1.3.1.a.

Table 8.1.3.1.a. My area: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I like living in my area	71	12	17
I like my area as a shopping centre	53	23	25
My area cares about its young people	19	34	47
Vandalism is a growing problem in my area	55	22	23
Crime is a growing problem in my area	53	24	23
Violence is a growing problem in my area	44	26	29
Unemployment is a growing problem in my area	35	46	20
Drug taking is a growing problem in my area	35	36	29
Drunks are a growing problem in my area	31	34	35
Walsall is a boring place	38	21	42

Over two-thirds of the adolescents liked living in their area (71%), 12% were not certain and 17% did not. More than half like the area for its shopping (53%), 23% were not certain but a quarter did not. Only 19% thought that the area cared about its young people, just over one third were not certain (34%), whilst 47% thought that it did not. More than half of the teenagers agreed that vandalism (55%) and crime (53%) were growing problems (although 22% and 24% respectively were not certain and 23% of both groups disagreed). Violence was seen as a growing problem by 44% of the adolescents (26% were not certain and 29% disagreed).

The same proportion (35%) thought that unemployment and drug taking were increasingly problematic, although there was a high level of uncertainty expressed by the teenagers (46% and 36% respectively, with 20% and 29% respectively disagreeing). The area which was considered problematic by the smallest proportion was drunks when 31% agreed, 34% were not certain and 35% disagreed. Over a third thought that Walsall was a boring place (38%), but 21% were not certain and 42% disagreed. In summary, the Walsall adolescents generally liked the area but did not feel this was reciprocated. They were especially concerned about vandalism and crime.

Francis and Kay used the same statements, excluding 'Walsall is a boring place'. The results are shown in table 8.1.3.1.b.

Table 8.1.3.1.b. My area: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I like living in my area	76	11	13
I like my area as a shopping centre	47	22	31
My area cares about its young people	21	43	36
Vandalism is a growing problem in my area	41	31	28
Crime is a growing problem in my area	36	35	29
Violence is a growing problem in my area	26	35	39
Unemployment is a growing problem in my area	31	47	22
Drug taking is a growing problem in my area	23	38	39
Drunks are a growing problem in my area	22	40	38

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 56)

A smaller proportion of the teenagers in Walsall liked living in their area than the adolescents in the Francis and Kay study (71% compared with 76% agreed, 12% compared with 11% were not certain and 17% compared with 13% disagreed). In contrast a larger proportion liked the area for its shopping (53% agreed compared with 47%, 23% compared with 22% were not certain and 25% disagreed compared with 31%). Two percent less of the Walsall teenagers felt that their areas cared for its young people (19% compared with 21% agree, 34% compared with 43% were not certain and 47% compared with 36% disagreed). A larger proportion agreed that vandalism was a growing

problem (55% compared with 41%, 22% compared with 31% were not certain and 23% compared with 28% disagreed). There was an even larger difference between the Walsall and the Francis and Kay group concerning the problem of crime, where 53% of the Walsall teenagers expressed concern about the problem, compared with 36% (24% compared with 35% were not certain and 23% compared with 29% disagree). Violence was also a cause of concern to more of the Walsall teenagers than those in the Francis and Kay study (44% compared with 26% agreed, 26% compared with 35% were not certain and 29% compared with 39% disagreed). The 1985 Gallup Survey asked teenagers a number of questions about serious social problems (table 8.1.3.1.c.) and discovered that 76% of them were concerned about crimes of violence in Britain. This is a higher proportion than the Walsall adolescents, although it was not specifically about the area in which they lived.

Table 8.1.3.1.c. Do you regard any of these as raising very serious social problems in Britain today?

	16-19 year olds %
Unemployment	89
Crimes of violence	76
Soft-drug-taking	60
Drunkenness	42

Source: Heald and Wybrow (1986: 265)

A larger proportion of the Walsall teenagers agreed that unemployment is a growing problem (35% compared with 31%, 46% compared with 47% were not certain and 20% compared with 22% disagreed). The Gallup poll again found a much higher proportion of their sample were concerned about unemployment: 89% thought it was a very serious problem (table 8.1.3.1.c.). Drug taking was a concern for a larger proportion of the adolescents in Walsall (35% compared with the Francis and Kay sample where 23% agreed, 36% compared with 38% were not certain and 29% compared with 39% disagreed). Sixty percent of the adolescents in the Gallup poll thought that taking soft drugs was a serious problem.

In response to the statement 'Drunks are a growing problem in my area', 31% of the Walsall adolescents agreed compared with 22% of the Francis and Kay group, 34% compared with 40% were not certain and 35% compared with 38% disagreed. The Gallup poll showed that 42% of the young people in their study thought that drunkenness was a problem (table 8.1.3.1..c.).

In summary the Walsall teenagers were less keen on their area and felt less cared for than those in the Francis and Kay study. When we turn to the six subjects which were described as 'growing problems' in the area we find that in each case the adolescents were more certain in their views (that is, a smaller percentage were not certain) than those in the Francis and Kay cohort. We can also see that in each case a larger proportion of the Walsall adolescents expressed concern about the problems than those in the Francis and Kay study. The only feature that received a greater proportion of approval were the shopping facilities in Walsall.

8.1.3.2. The influence of religion

The sample was then divided into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates and the results are shown in table 8.1.3.2.a. There were significant statistical differences in responses to five of the statements of at least $p < .01$, but no significant statistical difference in response to the other five statements. In making comparisons of the basis of the responses it is important to recall that Walsall is divided into the western part of the borough which is urban and where most of the South Asian British live and the eastern part which is suburban and almost exclusively white (see table 2.3.4.0.a. and map 2.3.4.0.a.). It is possible to live and go to school in one part of the borough and not venture into the other part with any frequency. Therefore it should be noted that, although the adolescents have responded to the statements about 'My Area', they may be thinking about quite different and separate parts of the borough, which may account for some of the differences in their responses.

Table 8.1.3.2.a. My area: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I like living in my area	71	64	77	70	70	6	NS
I like my area as a shopping centre	53	56	57	44	53	8	NS
My area cares about its young people	18	21	41	26	16	97	.001
Vandalism is a growing problem in my area	59	47	45	39	56	42	.001
Crime is a growing problem in my area	55	46	49	40	55	21	.001
Violence is a growing problem in my area	47	36	46	34	44	13	.01
Unemployment is a growing problem in my area	37	35	41	31	32	14	.01
Drug taking is a growing problem in my area	35	28	38	28	36	8	NS
Drunks are a growing problem in my area	28	28	37	29	31	9	NS
Walsall is a boring place	38	38	38	47	36	9	NS

Non-affiliates

Compared with the four religious groups, the non-affiliates had the lowest proportion who thought that the area cared about is young people.

Christianity

Compared with the other three religious groups, a smaller proportion of the Christian adolescents thought that the area cared about its young people (18%). A larger proportion of them compared with the other groups considered that vandalism (59%), crime (55%, the same as the non-affiliates) and violence (47%) were growing problems in the area. These statistics reveal that a higher proportion of the Christians viewed their locality more negatively than those in the other three religious groups.

Hinduism

There are no distinctive features of the Hindu adolescents in their attitudes to Walsall. The research undertaken by Anwar on behalf of the Commission for Racial Equality,

(1978) asked the adolescents about the difficulties of practising their faith in their area and also if they would allow their daughters to go to the same places as the white girls. The responses are shown in table 8.1.3.2.b. and 8.1.3.2.c. and show that a larger proportion of the Hindus (as compared with the Muslims and Sikhs) found it difficult to practise their faith in the area but that a far higher proportion of the Hindus would be willing to allow their daughters to go to the same places as the white girls.

Table 8.1.3.2.b. It is difficult to practise my religion in the area

	All	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh
N =	1117	391	426	254
	%	%	%	%
Agree	27	37	22	21
Neither agree or disagree	10	10	6	15
Disagree	63	53	72	74

Source: Commission for Racial Equality (1978: 22)

Table 8.1.3.2.c. If I had teenage daughters I would not let them go to any of the places where white girls go in this area

	All	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh
N =	1117	391	426	254
	%	%	%	%
Agree	38	27	51	34
Neither agree or disagree	13	13	14	17
Disagree	49	60	35	49

Source: Commission for Racial Equality (1978: 39)

Islam

Compared with all the other groups the young Muslims in Walsall were the most positive about the care in the area, with 41% agreeing that the area cares about its young people, despite the fact that many of the Muslims live in the poorer parts of the town. Indeed some years ago, in the *Walsall Observer* (21.5.91), Mr J. Moore, a councillor, made the accusation that immigrants were being housed in the Blakenhall area in north Walsall and that the Local Authority was allowing the area to deteriorate.

A greater proportion of the Muslims were concerned about unemployment in the area (41%) than any other group. Although the chi square test did not show a significant statistical difference in the responses to 'I like living in my area', it is noticeable that the group with highest proportion who liked living in their area was the Muslim adolescents (77%). There may be a number of reasons for this. For example, Dahya, describing the Muslim Pakistani communities in Bradford and Birmingham in the mid 1960's, argued that most of them viewed the area in which they lived quite differently from the white population. Whereas the latter saw the Pakistanis as living in poor housing in overcrowded conditions, the Pakistanis themselves felt that the housing was a great improvement on what they had left behind (1974: 110). Furthermore they were happy to share their houses with other people, both to bring in rental income but also because they were used to living in close proximity with other people in the villages from which they had come (1974: 108). Another reason for this was at that period the vast majority of them still presumed that they were only going to stay in Britain for a few years before they returned to this homeland. However, these reasons may not be the main ones for the responses of the teenagers in Walsall, since the vast majority of them have been born in Britain and have never lived in the country from which their parents and grandparents originally came.

Sikhism

When we examine the profile of the Sikh adolescents we see that they were generally less concerned about the problems in the area than the other groups. There was a smaller proportion of Sikhs compared with all the other groups who agreed that vandalism (39%), crime (40%) and violence (34%) were growing problems in the area.

8.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture

The adolescents were divided into the Christian/non-affiliate group and the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh group (table 8.1.3.3.a.) in order to examine their similarities and differences. The chi square test showed that there was significant statistical differences in the responses to five of the statements of at least $p < .05$. A greater proportion of the

Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents thought that the area cared about its young people (32% compared with 16%). This is an interesting finding when one considers some of the tensions that have been faced by the Asian community in Walsall. For example *The Walsall Observer* (21.7.72) reported that the Walsall Housing Committee was planning to spread the immigrant population more widely through the Borough and Siddiqui (1994: 40) found that many of the immigrants who arrived in Walsall were disappointed at the standard of housing, which they had expected would have been much better.

Table 8.1.3.3.a. My area: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I like living in my area	71	72	1	NS
I like my area as a shopping centre	53	52	<1	NS
My area cares about its young people	16	32	72	.001
Vandalism is a growing problem in my area	57	43	37	.001
Crime is a growing problem in my area	55	45	18	.001
Violence is a growing problem in my area	45	40	4	.05
Unemployment is a growing problem in my area	34	36	1	NS
Drug taking is a growing problem in my area	36	33	1	NS
Drunks are a growing problem in my area	30	33	2	NS
Walsall is a boring place	37	42	4	.05

A greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers than the Christian/non-affiliate group thought that Walsall was a boring place (42% compared with 37%). However, when they commented on the incidence of vandalism (43% compared with 57%), crime (45% compared with 55%) and violence (40% compared with 45%) a smaller percentage of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers expressed concern compared with the Christian/Afro-Caribbean adolescents. This may seem surprising in the light of the 1992 British Crime survey (quoted in Cross, 1995) which had recorded 9793 racial attacks, which was a rise of 78% on the 1988 figures. It was estimated in 1993 that the actual figure could be as high as 140 000 (Cross, 1995: 70). In recent years racial attacks on

Asian people and property in Walsall have not been uncommon (EM, 5.4.88; ES, 7.1.92; ES, 8.1.92; WO, 10.1.92; ES, 13.1.92; ES, 22.1.92; ES, 11.12.92; WO, 7.10.94; WO, 15.9.95) and at one period, at least, the British National Party was active in the borough which caused much concern among the Asian community (ES; 20.7.92; WO, 24.7.92; WO, 31.7.92; WO, 14.8.92; WO, 4.12.92; WO, 16.12.92; 17.9.93). In 1995 it was reported that the National Front was considering the possibility of opening a branch in Walsall (WO: 10.11.95).

8.1.4.0. The world of the adolescents: conclusions

Having described the responses of the adolescents to a wide range of statements about the world they inhabit, can we find any common themes or trends which given us a better understanding of their attitudes?

Christians

Compared with the teenagers in the other three religious groups the adolescent Christians had the largest proportion who often hung around with their friends doing nothing, who thought that the youth centre was boring and who thought that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time. A smaller proportion thought that there was a lot of things for young people to do, thought that their parents wanted them to stay at home as much as possible and whose parents did not agree with the sort of things they did in their leisure time (table 8.1.1.2.a.). They also had the smallest proportion who were concerned about their school work, their exams and being bullied. They were the religious group with the highest proportion who found school boring (table 8.1.2.2.a.) and who thought that there was a growing problem of vandalism, crime and violence in the area. A smaller proportion thought that the area cared about its young people (table 8.1.3.2.a.).

In summary we find that the teenage Christians had the most freedom in their leisure time yet were the most negative about it. They were also the group which was most negative and apathetic about their schooling.

Hindus

In their responses to the statements about leisure (table 8.1.1.2.a.) and their neighbourhood (table 8.1.3.2.a.) the adolescent Hindus did not present a very distinctive set of attitudes compared with the other groups. When it came to their attitudes towards schooling, they did have a distinctive profile. They were the group with the largest proportion who were happy at school and who were worried about their school work and their exams. They had the smallest proportion who thought that school was boring (table 8.1.2.2.a.).

Muslims

The teenage Muslims appeared to be quite focused in their use of leisure time. They were the group with the smallest proportion who hung around with their friends doing nothing and who thought that the youth centre was boring. They had the largest proportion of adolescents who thought that there were plenty of things to do in the area, whose parents wanted them to stay in as much as possible (equal with the Sikhs) and whose parents did not agree with most of their leisure time activities (table 8.1.1.2.a.).

Equal with the adolescent Christians they had the smallest proportion who were worried about their school work and thought that school was helping to prepare them for life. They had the largest proportion who were worried about being bullied and who thought that the teachers were doing a good job (table 8.1.2.2.a.). They had the highest proportion who thought that the area cared for its young people and who thought that unemployment was a growing problem in Walsall (table 8.1.3.2.a.).

Sikhs

Compared with the other groups, the adolescents Sikhs had the least amount of freedom about how they spent their leisure time. They had the smallest proportion who thought that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time and the largest proportion (equal with the Muslims) whose parents wanted them to stay at home as much

as possible (table 8.1.1.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who were happy at school and who thought that their teachers were doing a good job. Nevertheless they had the highest proportion who thought that school was preparing them for life (table 8.1.2.2.a.). A smaller proportion of them thought that vandalism, crime and violence were growing problems in Walsall (table 8.1.3.2.a.).

9.0.0.0. THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS: WORK, WORLD AND POLITICS

This chapter explores the extent to which religion influences what the adolescents think about employment and unemployment, about global concerns and about a range of political issues.

Contents	9.1.1.0. Work
	9.1.1.1. An overview
	9.1.1.2. The influence of religion
	9.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture
	9.1.2.0. Concerns
	9.1.2.1. An overview
	9.1.2.2. The influence of religion
	9.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture
	9.1.3.0. Politics
	9.1.3.1. An overview
	9.1.3.2. The influence of religion
	9.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture
	9.1.4.0. The public world: conclusions

9.1.0.0. The public world

9.1.1.0. Work

9.1.1.1. An overview

Six statements were put to the adolescents, three about work and three about unemployment. The first statement was 'I think it is important to work hard when I get a job'. This was followed by 'A job gives you a sense of purpose' and 'I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job'. The statements about unemployment were 'I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing', 'I would not like to be unemployed', and 'Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to'. The responses of the adolescents are shown in table 9.1.1.1.a.

A large majority agreed that it is important to work hard when you get a job (95% agreed, 3% were not certain and 2% disagreed). Three quarters thought that a job gives you a sense of purpose, although 21% were not certain about this and 4% disagreed. The vast

majority of the teenagers also wanted to get to the top in their work when they were in employment (89% agreed, 9% were not certain and 2% disagreed). Just over one-fifth (21%) thought that they would rather be unemployed on social security than have a job they did not like, although more than half of them disagreed with this (54%) and 25% were uncertain. The majority of the adolescents thought that they would not like to be unemployed (83% agreed, 8% were not certain and 10% disagreed). Finally, just over half thought that most unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted to (56%), but 24% were not certain and 20% disagreed.

Table 9.1.1.1.a. Work: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	95	3	2
A job gives you a sense of purpose	75	21	4
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	89	9	2
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	21	25	54
I would not like to be unemployed	83	8	10
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	56	24	20

The same statements were put to the adolescents in the research undertaken by Francis and Kay and the results are shown in table 9.1.1.1.b.

Only one percent more of the Walsall adolescents thought that it was important to work hard when you get a job (95% compared with 94% agreed, 3% compared with 4% were not certain and there were 2% in both groups who disagreed). A smaller proportion thought that a job gives a sense of purpose (75% compared with 77% agreed, 21% compared with 19% were not certain and 4% of both groups disagreed). A higher proportion of the teenagers in Walsall were ambitious to get to the top (89% compared with 86% agreed, 9% compared with 11% were not certain and 2% compared with 3% disagreed).

Table 9.1.1.1.b. Work: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I think it is important to work hard get a job	94	4	2
A job gives you a sense of purpose	77	19	4
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	86	11	3
I would rather be unemployed on social security that get a job I don't like going	18	24	58
I would not like to be unemployed	86	5	9
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	56	24	20

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 176)

In the early 1970s Fogelman (1976: 57) found that 70% of the 16 year old adolescents thought that it was important to get a job which gave the opportunity for promotion. More recently, Russell (1998: 92) reported the responses of 604 British workers and found that 23% thought that 'opportunity of advancement' was 'very important'. This was a decline of 3% since a similar question was put to 750 people in 1989.

When it come to unemployment 3% more of the Walsall adolescents thought they would rather be unemployed on social security that getting a job they did not like (21% compared with 18% agreed, 25% compared with 24% were not certain and 54% compared with 58% disagreed). Russell (1998: 92) found that 49% of the respondents thought that 'an interesting job' was 'very important', an increase of 1% since a similar question was asked in a survey in 1989.

A smaller proportion appeared to be worried about unemployment that the teenagers in the Francis and Kay research (83% compared with 86% agreed. 8% compared with 5% were not certain and 10% compared with 9% disagreed).

The responses of both the Walsall group and the Francis and Kay group to the statement 'Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to' were identical: 56% agreed, 24% were uncertain and 20% disagreed. A few years previously Furnham and Gunter found relatively similar responses from the adolescents in their study, that is, 52% of their sample thought that young people could get work if they looked hard and often enough, 23% disagreed and 25% were uncertain (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 164).

9.1.1.2. The influence of religion

Table 9.1.1.2.a. shows the results when the statistics are broken down into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates.

Table 9.1.1.2.a. Work: the influence of religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	97	94	96	98	94	19	.001
A job gives you a sense of purpose	78	79	79	79	71	23	.001
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	90	96	94	95	87	31	.001
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	20	12	29	25	20	18	.01
I would not like to be unemployed	86	89	77	85	81	24	.001
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	52	60	64	66	55	23	.001

In all the responses there were significant statistical differences of at least $p < .01$.

Non-affiliates

The non-affiliates group had the lowest proportion of those who thought that it was important to work hard when they got a job (94%, shared equally with the Hindus) and the lowest proportion of those who thought that a job gives a sense of purpose (71%).

They were also the group who were the least ambitious with only 87% wanting to get to the top in their work when they got a job.

Christianity

The adolescent Christians were the group with the smallest proportion of respondents who thought that most unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted it (52%).

Hinduism

The Hindu teenagers has the equal smallest proportion of those who thought it is important to work hard when one has a job (94%, the same as the non-affiliates). Equal with the Muslims and Sikhs, there were 79% who thought that a job gives a person a sense of purpose, which was higher than both the Christian group (78%) and the non-affiliates group (71%). A greater proportion of the adolescents appeared to be more ambitious than the other groups with 96% wanting to get to the top in their work and a lower proportion who would rather be unemployed than have a job they did not like doing (12%). They also had the highest proportion who would not like to be unemployed (89%). These statistics give a profile of the Hindu teenagers in which more were ambitious and more were determined to work hard than those in the other groups. The data may reflect the entrepreneurial skills of the Hindus who came to Britain from Africa and who have proved to be more successful than Sikhs and Muslims in areas such as retailing (Robinson and Flintoff, 1982: 257-258).

Table 9.1.1.2.b. Vocational aspirations

	Professional %	Non-professional %	Don't know %
Hindus and Sikhs	30	14	16
Muslims	8	10	22
N =	38	24	38

Source: Ghuman (1994: 62)

N = 50

Ghuman (1994) asked fifty Asian adolescents in Birmingham about the sort of work they hoped to get and found that the Hindus and Sikhs had higher vocational aspiration than the Muslim adolescents. Their responses are shown in table 9.1.1.2.b. although the small sample means that caution should be exercised in using these figures.

Modood *et al* (1997) edited a series of chapters on the data obtained from the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in Britain. The survey was based on a questionnaire and was used to interview 5196 adults from ethnic minorities (who lived in 3291 households) and 2867 whites (who lived in 2867 households) between the end of 1993 and late 1994. Whilst the main focus of the study was based on ethnic categories, a number of questions were asked concerning the importance of religion and religious practice. Using religious categories the survey revealed differences in earnings, job discrimination and views on being educated in a school of one's own religion. The findings from this research, on the ambitions of the adolescent Hindus, correlates with the findings of Modood *et al* (1997: 113-114) that the mean earnings for male and female Hindus were higher than those of Sikhs, which in turn were higher than those earned by Muslims. There was a far higher proportion of high earners in the Hindu community than in the Sikh and Muslim community, as shown in table 9.1.1.2.c.

Table 9.1.1.2.c. Male and female employees' earnings

Weekly earnings	Male				Female			
	White	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	White	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim
Less than £116	4	6	9	23	10	19	16	19
£116 - £192	14	20	24	31	31	27	36	34
£193 - £289	33	31	38	24	30	27	34	28
£290 - £385	19	15	14	10	15	8	7	11
£386 - £500	14	6	10	6	10	6	3	5
More than £500	15	23	5	6	4	14	5	4

Source: Modood and other (1997: 113-114)

Modood *et al* (1997: 123) also showed that 'the Hindus have the highest and Muslims the lowest rate of self-employment, Muslims being only three-quarters as likely to be in self-

employment as non-Muslim Asians'. It is the Hindus who have come to Britain via East Africa who have been some of the most successful of the ethnic minorities, both academically (Ballard and Vellins, 1985: 261) and commercially, although in the early years they had to take whatever jobs they could find. Warriar (1994: 197) claimed that when the Gujurati Prajapatis came to Britain from East Africa they found it difficult to obtain employment at a comparable level and they often had to take jobs which were of a lower status and many became self employed. On arrival many of the women also took jobs 'with low pay, low status and little opportunity for advancement' (Warriar, 1994: 198). Despite this, she noted that some of the younger women had achieved better qualifications and jobs. This situation is not unlike the experience of the Gujurati Mochis in Leeds: 'In common with their contemporaries of other castes, a growing number of young Mochis of both sexes study engineering, accountancy and a range of other science-based subjects at university or college' (Knott, 1994: 223). Lyon and West (1995), drawing on two fieldwork trips to India, on an examination of official records, and a series of interviews, looked at the commercial activities of a caste, the Patels, who originally came from the Gujurat, by way of East Africa. They discovered a competitive and commercially successful community which had spread across London, concentrated mainly in small shops selling newspapers, tobacco, confectionery, stationary and groceries. They also found that 12% of them worked in the professions (1995: 399-419).

Islam

The same proportion of Muslims as the Hindus and Sikhs thought that it is important to work hard when in employment (79%). They had the highest proportion who would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job they did not like doing (29%) and the lowest proportion who would not like to be unemployed (77%).

Part of the reason for this may be that for many years relatively high proportions of Muslims have worked in low paid jobs. Anwar (1985: 97) pointed out that the 1971 census revealed that Pakistani males were more likely to be employed in occupations which paid low wages and to work in manual jobs rather than in management. He also

observed that the levels of unemployment among Pakistani school leavers was twice that of the white British (Anwar, 1995: 243). Modood found that 'among Indians and African Asians, Muslims were significantly more likely to live in households with low incomes than Sikhs or Hindus' (Modood *et al*, 1997: 163).

Modood also found that many Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs thought that they were discriminated against in the job market because of their race and religion, with Muslims facing more prejudice than the others (Modood *et al*, 1997: 133-144). Despite this, there is evidence that some parents had high vocational aspirations for their children as did the adolescents themselves (Carey and Shukur, 1985: 410; Joly, 1995: 121).

Another important factor, which is likely to have influenced the Muslims' responses, is their attitudes concerning girls. In many families the parents expected their daughters to stay at home and raise a family. Afshar, using a 'loosely structured questionnaire', interviewed a group of women in their homes and places of work. Her sample was drawn from a dozen households and examined three generations of Muslim Pakistani women living in West Yorkshire. She discovered homeworking was prevalent in all the households and 'employment was seen by all as secondary to motherhood and child rearing' (Afshar, 1989: 222). Mizra (1989: 17) noted that often Muslim parents distinguish between suitable and unsuitable jobs for their daughters. For example 'Many parents will not allow their daughters to enter nursing because it would mean coming into contact with men, but if she were a doctor, it is accepted because she would be higher up the professional and social scale'. Jones (1993: 158) summed up a piece of research by the PSI: 'Bangladeshi and Pakistani women, who are nearly all Muslims, have very low rates of economic activity; very high proportions do not work outside the home'. Joly found that over half (54%) of the Muslim parents in Birmingham did not want their daughters to stay on at school after the age of sixteen and only one in seven thought that their daughters might train for a profession (Joly, 1995: 121).

Brah (1993: 456) undertook fifty-five in-depth interviews with individuals and group discussions with fifty women aged 16-24, mostly from the Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir and Punjab. She argued that the Muslim women's aspirations and achievements in the labour market were governed by 'a multiplicity of ideological, cultural and structural factors, such as.....the impact of the global and national economy on the local labour markets; ideologies about women's position in relation to caring responsibilities and paid work; women's own social and political perspectives on such issues, that is. how they might "feel" as well as "think" about them; the role of education in the social construction of gendered jobs, aspirations, and racism'. Earlier in the article (1993: 442) she noted that Muslim women worked (i.e. paid work) less than other Asian and non-Asian women in Britain: 'The most striking aspect of the responses we received was that an overwhelming majority of the women we interviewed considered that women should have the right to undertake paid work' (1993: 450), and 'Contrary to the stereotype, however, only about a quarter of our respondents gave their families' opposition to women holding jobs away from the home on the grounds of "izzat" and "purdah" as the major reason why they were not doing paid work' (1993: 452). Brah and Shaw found that the Muslim women they studied did not think that they should simply accept any kind of job (1993: 3).

Sikhism

The Sikh adolescents had the highest proportion of those who thought it is important to work hard when in employment (98%), a high level of belief that a job gives a sense of purpose (79%, joint equal with the Hindus and Muslims) and the largest proportion who thought that most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted one (66%).

Singh (1992: 46), summarising some other pieces of research, concluded that British Sikh men were significantly under represented in professional, employer, and other non-manual category and over represented in skilled and semi-skilled manual categories. He also noted that the rate of unemployment among Sikh men in 1982 was 14% compared with 27% for Muslims. He pointed out that the unemployment rate among Sikh women in 1982 was 22% compared with Hindu women (18%) and Muslim women (31%).

Agnihotri (1987: 84) interviewed thirty-six Sikh children and found that more than half wanted to get manual or skilled manual jobs. Those who had higher job aspirations came from families who had moved to the suburbs. However, Singh pointed out that 'Within the Sikh community in Bradford there was a clear polarisation of jobs, that is, either the Sikhs were concentrated in lower level jobs or on the other extreme, in socially and economically higher-status jobs' (Singh: 1992: 48). Thompson (1974: 246-247) described the way in which the second generation young Punjabi Sikh men in Coventry, if in work, had better jobs than the first generation immigrants and they may well have skilled or professional jobs. Generally they tended to work a shorter day than the first generation and had more time for leisure. Bhachu (1985b: abstract in the front of the book) argued 'Whilst not underestimating the importance of the economic position of parents in determining educational life chances, this paper on one Asian group of the Punjabi Sikhs in Britain, suggests that the competitive nature of the egalitarian Punjabi society strongly influences the strategies parents adopt to educate their children and to motivate them to succeed in the educational system. These values are applicable in Britain despite migration from urban areas and also despite the varying caste and class positions of the parents', and 'The Punjabi attitude towards education is purpose-orientated...Education has to be instrumental in getting an individual a suitable job...' (1985b: 5). Dosanjh (n.d.:14) found that 'There is a very strong desire among the Punjabi parents for upward mobility in their children'. The vast majority of the parents expected their children to have better jobs than themselves because they had a better education.

Kalra (1980: 64-65) surveyed 60 Sikh girls about their job aspirations and discovered that 25% wanted to be either a sales assistant, working in a family business, clerical or secretarial work, nurse or librarian; 25% wanted to be either a doctor, dentist, lawyer, architects, scientist or teacher; 25% said they would follow their parents' advice; 25% said they did not know what they wanted to do. Singh (1992: 48) surveyed Sikh women in Bradford and discovered that '55% of the wives of the heads of households were in full-time employment'. They were mainly employed in the textile industry in unskilled and

semi-skilled work. Bhachu's (1986 and 1988) study of East African Sikh women revealed that generally they had control over the wages that they earned. This reflected the different role that Sikh women have compared with other South Asian women. These observations on the work of Sikh men and women are in line with the findings from the Walsall adolescent Sikhs, who thought it was important to work hard, that work gives a sense of purpose and that most unemployed people could find a job if they really wanted one.

9.1.1.3. The influence of Asian culture

The sample was divided into the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs (table 9.1.1.3.a.).

Table 9.1.1.3.a. Work: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	95	97	3	NS
A job gives you a sense of purpose	74	79	6	.05
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	88	95	21	.001
I would rather be unemployed on social security that get a job I don't like doing	20	25	6	.05
I would not like to be unemployed	83	82	<1	NS
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	54	64	19	.001

The chi square test revealed that there were no significant statistical differences in response to the statements 'I think it is important to work hard when I get a job' and 'I would not like to be unemployed'. In response to the other statements there were statistical differences of at least $p < .05$.

A vast amount of research has been undertaken to examine the levels of employment, unemployment, job aspirations and the type of work being done by people from different

ethnic groups, which shows that there are many factors which need to be taken in to account when analysing the data. For example, Anwar (1998: 60) gave the following statistics on unemployment, which show that there are significant differences between the unemployment levels of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (table 9.1.1.3.b.).

Table 9.1.1.3.b. Unemployment among Asian and white young people (16-24 year olds)

	Male %	Female %
Indian	25.3	21.0
Pakistani	40.8	35.2
Bangladeshi	25.1	36.7
White	18.0	12.3

Source: Anwar (1998: 60, from the 1991 Census)

Even within ethnic minority groups there are significant variations. Jones (1993: 151), summing up the findings of the PSI research, wrote 'Within the ethnic minority population there is an increasing disparity between the circumstances of specific groups. The findings suggest that the South Asian population contains both the most and the least successful of the ethnic minority groups that we have studied. At one extreme we have the African Asian and Indian populations. These groups have higher proportions of well-qualified people, have attained comparable (or better) job levels to whites, and have unemployment rates closest to those found among the white population. At the opposite end of the spectrum there are the Pakistanis and the Bangladeshis. They retain the largest proportion, even among young people, with no formal qualifications of any ethnic groups. They have substantially lower job levels than people of other origins, and consistently suffer the highest rates of unemployment'. He continued (1993: 154) 'This lower level of qualification manifests itself in lower job levels in the labour market. But even within qualification levels, male employees from these two groups have an inferior distribution of jobs compared with other ethnic groups. This is backed up by Rex and Tomlinson (1979: 108-109) and by Coleman and Hendry (1999: 165) who pointed out that those Asians who has come to Britain from East Africa had higher proportions who had had professional jobs.

The situation is further complicated by the different attitudes between the white and the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh communities about the employment of women. A larger proportion of the Asian community were unhappy about women working (Commission for Racial Equality, 1978: 47-48) although not all of the women themselves agreed with this (Brah and Shaw, 1993: 2-3).

Concerns about discrimination in employment in Walsall were expressed at regular intervals in the local press (EM, 1.7.74; WO, 9.8.74; EM, 12.5.75; ES, 19.5.79; WO, 23.10.81; EM, 12.9.90; EM, 2.2.91; EM, 28.12.87; WC, 22.7.88; WA, 28.7.88; WO, 30.9.88; WO, 15.9.89; WO, 3.11.89; WO, 10.11.89) and a number of initiatives were made to help ethnic minorities in setting up their own businesses (WO, 4.9.87; WO, 20.11.87; WO, 22.7.88; EM, 25.5.89; WO, 5.10.90; WO, 26.4.91; WO, 24.9.93; WO, 3.3.95;) and getting jobs (WO; 30.9.88; WO, 1.12.89).

When compared with the Christian/non-affiliated teenagers a greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers in Walsall thought that a job gave a sense of purpose (79% compared with 74%) and a greater proportion wanted to get to the top in their work (95% compared with 88%). A number of studies have shown that generally Asians have higher educational and vocational aspiration than their white contemporaries (Beetham, 1967: 17, 22; Hilton, 1972: 80; Dove, 1975: 64; Fowler, Littlewood and Madigan, 1977: 70-73; Hasnie, 1977: 26; Gupta, 1977, 188-192; Kannan, 1978: 77; Murray and Dawson, 1983: 34; Penn and Scattergood, 1992: 75, 84; Ghuman, 1999: 91-93). Ballard has suggested that part of the reason for these high aspirations may be that most immigrants did not come from the poorest sections of their society, since such people did not have the financial means to travel to another country. He argued that immigrants mainly come from 'families of middling status' and they are basically entrepreneurs (1994a: 9).

This piece of research reveals that a greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers in Walsall would rather be unemployed than have a job they did not like

compared with the Christian/non-affiliate adolescents (25% compared with 20%). This contrasts with the findings of Wild and Ridgeway (1970: 326) who discovered that white workers were more concerned about levels of job satisfaction than those from ethnic minorities. Other research has shown consistently that there have been higher levels of unemployment among ethnic minorities than amongst the white population in the UK (The Runnymede Trust, 1974/5: 20; McGrath, 1976: 244; Field, Mair, Rees and Stevens, 1981: 33; Brah, 1986: 63; Drew, Gray and Sime, 1992: 51-52; Owen, 1996: 31 and 33) and this appears to have been the case in Walsall. In 1996 it was reported that the Palfrey Ward had one of the highest percentages of unemployed black and Asian under 25 year old men in the county (WO, 19.1.96). Other research has also shown that there is a higher proportion of ethnic minorities who are working in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, in dirtier jobs, and involved in shift work (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979: 109). Kohler found that 28% of the young black people in his research in London thought that they had experienced discrimination at work and that they were sometimes given the worse or the dirtiest jobs and that there was no possibility of promotion (Kohler, 1974: 13).

It has also been observed that there is a far higher proportion of Asians, compared with the white population, who are self employed and who work in retailing. Generally this has required long hours of work and comparatively low levels of pay (Jones, 1981/2: 470-471; Robinson and Flintoff, 1982: 255; Sills, Tarpey and Golding, 1983: 40; Brooks, 1983: 53). These factors may be part of the reason why a higher proportion of the Asian adolescents than the white teenagers are concerned about job satisfaction.

Unemployment has been a serious problem in Walsall for a number of years, both the total numbers of those unemployed as well as the average length of unemployment. In the mid 1990s, just before this research was undertaken, the borough had one of the highest rates in the country of people who have been unemployed for more than 12 months (WO: 29.12.95). Against this background it is interesting to note that compared with the Christian/non-affiliate teenagers a greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers in Walsall thought that unemployed people could get a job if they really

wanted to (64% compared with 54%). This may, in part, be due to the enterprise culture of those from an Asian background. Owen, quoting statistics from the 1991 census, showed that there were more self employed among the ethnic minorities than whites (19.5% of men and 8.2% of women from ethnic minorities, compared with 17.7% of white men and 6.6% of white women were self-employed) (Owen, 1996: 23).

The statistics reveal a picture of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group in which a higher proportion thought that a job gives a sense of purpose, in which more were ambitious to get to the top and more of whom thought that most unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted to. However, a higher proportion indicated that they would also rather be unemployed on social security than have a job they did not like.

9.1.2.0. Global and national concerns

9.1.2.1. An overview

Seven statements were put to the adolescents. Three addressed global issues and concerned the risk of nuclear war, the poverty of the Third World, and the risk of pollution. Other statements were about more local issues and focused on television violence, the availability of pornography, and the National Lottery. The final statement was 'There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems'.

Table 9.1.2.1.a. Global and national concerns: an overview

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	44	33	23
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	53	30	17
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	59	28	13
There is too much violence on television	23	22	56
Pornography is too readily available	40	34	26
I think the National Lottery is a good thing	57	21	23
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	29	30	41

There was a reasonably high level of uncertainty expressed by the adolescents about several of these areas; for example, the risk of nuclear war (33%), the poverty of the Third World (30%), their ability to help solve the world's problems (30%) and the availability of pornography (34%). Higher levels of concern were expressed about the global issues rather than more local issues. Thus 44% were concerned about the risk of nuclear war, compared with 23% who were not. Just over half (53%) were concerned about Third World poverty, compared with 17% who were unconcerned about it. An even larger proportion were worried about the risk of polluting the environment (59% agreed, 28% were not certain and 13% disagreed).

Under one quarter (23%) thought there was too much television violence but the majority of the adolescents disagreed (56%), with 22% not being certain. Two-fifths agreed that

pornography was too readily available, while 26% of the teenagers disagreed. There was a high level of support for the National Lottery (57% compared with the 23% who did not think it was a good thing and the 21% who were not certain). Only 29% thought that there was nothing they could do to help solve the world's problems, 30% were not certain and 41% thought there was something that they could do. Shortly before this research took place, one international conflict in particular featured regularly in the local newspapers. There was much concern about the war in the Baltic States, which provoked a public debate (WO; 21.5.93; WO, 19.11.93), followed by a number of initiatives, including the sending of several aid convoys. During the mid 1990s these convoys had a very high profile in the local media (WO, 22.1.93; WO; 2.4.93; WO, 9.2.93; WO, 16.4.93; WO, 28.5.93; WO, 4.6.93; WO, 18.6.93; WO, 20.8.93; WO, 22.8.93; WO, 10.9.93; WO, 24.9.93; WO; 8.10.93; WO, 29.10.93; WO, 4.2.94; WO, 11.2.94; WO, 25.3.94; WO, 1.4.94; WO, 22.4.94; WO, 8.7.94; WO, 22.7.94; WO, 29.7.94; WO, 16.9.94; WO, 28.4.95; WO, 12.5.95). The war also produced a number of human interest stories from the conflict, showing a concern for the problems in eastern Europe (WO, 21.1.94; WO, 15.4.94).

Francis and Kay (1995) put the same statements to the adolescents except that they did not include a statement about the National Lottery. Their findings are shown in table 9.1.2.1.a.

Table 9.1.2.1.a. Global and national concerns: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	63	22	15
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	60	27	13
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	66	25	9
There is too much violence on television	18	22	60
Pornography is too readily available	31	36	33
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	25	31	44

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 70)

When compared with the study by Francis and Kay (1995), a smaller proportion of the adolescents in Walsall were concerned about the global issues of nuclear war (44% compared with 63% agreed, 33% compared with 22% were not certain and 23% compared with 15% disagreed), the poverty of the Third World (53% compared with 60% agreed, 30% compared with 27% were not certain and 17% compared with 13% disagreed) and pollution (59% compared with 66% agreed, 28% compared with 25% were not certain and 13% compared with 9% disagreed).

A larger proportion of the Walsall adolescents expressed a concern that there was too much violence on the television (22% compared with 18% agreed, in both cases 22% were not certain, whilst 56% compared with 60% disagreed). About 9% more of the Walsall adolescents thought that pornography was too readily available (40% compared with 31% agreed, 34% compared with 36% were not certain and 26% compared with 33% disagreed). A higher proportion thought that they there was nothing they could do to solve the world's problems (29% compared with 25% agreed, 30% compared with 31% were not certain and 41% compared with 44% disagreed).

When comparing the adolescents in Walsall with those in the Francis and Kay study we find different levels of response to the global and the local issues. A higher proportion of adolescents in Walsall were uncertain about what they felt about the global issues and in each case a lower proportion agreed with the statements. Conversely, more of the teenagers in Walsall expressed concern about television violence and pornography.

In 1966 Eppel and Eppel published their study *Adolescents and Morality*, which examined 'the standards, values and moral conflicts of a group of white adolescents. The total group comprised 250 young working people between the ages of fifteen and eighteen years, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. Most of them had left school at fifteen years old and were attending two day-release colleges in central and east London. The research methods employed comprised an Unfinished Sentence Test, a

Moral Beliefs Test, an Essay, and a Picture-Frustration Test, together with group discussion. Eppel and Eppel asked the question 'If I had my way...'. Respondents were asked to complete the sentence and the results were collated. These are shown in table 9.1.2.1.b.

Table 9.1.2.1.b. Response of young people to the statement 'If I had my way.....'

	Boys %	Girls %	N =
Social/humanitarian goals			
World peace	35	39	37
Social/political	16	24	20
Ideological	25	9	17
TOTAL	76	71	74
Individual goals			
Independence	14	11	13
Job ambitions	5	10	7
Personal and family relationships	3	9	6
Possessions	2	-	1
TOTAL	24	29	26

Source: Eppel and Eppel (1966: 103)
N = 208 (104 boys and 104 girls)

The Eppel and Eppel research was based on a relatively small sample and undertaken some thirty years prior to the Walsall research. Therefore caution need to be exercised, in using the results. Both the boys and girls expressed a high level of concern for social/humanitarian goals/world peace (37%), followed by social/political concerns (20%). The third highest area, ideological at 17%, was higher than any of the 'individual goals'. However when they posed the questions in a slightly different form ('I'd give up a lot for.....') then personal/family relationships and possessions/money rose to the top of the list (39% and 16% respectively). This is shown in table 9.1.2.1.c.

Table 9.1.2.1.c. Response of young people to the statement 'I'd give up a lot for.....'

	Boys	%	Girls	%	N =
Social/humanitarian goals					
World peace		14		12	13
Social/political		3		16	9
Ideological		8		6	7
TOTAL		24		33	29
Individual goals					
Independence		9		3	6
Job ambitions		11		3	7
Personal and family relationships		24		54	39
Possessions, money		29		2	16
Miscellaneous		2		5	3
TOTAL		76		67	71

Source: Eppel and Eppel (1966: 108)
N = 210 (107 boys and 103 girls)

9.1.2.2. The influence of religion

The teenagers were divided into the four main religious groups and the non-affiliates, and the results are shown in table 9.1.2.2.a.

Table 9.1.2.2.a. Global and national concerns: by religion

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	50	40	47	48	39	37	.001
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	60	68	62	62	45	96	.001
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	65	62	64	64	53	49	.001
There is too much violence on television	25	31	43	21	17	97	.001
Pornography is too readily available	44	40	47	44	37	20	.001
I think that National Lottery is a good thing	53	50	28	61	63	128	.001
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	26	22	30	26	32	12	.05

There were significant statistical differences in all seven areas.

Non-affiliates

In most areas there were differences between those who claimed a particular religious allegiance and the group of non-affiliates. The non-affiliates were the least concerned about the risk of nuclear war (39%), the poverty of the Third World (45%), and the risk of pollution to the environment (53%). Fewer of them thought that there was too much violence on television (17%) and that pornography was too readily available (37%). More of them thought that there was nothing they could do to help solve the world's problems (32%) and a higher proportion agreed that the National Lottery was a good thing (63%).

Christianity

Of all the groups the Christian adolescents had the highest proportion who were concerned about the risk of nuclear war (50%) and the risk of pollution to the environment (65%). By contrast, of the four religious groups, the Christians had the smallest proportion who were concerned about the poverty of the Third World (60%). This may be because many of those who belong to the other religious groups are likely to have family and other contacts in some of the poorer parts of the world and may have experienced the effects of poverty at first hand.

Hinduism

Compared with the three other religious groups the Hindu adolescents had quite a distinct profile. A smaller proportion of them were concerned about the risk of nuclear war (40%) and the risk of pollution to the environment (62%). More were concerned about the poverty of the Third World (68%). A smaller proportion of them thought that there was nothing they could do to solve the world's problems (22%) and that pornography was too readily available (40%).

Islam

A larger proportion of the adolescent Muslims compared with the other groups thought that there was too much violence of television (43%) and that pornography was too readily available (47%). Although some members of the Muslim community in Walsall have been concerned about issues such as the environment and toxic waste (ES, 16.7.92), nevertheless compared with the other religious groups more of the Muslims thought that there was nothing they could do to help solve the world's problems (30%). Only 28% thought that the National Lottery was a good thing, which is a much smaller percentage than any other group. The Muslim adolescents revealed strong feelings concerning personal morality but were not so concerned about global issues.

Sikhism

Of the four religious groups the Sikh adolescents had the smallest proportion who thought there was too much television violence. This may be because the Sikh tradition has taught that violence is permissible in certain circumstances. Although Guru Nanak had little to say on the matter of war and pacifism, his followers accepted that they may have to bear arms and in consequence the wearing of a dagger (*kirpan*) is one of the five 'K's. This group also had the largest proportion who thought that the National Lottery was a good thing (61%).

9.1.2.3. The influence of Asian culture

The sample was divided into the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Their responses are set out in table 9.1.2.3.a. The chi square test demonstrated that there are significant statistical differences in the responses to all the statements of at least $p < .05$, except in response to 'I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war' and 'There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems'.

Table 9.1.2.3.a. Global and national concerns: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N. A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	44	47	2	NS
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	51	63	26	.001
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	58	64	6	.05
There is too much violence on television	21	33	40	.001
Pornography is too readily available	39	45	5	.05
I think that National Lottery is a good thing	59	43	46	.001
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	29	28	1	NS

In each case a larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents expressed their concern about the issues. More were concerned about Third World poverty (63% compared with 51%), perhaps because, as already suggested, many of them have families in the Third World or have visited those parts of the world. They were also more concerned about the risk of pollution (64% compared with 58%), about television violence (33% compared with 21%) and the availability of pornography (45% compared with 39%). A smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers thought that the National Lottery was a good thing (43% compared with 59%).

9.1.3.0. Politics

9.1.3.1. An overview

Three statements focused on party politics 'I have confidence in the Conservative Party', 'I have confidence in the Labour Party' and 'It makes no difference which political party is in power'. There was also a group of three statements which were concerned with issues of private services or privatisation: 'Private medicine should be abolished', 'Private schools should be abolished', and 'State ownership of industry is a good thing'. There were then three miscellaneous statements: 'The local council does a good job', 'Trade Unions have too much power', and 'I think immigration into Britain should be restricted'. The responses are shown in table 9.1.3.1.a.

Table 9.1.3.1.a. Politics: an overview of Walsall adolescents

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I have confidence in the Conservative Party	11	39	51
I have confidence in the Labour Party	24	42	34
It makes no difference which political party is in power	29	37	34
Private medicine should be abolished	14	45	41
Private schools should be abolished	25	34	42
State ownership of industry is a good thing	16	72	13
The local council does a good job	15	42	43
Trade unions have too much power	24	64	12
I think that immigration into Britain should be restricted	35	38	27

One noteworthy feature of the responses is the high proportion who were not certain what they thought in response to the various issues, which were higher than in virtually any other area. Only 11% of the adolescents in Walsall had confidence in the Conservative Party (39% were not certain and 51% disagreed) and only 24% had confidence in the Labour Party (42% were not certain and 34% disagreed). This low level of support for the two main political parties was echoed in their response to the statement 'It makes no difference which political party is in power (29% agreed, 37% were not certain and 34% disagreed).

Turning to the private/privatisation statements we see that only 14% agreed that private medicine should be abolished (45% were not certain and 41% disagreed) and one quarter thought that private schools should be abolished (34% were not certain and 42% disagreed). Only 16% thought that state ownership of industry was a good thing, while a massive 72% were not certain and 13% disagreed.

There was a low level of satisfaction with the local council with only 15% of the adolescents thinking that they do a good job (42% were not certain and 43% disagreed). Just under one quarter thought that trade unions have too much power (24%), although a much higher proportion were not certain (64%) and 12% disagreed. Just over one-third of the adolescents thought that immigration into Britain should be restricted (35%), 38% were not certain and 27% disagreed.

Table 9.1.3.1.b. Politics: Francis and Kay

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
I have confidence in the Conservative Party	17	34	49
I have confidence in the Labour Party	19	36	45
It makes no difference which political party is in power	19	32	49
Private medicine should be abolished	17	42	41
Private schools should be abolished	25	32	42
State ownership of industry is a good thing	17	70	13
The local council does a good job	18	45	37
Trade unions have too much power	24	65	11
I think that immigration into Britain should be restricted	32	38	30

Source: Francis and Kay (1995: 203)

Compared with the Francis and Kay sample (table 9.1.3.1.b.) a smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents had confidence in the Conservative Party (11% compared with 17% agreed, 39% compared with 34% were not certain and 51% compared with 49% disagreed). A larger proportion had confidence in the Labour Party (24% compared with

19% agreed, 42% compared with 36% were not certain and 34% compared with 45% disagreed).

Park (1995: 52) found that just over half (51%) of the 12-19 year olds in the *British Social Attitudes* survey identified with the Labour Party, 20% with the Conservatives, 14% with the Liberal Democrats and 14% with other parties. Whilst the question they posed is slightly different, it is interesting that more than twice the proportion of the Walsall adolescents were positive about the Labour Party when compared with the Conservatives (24% compared with 11%), which is not a dissimilar ratio to the responses of the adolescents questioned by Park.

The adolescents were asked if they thought a particular political party made a difference when in power. The Walsall adolescents were more sceptical than those in the Francis and Kay cohort with 29% compared with 19% agreeing, 37% compared with 32% were not certain and 34% compared with 39% disagreeing. A survey of voters of all ages was even more sceptical. Curtice and Jowell (1997: 106) reported on the survey conducted by the British Election Campaign Panel before and after the 1997 British General Election. In response to the statement 'It doesn't really matter which party is in power, in the end things go on much the same', 12% of the sample of 536 respondents agreed in 1996. Just before polling day in 1997 17% agreed and after polling day 11% agreed. Park (1999: 35) noted that 7% of the sample of 474 young people aged 12-19 years thought that it was not really worth voting in the 1997 British General Election. However 36% thought that everyone has a duty to vote.

The low levels of confidence in the political parties is reflected in the large drop in youth membership of the main political parties in recent years (Wilkinson and Mulgan, 1995: 100-101). Wilkinson and Mulgan (1995: 98) also wrote 'People under 25 are four times less likely to be registered than any other age group, less likely to vote for or join a political party, and less likely to be politically active. Only 6 per cent of 15-34 year olds describe themselves as "very interested in politics" '. Conversely (1995: 102), 55% of

women and 45% of men in the age bracket 18-34 claimed that they were not interested in politics.

Gaskin, Vlaeminke and Fenton (1996: 19) researched the attitudes of young people to the voluntary sector in a series of eight focus groups, which were run in June 1996 in Leicestershire. Two age groups were involved: 11-16 year olds and 17-24 year olds. Just over ninety participants were involved. A facilitator worked with each group and the discussions were tape recorded and analysed. They observed that 'Young people showed a distinct alienation from mainstream politics. They appeared to be straining to see what relevance it had for them; the strong impression, especially among younger people, was of a distant and elitist system which had nothing to do with them' (1996: 14). Despite this, there is some evidence to show that those adolescents who do join a political party are more likely to be committed to political principles than older members and they are less likely to support a strategy of 'capturing the middle ground' (Seyd, Whiteley and Parry, 1996: 6).

The responses of the Walsall adolescents to the statements about private medicine, education and privatisation produced some surprising results. A smaller proportion of them than the Francis and Kay group thought that private medicine should be abolished (14% compared with 17% agreed, 45% compared with 42% were not certain and 41% disagreed in both groups). Both groups had virtually identical views on the abolition of private schooling. A smaller proportion of the Walsall teenagers thought that state ownership of industry is a good thing (16% compared with 17% agreed, 72% compared with 70% were not certain and 13% disagreed in both groups).

A smaller proportion of the Walsall adolescents were impressed with the performance of their local council than the teenagers in the larger sample of Francis and Kay. Only 15%, compared with 18% thought that they do a good job (42% compared with 45% were not certain and 43% compared with 37% disagreed). The views of the two groups on the Trade Unions was broadly similar with 24% in both groups agreeing that they had too

much power. There was a larger proportion of Walsall teenagers who thought that immigration into Britain should be restricted (35% compared with 32% agreed, 38% of both groups were uncertain and 27% compared with 30% disagreed).

The responses give us a picture of the Walsall teenagers who are generally less certain about their views in this area than the larger sample of Kay and Francis. Only a relatively small proportion of them had confidence in either political party or the local council, although they are generally further to the left in their political views. A slightly smaller proportion were against the private sector but a larger proportion wished to limit immigration.

9.1.3.2. The influence of religion

The sample was divided into the four religious groups and the non-affiliates and the responses are shown in table 9.1.3.2.a.

Table 9.1.3.2.a. Politics: the influence of religion in Walsall

	Chr %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %	N.A. %	χ^2	p<
I have confidence in the Conservative Party	12	8	15	4	10	17	.01
I have confidence in the Labour Party	23	32	48	35	19	125	.001
It makes no difference which political party is in power	31	28	26	24	29	6	NS
Private medicine should be abolished	14	17	21	16	13	12	.05
Private schools should be abolished	26	17	19	19	26	12	.05
State ownership of industry is a good thing	14	10	25	23	15	30	.001
The local council does a good job	14	21	34	17	12	88	.001
Trade unions have too much power	22	20	27	21	25	7	NS
I think that immigration into Britain should be restricted	39	10	19	18	39	91	.001

The chi square test shows that there were significant statistical differences of at least $p < .05$ in all the responses except to the statements 'It makes no difference which political party is in power' and 'Trade unions have too much power', where there were no significant differences.

Non-affiliates

Compared with the four religious groups, the non-affiliates had the lowest proportion who had confidence in the Labour Party (19%), the lowest proportion who thought that private medicine should be abolished (13%), the highest proportion who believed that private schools should be abolished (26%, which was the same as the Christian group), the lowest proportion who thought that the local council do a good job (12%) and the highest proportion who thought that immigration into Britain should be restricted (39%, which was again the same proportion as the Christian group).

Christianity

The adolescent Christians in Walsall were the group with the highest proportion who thought that it makes no difference which political party is in power (31% NS). As described above, equal with the non-affiliates, they had the highest proportion who thought that private schools should be abolished (26%) and that immigration should be restricted (39%). Compared with the other three religious groups they had the lowest proportion who thought that private medicine should be abolished (14%).

Hinduism

The Hindu teenagers had the lowest proportion who thought that private schools should be abolished (17%), that state ownership of industry is a good thing (10%), that Trade Unions have too much power (20% NS) and that immigration into Britain should be abolished (10%).

Islam

Compared with the other groups there was a higher proportion of the Muslims who had confidence in the Conservative Party (15%) and in the Labour Party (48%). In other words a far higher proportion of the Muslims compared with the other groups had strong political views. This may be partly because a Muslim (at least in theory) makes no separation between the world of politics and the world of religion, and therefore places a high value on politics as a way of governing society. As Sarwar (1982: 177) put it 'Religion and politics are one and the same in Islam'. Having said this, some parts of the Muslim community are less interested and involved in politics, as illustrated by John Rex, writing in the forward to King (1994: 3), 'the majority of South Asian Muslims in Britain areBarelvis whose Muslim religion is deeply impregnated with Sufism, and with local customs. Barelvis played the leading role, even though they were supported by Deobandis and others, in the protest against what was seen as Salman Rushdie's attack on Islam, but in general the mystical tendency of their religion turns them away from politics'.

In the earliest phases of Muslim immigration much time and energy was taken up with immigration issues, but as the community became more settled and many realised they would not be returning to their country of origin to live, so involvement both in local and national politics began to grow. In general elections Muslims have tended to vote Labour (Joly, 1995: 11, 81 and 90-94), although several exceptions to this have been recorded in different parts of the country (Anwar, 1973: 421-422; Eade, 1989: 46-48; 1992: 44; Joly: 1995: 94) and there is no uniformity across the Asian community (Werbner, 1990: 81). In local elections there appears to be an even greater diversity of voting patterns (Eade: 1992: 34). Indeed, there is some evidence that their support for the Labour Party has been declining (Wahhab, 1989: 12). As time has gone on so the political allegiance of the Muslims community has become more diversified.

With the increase in the Islamic population in Britain in recent years, some of their leaders have argued that they should try to influence the major political parties and highlight their own agendas and priorities. An example of this is the Muslim charter of 1984 which suggested that Muslims should vote for the candidate who would support Muslim issues, especially in schools (Joly, 1995: 92). Murad (1986a: 9) also believed that politics was the way to change the educational system and to spread Islam. Joly (1995: 88) pointed out that as well as national politics, many Muslims have been involved in 'non-electoral politics' and in particular she identified four areas: anti-racist campaign groups, anti-deportation campaigns, divided family campaigns and campaigns against police violence and against the sentencing of immigrants for 'political' crimes.

Traditionally, the leadership of the Muslim community has come from its religious leaders. However, some of the younger generation have been very critical of them and in some areas alternative secular leadership has emerged (Eade, 1989: 47-48; Hiro, 1991: 171; Eade, 1992: 41). This has sometimes caused tension between the religious and the secular agendas (Eade, 1992: 41). In recent years, two events in particular have focused the political views of many Muslims: the Gulf War and the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* in 1989, which acted as a focus for the emergent feelings and aspirations of an increasingly confident Islam, and which for a short time drew a disparate Muslim community into concerted action.

Compared with the other groups, the Muslim adolescents had a higher proportion who thought that private medicine should be abolished (21%), that state ownership of industry is a good thing (25%), that the local council does a good job (34%) and that Trade Unions have too much power (27% NS).

Sikhism

Of all the groups the Sikh adolescents in Walsall had the smallest proportion who had confidence in the Conservative Party (4%) and, after the Muslims (48%), the second highest proportion who had confidence in the Labour Party (35%). It might be argued that

they appear to be the most left wing of the four religious group (since the Muslims have a larger minority who have confidence in the Conservative Party). However, the Sikhs were also the least cynical about the difference that political parties can make, with only 24% (NS) believing that 'it makes no difference which political party is in power'.

In general, Sikhs have tended to have a high level of involvement in politics at all levels, including local politics (Ghuman, 1980: 313-314), the IWA (Tatla, 1993a: 96), Punjabi politics (John, 1969: 123; Dhesi, 1969: 188; James, 1974: 93-94; Tatla, 1993a: 97) and British party politics, where they have tended to vote Labour (R. Singh, 1992: 30). The first Sikh to be elected to the House of Commons was in 1992, and in the following election in 1997 two Sikhs were elected (Tatla, 1999: 100). The Sikh community has had success in campaigning over a number of issues and in particular the right to wear the turban (Hiro, 1972: 129-130; Tatla, 1993a: 97). Like young Muslims, there is clear evidence that some of the younger Sikhs have developed a greater political awareness and involvement. Drury (1996: 105) noted that many of the Sikh girls in her study had become more interested in Indian politics after the storming of the temple at Amritsar in 1984.

9.1.3.3. The influence of Asian culture

When the responses of the adolescents to the statements were divided between the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs the following picture emerges which is set out in table 9.1.3.3.a. The chi square test shows that there were significant statistical differences of at least $p < .05$ in all the responses except to the statements 'I have confidence in the Conservative Party' and 'Trade unions have too much power' where there were no significant differences.

The first Asian candidate in local elections in Walsall was Mr Mohsi Jaffri in 1971 (WO: 26.3.71) who stood for Labour. The first reference in local newspapers to any Asians being involved in the Conservative Party was in 1988 when the St Matthew's Conservative Association elected its first Asian chairman (WO, 19.2.88).

Table 9.1.3.3.a. Politics: the influence of Asian culture

	Chr and N.A. %	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh %	χ^2	p<
I have confidence in the Conservative Party	11	10	<1	NS
I have confidence in the Labour Party	21	41	103	.001
It makes no difference which political party is in power	30	25	5	.05
Private medicine should be abolished	13	18	9	.01
Private schools should be abolished	26	19	12	.001
State ownership of industry is a good thing	15	22	19	.001
The local council does a good job	13	26	58	.001
Trade unions have too much power	24	23	<1	NS
I think that immigration into Britain should be restricted	39	17	89	.001

A much higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents had confidence in the Labour Party than the Christian/non-affiliated teenagers (41% compared with 21%), but a smaller proportion of them thought that it makes no difference which political party is in power (25% compared with 30%), suggesting that they were slightly less cynical about the political process than the white teenagers. Whilst there is no doubt that some young Asians are very actively involved in politics (Brah, 1996: 43-47), other scholars are divided on whether there are significant differences between South Asian British teenagers and white adolescents (Husband, 1994: 94). Sharma (1980: 246) did not find that there were any 'significant differences among Asian and English [sic] adolescents' perceptions of the importance of the institutions such as trades unions, general elections, taxation and courts of law'.

In general, the levels of registration to vote among Asians has been lower than among whites (Hiro 1991: 172; Anwar, 1991b: 45; Anwar: 1994b: 21ff). Despite this, research shows that there is a higher proportion of actual votes cast by Asians (Anwar, 1994b: 24ff).

The greater level of confidence in the Labour Party may partly be due to the larger number of Asian Labour candidates who have stood for election (Le Lohé, 1989: 160-161; Geddes, 1993: 51 - 54). At General Elections over the past thirty years the majority of Asians have voted Labour (Studlar, 1983: 92-100; Anwar, 1994b: 35ff).

The responses to the statements on private services/privatisation were confusing. A higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents than the Christian/non-affiliated teenagers thought that private medicine should be abolished (18% compared with 13%), a lower proportion thought that private school should be abolished (19% compared with 26%) and a higher proportion thought that state ownership of industry is a good thing (22% compared with 15%). A higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents thought that the local council does a good job (26% compared with 13%) but a much smaller proportion of them thought that immigration into Britain should be restricted (17% compared with 39%).

9.1.4.0. The public world: conclusions

The responses of the adolescents to a range of statements about work, global and national issues and politics have been described. What do these tell us about the adolescent Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs?

Christians

Compared with the other three religious groups the adolescent Christians were the least positive about work and employment, that is they had the smallest proportion who thought that most unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted to, that a job gives you a sense of purpose and who wanted to get the top in their job (table 9.1.1.2.a.).

When it came to their responses to political issues, the adolescent Christians were the religious group with the smallest proportion who had confidence in the Labour Party, who thought that private medicine should be abolished, that the local council does a good job (table 9.1.3.2.a) and were concerned about poverty in the third world (table 9.1.2.2.a.).

They had the highest proportion who were concerned about the risk of nuclear war, about polluting the environment (table 9.1.2.2.a.), who thought that private schools should be abolished and that immigration into Britain should be restricted (table 9.1.3.2.a.).

Hindus

In an earlier section it was noted that the adolescent Hindus displayed high expectations about schooling (table 8.1.2.2.a.). They had the largest proportion who wanted to get to the top when they were at work, and who would not like to be unemployed (table 9.1.1.2.a.). Despite this, we also find that they had the smallest proportion who thought it was important to work hard when you get a job and who would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job they did not like doing (table 9.1.2.2.a.). It might be that these contrasting attitudes towards work reflect the greater success of at least some parts of the Hindu community in Britain in starting their own businesses and in entering the professions, when compared with the Muslim and Sikh communities. Their long history of enterprise may also explain why they were the group with the smallest proportion who agreed that state ownership of industry is a good thing (table 9.1.3.2.a.).

The Hindus had the largest proportion who were worried about third world poverty and had the smallest proportion who were concerned about the risk of nuclear war, about polluting the environment, who thought that pornography was too readily available and that there was nothing they could do to help solve the world's problems (table 9.1.2.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who thought that private schools should be abolished and that immigration into Britain should be restricted (table 9.1.3.2.a.)

Muslims

Compared with all the other groups the teenage Muslims appear to be the most negative about employment. Thus they had the smallest proportion who would not like to be unemployed and the largest proportion who would rather have been unemployed and on social security than have to do a job they did not like and, equal with the Hindus and Sikhs, who thought that a job gives you a sense of purpose (table 9.1.1.2.a.). They had

the smallest proportion who thought that the national lottery was a good thing (table 9.1.2.2.a.).

They had the highest proportion who thought there was too much violence on television, that pornography was too available, that there was nothing they could do to solve world problems (table 9.1.2.2.a.), who had confidence in the Conservative Party, confidence in the Labour Party, who thought that private medicine should be abolished, that state ownership of industry is a good thing and that the local council does a good job (table 9.1.3.2.a.). These factors show us that the Muslims have a high regard for the political process and of the role of the state in organising and regulating social order.

Sikhs

The teenage Sikhs had the largest proportion of teenagers who placed importance on the individual's role in succeeding at work, that is, who thought that it is important to work hard when one gets a job and that most unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted to (table 9.1.1.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who thought that there was too much violence on television (table 9.1.2.3.a) and they also had the smallest proportion who had confidence in the Conservative Party (table 9.1.3.2.a.).

10.0.0.0. THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNICITY ON THE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS

This chapter draws together those insights from chapters five to ten where the data is examined on the basis of ethnic rather than religious categories. What is the influence of ethnicity on the attitudes of the adolescents?

Contents	10.1.0.0. A comparison of the attitudes of the two ethnic groups
	10.1.1.0. Inner life
	10.1.2.0. Relating and spirituality
	10.1.3.0. Morality
	10.1.4.0. The world of the adolescent
	10.1.5.0. The public world
	10.1.6.0. Summary

10.1.0.0. A comparison of the attitudes of the two ethnic groups

In this section a comparison is made between the Christian/non-affiliates group, which comprised mainly white adolescents, with the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group which was made up almost exclusively of those with South Asian origins and, therefore, is influenced by Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi cultures and religions.

10.1.1.0. Inner life

There were several areas where there were no statistically significant differences in the adolescents' responses to the statements: 'I find life really worth living', 'I often feel depressed', 'I have sometimes considered taking my own life', 'What people think of me is important', 'I like to have a lot of people around me' (table 5.1.1.3.a.), 'I am worried about my sex life', 'I am worried about how I get on with other people', 'I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex' and 'I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools' (table 5.1.2.3.a.).

Some of the differences between the two groups are predictable since they related to religious issues. Thus a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers wanted to get married in church (5% compared with 73%) and wanted their children to be that (3% compared with 54%) (table 5.1.3.3.a.). The importance placed on religion by South Asian British people resulted in a higher proportion of Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents being positive about religious teaching in schools (69% thought that religious education should be taught in schools compared with 44% of the Christian/non-affiliates, and 18% thought that schools should hold daily religious assemblies compared with 7% respectively) (table 5.1.3.3.a.). What is unexpected is that their positive attitudes towards religion show that a smaller proportion of them thought that church is boring (29% compared with 52%), that a person can be a Christian without going to church (14% compared with 55%), that the church seems irrelevant to life today (23% compared with 28%), that the bible seems irrelevant to life today (19% compared with 30%) and who thought that vicars do a good job (21% compared with 35%) (table 5.1.3.3.a.). This probably reflects the greater value that the South Asian British culture places on religion generally.

Compared with the Christian/non-affiliates group, a greater proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents felt that their life had a sense of purpose (60% compared with 54%), although at the same time a larger proportion felt that they were not worth much as a person (17% compared with 14%). A larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers tended to be lonely (17% compared with 13%), did not like being in large crowds (26% compared with 20%) (table 5.1.1.3.a.), and were worried about going out alone at night (40% compared with 35%) (table 5.1.2.3.a.). A smaller proportion of them had sometimes experienced jealousy of others (69% compared with 79%) (table 5.1.1.3.a.) and were worried about catching AIDS (54% compared with 59%) (table 5.1.2.3.a.),

10.1.2.0. Relating and spirituality

The responses to a number of statements did not produce results with statistically significant differences: 'I believe in reincarnation' (table 6.1.1.3.a.), 'I believe in the devil', 'I believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future', 'I am frightened of going into a church alone' (table 6.1.2.3.a.), 'I would be reluctant to discuss my problems with a doctor', 'I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mother', and 'I find it helpful to talk about my problems with close friends' (table 6.1.3.3.a.).

Turning to the responses of the teenagers concerning matters of religious belief, we find some of the largest differences between the two groups. Compared with the adolescent Christians/non-affiliates, a higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers indicated that they believed in God (84% compared with 39%), believed that God punishes people who do wrong (70% compared with 22%), believed in life after death (68% compared with 48%), believed that God made the world (70% compared with 31%), believed that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God (55% compared with 7%), believed that Hinduism is the only true religion (6% compared with 2%), believed that Islam is the only true religion (39% compared with 3%), believed that Sikhism is the only true religion (16% compared with 2%) (table 6.1.1.3.a.), believed in black magic (30% compared with 24%), and were frightened of walking through a graveyard alone (48% compared with 39%) (table 6.1.2.3.a.).

Not surprisingly, when it came to specifically Christian beliefs a much smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents compared with the Christians/non-affiliates indicated that they agreed with the statements. Thus a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents believed that Jesus Christ is the son of God (26% compared with 48%), that Jesus really rose from the dead (21% compared with 30%) and that Christianity is the only true religion (3% compared with 23%) (table 6.1.1.3.a.). The Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents also had smaller proportions who believed in some of aspects of the supernatural, for example, that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead (17% compared with 36%), who

believed in their horoscopes (34% compared with 41%) and who believed in ghosts (42% compared with 49%) (table 6.1.2.3.a.).

More of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents indicated that they would like advice and that they were open to receive it. This is shown by the larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers compared with the Christian/non-affiliates who often longed to turn to someone for advice (40% compared with 35%) (table 6.1.3.3.a.) and the smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents who indicated that they would be reluctant to discuss their problems with a school teacher (33% compared with 43%), a youth club/group leader (32% compared with 42%), a vicar/priest (25% compared with 35%) or a social worker (30% compared with 36%). A smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers indicated that they found it helpful to discuss their problems with their fathers (27% compared with 32%) (table 6.1.3.3.a.). These findings are in line with the conclusion of Olowu (1983: 416) who concluded that 'The results of the study show that, in general, immigrant children needed more counselling than non-immigrant children'.

10.1.3.0. Morality

The responses to a number of statements did not produce results with statistically significant differences, such as 'homosexuality is wrong' (table 7.1.1.3.a.), 'There is nothing wrong in shop-lifting', 'There is nothing wrong in playing truant from school', 'There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti wherever you like', 'I have never stolen anything in my life', 'I have never broken my promise', 'I have never told a lie', 'Sometimes I have taken advantage of people', 'The police do a good job' (table 7.1.2.3.a.), 'It is wrong to sniff glue', 'It is wrong to use marijuana' and 'It is wrong to use heroin' (table 7.1.3.3.a.).

The Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers had a more conservative view of personal sexual morality than the Christian/non-affiliates except in their attitudes towards homosexuality where, as has been pointed out already, there was no statistical difference. Compared with the

adolescent Christians/non-affiliates a higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers believed that it was wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage (40% compared with 12%), divorce is wrong (35% compared with 16%), contraception is wrong (13% compared with 5%), abortion is wrong (48% compared with 38%) and that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (46% compared with 25%) (table 7.1.1.3.a.).

The responses of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents reveal that more of them were concerned to keep the law. Thus compared with the teenage Christians/non-affiliates a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents thought that there was nothing wrong in travelling without a ticket (15% compared with 18%), with cycling after dark without lights (13% compared with 20%), with buying cigarettes under the legal age (21% compared with 34%), with buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (24% compared with 47%) (table 7.1.2.3.a.). A larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers thought that it is wrong to become drunk (50% compared with 18%) and that it is wrong to smoke cigarettes (50% compared with 37%) (table 7.1.3.3.a.).

10.1.4.0. The world of the adolescent

The responses to a number of statements did not produce results with statistically significant differences: 'I wish I had more things to do in my leisure time', 'I am frightened of going to a youth centre' (table 8.1.1.3.a.), 'I like the people I go to school with' (table 8.1.2.3.a.), 'I like living in my area', 'I like my area as a shopping centre', 'Unemployment is a growing problem in my area', 'Drug taking is a problem in my area' and 'Drunks are a growing problem in my area (table 8.1.3.3.a.).

The Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers were more purposeful and positive about their leisure time than the Christians/non-affiliates. This is illustrated by comparing the responses of the adolescent Christians/affiliates with those of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers. This shows that a larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers thought that there were lots of

things for young people to do in their leisure time in their area (26% compared with 18%), whose parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (54% compared with 23%), whose parents did not agree with most of the things that they did in their leisure time (42 % compared with 33%) (table 8.1.1.3.a.) and thought that their area cared for its young people (32% compared with 16%). Compared with the teenage Christians/affiliates a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents often hung around with friends doing nothing (55% compared with 69%), thought that their youth centre was boring (29% compared with 47%) and claimed that their parents allowed them to do what they liked in their leisure time (35% compared with 49%) (table 8.1.1.3.a.). Despite all this a larger proportion of them thought that Walsall is a boring place (42% compared with 37%).

A larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers were positive about their school whilst at the same expressing worry about their academic progress and prospects. The responses show that 77% of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh group were happy in their school, (compared with 71% of the Christian/non-affiliate group), 72% compared with 63% were often worried about their school work, 87% compared with 71% were often were often worried about their exams, 38% compared with 30% were often worried about being bullied at school, 53% compared with 45% thought that teachers do a good job, 71% compared with 66% thought that their school was helping to prepare them for life (table 8.1.2.3.a.). A smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers thought that school was boring (29% compared with 45%) (table 8.1.2.3.a.).

The Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents were also more positive about the area they lived in. A smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents thought that vandalism (43% compared with 57%), crime (45% compared with 55%) and violence (40% compared with 45%) were growing problems in their area (table 8.1.3.3.a.).

10.1.5.0. The public world

The responses to a number of statements did not produce results with statistically significant differences: 'I think it is important to work hard when I get a job', 'I would not like to be unemployed' (table 9.1.1.3.a.), 'I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war', 'There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems' (table 9.1.2.3.a.), 'I have confidence in the Conservative Party' and 'Trade unions have too much power' (table 9.1.3.3.a.).

The Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers were more ambitious, but also more choosy about jobs than the Christian/non-affiliates. Compared with the adolescent Christians/non-affiliates a higher proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers thought that a job gives a person a sense of purpose (79% compared with 74%), who wanted to get to the top in their work when they were in employment (95% compared with 88%), who would rather be unemployed on social security than have a job that they did not like doing (25% compared with 20%) and thought that most unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted it (64% compared with 54%) (table 9.1.1.3.a.).

The Christian/non-affiliates were less concerned about global and social issues than the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers. They also had less confidence in the ability of the state to deliver services. A larger proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers were concerned about the poverty of the Third World (63% compared with 51%), concerned about the pollution risk on the environment (64% compared with 58%), that there was too much violence on television (33% compared with 21%), that pornography is too readily available (45% compared with 39%) (table 9.1.2.3.a.), who had confidence in the Labour Party (41% compared with 21%), who thought that private medicine should be abolished (18% compared with 13%), that state ownership of industry is a good thing (22% compared with 15%) and that the local council was doing a good job (26% compared with 13%) (table 9.1.3.3.a.). Compared with the teenage Christians/non-affiliates a smaller proportion of the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents thought that the National Lottery is a good thing (43% compared

with 59%) (table 9.1.2.3.a.), that it makes no difference which political party is in power (19% compared with 26%) and that immigration into Britain should be restricted (17% compared with 39%) (table 9.1.3.3.a.).

10.1.6.0. Summary

In summary, we find that the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents, when compared with the Christian/non-affiliates, were more positive about religion generally and in particular about religious lessons and assemblies in schools. They had higher levels of belief in basic religious doctrines and smaller proportions who were positive about Christianity. More of them thought that their life had a sense of purpose, yet at the same time more of them were worried about relationships. More of them wanted advice and were willing to accept it from professionals, more were conservative in their attitudes towards sexual morality, more were concerned to keep the law, more were positive about their leisure time and about the town of Walsall. Whilst a larger proportion of them were positive about their school, more of them were also worried about their academic progress. With regard to employment more of them were ambitious. A higher proportion expressed concern about global and social issues and more of them had confidence in the political process to deliver services.

11.0.0.0. THE RELIGION OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS WHO PRACTICE THEIR FAITH

The chapter reports the responses of those teenagers who were actively involved in practising their faith. It describes where they worship, some of their religious practices and in what ways they would like to see their faith community change some of their practices.

Contents	11.1.0.0. Adolescents who practise their faith
	11.2.0.0. Christians
	11.2.1.0. Church
	11.2.2.0. Attendance at church
	11.2.3.0. Conversion
	11.2.4.0. Other activities and religious practices
	11.2.5.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the church
	11.3.0.0. Hindus
	11.3.1.0. The mandir
	11.3.2.0. Attendance at the mandir
	11.3.3.0. Conversion
	11.3.4.0. Other activities and religious practices
	11.3.5.0. Personal religious practices
	11.3.6.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the mandir
	11.3.7.0. Family shrine
	11.4.0.0. Muslims
	11.4.1.0. Mosque
	11.4.2.0. Attendance at the mosque
	11.4.3.0. Conversion
	11.4.4.0. Other activities and religious practices
	11.4.5.0. Girls' dress at home and mosque
	11.4.6.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the mosque
	11.5.0.0. Sikhs
	11.5.1.0. Gurdwara
	11.5.2.0. Attendance at the gurdwara
	11.5.3.0. Conversion
	11.5.4.0. Other activities and religious practices
	11.5.5.0. Personal religious practices
	11.5.6.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the gurdwara
	11.6.0.0. Similarities and differences in practice and attitudes between the four religions
	11.6.1.0. Attendance at place of worship
	11.6.2.0. Conversion
	11.6.3.0. Other activities and religious practices
	11.6.4.0. Attitudes towards aspects of place of worship

11.1.0.0. Adolescents who practise their faith

This chapter describes the responses of the teenagers to the final part of the questionnaire. All the adolescents were asked to complete the main body of the questionnaire. They were then asked if they belonged to a Christian church or whether they were Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. For those answering 'yes' they were asked to turn to the back of the questionnaire and fill in a further section. In the early drafts of the questionnaire the adolescents were asked exactly the same question, namely 'Are you a Christian/Hindu/Muslim or Sikh?'. The pilot scheme revealed that a large proportion of the respondents were using the word 'Christian' in a non-religious sense, that is that many of them had not been christened/baptised or regularly attended church, but still called themselves 'Christian'. Consequently most of the subsequent responses were answered in the negative. Since the point of this part of the research was to explore the religious practices of the adolescents from the four major faiths represented in Walsall, it was decided to change the question about 'being a Christian' into a question about 'belonging to a Christian church'. The results are shown in table 11.1.0.0.a.

Table 11.1.0.0.a. Walsall adolescents: adherence to one of the four faiths

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Do you belong to a Christian church?	1161	34	2227	66
Are you a Hindu?	79	2	3309	98
Are you a Muslim?	257	8	3131	92
Are you a Sikh?	194	6	3194	94

Exactly half of the teenagers in Walsall claimed some sort of allegiance to one of the four religions. Sixteen percent of the adolescents in Walsall indicated that they were practising Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs, although only 9.6% of the total population were from South Asian British background (section 2.3.2.0.). However, the age profile of the South

Asian British community shows that it comprises a far higher proportion of adolescents than the other ethnic groups in Walsall (table 2.3.3.0.a.).

11.2.0.0. Christians

11.2.1.0. Church

The Christian teenagers belonged to a number of different denominations, as shown in table 11.2.1.0.a.

Table 11.2.1.0.a. To which church do you belong?

	%
Baptist	6
Church of England	52
Jehovah's Witness	1
Methodist	6
Pentecostal	1
Roman Catholic	28
Salvation Army	<1
Society of Friends	<1
United Reformed Church	<1
Other	5

N = 1134

Table 11.2.1.0.b. Denominational affiliation shown as percentage of the total number of each sex

	Boys %	Girls %
Roman Catholic	3.1	1.8
Church of England	45.2	54.8
Methodist	8.5	15.2
Presbyterian and Congregationalist	4.3	5.9
Baptist	2.8	4.4
Other Christian bodies	2.5	3.3
American Sects (Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc)	0.4	0.8
Non-Christian religions	0.1	0.7
None	33.1	13.1

Source: Cox (1967: 88)

Cox put a question to all the sixth formers (as opposed to just those who claimed to be religious) in his study about their denominational affiliation. Their responses are shown in table 11.2.1.0.b. above, and reveal that there was a far higher proportion of protestants than in Walsall. Roberts and Sachdev asked their teenagers in their study about religious affiliation (table 11.2.1.0.c.)

Table 11.2.1.0.c. To which religion or denomination do you belong?

	%
No religion	54
Christian (no denomination)	9
Roman Catholic	9
Church of England/Anglican	15
Islam/Muslim	4
Free Church/Protestant	4
Buddhist	<1
Hindu	<1
Sikh	1
No answer	1

Roberts and Sachdev (1996: 157)

Of the 46% who claimed to belong to a religion, 33% were Anglican, 20% were Roman Catholics, 20% were Christians of other denominations and 9% were Muslims. In each case the figures were lower than those for the adolescents in Walsall.

11.2.2.0. Attendance at church

The adolescent Christians were asked if they had attended church on the previous Sunday. Their responses are shown in table 11.2.2.0.a.

Table 11.2.2.0.a. Which services did you attend last Sunday?

	%
No services	67
Morning service	21
Evening service	6
Morning and evening service	6

N = 1084

Of those who claimed to be practising Christians, 33% had attended church at least once on the previous Sunday. In a much earlier study Hargreaves (1967: 155) questioned the 104 boys from the fourth form of Lumley Secondary Modern School about their church attendance: 10% went to church more than once a week, 5% went once a week, 14% went once a month, 35% went occasionally and 36% rarely or never went to church. The levels of attendance of Walsall adolescents were higher, but this is probably because Hargreaves was surveying all the boys in the year, not just those who belonged to a church.

Furnham and Gunter asked those who claimed to attend church regularly how often they attended. One third (33%) said that they went at least once a week, which is the same proportion as the adolescents in Walsall, 39% said that they attended less frequently and 30% were uncertain (Furnham and Gunter, 1989: 131). Roberts and Sachdev (1996: 132) found a much lower level of church going among the teenagers in their study. Only 12% of those who professed a belief said that they attended worship at least once a week and 16% of believers never attended worship.

11.2.3.0. Conversion

The teenagers (N = 1073) were asked if they had experienced anything that could be called conversion. Their responses show that 16% had had such an experience and 84% had not.

11.2.4.0. Other activities and religious practice

The adolescents were asked if they were involved in various activities run by the church or held at the church (table 11.2.4.0.a.). Nearly one quarter (23%) attended the youth club. Much of the involvement was related to services, such as giving out books (14%), taking the collection (13%), singing in the choir (11%) and playing in the music group (10%). A smaller amount of activity was to do with other groups, for example drama (14%), scouts/guides (9%) and bible study (8%).

Table 11.2.4.0.a. Are you involved in any of the following at your church?

	%
Bible study group	8
Prayer group	6
Community service group	4
House group	4
Evangelistic group	2
Church youth group	23
Adult membership/confirmation class	5
Music group	10
Choir	11
Sponsored scouts/guides	9
Reading the lesson	8
Leading prayers	7
Serving at the altar	6
Preaching	4
Giving out books	14
Taking offertory/collection	13
Liturgical dance	2
Drama	12
Teaching in Sunday School/Junior Church	8
Helping with the crèche	8

N = between 1114 and 1122

The Department of Education and Science's report *Young People in the 80's* also asked about involvement in church activities (table 11.2.4.0.b.).

Table 11.2.4.0.b. Type of involvement: church - the responses of all the young people who claimed involvement in church

	%
Youth club/fellowship/group	21
Trips/outings	15
Sporting activities	3
Carol services/harvest festivals/concerts	16
Choir	11
Attend services	7
Sunday school	7
Sunday school teaching	7
Scouts/guides	6
Parades/marching	4
Help other people through church auspices	7
Other mentions *	37

* includes flower arranging, sorting hymn books, weeding/gardening, play-group for younger siblings, collecting money for charities etc.

Source: Department of Education and Science (1983: 86)

N = 165

Like the Walsall teenagers the most popular activity was belonging to the youth club (21%). Where it is possible to make direct comparisons the responses were broadly similar, for example belonging to the choir and teaching in the Sunday School. The *Young People in the 80's* survey also asked what benefits the teenagers thought they derived from their involvement in the church. The results are shown in table 11.2.4.0.c. and reveal that much of this was concerned with social activities.

Table 11.2.4.0.c. Benefits of participation: church - the responses of all the young people who claimed involvement in church

	%
Meeting other/same kind of young Activities	33
Fun/enjoyment	25
Relaxes atmosphere	15
Doing something useful/helpful	7
Pursuit of religious knowledge	19
Other mentions	12
	9

Source: Department of Education and Science (1983: 86)
N = 165

11.2.5.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the church

A number of statements were put to the adolescents to ascertain their attitudes towards their religious leaders, their sense of involvement and belonging, spreading the faith, social involvement and tradition versus modernity. Their responses are shown in table 11.2.5.0.a.

The responses of the teenagers show high levels of uncertainty on most issues (between 17% and 70% were uncertain about what they thought). Just over two-fifths (41%) thought that the worship was boring and more than two-thirds (68%) preferred modern language services. Only a small proportion (8%) preferred the use of traditional language in services. The majority disagreed or were not certain if their minister was out of touch with ordinary people with 22% thinking that he/she was. There was a great deal of

uncertainty about evangelism with 70% not certain whether they wanted more of it or not. Just over one quarter (27%) felt that the church was not concerned enough about social problems in the area but 32% disagreed with this.

Table 11.2.5.0.a. Attitudes towards aspects of the church

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %
The Sunday worship of my church is boring	41	30	29
I prefer services which use up to date language	68	24	8
My minister/priest/vicar is out of touch with ordinary people	22	36	43
I would like my church to do more evangelism	13	70	18
People in my church are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	27	41	32
I would like my church to given clearer teaching on moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex	53	31	16
More young people would come to church is the services were more lively	76	17	7
More young people would come to church if the sermons were more relevant to everyday life	62	29	10
More young people would come to church if we were more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment	37	45	18
More young people would come to church if they could be involved in decision making	48	40	12
More young people would come to church if the church did not have so many rules about how to live	55	31	14

N = between 1081 and 1105

Gaskin, Vlaeminke and Fenton (1996: 18) also found that adolescent practising Christians did not show very high levels of commitment to social involvement and voluntary work.

More than half (53%) wanted their church to give clearer teaching on moral issues. The final five statements asked the adolescents what factors would bring more young people to church. Over three-quarters (76%) thought the services needed to be more lively and 62% thought that the sermons should be more relevant. Just under two-fifths (37%) agreed that the church should be more concerned about social issues, although a higher proportion (45%) were not certain about this. Just under half (48%) thought that more

young people would come to church if they were involved in decision making and 55% agreed that the church should not have so many rules about how to live.

11.3.0.0. Hindus

11.3.1.0. Mandir

In the early years of the post war immigration there were no mandirs in the Britain, since in theory at least they were not allowed to be built outside of India (Desai, 1963: 93). Furthermore, since Hindu worship in India is as much focused on the home and the individual as it is on the temple and the congregation (Brockington, 1996: 202-203), there may not have been the same pressure to have their own buildings as there was in the other religious traditions. Taylor (1976: 88-89) discovered in his survey that the young Punjabi Hindu adolescents in Newcastle-upon-Tyne had little knowledge or experience of the worship at the mandir, domestic ritual and Hindu practices.

The Walsall adolescents were asked to specify which mandir they attended. Some of their responses were ambiguous (eight of them simply recorded 'Walsall' and one each indicated Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Solihull). Their responses are shown in table 11.3.1.0.a.

Table 11.3.1.0.a. Which mandir do you attend?

	N	%
Baba Balak Nath, Caldmore	18	30
Samaj Mandal, Salisbury Street, Darlaston	3	5
Shree Hindu Mandir, Ford Street, Pleck	3	5
Walsall	8	13
Shree Krishna Mandir, West Bromwich	1	2
Shree Geeta Bhawan, Handsworth	7	12
Darlaston	5	8
Dudley Road	8	13
Other	7	12

N = 60

11.3.2.0. Attendance at the mandir

Religious practice and organisation varies greatly in British mandirs (Bowen, 1988: 353-354; Law, 1991: 28), although a significant number of people meet for worship on Sundays. *Arti* is normally performed twice each day and individuals may come to the temple for prayer and worship (*puja*). However, it is possible to be a Hindu and never visit the mandir. Indeed there are some Hindus who do not pray either in the mandir or at home and who do not participate in the religious festivals and yet still consider themselves to be Hindus (Knott, 1986: 170-171; Michaelson, 1987: 32). Consequently one needs to be careful when comparing attendance at the mandir with, for example, church attendance, as a measure of religious commitment. However, within the Hindu community concern has been expressed that young people are less interested and involved in religion than in the past (Nesbitt, 1991: 33). When asked whether they go to a mandir, 92% of the adolescent Hindus in Walsall claimed that they did. Table 11.3.2.0.a. shows their responses to a question about their frequency of attendance.

Table 11.3.2.0.a. Have you been to the mandir recently?

	%
Have you been to the Mandir in the last two days?	12
Have you been to the Mandir in the last week?	12
Have you been to the Mandir in the last month?	30
Have you been to the Mandir in the last year?	47

N = 77

11.3.3.0. Conversion

The adolescent Hindus (N = 75) were asked if they had experienced anything that could be described as conversion, spiritual enlightenment or an awakening, a phenomenon which is noted in some of the literature (Bowen, 1988: 291, 303). Just under one fifth (19%) indicated that they had and 81% that they had not.

11.3.4.0. Other activities and religious practices

The adolescents were asked about their involvement in a variety of other activities (table 11.3.4.0.a.).

Table 11.3.4.0.a. Are you involved in any of the following activities at your mandir?

	%	N
Learning Hindi	18	76
Learning about Hinduism	28	76
Helping in the langar (kitchen)/ preparing prasad	22	76
Learning bhajans (hymns)	17	76
Playing musical instrument	21	76
Welcoming visitors	27	45

Just under one fifth (18%) were learning Hindi at their mandir, 28% claimed to be learning about their faith and just over one fifth (22%) helped in the preparation of food. Many adolescent Hindus were involved in both singing *bhajans* and playing musical instruments (Jackson and Nesbitt, 1993: 140-143) and in Walsall it was found that 17% were learning religious songs and 21% played musical instruments. Over one quarter (27%) were involved in welcoming visitors. Bowen found that adolescents were involved in similar activities in mandirs in Bradford (Bowen 1988: 283-285) .

11.3.5.0. Personal religious practices

The adolescent Hindus were asked questions about three religious ceremonies. The questions and the responses are shown in table 11.3.5.0.a.

The naming ceremony is supposed to take place eleven days after the birth of a child, although it is sometimes delayed in Britain in order to allow time to contact relatives who may live a some way away. The ceremony can take a number of different forms, although it normally takes place in the home (Kanitkar and Jackson, 1982: 15-17;

McDonald, 1987: 62). Just under one third (30%) had had a naming ceremony when they were born, one quarter had not and 46% did not know if they had or had not.

Table 11.3.5.0.a. Hindus: personal religious practices

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
Was there a naming ceremony held for you when you were born?	30	25	46
Were you taken to a <i>mundan</i> (hair cutting) ceremony when you were young?	30	30	40
Have you received the sacred thread (<i>janeu</i>)?	16	35	50

N = 76-77

There are various traditions about when the *mundan* (head shaving) ceremony should take place. Some Hindus believe it should be before the boy's first birthday. Other do it before the third or fifth birthday (Jackson and Nesbitt, 1990: 50). Nearly one third (30%) had been through the *mundan* ceremony, 30% had not and 40% did not know whether they had or not.

The *yagnopavita* ceremony is when the boys are invested with the sacred thread (*janeu*). Fewer of the young Hindus go through this than through the *mundan* ceremony (Jackson and Nesbitt, 1993: 47). Sixteen percent of the Walsall Hindu adolescents had received the *janeu*, 35% had not and 50% did not know the answer.

In the 1970s Kannan examined the religious practices of two groups of young Hindus. The first group were still studying and the second group were in employment. He found that the majority did not practise their faith at all (1978: 100-101).

11.3.6.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the mandir

A variety of statements were put to the adolescents concerning attitudes towards the mandir (table 11.3.6.0.a.). In the responses to most statements there were relatively high

proportions of the Hindus who were 'not certain' about what they thought in response to many of the statements. Just over one third (35%) agreed that the prayers at the mandir were boring, 27% were not certain and 39% disagreed. Just under one third (31%) preferred prayers in contemporary language, 45% were not certain and 24% disagreed. Two-fifths of the adolescents thought that more young people would come to the mandir if the songs were more contemporary, although 41% were not certain and 19% disagreed. One third agreed that more young people would come to the mandir if the sermons were more relevant. But of all the statements this one had the highest proportion who were uncertain that this was the case (47%), with 19% disagreeing.

Table 11.3.6.0.a. Attitudes towards aspects of the mandir

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
The prayers at my mandir are boring	35	27	39	78
I prefer it when the prayers are in up to date language	31	45	24	78
The pujari at my mandir is out of touch with ordinary people	10	46	44	78
The people at my mandir are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	27	42	31	78
I would like to have clearer teaching about moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex	48	22	31	78
More young people would come to the mandir if we had more up to date bhajans	40	41	19	78
More young people would come to the mandir if the sermons/talks (<i>biakhya</i>) were more relevant to everyday life	33	47	19	78
More young people would come to the mandir if it were more concerned with social issues such as poverty and the environment	37	41	22	78
More young people would come to the mandir if they could be involved in decision making	51	26	23	78
More young people would come to the mandir if there were less rules about how to live their lives	48	33	20	46

Dwyer (1994: 188) compared two Gujarati Hindu sects: the Pushtimarg and the Swaminarayan movement. Commenting on the Pushtimarg sect, she wrote 'For the younger generation a major obstacle to their wholehearted participation in sectarian

activities is that most of its ritual proceedings are conducted in Sanskrit and Braj Bhasha (a dialect of Hindi). The Sanskrit is usually glossed in Hindi or Gujarati, but even so many young people cannot read either of these scripts, while Braj Bhasha and even Gujarati songs often remain incomprehensible to the younger generation because of their extensive use of an archaic and religiously specialised vocabulary.....Indeed, since young people know so little of the tradition into which they were born, the very survival of Pushtimarg in Britain may be endangered unless long-term action is taken soon'. Dwyer contrasts this with the Swaminarayan movement which has adapted more to local conditions (1994: 188), where 'there is also a strikingly large attendance amongst those aged between 18 and 30. As members of the sect's youth group, these are likely to be the sect's future organisers. In their regular meetings they are already acquiring administrative skills by organising anti-smoking and anti-drinking campaigns amongst the adults, as well as competitive recitations of songs and sectarian texts by the children....English translations of many of the movement's most important texts are freely available, but in any case the language of both the liturgy and the texts is straightforward modern Gujarati'. Bowen (1988: 313) noted that as the young people in the mandir in Bradford became more involved, so there was an increased use of English as the language in which bhajans were sung. During the 1980s an increasing number of prayers were being translated into English.

Only 10% thought that the *pujari* was out of touch, with 46% uncertain and 44% disagreeing. Just over one quarter (27%) thought that the people at the mandir were not concerned enough about social problems, 42% were not certain and 31% disagreed. About 37% agreed that more young people would come to the mandir if it were more concerned with social issues. Over two-fifths (41%) were not certain about this and 22% disagreed. Bowen recorded examples of social and charitable involvement by the adolescent Hindus in Bradford (1988: 286-287).

Over one half (51%) thought that more young people would come to the mandir if they could be more involved in decision making, 26% were not certain and 23% disagreed. Some years earlier research by the Commission for Racial Equality Report (1978: 50) showed that some young Asians were critical about the effectiveness of their own organisations and their leaders: 52% felt that Asian organisations did not help solve the problems of young Asians, 20% disagreed and 28% neither agreed or disagreed. In some instances young people have taken leadership roles (Bowen, 1988: 289, 292).

Some traditions of Hinduism have been concerned to spread the faith (Bowen: 1988: 315-316) and some mandirs are willing to invite people from churches, school and secular organisations to visit and to hear about Hinduism (Knott, 1986: 75). ISKCON (the Hare Krishna Movement) has consistently tried to recruit, not least among the expatriate Indian community (Carey, 1987a: 85) and especially among the young (Carey, 1983: 480; 1987a: 92). In another essay in the same book, Carey described the Ramakrishna Mission and the way that its attracts converts (1987b: 134-156).

Nearly a half (48%) of the adolescent Hindus wanted clearer teaching on areas of sexual morality, but 22% were not certain and 31% disagreed. Nearly one half (48%) thought that more young people would come to mandir if there were less rules about how to live their lives, one third were not certain and one fifth disagreed.

11.3.7.0. Family Shrine

A common practice of Hindus is to meet for worship in the home, which is called *satsang* (literally 'in the company of truth'). It can comprise the singing of *bhajans* and the saying of prayers. *Satsang* groups may be segregated, with different groups for men and women (Michaelson, 1987: 41). Sometimes the priest will come to a home to lead a *puja* (worship). Many Hindu homes have a shrine, usually in the corner of a room. Often members of the family, and especially the women, will light a lamp and incense and pray in front of it. The women will normally use the *Puranic* mantras or other prayers in their

vernacular language (Kanitkar and Jackson, 1982: 14). The vast majority of the adolescents indicated that there was a shrine in their home (85%). Table 11.3.7.0.a. shows that often both parents shared in looking after the shrine, assisted by other members of the family.

Table 11.3.7.0.a. Who looks after the shrine in your home?

	%
Mother	29
Father	26
Grandmother	1
Sister	6
Mother and grandmother	7
Mother and father	3
Mother, father and grandmother	7
Everyone	6
Other	17

N = 73

11.4.0.0. Muslims

11.4.1.0. Mosque

The teenagers were asked to specify which mosque they attended. The responses were difficult to sort out since a number of them recorded only the name of an area or a name which could refer to more than one mosque (for example 'Central Mosque'). Consequently, the responses shown in table 11.4.1.0.a. give attendance figures for three mosques only.

Table 11.4.1.0.a. Which mosque do you attend?

	%
Shah Jalal Mosque, 32-33 Mount Street	12
Mosque and Islamic Centre, 4 Rutter Street	42
Masjid-al-Farouq, Milton Street	12
Other	34

N = 152

11.4.2.0. Attendance at the mosque

Compared with the other main religions there was a comparatively high level of religious practice among adolescent Muslims. When the Walsall teenagers were asked if they attended the mosque, 76% claimed they did and 24% said they did not. They were also asked to indicate how often they attended Friday prayers (table 11.4.2.0.a.).

Table 11.4.2.0.a. Do you attend Friday prayers?

	Yes %
Weekly	25
Monthly	9
In the school holidays	67

N = 223

These statistics show that one quarter attended Friday prayers, but that this figure rose to just over two-thirds (67%) in the school holidays. Modood *et al* asked the adolescents how often they visited the mosque and the responses are set out in table 11.4.2.0.b.

Table 11.4.2.0.b. The frequency of visits to the mosque by Muslims, by sex and age

	16-34 %	35-49 %	50+ %
Men			
Once a week or more	65	83	78
Never	5	2	5
Women			
Once a week or more	48	46	67
Never	32	29	12

Source: Modood, Berthoud, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith, Virdee and Beishon (1997: 304)

Among the 16-34 year old men they found that nearly two-thirds went to the mosque at least once a week, compared with 48% of the women. However, they also reported an increased attendance of women at the Friday worship in the mosque, especially young and professional women (Modood *et al.* 1997: 303). Evidence about the levels of and trends in attendance is confusing. Some writers have referred to the comparatively low or

declining levels of attendance of the young (for example, Kannan, 1978: 106; Anwar, 1994a: 33 and Lewis, 1994a: 79) whilst others have referred to increased attendance at the mosque (for example, Wilkinson, 1988: 16 and Gardner and Shukur, 1994: 161ff).

11.4.3.0. Conversion

When the teenagers (N = 243) were asked if they had experienced anything that could be called a conversion or a religious awakening, 35% indicated that they had and 65% that they had not. Little research appears to have been undertaken into conversion among Muslims, although Köse (1996: 2) interviewed 70 converts (50 males and 20 females) to Islam, aged seventeen to sixty-six, of which one third of them were involved in Sufism, which is a tradition of Islamic mysticism.

11.4.4.0. Other activities and religious practices

The adolescents were asked about a variety of individual and corporate religious practices and their responses are shown in table 11.4.4.0.a.

Table 11.4.4.0.a. Muslim adolescents: Do you do any of the following activities?

	Yes %
Attend the mosque to learn Qu'ran?	66
Read the Qu'ran daily?	51
Read the Qu'ran weekly?	59
Pray five times daily?	32
Fast during Ramadam?	93
Attend prayers on Eidulfitter (end of Ramadam)?	73
Attend prayer on Eiduladha (sacrifice of Abraham's son)?	69
Been on a pilgrimage to Mecca?	10
Give zakat (alms)?	64

N = between 250 and 255

Much importance is put on the Qu'ranic schools or *madrasas* as a means of passing on the faith (Joly, 1995: 56). They usually meet after schools or on Saturday mornings. Attendance levels vary greatly in different parts of the country. Iqbal (1977: 397) estimated that it was only about 10-20% of the Muslim children in the UK who were

attending classes provided in mosques and religious education annexes. He also claimed that religious education teachers from the Muslim Educational Trust were teaching Islam to 3 000 Muslim children in fifty-nine Local Education Authority Schools immediately before or after school hours. In contrast, some years later Parker-Jenkins (1991: 569) quoted the head teacher of a *madrasa* who estimated that about 90% of Muslim children attend *madrasa*. Generally, these schools adopt a fairly traditional approach to teaching and for many this involves helping to the children to read the Arabic script, but it does not necessarily involve them understanding what it actually means (that is, learning the Arabic language) (Joly, 1995: 35). Some of the mosques and some of the *madrasas* have now begun to teach in English (Joly, 1995: 8). Afshar (1989: 218) found that all the mothers in her study based in West Yorkshire wanted their daughters to be Muslims yet few of them were sent to the mosque to learn to read the Qu'ran. Few knew much about daily rituals and prayers. The only third generation girl who could say the daily prayers, and knew how to proceed with the ritual, was the daughter of a white bride.

Kleinberg and Martin (Dickinson, Hobbs, Kleinberg and Martin, 1975:143) asked the parents of the Pakistanis Primary School children in Glasgow how often the children attended the mosque and for what purpose. This is shown in table 11.4.4.0.b.

Table 11.4.4.0.b. Attendance at mosque (for those who reported attending once a week or more)

	Children %	Families %
Prayers	49	44
Instruction in Holy Book	16	14
Instruction in 'native' language	40	40
Socials or youth club	4	3

Source: Dickinson, Hobbs, Kleinberg and Martin (1975: 143)

They found that the most common reason for the children to attend was worship (49%), followed by learning languages (40%). Only 16% claimed they attended to receive instruction in the Qu'ran.

All Muslims are expected to pray five times a day (*Salah*) (Hewitt, 1993: 4). Just under one-third (32%) of the Walsall adolescents claimed that they did this, although it is difficult to do this during term time since schools do not allocate a place to pray. Some Muslim groups have been pressing for schools to provide prayer space or that the children should be allowed to attend the nearest mosque for prayers on Fridays (Wahhab, 1989: 16). During the course of this study the researcher was asked by a Muslim to negotiate with one of the secondary schools in Walsall to have a prayer room.

Anwar (1994a: 33) reported research undertaken by the Community Relations Commission (table 11.4.4.0.c.) in 1975 on how often Muslims prayed and found that a higher proportion of the young people were praying daily (48%) than the adolescents in Walsall. However this difference may be accounted for by the change of practice over time, since the research is more than twenty years earlier than the Walsall research.

Table 11.4.4.0.c. Muslims: frequency of praying

	Parents %	Young People %
Once a day or more	60	48
Once a week	10	8
Once a month or more	6	5
Less than that	5	14
Never	3	15
No answer	16	10

N = 358 (parents)

N = 426 (young people)

Source: Anwar, 1982: 17

Fasting (*sawm*) is an obligation for all Muslims above the age of twelve during Ramadan (McDermott and Ahsan, 1980: 26-27; Hewitt, 1993: 5). In some years *Clarion*, the newsletter of the Young Muslims' Organisation has run articles before Ramadan explaining its significance and calling its readers to fast (for example March/April 1991). Saifullah-Khan (1974: 311) found that fewer of the Mirpuris fasted in Bradford than in

their home villages in Pakistan. In Walsall 93% of the adolescent Muslims indicated that they fasted during Ramadam. In contrast, some years earlier, Kannan's (1978: 105-106) study found that few of the young people fasted in Ramadam.

Eid-ul-Fitr takes place at the end of the month of *Ramadam* and *Eid-ul-Adha* takes place on the day following the pilgrimage at Mecca. Attendance at *Eid* prayers is generally high (Anwar, 1985: 161; Wilkinson, 1988: 21-22). In some areas pressure has been put on schools to allow days off for Muslims on their main festivals so they can attend the mosque (Wahhab, 1989: 16; Joly, 1995: 151). The Walsall teenagers indicated that 73% attended prayers on *Eid-ul-Fitr* and 69% on *Eid-ul-Adha*.

Every Muslim is expected to perform *hajj* to Mecca at least once in their lifetime. About 10% of the Walsall teenagers had been on pilgrimage to Mecca.

The giving of alms (*zakat*) is an obligation laid upon all Muslims. This is generally thought to be 2.5% of one's total annual wealth (Hashnie, 1967: 7). Saifullah-Khan (1974: 310) discovered that *zakat* was a familiar concept among Bradford Mirpuris but found that it was not practised in any consistent manner. There are many different understandings of *zakat*. Some Muslims see it as giving to disaster relief (for example, *National Association of Muslim Youth Newsletter*, 8, 1986), others may give it to more local causes (for example, Collins, 1957: 182-183), whilst others send the money home to relatives (Wilkinson, 1988: 17). The adolescents were not asked where or how *zakat* was given although 64% of the adolescent Muslims in Walsall said that they gave alms.

The teenagers were asked about three other activities in the mosque and their responses are shown in table 11.4.4.0.d. Just over one quarter (26%) attend a group to study, just under one quarter (24%) were involved in community service and nearly two-fifths (39%) attended a Muslim youth group.

Table 11.4.4.0.d. Do you attend any of the following activities at your mosque?

	Yes %
Study circle	26
Community service group	24
Mosque youth group	39

N = 248

11.4.5.0. Muslim girls' dress

Parker-Jenkins and Haw (1998: 201 and 212) have pointed out that there is not a consensus among Muslims as to whether or not girls have to cover their heads and Anwar (1998: 144-145) has shown that there are a wide variety of views within the adolescent Muslim community about wearing Western clothes. Saifullah-Khan (1974: 261) observed out that *purda* was practised more strictly by the Mipuris in Bradford than it was in their home villages in Pakistan. Three questions about dress were put to the girls. The responses are shown in table 11.4.5.0.a.

Table 11.4.5.0.a. Girls' dress at home and mosque

	Yes %
Do you wear a scarf at school?	34
Do you wear a scarf at mosque?	81
Do you wear <i>purda</i> at mosque?	24

N = 114-115

Just over one-third (34%) wore a scarf at school and 81% wore one at the mosque. Just under one-quarter (24%) wore *purda* at the mosque.

11.4.6.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the mosque

A range of questions were asked about aspects of the mosque and ways in which the adolescents might like to see it change. The responses of the teenagers are set out in table 11.4.6.0.a.

Table 11.4.6.0.a. Attitudes towards aspects of the mosque

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
The prayers at my mosque are boring	4	4	93	230
The imam at my mosque is out of touch with ordinary people	10	24	66	226
I would like my mosque to do more to spread the Islamic faith	80	10	10	224
People in my mosque are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	26	31	44	226
I would like my mosque to give clearer teaching on moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex	37	27	36	226
More young people would come to the mosque if the sermons were more relevant to everyday life	39	40	22	221
More young people would come to the mosque if people were more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment	39	39	23	223
More young people would come to the mosque if they could be involved in decision making	52	35	14	223
More young people would come to the mosque if there were less rules about how to live their lives	32	24	44	224

Raza (1993: 54) wrote 'The greatest fear which haunts the Muslim community is that the younger generation will become westernised, and will lose not only their cultural heritage but also their religion'. Thus the views of the adolescent Muslims about their faith, their mosque and their community are important. Only a very small proportion of the adolescents thought that the prayers at the mosque were boring (4%), with 4% not certain and 93% disagreeing. However 39% agreed with the statement that more young people would come to the mosque if the sermons were more relevant to everyday life. Two-fifths were not certain about this and 22% disagreed. Part of the problem for adolescent Muslims about worship and the sermons is due to the inaccessibility of language. Mosques are increasing using English (Lewis, 1994b: 110; Vertovec and Rogers, 1998: 13) since many of the adolescents do not speak any Arabic and are not always fluent in the language of their parents. Some Muslims have urged that it is essential that all the imams should be able to speak English and that more attention should be given to teaching the teenagers Arabic (Raza, 1993: 59). There is some

criticism of the teaching style and methods of the imams, which is sometimes out of touch with the adolescents (Raza, 1993: 57; Vertovec, 1998: 96-99).

One in ten of the teenagers thought that the imam at their mosque was out of touch with ordinary people, with 24% uncertain and 66% disagreeing. Lewis (1996: 16) claimed that the imam was not considered to be a very strong role model by many of the adolescents.

Da'wah is an Arabic word meaning invitation, call or summons (Poston, 1992: 3). It is the duty of Muslims to undertake *da'wah*, which is not just directed at non-Muslims. It is also an invitation for Muslims to surrender themselves more fully to Allah and to work for an Islamic society (Murad, 1986b: 6; Hiskett, 1989: 9). There are a number of Muslim organisations which are especially concerned to spread the Islamic faith such as the Jama'at-i-Islami, The Islamic Foundation, The UK Islamic Mission and the *Ahmadiyyas*, an order of Sufis (Butterworth, 1969: 143; Knott, 1991: 106; Lewis, 1994b: 102-112). Some Muslims have organised events or festivals to raise the profile of Islam in the UK (for example, Tames, 1976: 320-322) and in the mid-1990s an exhibition of Muslim life was held in Walsall Town Hall to raise understanding (WO, 6.9.95; WO, 15.9.95). Muslim leaders often speak of the need for *da'wah* (Murad, 1981: 12; Siddiqui, 1992: 8; Akhtar, 1993: 65; Raza, 1993: 70) and regret the obstacles to it (Ali, 1996: 91-98).

Joly found that 82% of mosques in her study in Birmingham claimed to have gained converts, totalling one hundred people (1995: 78). Köse (1996: 19) claimed that there were between 3 000-5 000 English converts to Islam in the UK. Dr Pathan from the Masjid al Farouq in Walsall estimated that there were four white male Muslim converts in his mosque (who had mainly converted because they married had a Muslim) and he thought there were probably about twelve in the whole of Walsall. The vast majority (80%) of the Muslim teenagers wanted the mosque to do more to spread Islam, 10% being uncertain and 10% disagreeing.

Members of the Muslim community have often been involved in social, justice and charitable work (Anwar, 1985, 175-178; King, 1994: 41-61) and in Walsall have been involved in raising money for disaster relief (WO; 4.9.92). Just over one quarter (26%) of the adolescents wished that people in their mosque were more concerned with social problems, while 31% were uncertain and 44% disagreed. Nearly two-fifths (39%) thought that more people would come to the mosque if people were more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment. However, 39% were not certain about this and 23% disagreed.

Just under two-fifths (37%) said that they wanted the mosque to give clearer teaching on moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex, while 27% were uncertain and 36% disagreed.

Vertovec (1998: 95) found that many of the young Muslims in Keighley felt alienated from the decision making of the elders. In Walsall it was found that over half of the Muslim teenagers (52%) thought that more young people would attend the mosque if they were involved in decision making, although 35% were not certain and 14% disagreed. Just under one-third (32%) agreed that more young people would come to the mosque if there were less rules about how to live their lives. Just under one quarter (24%) were not sure about this and 44% disagreed.

11.5.0.0. Sikhs

11.5.1.0. Gurdwara

Sikhs are not necessarily expected to attend the gurdwara each week in the same way that Christians attend church on Sundays and Muslim go to the mosque on Fridays. In practice Sunday has become the main time for worship, mainly because it is the most convenient day (Nesbitt, 2000: 80). Festivals are also considered to be very important times to go to the gurdwara. Only 6% of the Walsall Sikh adolescents claimed they did not go to the gurdwara and 94% said they did. When asked to specify which gurdwara they attended some of the adolescents gave general answers which have proved

impossible to use. For example, eight of them wrote 'Birmingham', another eight wrote 'Handsworth' and three wrote 'Wolverhampton'. Others wrote 'Guru Nanak' but did not identify which one. In the light of this it was not possible to include a breakdown of the gurdwaras attended by the teenagers.

11.5.2.0. Attendance at the gurdwara

The Sikh teenagers were asked to indicate on which days they went to the gurdwara and their responses are shown in table 11.5.2.0.a.

Table 11.5.2.0.a. Which days do you normally go to the gurdwara?

	Yes %	N
Monday	7	190
Tuesday	8	190
Wednesday	7	190
Thursday	7	190
Friday	11	190
Saturday	22	190
Sunday	89	189

Weekends were the times when most of the adolescents went to the gurdwara, with the majority attending on Sundays (89%). Other research into attendance at the gurdwara shows a confusing and sometimes contradictory picture. Ghuman's research (1975) among 90 British Punjabi Sikh boys, aged between nine and twelve years old, about some of their religious practices (table 11.5.2.0.b.) and his later study (1980) of Bhattra Sikhs in Cardiff (table 11.5.2.0.c.) looked at attendance at the gurdwara and found that in both cases a very high proportion of the boys went regularly and that an even higher proportion attended the gurdwara than the teenagers in Walsall. It should be noted, however, that the research in Cardiff involved interviewing only twenty families, so the sample was very small.

Table 11.5.2.0.b. Religious activities of Punjabi boys in Birmingham

	Yes %	No %
Attendance at gurdwara	96	4
Celebration of Indian festivals	90	10
Attendance at Sunday Punjabi school	38	62

Source: Ghuman (1977: 103)
N = 90

Table 11.5.2.0.c. Attendance at the gurdwara: Bhattra Sikhs in Cardiff

	Yes %	No %	Sometimes %
Do the boys go to gurdwara regularly?	95	0	5
Do the fathers go to gurdwara regularly?	65	15	20

Source: Ghuman (1980: 312)
N = 20

Nesbitt has also reported relatively high levels of attendance (Nesbitt, 1991: 13; 1995: 90-91). In contrast others have reported very low levels of attendance at the gurdwara (Kannan, 1978: 211; Singh, 1992: 38), especially among the second generation Sikhs (Modood, Beishon and Virdee 1994: 52). Drury (1991: 390) found that 48% of the 102 Sikh girls in her study in Nottingham went to the gurdwara often or regularly. Of these 42% went willingly and 6% said that they attended in order to please their parents. More than two-fifths (44%) claimed that they and their parents rarely attended the gurdwara and 8% said that they refused to go to the gurdwara despite their parents.

11.5.3.0. Conversion

Whilst the first generation immigrants arrived with the memories and experiences of Sikhism in their home country, the succeeding generations find themselves in a different position. Some have continued to practise the faith that their parents have taught them. Others, however, have 'rediscovered' the faith for themselves. There is no doubt that some younger Sikhs have begun to practise their faith with more zeal and understanding than many of their parents' generation (Guru Nanak Mission, 1972: 3). When the

adolescents (N = 183) were asked 'Have you experienced anything that could be called conversion?', 13% indicated that they had and 87% they had not.

11.5.4.0. Other activities and religious practice

The Sikh teenagers were asked about their involvement in a number of other activities and their responses are show in table 11.5.4.0.a.

Table 11.5.4.0.a. Are you involved in any of the following at your gurdwara?

	Yes %	N
<i>Gurbani</i> learning (<i>Gurbani Path</i>)	12	173
Learning <i>Kirtan/Keertan</i>	12	183
Gurdwara sports club	14	183
Gurdwara Martial arts group	6	184
British Young Sikh Association	8	184
Playing musical instruments	10	184
Leading prayers	4	184
Welcoming visitors	16	183
Helping in the <i>Langar</i> (kitchen)	55	184

The singing of *kirtan* is an important part of Sikh worship and is one of means by which the faith is passed onto the next generation. It is possible to sing most of the Sikh scriptures in the form of *rags*, and they are usually accompanied by the *baja* and the *tabla*. Music classes are often provided in gurdwaras for the children to sing and to learn to play the instruments (Nesbitt, 2000: 162-163). Just over one in ten (12%) learnt *gurbani* and *kirtan* at the gurdwara. A slightly larger proportion were involved in a sports club (14%) and 6% belonged to a marital arts group. The British Sikh Association attracted 8% of the adolescent Sikhs. One in ten played musical instruments in the gurdawara and 4% led prayers. A larger proportion (16%) were involved in welcoming visitors and 55% helped in the *langar*.

11.5.5.0. Personal religious practices

Orthodox Sikhism requires that its adherents keep the 'five k's'. This involves wearing a steel bangle (*kara*), a comb in the hair (*kanga*), shorts (*katch*) and dagger (*kirpan*) and having uncut hair (*kesh*). There is evidence that in the early years of immigration many Sikhs stopped following the five k's. The situation has gradually changed and it would appear that increasing numbers of Sikhs have begun to keep them again (Bell, 1968: 56). This has not been without its problems. For example, in the early 1990s concern was expressed about the danger of children wearing the *kirpan* in Walsall Schools and the Education Department issued guidelines (ES: 18.12.91).

In the questionnaire used in this piece of research the adolescents were asked about a range of religious practices. These questions and their responses are shown in table 11.5.5.0.a

Table 11.5.5.0.a. Questions about the adolescents' religious practice

	Yes %	N
Do you observe		
uncut hair (<i>kesh</i>)?	32	188
wearing a turban?	24	187
wearing a steel bracelet (<i>kara</i>)?	79	187
any other Sikh symbol...?	48	187
Have you accepted Sikh <i>Amrit</i> (baptism)?	18	175
If not, do you intend to?	24	165
Are you keeping your obligations of <i>Amrit</i> ?	22	161
Do you know why Sikhs observe the five K's?	84	174

In the early years of immigration many Sikhs cut their hair and did not wear a turban (Uberoi, 1964: 35; Kalsi, 1992: 6). The turban is not technically one of the Five Ks. indeed the *Sahajdhari* Sikhs do not consider the wearing of the turban or the prohibition on shaving as an essential part of Sikhism (Singh, 1992: 32:). It was found that nearly

one third (32%) of the Sikh adolescent males in Walsall did not cut their hair and just under one quarter (24%) wore a turban.

Generally, a smaller proportion of the younger generation have had uncut hair and worn a turban than the older generation (James, 1974: 48-50; Kannan, 1978: 95-97; 151-153; Agnihotri, 1987: 48; Singh, 1992: 34; Modood *et al*, 1997: 327), despite the fact that often their parents would like their children to do so (Ghuman, 1980: 315). African Asian Sikhs are more likely to wear the turban than other Sikhs (Modood *et al*, 1997: 328) and Ghuman discovered that both the boys and fathers in Cardiff Bhattra Sikh community had the highest proportion who wore turbans and did not cut their hair than compared with all other group of Sikhs (85%) (Ghuman, 1980: 312). Drury (1991: 390) found that 75% of the second generation 16-20 year old female Sikhs in her study in Nottingham did not cut their hair (*kesh*).

The majority of Sikhs wear the *kara*, the steel bracelet (James, 1974: 51; Drury, 1991:390). Among the Walsall adolescents it was found that 79% wore the *kara*. One of the statements in the questionnaire asked the adolescents if they observed any other Sikh symbol and nearly a half (48%) claimed that they did. Drury (1988: 186) found that 73% of the Sikh girls in Nottingham wore the *kara*.

Amrit is the name for the holy water used in the ceremony by which Sikhs become members of the *Khalsa*. The full name of the initiation ceremony is *amrit pahul* or *amrit pachar*. It is not necessarily associated with adolescence and is just as likely to take place during adulthood (Nesbitt, 2000: 112). Since there is more than one name for this ceremony and also because *amrit* is associated with other ceremonies such as *chula* and *chhitta* (Nesbitt, 1997: 25-27), the question was phrased 'Have you accepted Sikh *Amrit* (baptism)?'. When the questionnaire was piloted and had been discussed with some of the adolescents it was clear that they understood the question. Nearly one fifth (18%) of the Walsall adolescents had accepted *amrit* and 24% indicated that they intended to in

the future. Just over one fifth (22%) claimed they were keeping the obligations of *amrit*. The vast majority (84%) said that they knew the reasons why Sikhs keep the five k's.

11.5.6.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the gurdwara

The adolescents were also asked to respond to several statements about the gurdwara and these are shown in table 11.5.6.0.a.

Table 11.5.6.0.a. Attitudes towards aspects of the gurdwara

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
The worship at my gurdwara is boring	13	13	74	190
I find it hard to understand when the <i>granthi</i> (priest) read out of the Sikh Holy Book (<i>Granth</i>)	63	12	25	189
The members of the gurdwara committee are out of touch with ordinary people	24	38	38	186
I would like my gurdwara to do more to spread the Sikh faith	47	41	12	188
People in my gurdwara are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	34	32	34	185
I would like my gurdwara to give clearer teaching about moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex	42	31	27	185
More young people would come to the gurdwara if the sermons /talks were more relevant to everyday life	53	26	21	188
More young people would come to my gurdwara if we were more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment	35	46	19	186
More young people would come to my gurdwara if they could be involved in decision making	49	36	15	185
More young people would come to my gurdwara if there were less rules about how to live their lives	54	25	22	185

Thirteen percent of the adolescents thought that the worship at the gurdwara was boring, which was the same proportion who were not certain. This compared with 74% who disagreed. Nearly two-thirds (63%) found it hard to understand when the *granthi* read from the scriptures, 12% were not certain and 25% disagreed. It is common for Punjabi to be taught in gurdwaras and at Sikh youth camps (James, 1974: 47; Nesbitt and Jackson, 1993-4: 53-55; Nesbitt, 1995: 16; 2000: 150-159), although compared with the

mosque it is not usually undertaken so systematically (Singh, 1992: 38). Consequently, few young Sikhs are fluent in Punjabi (Ballard, 1994b: 113-114; Bruce, 1995: 89). All the girls in Drury's study spoke some Punjabi, although 65% said that they only spoke it badly (Drury, 1988: 258) and 85% spoke English when away from home (Drury, 1988: 262). Only 20% claimed to have even a basic knowledge of the written language (Drury, 1988: 264). This makes it difficult for the adolescents to understand the worship since there is not an English translation of the Guru Granth Sahib in modern English (Cole, 1995:50). In response to this problem some gurdwaras have used English in some of their worship (Kannan, 1978: 186). Nesbitt and Jackson recorded that when the children at one of the Sikh camps which took place in Walsall were asked which language they preferred for one of the sessions, they all wanted it to be in English (Nesbitt and Jackson, 1993-4: 60).

Just under one quarter (24%) of the adolescents thought that the members of the gurdwara committee were out of touch with ordinary people. A higher proportion were not certain if this was true (38%) and a similar proportion disagreed. Ballard's experience (1994b: 113) was that many young Sikhs were not persuaded by the conservatism of some of the leaders.

Sikhism is not basically a proselytising religion, although the *Radhasoami* movement seeks to spread the Sikh faith (Knott, 1991: 106). The main method of spreading the faith appears to be children's camps (Nesbitt, 1995: 185-188). The Sikh community in Walsall has been featured regularly in newspaper reports about their religious festivals (WO, 7.4.89; WO, 26.4.90), activities for Sikh children (WO, 6.8.93), and an exhibition of Sikh art in Walsall art gallery (WO, 13.12.91; WO, 17.1.92). Nearly half (47%) of the Sikh adolescents wanted their gurdwara to do more to spread the faith, with 41% not certain and 12% disagreeing.

When the statements 'People in my gurdwara are not concerned enough about social problems in the area' was put to the teenagers. 34% agreed, 32% were not certain and

34% disagreed. The Sikh community in Walsall has been reported in the local newspapers when they have raised funds for charities (WO, 3.8.91; WO, 8.11.91), as has at least one Sikh youth group (WO: 5.11.93). Over one third (35%) of the teenagers thought that more young people would come to the gurdwara if there was more emphasis on social issues, with 46% not certain and 19% disagreeing with the proposition.

Just over two-fifths (42%) of the teenagers wanted clearer teaching on moral issues, 31% were uncertain and 27% disagreed. Over half (53%) thought that more young people would come to the gurdwara if the sermons were more relevant, although 26% were not certain and 21% disagreed. Nearly one half (49%) thought more young people would come if they were involved in decision making, but 36% of the adolescents were not certain about this and 15% disagreed. Singh (1992: 38) found that many of the young Sikhs in Bradford felt alienated from community affairs and Ballard (1994b: 115) noted that although involving the young people sounds an attractive idea in practice it has not usually worked very well.

More than one half (54%) of the Sikh adolescents agreed that more would come to the gurdwara more if there were less rules about how to live their lives. One quarter were not certain about this and 22% disagreed.

11.6.0.0. Similarities and differences in practice and attitudes between the four religious groups

It is not possible in all cases to make meaningful comparisons between the four religious groups since one is not always comparing like with like. Nevertheless, in this next section it has been possible to draw together statistics in four key areas which allow broad comparisons to be made.

11.6.1.0. Attendance at place of worship

The adolescents were asked about attendance at their places of worship. Comparisons of the responses need to be treated with caution since the statements put to the Hindus and Sikhs did not deal with worship specifically. The responses are shown in table 11.6.1.0.a.

Table 11.6.1.0.a. Attendance at places of worship

	Christian %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %
Did you attend any services last Sunday?	33 (N = 1084)			
Have you been to the Mandir in the last week?		23 (N = 77)		
Do you attend Friday prayers weekly?			25 (N = 223)	
Do you attend Friday prayers in the school holidays?			67 (N = 223)	
Do you go to the gurdwara on Sundays?*				89 (N = 189)

* It was decided to quote the statistics for Sundays since this has become the main day of worship for Sikhs in this country. However table 11.5.2.0.a. shows that the adolescent Sikhs were also visiting the gurdwara on other days.

One third of the practising Christian adolescents had attended at least one church service on the previous Sunday. Just under a quarter (24%) of the Hindu teenagers had been to the Mandir in the previous week, while 25% of the Muslims had been to Friday prayers. When the Muslims were asked about attendance during school holidays the figure rose to 67%. Nearly nine out of ten of the Sikhs said they attended the Gurdwara on Sundays. However, the statement was phrased in such a way that the responses tell us about their normal practice rather than their actual attendance on a particular Sunday, so any comparisons must be treated with caution. Furthermore, this statistic does not tell us how many of them attended worship. The responses of the Sikhs may reflect those who went to the gurdwara for *langar*.

Hasnie (1977) undertook four pieces of research in Huddersfield and in the third part interviewed more than 500 Asian adults and adolescents. All of them were from different

households. Only one had been born in Britain, although most of them had lived in Britain for many years. Hasnie did not give an age or gender analysis of the sample, so we do not know the age brackets that he used to define 'boys/girls' and 'men/women' in this research. The questions focused on religious practice, education, work, community living, western influences, arranged marriages, parent-child conflict, and Asian organisations. He asked them how often they prayed (table 11.6.1.0.b.). Although Hasnie's study is much earlier than this study, it shows a far higher proportion of the South Asian British adolescents in Huddersfield prayed regularly than the adolescents in Walsall (table 4.1.6.0.a.) and therefore it should not surprise us to find more of the South Asian British teenagers involved in worship, whether public or private.

Table 11.6.1.0.b. How often do you pray?

	Boys %	Girls %
Once a week	50	68
Once a month	14	5
Less than once a month or never	36	27

Source: Hasnie (1977: 24)
N = 'more than 500 Asians'

Ghuman (1994) asked the adolescents in Birmingham if and how often they attended public worship (table 11.6.1.0.c.).

Table 11.6.1.0.c. How often do you attend worship at the mosque, temple or gurdwara?

	N	Frequently %	Sometimes %	Never %
Hindus and Sikhs	30	33	43	23
Muslims	20	55	40	5

Source: Ghuman (1994: 54)

He found that a higher proportion of the Muslims attended worship frequently when compared with the Hindus and Sikhs (55% compared with 33%) and also that a higher proportion of the latter two groups never attend worship when compared with the Muslims

(23% compared with 5%). Modood *et al* (1997: 303) also asked about attendance at religious services and their results are shown in table 11.6.1.0.d.

Table 11.6.1.0.d. How often do you attend services or prayer meetings or go to a place or worship?

	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Church of England		Roman Catholic		Old Protestant		New Protestant Caribbean
	%	%	%	W	O	W	O	W	O	%
Once a week or more	27	39	62	9	30	29	26	28	25	57
More than once month but less than once a week	24	32	7	7	13	12	16	11	28	17
More than once a year but less than once a month	29	19	6	38	36	29	30	31	31	15
Less than once a year	18	7	17	45	30	29	21	30	13	9
Can't say	3	2	7	-	-	1	6	1	3	1

Source: Modood (1997: 303)
W = white, O = others

When Modood *et al* asked the adolescents if they attended once a week or more he found that the highest attendance was among the Muslims (62%), followed by the Sikhs (39%), then the Christians (29%) and the Hindus (27%). When it came to very occasional attendance (less than once a year) the statistics showed Christians (25%), Hindus (18%), Muslims (17%) and Sikhs (7%). Allowing for the differences in the questions it appears that Modood *et al*'s findings are in line with the attendance of the teenagers in Walsall, that is, that the proportions of those worshipping were highest among the Muslims, then the Sikhs, Christians and Hindus respectively.

11.6.2.0. Conversion

A specific question about conversion was asked of four religious groups in the final section of the questionnaire. The wording of the questions differed slightly, as a way of taking into account some of the different concepts and words used by the four religions.

Table 11.6.2.0.a. Conversion: a comparison of the four religions

	Christian N = 1073 %	Hindu N = 75 %	Muslim N = 243 %	Sikh N = 183 %
Have you experienced anything that could be called 'conversion'?	16			
Have you experienced anything that could be described as conversion/ spiritual enlightenment or an awakening?		19		
Have you experienced anything that could be called a conversion or a religious awakening?			35	
Have you experienced anything that could be called conversion?				13

The group with the highest proportion of adolescents who claimed some sort of conversion experience was the Muslim (35%), followed by the Hindu (19%), Christian (16%) and Sikh (13%).

11.6.3.0. Other activities and religious practices

Due to the many differences between the four religious traditions and their practices, it was not possible to ask exactly the same questions. Indeed each of them was asked a number of questions which were not asked of any of the other groups. Consequently, in this section it was decided to take only those areas where there was some common ground and to arrange the data in four clusters in order to make some broad comparisons: study, service, social activities and music (table 11.6.3.0.a.).

The adolescent Muslims were the group with the highest proportion who were learning about their faith with 66% attending the mosque to learn Qu'ran and 26% belonging to a study circle. Of the Hindus, 28% were learning about Hinduism and 18% were learning Hindi. Twelve per cent of the Sikh teenagers were learning *gurbani*. About 8% of the Christian adolescents belonged to a Bible Study Group, 4% to a House Group and 5% to an Adult Membership or Confirmation Class.

Table 11.6.3.0.a. Are you involved in study at your place of worship?

	Christian %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %
Bible study group	8 (N = 1122)			
House group	4 (N = 1121)			
Adult membership/confirmation class	5 (N = 1114)			
Learning Hindi		18 (N = 76)		
Learning about Hinduism		28 (N = 76)		
Attend the Mosque to learn Qu'ran			66 (N = 255)	
Attend a study circle			26 (N = 248)	
<i>Gurbani</i> learning (<i>Gurbani Path</i>)				12 (N = 173)

Table 11.6.3.0.b. Are you involved in acts of service in your place of worship?

	Christian %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %
Community service group	4 (N = 1122)			
Helping with the crèche	8 (N = 1119)			
Helping in the <i>langar</i> (kitchen)/ preparing <i>prasad</i>		22 (N = 76)		
Community service group			24 (N = 248)	
Helping in the <i>langar</i> (kitchen)				55 (N = 184)

Nearly one quarter of the Muslim adolescents were involved in a community service group compared with only 4% of the Christians. Another 8% of the Christians helped run the crèche. Over half of the Sikh teenagers (55%) helping in the kitchen compared with 22% of the Hindus.

Table 11.6.3.0.c. Are you involved in social activities in your place of worship?

	Christian %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %
Church youth group	23 (N = 1122)			
[No such question was put to the Hindu adolescents]				
Mosque youth group			39 (N = 248)	
Gurdwara sports club				14 (N = 183)
Gurdwara martial arts group				6 (N = 184)
British Young Sikh Association				8 (N = 184)

Nearly two-fifths (39%) of the Muslim teenagers attended a youth group at their mosque and 23% of the Christian belonged to a youth group at their church. Fourteen per cent of the Sikh adolescents belonged a Gurdwara sports club, 6% to a martial arts group and 8% to the British Young Sikh Association.

Table 11.6.3.0.d. Are you involved in music in your place of worship?

	Christian %	Hindu %	Muslim %	Sikh %
Music group	10 (N = 1120)			
Choir	11 (N = 1121)			
Learning <i>bhajans</i> (hymns)		17 (N = 76)		
Playing musical instruments		21 (N = 76)		
[No similar was put to the Muslim adolescents, since music is not used in the mosque]				
Learning <i>kirtan</i> (hymns)				12 (N = 183)
Playing musical instruments				10 (N = 184)

Ten percent of the Christians played in their church music group and 11% were in the choir. Seventeen per cent of the Hindus attended the mandir to learn *bhajans* and 21% played musical instruments. A slightly smaller proportion of the Sikh adolescents learned *kirtan* at the gurdwara (12%) and played musical instruments (10%). Nesbitt and Jackson (1993-4: 54-55) found that it was common for young Sikhs to be taught *tabla* and harmonium and for them to perform in public worship.

11.6.4.0. Attitudes towards aspects of the church/mandir/mosque/gurdwara and their leaders

The adolescents in Walsall were asked whether they found worship boring (table 11.6.4.0.a.). The responses reveal that the Muslim (4%) and Sikh (13%) teenagers were far less bored than their Christian (41%) and Hindu (35%) contemporaries.

Table 11.6.4.0.a. Worship is boring

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
The Sunday worship at my church is boring	41	30	29	1105
The worship at my mandir is boring	35	27	39	78
The worship at my mosque is boring	4	4	93	230
The worship at my gurdwara is boring	13	13	74	190

When asked whether their leaders were in touch with ordinary people many of the adolescents were uncertain about what they thought (ranging from 24% to 46%). Much smaller proportions of the Hindu and Muslim teenagers thought their leaders were out of touch compared with the Christians and Sikhs (table 11.6.4.0.b.).

Table 11.6.4.0.b. Views on religious leaders

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
Christian: My minister/priest/vicar is out of touch with ordinary people	22	36	43	1101
Hindu: The <i>pujari</i> at my mandir is out of touch with ordinary people	10	46	44	78
Muslim: The imam at my mosque is out of touch with ordinary people	10	24	66	226
Sikh: The members of the gurdwara committee are out of touch with ordinary people	24	38	38	186

When asked about spreading the faith there was again a mixed picture (table 11.6.4.0.c.). The adolescent Muslims (80%) were much keener on this than the Sikhs (47%) and the Christians (13%).

The teenagers were asked about the level of concern about social problems in the locality (table 11.6.4.0.d.). Again many of the adolescents were uncertain about what they thought (ranging from 31% to 41%). This was considered less of a difficulty by the Muslims (26%) and more of a difficulty by the Sikhs (34%) with the Christians and the Hindus being in between (27%).

Table 11.6.4.0.c. Spreading the faith

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
I would like my church to do more evangelism [No such question was put to the Hindus]	13	70	18	1082
I would like my mosque to do more to spread the Islamic faith	80	10	10	224
I would like my gurdwara to do more to spread the Sikh faith	47	41	12	188

Table 11.6.4.0.d. Concern about local social issues

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
People in my church are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	27	41	32	1088
People at my mandir are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	27	42	31	78
People in my mosque are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	26	31	44	226
People in my gurdwara are not concerned enough about social problems in the area	34	32	34	185

When the adolescents were asked whether there should be clearer teaching on moral issues, the group with the highest proportion who agreed were the Christians (53%) and the group with the lowest proportion was the Muslims (37%) (table 11.6.4.0.e.).

Table 11.6.4.0.e. I would like my church/mandir/mosque/gurdwara to give clearer teaching about moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
Christians	53	31	16	1087
Hindus	48	22	31	78
Muslims	37	27	36	226
Sikhs	42	31	27	185

Comparatively high proportions of the Hindus and Muslims were uncertain whether more relevant talks or sermons would encourage young people to come to worship. The adolescent Christians were much clearer, with 62% in agreement. Over half (53%) of the Sikh, 39% of the Muslims and 33% of the Hindus agreed (table 11.6.4.0.f.).

Table 11.6.4.0.f. Relevance of teaching, talks and sermons

	Agree	Not certain	Disagree	N
More young people would come to the church if the sermons were more relevant to everyday life	62	29	10	1086
More young people would come to the mandir if the sermons/talks (<i>biakhya</i>) were more relevant to everyday life	33	47	19	78
More young people would come to the mosque if the sermons were more relevant to everyday life	39	40	22	221
More young people would come to the gurdwara if the sermons/talks were more relevant to everyday life	53	26	21	186

The responses of the adolescents to statements about social issues did not show such a wide variation as in some of the previous responses. Between 39% and 46% were not certain that more young people would come to their place of worship if there was a greater level of concern about social issues, whilst between 35% and 39% agreed (table 11.6.4.0.g.).

Table 11.6.4.0.g. More young people would come to the church/mandir/mosque/ gurdwara if we were more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
Christians	37	45	18	1084
Hindus	37	41	22	78
Muslims	39	39	23	223
Sikhs	35	46	19	185

About half of the adolescents of each religion (ranging from 48% to 52%) thought that young people would be more likely to be involved if they could have more say in making decisions (table 11.6.4.0.h.).

Table 11.6.4.0.h. More young people would come to the church/mandir/mosque/gurdara if they could be involved in decision making

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
Christians	48	40	12	1083
Hindus	51	26	23	78
Muslims	52	35	14	223
Sikhs	49	36	15	185

When the adolescents were asked whether the number of rules inhibits young people from attending a place of worship more than half of the Christians agreed (55%) and nearly as many Sikhs (54%). A slightly smaller proportion of Hindus (48%) agreed followed by the Muslim adolescents (32%) (table 11.6.4.0.i.).

Table 11.6.4.0.i. More young people would come to the church/mandir/mosque/gurdwara if there were less rules about how to live their lives

	Agree %	Not certain %	Disagree %	N
Christians	55	31	14	1082
Hindus	48	33	20	46
Muslims	32	24	44	224
Sikhs	54	25	22	183

The Christian teenagers were the group with the highest proportion who thought that the worship was boring, who wanted clear teaching on moral issues, and thought more young people would come to church if the sermons were more relevant. They had the smallest proportion who wanted to spread the faith and who thought more young people would come to worship if they were involved in decision making.

The Hindus had the smallest proportion (equal with the Muslims) who thought their leaders were out of touch and that more relevant sermons would bring additional young people to worship.

These figures show that of the four religious groups it was the Muslims who had the most distinctive set of attitudes and were by far the most positive about their religion. Only a tiny proportion thought that worship in the mosque was boring and only 10% thought that the imams were out of touch (the same as the Hindus, but much smaller proportions than the Christians and Sikhs). They had the highest proportion who wished to spread the Muslim faith and the smallest proportion who worried that people in the mosque were not involved in social problems in the locality. They also had the smallest proportion who wanted clearer moral teaching and the highest proportion who thought that more young people would come to worship if there was more involvement with social issues such as poverty and the environment. Finally a larger proportion wanted more involvement in decision making in the mosque.

The Sikh adolescents had the highest proportion who thought their leaders were out of touch and that people were not involved enough in local social issues. Interestingly, they had the lowest proportion who thought more young people would come if there was more commitment to issues of poverty and the environment. They also had the lowest proportion who thought that more young people would come if they were involved in decision making.

12.0.0.0. THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF WALSALL ADOLESCENTS: A REVIEW AND SUMMARY

By summarising the data from chapters five to nine, it has been possible to describe in greater detail the attitudes of the adolescent Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and to comment on them in the light of ethnic differences (chapter ten) and in the light of the attitudes and practices of those adolescents who were practising their faith (chapter eleven).

Contents	12.1.0.0. Profile of the four religious communities
	12.1.1.0. Reflections on the profile of Christians - practice and attitudes.
	12.1.1.1. The inner life
	12.1.1.1. Relating and spirituality
	12.1.1.3. Morality
	12.1.1.4. The world of the adolescents
	12.1.1.5. The public world
	12.1.2.0 Reflections on the profile of Hindus - practice and Attitudes.
	12.1.2.1. The inner life
	12.1.2.2. Relating and spirituality
	12.1.2.3. Morality
	12.1.2.4. The world of the adolescents
	12.1.2.5. The public world
	12.1.3.0. Reflection on the profile of Muslims - practice and attitudes
	12.1.3.1. The inner life
	12.1.3.2. Relating and spirituality
	12.1.3.3. Morality
	12.1.3.4. The world of the adolescents
	12.1.3.5. The public world
	12.1.4.0. Reflection on the profile of the Sikhs - practice and attitudes
	12.1.4.1. The inner life
	12.1.4.2. Relating and spirituality
	12.1.4.3. Morality
	12.1.4.4. The world of the adolescents
	12.1.4.5. The public world

12.1.0.0. Profile of the four religious communities

12.1.1.0. Reflections on the profile of Christians - practice and attitudes.

12.1.1.1. The inner life

Compared with the other three groups a higher proportion of the teenage Christians were concerned about their self-image, for example what other people thought of them (table 5.1.1.2.a.). Equal with the Hindu adolescents they also had the largest proportion who were worried about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (table 5.1.2.2.a). Unlike the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents, who come from a culture where traditionally marriages have always been arranged, based on what their families consider to be mutual compatibility rather than appearance, the adolescent Christians live in a culture which places the responsibility to find a partner or spouse almost entirely on the young person themselves. This may cause higher levels of anxiety for the adolescent.

It was surprising to find that a higher proportion of the adolescent Christians compared with the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools (table 5.1.2.2.a.), not least because in response to a statement in the chapter on school they had been asked if they were worried about being bullied. Of the four religious groups there was a smaller proportion of Christians who indicated that they were worried about it (table 8.1.2.2.a.) than the adolescents from the other three religious groups. It might have been presumed that higher proportions of the South Asian British teenagers would have had cause for concern that they might be attacked but this appears not to be the case.

Chapter 5.1.3.0. shows that the Christian adolescents were generally more negative about church and Christianity than the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers. Thus they were the group with the smallest proportion who thought that religious education should be taught in schools and, equal with the Sikhs, who thought that the church seems irrelevant to life today. They had the largest proportion who considered that the bible seems irrelevant to life today and that you can be a Christian without going to church. Despite all this, they were the group with the

highest proportion who were positive about the job that the clergy were doing (table 5.1.3.2.a.).

Just under two-fifths (38%) of the Christians indicated that they thought that church is boring (table 5.1.3.3.a.) compared with 41% of the practising Christians in chapter eleven (table 11.2.5.0.a.) who said that they thought that the Sunday worship of their church was boring. In both cases these were higher proportions than the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

12.1.1.2. Relating and spirituality

As one would predict a larger proportion of the Christian adolescents than the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers believed in the main Christian doctrines, for example that Jesus Christ is the son of God, that he rose from the dead and that Christianity is the only true religion. However, they were also the religious group with the smallest proportion who believed in God, that God punishes people who do wrong and who believed in life after death (table 6.1.1.2.a.). Not surprisingly, the adolescent Christians had the smallest proportion who believed that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God and, equal with the Muslim adolescents, that Sikhism is the only true religion (table 6.1.1.2.a.). Compared with the other three religious groups a smaller proportion of the adolescent Christians expressed belief in some of the basic doctrines. Despite this, there were comparatively high proportions of adolescents who agreed with the statements concerning the supernatural. Thus they had the greatest proportion who thought that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead and who believed in ghosts (table 6.1.2.2.a.), although, equal with the Hindus, they also had the smallest proportion who believed in black magic (table 6.1.2.2.a.). These findings paint a picture of adolescents who are still religious but are not as wedded to what are sometimes considered to be the orthodox tenets of their faith as the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh teenagers are to theirs. This is backed up by the findings in chapter eleven which show the committed Christians' comparatively low levels of attendance at weekly worship (table 11.6.1.0.a.), the low levels of involvement in study of the Christian faith and in service (table 11.6.3.0.a.), the

large proportion who thought that Sunday worship was boring (table 11.6.4.0.a.), the small proportion who wanted to spread the Christian faith (table 11.6.4.0.c.), the large proportion who thought sermons were irrelevant (table 11.6.4.0.a.) and the large proportion who thought that more people would come to church if there were less rules (table 11.6.4.0.h.).

This data will be of particular interest to the leaders of the Christian communities either as they find new ways to teach the traditional doctrines or as they try to reinterpret some of those doctrines to appeal to the younger generation. Compared with the other three religions the material shows that the churches are not doing as well at relating to the issues and concerns of the teenagers who belong to their churches as the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh communities are.

In the chapter entitled 'Listening ear' (6.1.3.0.) the Christian adolescents, equal with the Hindus, had the largest proportion (35%) who were reluctant to go a Christian minister or vicar to discuss their problems, which is much higher than the Muslims (22%) and the Sikhs (24%) (table 6.1.3.2.a.). Leaders of and members of the Sikh community in Walsall generally had a high level of respect for religious leaders of other traditions and it may be that the adolescent Muslims also shared this view. The Christians generally were less willing to discuss their problems with any of the professionals who worked with teenagers and as a group they had the smallest proportion who often longed to turn to someone for advice (table 6.1.3.2.a.). This may be due to the fact that a far higher proportion of the teenage have probably spent all their lives in the area and have well established links with family and friends. A higher proportion of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs will probably have lived elsewhere and may not have the same sense of rootedness or the same level of local support. For those providing counselling and support services for adolescents, whether at school, youth group or in medical practice, this data may help in deciding how to prioritise and focus resources.

12.1.1.3. Morality

Compared with the other three religious groups, a smaller proportion of the teenage Christians thought that it was wrong to have sexual intercourse outside of marriage and to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (table 7.1.2.2.a.). In chapter ten a comparison was made of the basis of ethnicity and it was discovered that a higher proportion of the Christians/non-affiliates were worried about contracting AIDS than the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents (59% compared with 54%) (table 5.1.2.3.a.). In chapter eleven when the attitudes of the practising Christians were described, it was pointed out that, compared with the other three groups, a higher proportion of the Christians wanted their church to provide clearer teaching on issues such as abortion, divorce and sex (table 11.6.4.0.e.). The explanation for these levels of responses might be due to the gap which the Christians see between the traditional teaching of the church and the attitudes and practises of many of their contemporaries.

With regard to breaking the law the Christian teenagers had the largest proportion who thought there was nothing wrong in buying alcohol and cigarettes under the legal age (table 7.1.2.1.a.). These differences between the Christian and the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents are further reflected in the statistics which show that the Christian adolescents had the lowest proportion who thought there was nothing wrong in getting drunk or smoking (the latter was equal with the Sikh adolescents) (table 7.1.3.2.a.). In the chapter 'My Area', which will be described more fully in the next section, the Christians had the smallest proportion, equal with the Hindus, who thought that drunks were a growing problem in the area (table 8.1.3.2.a.). These sections combined show relatively higher levels of tolerance about alcohol among the Christians, compared with the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents. The Christians also had the largest proportion who thought that the police were doing a good job (table 7.1.2.1.a.). All of this information will be of use to those involved in providing education on such matters as personal relationship and the prevention of drug abuse in

schools and also for those working in Young Offenders' Institutions, advice centres and those on help lines.

12.1.1.4. The world of the adolescents

When it came to leisure a higher proportion of the Christian teenagers indicated that they had more parental freedom than their Hindu/Muslim/Sikh contemporaries. They were the group which was most negative about the facilities and activities for young people in Walsall. For example, they had the smallest proportion who thought that there was a lot to do in the area and the largest proportion who thought that the youth centre was boring (table 8.1.1.2.a.). The teenage Christians were the also the most negative of the four religious groups about Walsall. For example, they were the group with the smallest proportion who thought that the area cares about young people and with the largest proportion who thought that vandalism, crime and violence were growing problems in the area (table 8.1.3.2.a.).

Compared with the Hindu/Muslim/Sikh adolescents the Christians appeared to be more relaxed or complacent about their schooling. Thus they were the religious group with the smallest proportion who were worried about their exams and their school work, but with the largest proportion who thought that school was boring (table 8.1.2.2.a.). Similar differences can be seen when comparing the Christian/non-affiliates with the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in table 8.1.2.3.a. This may reflect the importance that many people who have come from overseas place on education as a means of getting established in a new country. Teachers may need to consider how they can raise levels of motivation and application among the white school population.

12.1.1.5. The public world

The teenage Christians had a slightly smaller proportion who thought that a job gave you a sense of purpose and who wanted to get to the top in their work when they were in

employment. A smaller proportion thought that most unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted one (table 9.1.1.2.a.). Similar differences were also found when the responses of the adolescents were divided on the basis of ethnicity and the Christian/non-affiliates were compared with the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs (table 9.1.1.3.a.). The Christians appear to be have been less positive about their employment prospects and less ambitious than the South Asian British teenagers, which raises a number of issues for parents, for teachers, for those involved in careers advice and for employers.

With regard to global issues the Christian adolescents were the religious group with the highest proportion who were concerned about the risk of nuclear war and the risk of pollution to the environment (table 9.1.2.2.a.). This insight would not have been observed if one had undertaken this research solely on the basis of ethnic categories. The comparison of the Christian/non-affiliates with the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs shows that the former expressed lower levels of concern (table 9.1.2.3.a.). However the responses of the adolescents who are practicing their faith in chapter 11, reveals that the views of these four religious groups about concern for the environment are relatively similar (table 11.6.4.0.g.).

In contrast the teenage Christians had the smallest proportion of those who were concerned about the poverty of the Third World (table 9.1.2.2.a.). This may be because many of the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents were still in close contact with family members in South Asia and were therefore more aware of poverty and its effects. Issues of nuclear war and pollution may seem less important if one's relatives are living in relative poverty. This data will be of relevance to aid agencies and charities in customising their material when targeting different groups.

The adolescent Christians in Walsall were the group with the smallest proportion who had confidence in the Labour Party, who thought that the local council was doing a good job and that private medicine should be abolished. In contrast they had the largest proportion who

thought that private schools should be abolished and that immigration should be restricted (table 9.1.3.2.a.). Similar results were found when the responses of the teenagers were analysed on the basis of ethnicity (table 9.1.3.3.a.).

In summary, there were higher proportions of adolescent Christians who were complacent about their schooling, critical about Walsall, critical about their faith and smaller proportions who had confidence in either of the two main political parties. They Christians were comparatively more disaffected and less motivated than their Hindu, Muslim and Sikh contemporaries. Whilst the churches will probably point out that the teenage Christians generally exhibit more positive attitudes than those in the non-affiliates group, nevertheless these statistics should raise concerns for those who want to encourage greater levels of civic and political involvement.

12.1.2.0. Reflections on the profile of Hindus - practice and attitudes.

12.1.2.1. The inner life

Compared with the three other religious groups the Hindu adolescents had quite a distinct profile. A larger proportion of the Hindu teenagers had been jealous (table 5.1.1.2.a). They expressed greater levels of worry than the other three religious groups: a larger proportion were worried about their sex life, worried about how they got on with other people, about their attractiveness to the opposite sex (which was the same proportion as the Christians), worried about going out alone at night, and worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools (table 5.1.2.2.a.). Teachers and counsellors may need to note these relatively high levels of anxiety and be especially aware of the needs of the adolescent Hindus. Compared with the other four groups the teenage Hindus had the lowest proportion who thought that church is boring (table 5.1.3.2.a.).

12.1.2.2. Relating and spirituality

Not surprisingly, when it came to their religious beliefs, the adolescent Hindus had the largest proportion who believed in reincarnation and who believed that Hinduism is the only true religion. Nevertheless, when compared with the other three religious groups, there were smaller proportions who thought that any of the four faiths were 'the only true religion (table 6.1.1.2.a.). They also had the largest proportion of any religious group who believed in their horoscope (table 6.1.2.2.a.). Compared with the other three religious groups the Hindu adolescents had the smallest proportion who believed that God made the world, that Christianity is the only true religion and, equal with the Sikhs, that Islam is the only true religion (table 6.1.1.2.a.). They also had the smallest proportion who believed in black magic, believed in the devil, believed in ghosts and who were frightened of going into a church alone (table 6.1.2.2.a.).

It has already been pointed out that a larger proportion of the Hindu adolescents expressed worries about various matters (table 5.1.2.2.a.). Allied to this is the finding that a greater proportion of the Hindus adolescents often longed to turn to someone for advice than any other group (table 6.1.3.2.a.). Yet at the same time a greater proportion were reluctant to discuss their problems with professionals (apart from the non-affiliates where a greater proportion were reluctant to turn to a Christian minister/vicar/priest) (table 6.1.3.2.a.). Teachers and counsellors may find that they have to be especially alert, not only to the relatively higher levels of anxiety but also to the greater proportion who expressed reluctance to turn to them for help and advice, compared with the Muslim teenagers.

12.1.2.3. Morality

The Hindu adolescents were generally the most liberal of the four religious groups in their views on sexual morality, being the group with the lowest proportions who thought that divorce, contraception, abortion and homosexuality were wrong (table 7.1.1.2.a.). This fact would not have been discovered if the cohort had been analysed simply on the basis of

ethnicity (table 7.1.1.3.a.). This will be of particular interest to those involved in sex education in schools and to health professionals.

A larger proportion of the Hindus teenagers in Walsall compared with the other three religious groups claimed to be law abiding, since they had the lowest proportion of the four religious groups who thought that it was wrong to shop-lift, to travel without a ticket, to cycle after dark without lights, to play truant from their school, to buy cigarettes under the legal age and to write graffiti (table 7.1.2.2.a.). They also had the highest proportion who thought it was wrong to smoke marijuana and heroin (table 7.1.3.2.a.). Those involved with teaching about drug abuse may find it helpful to target their material when talking with Hindus, based on these attitudes. Interestingly the Hindus were also probably the most honest group since they had the lowest proportion who claimed they had never broken a promise or told a lie (table 7.1.3.2.a.).

12.1.2.4. The world of the adolescents

The Hindus did not give any distinctive responses to the statements on leisure and their neighbourhood. With regard to their school the Hindus appear to be the group which was most satisfied about their schooling: they had the largest proportion compared with the other three religious groups who were happy in their school and the lowest proportion who thought that school was boring. Larger proportion were worried about their school work and exams (table 8.1.2.2.a.), showing the relatively high vocational aspirations of the adolescent Hindus, which were also found in the section on work.

12.1.2.5. The public world

This chapter reveals a profile of adolescent Hindus who were more ambitious than those in the other religious groups, exhibiting relatively high levels of self-motivation. For example, they were the group with the highest proportion who wanted to get to the top when they were

in employment and who would not like to be unemployed. They had the smallest proportion who would rather be unemployed than be in a job they did not like. Despite these responses, they were the group with the smallest proportion who thought that it was important to work hard when they were in employment (table 9.1.1.2.a.).

A larger proportion of the Hindu teenagers were concerned about the poverty of the Third World than those in the other three religious groups (table 9.1.2.2.a.), while a smaller proportion of them were concerned about the risk of nuclear war, the risk of pollution to the environment and who thought that there was nothing they could do to solve the world's problems (table 9.1.2.2.a.). This points to the fact that the teenagers were concerned about an issue with which many of them will have had contact through their extended families. They also had the smallest proportion who thought that pornography was too readily available (table 9.1.1.2.a.), which may reflect their more liberal views on sexual matters as reported above (table 7.1.1.2.a.).

When it comes to political issues the Hindu teenagers appeared more *laissez-faire* than the other groups. Thus they were the religious group which had the smallest proportion who thought that private schools should be abolished, that state ownership of industry is a good thing and that immigration into Britain should not be limited (table 9.1.3.2.a.).

In summary, we find that a greater proportion of the Hindus expressed worries (especially about relationships), wanted advice and yet did not want to turn to professionals for that advice. Compared with the other religious groups a much smaller proportion expressed agreement with many of the statements about religious belief and a larger proportion were liberal about sexual morality. A greater proportion were law abiding, satisfied with their schools yet were worried about academic success. A greater proportion were ambitious and hard working. When it came to global issues a smaller proportion thought that they could do

something about it. A smaller proportion were in favour of political intervention than the adolescents from the other three religious groups.

12.1.3.0. Reflection on the profile of the Muslims - practice and attitudes

12.1.3.1. The inner life

Compared with the other three religious groups, a greater proportion of Muslims felt that their lives had a sense of purpose, and that they did not like being in large crowds (table 5.1.1.2.a.). Whilst relatively large proportions of the adolescent Hindus expressed worry and anxiety, the opposite was true of the Muslims. A smaller proportion than the Christian, Hindu and Sikh groups were concerned what people thought about them and were jealous of others (table 5.1.1.2.a). A smaller proportion of the Muslims were worried about their sex life, about getting on with other people, about their attractiveness to the opposite sex, and about being attacked by pupils from other schools (table 5.1.2.2.a.). A larger proportion of the teenage Muslims appear to have been self-confident in who they were and in how they related to others. The Muslim teenagers were the group which were most positive about teaching religious education in schools. They were also the group with the smallest proportion who thought that the bible was irrelevant today (equal with the Sikhs) and who thought that the clergy were doing a good job (table 5.1.3.2.a.).

12.1.3.2. Relating and spirituality

When it came to religious beliefs, the adolescent Muslims had the most distinctive profile of all the groups. The Muslims had the highest proportion who believed in God, that God punishes people who do wrong, in life after death, and that God made the world. The teenage Muslims also had the highest proportion of those who believed that Mohammed is the prophet of the one God and that Islam is the only true religion. As one might expect, they had the smallest proportion who believed that Jesus Christ is the son of God, in reincarnation, that Hinduism is the only true religion and, equal with Christianity, that Sikhism

is the only true religion. Compared with the other three religious groups they had the smallest proportion who believed that Jesus Christ really rose from the dead (table 6.1.1.2.a.). There are probably a number of reasons for the relatively high proportion of Muslims who hold strong religious beliefs, such as the strong sense of identity as a distinct community and the emphasis placed by Muslims on religious education, most of which takes place in the mosque or in the after-school lessons in the *madrasas*.

Compared with the other three religious groups there was a greater proportion of Muslims who believed in the devil, who were frightened of going into a church alone and who were frightened of going through a graveyard alone. They had the smallest proportion who believed it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, who believed in their horoscope and agreed that fortune-tellers can tell the future (table 6.1.2.2.a.).

When one looks at the views of the Muslim teenagers on religious beliefs and the supernatural we can see that they exhibit the most distinctive profile of the four religious groups, with very high proportions giving assent to their traditional beliefs and smaller proportions agreeing with the more popular 'folk religion' aspects.

The Muslims showed an openness to talking to people in the caring professions. Compared with the other three religious groups a larger proportion of the Muslim teenagers indicated that they would be willing to discuss their problems with teachers, youth group leaders, doctors (equal with the proportion of adolescent Christians and Sikhs), their local vicar or minister and social worker (equal with the Sikh teenagers). They were the least likely to find it helpful to discuss their problems with close friends (table 6.1.3.2.a.).

12.1.3.3. Morality

The adolescent Muslims in Walsall exhibited the most distinctive views about sex when compared with the other religious group. They had the highest proportion who were against

sexual intercourse under the legal age, against extra-marital sex, and who thought that divorce, contraception, abortion and homosexuality were wrong (table 7.1.1.2.a.). These responses should also be viewed in the light of the responses recorded above that the Muslims had the smallest proportion who were worried about their sex lives and their attractiveness to the opposite sex (table 5.1.2.2.a.). In the final section of the questionnaire the practising Muslims had the smallest proportion who wanted their mosque to have clearer teaching on sexual ethics (table 11.6.4.0.e.). Those teaching about or offering advice on sexual matters and relationships will need to be aware of the strongly held views of many of those in the Muslim community, which contrast sharply with those held by significant proportions of those in other groups, in particular the adolescent Hindus (10.1.2.3.).

Compared with the other three religion groups the teenage Muslims had the highest proportion who thought there was nothing wrong in playing truant from school and who claimed they had never broken a promise or told a lie. They had the lowest proportion who claimed to have taken advantage of others (table 7.1.2.2.a.). Despite the teaching of Islam on drinking alcohol, they had the highest proportion who thought that there was nothing wrong in buying alcohol under the legal age (table 7.1.2.2.a.), although they had the highest proportion who were against getting drunk and smoking cigarettes (table 7.1.3.2.a.).

12.1.3.4. The world of the adolescents

Compared with the other groups a larger proportion of the Muslim adolescents were purposeful in their attitude to leisure. Thus compared with the other three religious groups they had the smallest proportion who hung around with their friends doing nothing and who thought that the youth club/centre was boring. They had the highest proportion who thought that there were lots of things to do in the area and who wished that there were more things to do. They had the highest proportion whose parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (equal with the Sikhs) and whose parents did not agree with most of the things they did in their leisure time (table 8.1.1.2.a.).

They had the lowest proportion who often worried about their school work and who thought that school was preparing them for life. They had the largest proportion who worried about being bullied at school and who thought that teachers did a good job (table 8.1.2.2.a.). They had the highest proportion who thought that unemployment was a growing problem in the area and who thought that their area cares about its young people (table 8.1.3.2.a.). In the final section of the questionnaire the practising Muslims had the smallest proportion who thought the people in the mosque were not concerned enough about social problems in the area (table 11.6.4.0.d.), but the largest proportion who thought that more young people would come to the mosque if there was a greater level of concern for issues such as poverty and the environment (table 11.6.4.0.f.)

12.1.3.5. The public world

In the responses to the statements about work the Muslim teenagers exhibited a markedly contrasting set of responses compared with the Hindu adolescents (9.1.1.0.). With regards to some aspects of employment a higher proportion of them expressed negative views. For example, they had the highest proportion who would rather be unemployed than do a job they did not like and the lowest proportion who would not like to be unemployed (table 9.1.1.2.a.). As pointed out above, they had the largest proportion of all the groups who thought that unemployment was a growing problem in Walsall (table 8.1.3.2.a.). It is not clear from the responses whether these attitudes were due to low aspirations or the experience of family and friends who were in employment. These statistics have particular relevance for teachers giving careers advice and when organising work placements.

A larger proportion of the adolescent Muslims than any other group thought that there was too much violence of television and that pornography was too readily available. Compared with the other religious groups more of the Muslims thought that there was nothing they could do to help solve the world's problems. This group had the smallest proportion who thought that the National Lottery was a good thing (table 9.1.2.2.a.). We can see that whilst the

Muslim adolescents expressed strong views about their beliefs, they were not as clear cut in their views concerning some of the global and social issues (table 9.1.2.2.a.).

Compared with the other three religious groups the Muslim adolescents had a higher proportion who were positive about political institutions and party politics, with the highest proportion who were confident in the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, the local council and who thought that state ownership of industry is a good thing. This may be due, at least in part, to Islamic teaching which places great emphasis on the state. However they were the group with the smallest proportion who were positive group about private medicine and trade unions (table 9.1.3.2.a.).

In summary we see that compared with the Christians, Hindus and Sikhs, smaller proportions of the adolescent Muslims expressed worry and anxiety apart from being bullied at school. Larger proportions were positive about religious education and assemblies in school and larger proportion both assented to the traditional orthodox beliefs and disagreed with non Muslim beliefs. Of all the groups they appeared to be the most definite about what they believed and what they did not believe. A larger proportion were willing to discuss their problems with professionals, were conservative in matters of sexual morality, pornography and violence on the television. A larger proportion were against tobacco and alcohol, were purposeful in the use of their leisure time, were positive about Walsall and had confidence in politics and political institutions. A smaller proportion were worried about their school work and were ambitious when it came to work.

When these findings are put together with some of the responses of the adolescents reported in chapter eleven, it is possible to detect that there is a larger proportion of the Muslims, compared with the other three religious groups, who have respect for authority and hierarchy. Note, for example, that they are the group who are most likely to discuss their problems with professionals and least likely to discuss them their contemporaries (table

6.1.3.2.a.). They have the largest proportion who think that teachers do a good job (table 8.1.2.2.a.), that the local council does a good job (table 9.1.3.2.a.) and the second largest proportion (50%) after the Christians (52%) who thought that the police do a good job (table 7.1.2.2.a.). This is a considerably higher proportion than the Hindus (39%) and the Sikhs (33%). Larger proportion of the Muslim teenagers were positive about political institutions and party politics (table 9.1.3.2.a.), whilst of the four religious groups they had the largest proportion who thought that they could not do anything to solve the world's problems (9.1.2.2.a.). In the final section of the questionnaire the Muslim teenagers indicated that they had the smallest proportion (equal with the Hindus) who thought that their religious leaders were out of touch with ordinary people (table 11.6.4.0.b.) and that more young people would come to worship if there were less rules about how to live their lives (table 11.6.4.0.i.). They had a smaller proportion (39%) than the Christian (62%) and Sikhs (53%) who thought that the sermons were irrelevant to everyday life (table 11.6.4.0.f.)

12.1.4.0. Reflection on the profile of the Sikhs - practice and attitudes.

12.1.4.1. The inner life

Compared with the other three religious groups, a smaller proportion on the Sikh teenagers thought that their life had a sense of purpose (table 5.1.1.2.a.) and were worried about going out alone at night (table 5.1.2.2.a.). A smaller proportion of the Sikhs adolescents thought that schools should hold daily religious assemblies but, equal with the Christians, had the smallest proportion who thought that the church was irrelevant and, equal with the Muslims, the smallest proportion who thought that the bible was irrelevant (table 5.1.3.2.a.). These two latter responses may reflect the greater importance that many of the South Asian British adolescents place on religion in general (table 5.1.3.3.c.).

12.1.4.2. Relating and spirituality

The teenage Sikhs had the largest proportion who thought that Sikhism was the only true religion (table 6.1.1.2.a.), who believed in black magic and that fortune-tellers can tell the future (table 6.1.2.2.a.).

12.1.4.3. Morality

Compared with the other three religious groups the Sikhs did not express any distinctively different views on sexual morality from the other groups. Of the four religious groups the adolescent Sikhs expressed attitudes which were the least law abiding, that is they had the highest proportion who thought there was nothing wrong with shop-lifting and writing graffiti (table 7.1.2.2.a.). In the light of their attitude towards the issues outlined above, it may not be surprising that the Sikhs were the group with the smallest proportion who thought that the police were doing a good job (table 7.1.2.2.a.).

The teenage Sikhs had the lowest proportion of the four religious groups who thought that it was wrong to smoke marijuana, cigarettes (equal with the Christian adolescents) and to use heroin (table 7.1.3.2.a.). Due to the distinctive set of attitudes displayed by the adolescents Sikhs to drugs, those involved in education about this area may need to focus especially on this group.

12.1.4.4. The world of the adolescents

It is noteworthy that compared with the other three religious groups a smaller proportion of the Sikh adolescents in Walsall thought that their parents allowed them to do what they wanted to with their leisure time and a larger proportion (equal with the Muslims) claimed that their parents preferred them to stay in as much as possible (table 8.1.1.2.a.).

Compared with the other three religious groups the Sikhs had the greatest proportion who thought that their school was preparing them for life, but the smallest proportion who thought that teachers were doing a good job (table 8.1.2.2.a.). This may be because, like the Hindus, the Sikh had comparatively high educational and vocational aspirations. Further evidence for this is seen in the responses in the section on work (table 9.1.1.2.a.).

In contrast the Sikh teenagers were much less worried than the other three religious groups about social problems in the areas in which they lived. Thus a smaller proportion of the Sikhs were concerned about the growth of vandalism, crime, violence and unemployment in Walsall than the other groups, including the non-affiliates (table 8.1.3.2.a.). However, in the final section of the questionnaire the practising Sikhs had the highest proportion who thought that the people in their gurdwara were not concerned enough about social problems in the area (table 11.6.4.0.d.).

12.1.4.5. The public world

The Sikh teenagers had the highest proportion who thought it was important to work hard and that unemployed people could get a job if they really wanted one (table 9.1.1.2.a.). They had the smallest proportion who thought there was too much violence on television and largest proportion who thought that the National Lottery was good (table 9.1.2.2.a.).

The Sikh adolescents had the smallest proportion who had confidence in the Conservative Party and after the Muslims the second highest proportion who had confidence in the Labour Party (table 9.1.3.2.a.). The data shows showed a left wing bias in their political views, which may be due, at least in part, to the influence of the Indian Workers' Association which has played a prominent part in the political life and affairs of the Sikh community and which has tended to be left wing in its outlook.

In summary, we find that compared with the other three religious groups, a smaller proportion of the adolescent Sikhs were in favour of daily religious assemblies in schools and larger proportions believed in black magic and fortune tellers. In responses to most of the statements on religious beliefs they did not have a particularly distinctive profile, that is their responses were generally between the highest and lowest responses given by the other three religious groups. A smaller proportion exhibited law abiding attitudes, thought that the police were doing a good job, thought that it was wrong to use drugs and were worried about social problems in the area. In the final section of the questionnaire the practising Sikhs were the group with the smallest proportion who thought that more young people would come to the gurdwara if there was a more concern about social issues such as poverty and the environment (table 11.6.4.0.g.).

A higher proportion of the Sikhs thought that their parents were protective of their leisure time (table 8.1.1.2.a.), that their school was preparing them for life (table 8.1.2.2.a.) and had high educational and vocational aspirations (table 9.1.1.2.a.).

13.0.0.0. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

In this final chapter a comparison is made between the insights discovered from studying attitudes based on religious categories and those based on ethnic categories. It is argued that the case has been made out for the importance of research based on religious affiliation. Suggestions are made about how the data may be of special relevance to religious leaders, to providers of health care and youth services, to educationalists and to politicians at both local as well as national level.

Contents	13.1.0.0. The importance of religion in research
	13.1.1.0. Implications for health planners
	13.1.2.0. Implications for educationalists
	13.1.3.0. Implications for those working with drugs education
	13.1.4.0. Implications for school counsellors
	13.1.5.0. Implications for employers
	13.1.6.0. Implications for policy makers
	13.1.7.0. Implications for politicians
	13.1.0.0. Further research
	13.3.0.0. The importance of religion in the South Asian British community

13.1.0.0. The importance of religion in research

Despite the almost universal assumption in the Western academic tradition that ethnicity is the most important category for understanding and interpreting the lives of peoples and communities, it has been argued in this thesis that religion must also be taken equally seriously as a factor. A minority of the professions are already aware of the importance of religion, although this is generally confined to helping people to be sensitive to the particular religious customs or beliefs of an individual. Examples of this are the books produced by Henley for members of the medical profession (Henley, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c) which help health professionals when they are caring for people of other religions. However the importance of religion is far more profound and pervasive than this. It touches on many deep seated attitudes and assumptions which people make. Without an awareness of these issues

not only may we fail to understand significant differences between the various religious groups, but more importantly serious mistakes may be made in social policy, and resources may be wasted because they have not been carefully and accurately targeted. This general and over-arching discernment may be illustrated from seven areas of this research.

13.1.1.0. Implications for health planners

If those who are involved in counselling services in schools and in the National Health Service were to prioritise their services (and the use of the financial budgets) on the basis purely of ethnicity, as reported in table 6.1.3.3.a. they would pursue one approach to the white British and another undifferentiated approach to the South Asian British teenagers. However, the responses in table 6.1.3.2.a. show that the Hindu and Muslim adolescents in particular need a more nuanced understanding. Although a higher proportion of Hindus (42%) compared with the Muslims (40%) often longed to turn to someone for advice, a far smaller proportions of the teenage Hindus were willing to discuss their problems with a professional than the Muslims were. Further research may be needed to discover the reasons for this, which are likely to be several and diverse. Whatever the reasons, it would appear that the desire of adolescent Hindus for help is not being met as effectively as it is for some other groups at the moment. It may be that schemes, such as 'buddies', peer counselling and peer mentoring, might be more effective in providing support for teenage Hindus. One of the responsibilities of Primary Care Trusts in local health planning is to work with other organisations, such as District Councils, Social Services, Police and voluntary organisations, in providing a Health Improvement and Modernisation Programme. The aim of this is to identify the health needs of their particular population and to plan how these can be met. This research suggests that the Primary Care Trusts would benefit by examining and interpreting the data from the 2001 Census on ethnic minorities when they are available, in order to use their resources more strategically.

13.1.2.0. Implications for educationalists

The responses of the South Asian British teenagers to the statements on sexual morality need careful assimilation if they are to be used to focus material in health campaigns or educational literature on sexual and personal relationships. It is also important for teachers who are delivering personal and social education (PSE) in multi-faith schools. The stark differences between the responses based on ethnicity and religion illustrate this. Of the South Asian British teenagers 40% thought that it was wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage compared with 12% of the white British (table 7.1.2.3.a.). The figure of 40% masks the very wide variations within the three South Asian British religions. Only 23% of the Hindus thought that it was wrong compared with 56% of the Muslims. In their responses to most of the statements in this section we find similar large differences between the adolescent Hindus and Sikhs when compared with the Muslims. In the light of this, those working in sex education in schools may find it helpful to know that 57% of the Muslims and 33% of the Sikhs thought that sexual intercourse under the age of 16 is wrong, and that 53% of the Muslims and 22% of the Sikhs thought that homosexuality is wrong. Those health professionals with a responsibility to promote family planning and to provide abortions ought to be aware that a significantly higher percentage (21%) of Muslims thought that contraception is wrong, compared with 4% of the Hindu and 6% of the Sikh adolescents. Over three-fifths (62%) of the Muslims thought that abortion is wrong, compared with 25% of the Hindus and 39% of the Sikhs (table 7.1.1.2.a.). These contrasting figures are not to be dismissed, or simply placed under the amorphous all-purpose category 'cultural'. Further research, studying the statistics about unwanted pregnancies among teenage girls from the main religious communities, may well shed further light on the importance of such insights and help scarce resources be targeted more effectively.

13.1.3.0. Implications for those working with drugs education

The third area where religion plays a significant part in forming attitudes relates to the purchase and the use of tobacco and alcohol. Far larger proportions of the white British

adolescents thought that there was nothing wrong in buying cigarettes (34% compared with 21%) and alcohol (47% compared with 24%) under the legal age (table 7.1.2.3.a.), when compared with the South Asian British teenagers. When the data is re-examined in the light of the religious allegiance of the young people, we note the wide variation between the groups. Only 17% of the Hindus thought that there was nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age compared with 23% of the Sikhs. Likewise only 17% of the Muslims thought that there was nothing wrong in buying alcohol under the legal age compared with 35% of the Hindus (table 7.1.2.2.a.).

The data obtained from comparing the white British with the South Asian British teenagers shows that 18% of the former thought that it was wrong to become drunk compared with 50% of the Hindus/Muslim/Sikh group. Nearly two-fifths (37%) thought that it is wrong to smoke cigarettes compared with 50% respectively (table 7.1.3.3.a.). When the material is examined on the basis of religious affiliation a more complex picture emerges. The Muslims adolescents were the group with the largest proportion who thought that it is wrong to become drunk (70%) compared with the Sikhs (30%). Over half of the Muslims thought that it is wrong to smoke cigarettes (55%) compared with 42% of the Sikhs (table 7.1.3.2.a.). Agencies involved in the prevention of drug and alcohol abuse will find that research based on religion, as well as ethnicity, could allow them to focus their programmes more effectively. The use of peers may also be of relevance in this area. Research in some third world countries has found that peer-teaching can be an effective way of changing behaviour in adolescents [add refs]

13.1.4.0. Implications for school counsellors

The fourth area where important and contrasting insights emerge is with regard to school and educational expectations. Table 8.1.2.3.a. shows that 77% of the South Asian British teenagers were happy at school, whilst table 8.1.2.2.a. reveals that only 70% of the Sikhs were happy compared with 86% of the Muslims. Seventy-two percent of the South Asian

British often worried about their school work (table 8.1.2.3.a), but only 69% of the Muslims worried compared with 81% of the Hindus (table 8.1.2.2.a.). Teachers and educational counsellors need to be aware that the Sikh and Hindu teenagers are more likely to be unhappy at school and worried about their studies than their Muslims contemporaries.

13.1.5.0. Implications for employers

Some significant differences can be found in the responses of the adolescents to the world of work, although in most instances the differences are relatively small. An exception to this is the differences of the white British to the South Asian British between having a job that one does not like or being on social security. One fifth of the white British would rather be unemployed than do a job that they do not like, compared with one quarter of the South Asian British (table 9.1.1.3.a.). However, only 12% of the Hindus compared with 29% of the Muslims agreed with this (table 9.1.1.2.a.).

In response to the statement 'I would not like to be unemployed', there was no statistically significant difference between the Christian/non-affiliates and the Hindus/Muslims/Sikhs (table 9.1.1.3.a.). When the responses were divided into the four religious groups there was a statistically significant difference of $p < .001$. A smaller proportion of the Muslims indicated that they would not like to be unemployed (77%) compared with the Christians (86%), the Hindus (89%) and the Sikhs (85%) (table 9.1.1.2.a.). These factors need to be taken into account by employers when they are recruiting, and by Careers Advisors.

13.1.6.0. Implications for policy makers

The sixth area where an important insight could be missed if the religious dimension is not taken into account is in section 9.1.2.0. 'Global and national concerns'. One third of the South Asian British teenagers thought that there is too much violence on television (table 9.1.2.3.a.), but this comprises 43% of the Muslims compared with 21% of the Sikhs (table 9.1.2.2.a.). One of the greatest differences of attitude is found with regard to the National

Lottery. More than two-fifths (43%) of the South Asian British thought that it is a good thing (table 9.1.2.3.a.), although only 28% of the Muslims agreed with this compared with 61% of the Sikhs (table 9.1.2.2.a.).

13.1.7.0. Implications for politicians

Finally, if the data is analysed on the basis of religious affiliation it shows wide differences in support for the two main political parties. Only 4% of the Sikhs compared with 15% of the Muslims had confidence in the Conservative Party and 32% of the Hindus compared with 48% of the Muslims had confidence in the Labour Party (table 9.1.3.2.a.). These contrasting profiles will be of major interest to politicians and political agents during campaigning among South Asian British voters living in their constituency. Although 22% of the South Asian British teenagers thought that state ownership of industry is a good thing (table 9.1.3.3.a.), only 10% of the Hindus agreed, compared with 25% of the Muslims (table 9.1.3.3.a.). More than one quarter (26%) of the South Asian British adolescents thought that the local council does a good job (table 9.1.3.3.a.). However, only 17% of the Sikhs agreed, compared with 34% of the Muslims (table 9.1.3.2.a.). Seventeen percent of the South Asian British teenagers thought that immigration into Britain should be restricted (table 9.1.3.3.a.), but there are differences between the Muslims community (19% agreeing) and the Hindu community (10% agreeing). These differences will be relevant to politicians when framing laws and policies concerning immigration.

These seven areas illustrate the importance of research based on religious affiliation for many areas of social, educational and political policy in the United Kingdom today.

13.2.0.0. The importance of religion in the South Asian British community

One of the reasons why many politicians and commentators in Britain were taken by surprise at the responses of some members of the Muslim community to the Salman Rushdie affair and more recently the attack on the World Trade Centre on 11th September 2001 was

because many people in the West have underestimated or trivialised the importance of religion in many parts of the world. The work of Francis and others (section 3.2.0.0.) has demonstrated clearly the influence that Christian beliefs have on a wide range of attitudes and values and this piece of research has built on it to show that the same is true for those who hold Hindu, Muslim or Sikh beliefs.

A study of the history of immigration into Britain shows that in the past most peoples have been gradually assimilated and their distinctive identity has been lost over a period of time. Perhaps the main exception to this has been those of the Jewish faith, although even here the situation may be changing. What is different in the contemporary situation is the size of the immigrant population which is so much larger than any past movements of population and which may allow the different groups to retain their cultural and religious identity for much longer. As one would expect this piece of research has shown that some of the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh adolescents have been influenced by the prevailing British culture and that there are significant proportions of them who are choosing not to practice their faith. Despite this there are other, perhaps equally strong, forces pulling in the opposite direction. For example, Nielsen (2000: 124) has commented on the way that some young British Muslims have increasingly identified themselves with the wider Muslim world (*umma*) in recent years and that many more of them are now learning Arabic. During the summer of 2001 there were riots in a number of towns and cities in the Midlands and north of England, in which religion played a part. Ballard (2000: 143) has recently concluded 'that there are no indications that British Sikhs are losing their sense of distinctiveness'.

These issues are likely to increase in importance since demographic studies show that whilst the birth rate among the white population has continued to fall, the birth-rate among the South Asian British population remains much higher (table 2.1.5.0.a.). It is likely that the size of the South Asian British community will grow for many years and will become an increasingly important part of British society.

13.3.0.0. Further research

This piece of research has mapped out some of the areas which merit further study. The present study is a snapshot in time and if the material is to be of maximum use, then similar studies will need to be undertaken in the future in order to track the trends. Furthermore, the research needs extending in a number of ways. First, it will need to examine other groups as well as Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. For example, future studies would benefit by including Jews and Buddhists. Secondly, it needs to examine some of the religious groups and movements within each religion. Francis and Kay have already examined this with their studies of Christianity where they have looked at the differences between Anglican, Roman Catholic and the Free Churches (Francis and Kay, 1995). Similarly, there are significant differences between members of other religions which are significant, perhaps the most important of which is between the *sunni* and *shi'ite* Muslims. Thirdly, research into the different responses of males and females may provide important material for reflection, not least in predicting general trends in birth rates and participation in the labour market. Finally, it would be helpful to track some of adolescents as they grow older to see if there are significant changes in religious beliefs, values and attitudes over time. as Francis and Kay (1995) have found among adolescent Christians.

14.0.0.0. APPENDICES

Contents	14.1.0.0. The questionnaire
	14.2.0.0. Glossary
	14.3.0.0. Abbreviations
	14.4.0.0. Transliteration
	14.5.0.0. A note on nomenclature
	14.6.0.0. Statistics

14.1.0.0. The questionnaire

YOUNG PEOPLE

RELIGION AND VALUES TODAY

This survey looks at what young people aged between 14 and 16 think about various things in their lives, and how they spend some of their time. The survey has been designed to let the voice of young people be clearly heard. Please help us by answering the questions.

Please say what you really think and try to be as honest and accurate as possible. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions. We are very interested in your views. Please do not discuss your answers with anybody else, and do not pause for too long over any one question. Everything you tell us is completely PRIVATE and CONFIDENTIAL. You do not have to write your name on this booklet. No one in your school will read your answers. We hope you will find the questionnaire interesting and enjoyable to do.

Alan Smith

c 1996 Leslie J. Francis and Alan Smith

PART 1

This part of the questionnaire asks for some information about yourself. Please tick the appropriate boxes (✓).

1. Please give the name of your school

2. Which sex are you?

Male	1	
Female	2	

3. Which school year are you in?

Year Nine	3	
Year Ten	4	

4. What academic qualifications do you expect to have when you leave school?

None	1	
1 - 4 GCSE grades D to G	2	
5 or more GCSE grades D to G	3	
1 - 4 GCSE grades A to C	4	
5 or more GCSE grades A to C	5	
1 - 2 A Levels	6	
3 or more A levels	7	

5. What is your post code?

--

6. Does your father have a job?

Yes, full-time	2	
Yes, part-time	3	
No	1	
Retired	5	
Don't know	9	

If 'yes', what does he do? (please try to be precise)

7. Does your mother have a job?

Yes, full-time	2	
Yes, part-time	3	
No	1	
Retired	5	
Don't know	9	

If 'yes', what does she do? (please try to be precise)

8. Have your parents been separated or divorced?

Yes	2	
No	1	

9. Do you read the Bible by yourself?

Nearly every day	5	
At least once a week	4	
At least once a month	3	
Occasionally	2	
Never	1	

10. Do you pray by yourself?

Nearly every day	5	
At least once a week	4	
At least once a month	3	
Occasionally	2	
Never	1	

11. Do you belong to a church or other religious group?

Christian	1	
Buddhist	2	
Hindu	3	
Jewish	4	
Muslim	5	
Sikh	6	
Other (please specify)	7	

12. Have you attended worship at any of the following places during the past year?
(Please tick 'yes' or 'no' against each service)

	Yes	No
Church		
Gurdwara		
Mosque		
Temple		
Other (please specify)		

13. Have you attended any of these services at a place of worship in the last year?
(Please tick 'yes' or 'no' against each service)

	Yes	No
Wedding		
Funeral		

14. Do you go to church or other place of worship?

Nearly every week	5	
At least once a month	4	
Sometimes	3	
Once or twice a year	2	
Never	1	

15. Did you regularly go to worship (i.e. at least once a month) at these ages? (Please tick 'yes' or 'no' against each age)

	Yes	No
5 - 6 years old		
9 - 10 years old		
13 - 14 years old		

16. Did you regularly attend Christian Sunday School (i.e. at least once a month) at these ages?
(Please tick 'yes' or 'no' against each age)

	Yes	No
5 - 6 years old		
9 - 10 years old		
13 - 14 years old		

17. Have you been confirmed or admitted to adult membership of a Christian Church?

Yes	2	
No	1	
Don't know	9	

18. Do you feel that your life is being guided by God?

No	1	
Perhaps, but I am not really sure	2	
Probably, but I am not certain	3	
Yes, definitely	4	

19. Have you ever had something you would describe as a religious experience?

No	1	
Perhaps, but I am not really sure	2	
Probably, but I am not certain	3	
Yes, definitely	4	

20. Have you been baptised/christened?

Yes	2	
No	1	
Don't know	9	

21. Do you go to Christian meetings/
societies at school?

Nearly every week	5	
At least once a month	4	
At least once a term	3	
At least once a year	2	
Never	1	

PART TWO requires you to answer these questions by putting a circle around the 'YES' or 'NO'

1. Can you get a party going? YES NO
2. Do you enjoy hurting people you like? YES NO
3. Is it important to have good manners? YES NO
4. Do you always do as you are told at once? YES NO
5. Are you rather lively? YES NO
6. Would you enjoy practical jokes that could sometimes really hurt people? YES NO
7. Do you often feel "fed-up"? YES NO
8. Are you easily hurt when people find things wrong with you or the work you do? YES NO
9. Do you find it hard to get to sleep at night because you are worrying about things? YES NO
10. Do you sometimes feel life is just not worth living? YES NO
11. Do you throw waste paper on the floor when there is no waste paper basket handy? YES NO
12. Do you get into more trouble at school than most other pupils? YES NO
13. Do you like going out a lot? YES NO
14. Have you ever said anything bad or nasty about anyone? YES NO
15. Do you worry for a long while if you feel you have made a fool of yourself? YES NO
16. Have you ever taken anything (even a sweet) that belonged to someone else? YES NO
17. Were you ever greedy by helping yourself to more than your share of anything? YES NO
18. Do you find it hard to really enjoy yourself at a lively party? YES NO
19. Do you always say you are sorry when you have been rude? YES NO
20. Would you rather be alone instead of being with other young people? YES NO
21. Do you sometimes like teasing animals? YES NO
22. Can you let yourself go and enjoy yourself a lot at a lively party?..... YES NO
23. Do you seem to get into more fights than other young people? YES NO
24. Are your feelings rather easily hurt? YES NO

PART THREE Please answer the next set of questions in the following way.
Read each sentence carefully and think 'Do I agree with it?'

If you Agree Strongly , put a ring around	AS A NC D DS
If you Agree , put a ring around	AS A NC D DS
If you are Not Certain , put a ring around	AS A NC D DS
If you Disagree , put a ring around	AS A NC D DS
If you Disagree Strongly , put a ring around	AS A NC D DS

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. I am happy in my school | AS A NC D DS |
| 2. I have never told a lie | AS A NC D DS |
| 3. Religious education should be taught in school..... | AS A NC D DS |
| 4. I find life really worth living | AS A NC D DS |
| 5. I have never stolen anything in my life | AS A NC D DS |
| 6. I have confidence in the Conservative party | AS A NC D DS |
| 7. I like living in my area | AS A NC D DS |
| 8. I believe in God | AS A NC D DS |
| 9. I feel my life has a sense of purpose | AS A NC D DS |
| 10. I like the people I go to school with | AS A NC D DS |
| 11. I have never broken my promise | AS A NC D DS |
| 12. I believe that Mohammed is the prophet
of the one God | AS A NC D DS |
| 13. Walsall is a boring place | AS A NC D DS |
| 14. I have confidence in the Labour party | AS A NC D DS |
| 15. I often worry about my school work | AS A NC D DS |
| 16. Schools should hold a religious assembly every day..... | AS A NC D DS |
| 17. I believe God punishes people who do wrong | AS A NC D DS |

1. Church is boring AS A NC D DS
2. Sometimes I have taken advantage of people AS A NC D DS
3. I often feel depressed AS A NC D DS
4. I believe in the Devil AS A NC D DS
5. I have confidence in the Liberal Party AS A NC D DS
6. I think it is important to work hard when I get a job AS A NC D DS
7. School is boring AS A NC D DS
8. I have sometimes considered taking my own life AS A NC D DS
9. A job gives you a sense of purpose AS A NC D DS
10. I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war AS A NC D DS
11. Abortion is wrong AS A NC D DS
12. I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God AS A NC D DS
13. I am frightened of going to a Youth Centre AS A NC D DS
14. I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job AS A NC D DS
15. I like to have a lot of people around me AS A NC D DS
16. I have friends who are black AS A NC D DS

- | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|----|---|----|
| 1. I like my area as a shopping centre | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 2. Sometimes I have been jealous of others | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 3. I am worried about how I get on with other people | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 4. I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 5. I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a
job I don't like doing | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 6. I am worried about my sex life | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 7. There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging
or skiving) from school | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 8. I think Islam is the only true religion | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 9. Private medicine should be abolished | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 10. I believe in black magic | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 11. The police do a good job | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 12. I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 13. I wish I had more things to do with my leisure time | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 14. I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 15. It is wrong to sniff glue | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 16. I believe that I can be a Christian without going to church | AS | A | NC | D | DS |

1. What people think of me is important to me AS A NC D DS
2. I believe in life after death AS A NC D DS
3. There is nothing wrong in shop-lifting AS A NC D DS
4. My area cares about its young people AS A NC D DS
5. I am frightened of walking through a graveyard alone AS A NC D DS
6. I am worried about my exams at school AS A NC D DS
7. I would not like to be unemployed AS A NC D DS
8. There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years) AS A NC D DS
9. I am worried about being bullied at school AS A NC D DS
10. My parents prefer me to stay in as much as possible AS A NC D DS
11. I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead AS A NC D DS
12. It makes no difference which political party is in power AS A NC D DS
13. It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot) AS A NC D DS
14. I want to get married in church AS A NC D DS
15. Vandalism is a growing problem in my area AS A NC D DS

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|---|----|---|----|
| 1. I often hang about with my friends doing nothing in particular . | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 2. There is too much violence on television | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 3. Teachers do a good job | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 4. I tend to be a lonely person | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 5. Private schools should be abolished | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 6. The church seems irrelevant to life today | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 7. I would be reluctant to discuss my problems with a Christian
minister/vicar/priest | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 8. It is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 9. I feel I am not worth much as a person | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 10. I believe in my horoscope | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 11. My school is helping to prepare me for life | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 12. The local council does a good job | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 13. I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mother | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 14. There is nothing wrong in travelling without a ticket | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| 15. I am worried about getting AIDS | AS | A | NC | D | DS |

1. I don't like being in large crowds	AS	A	NC	D	DS
2. Crime is a growing problem in my area	AS	A	NC	D	DS
3. I believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future	AS	A	NC	D	DS
4. I would be reluctant to discuss my problems with a school teacher	AS	A	NC	D	DS
5. State ownership of industry is a good thing	AS	A	NC	D	DS
6. I think Hinduism is the only true religion	AS	A	NC	D	DS
7. There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	AS	A	NC	D	DS
8. I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	AS	A	NC	D	DS
9. Violence is a growing problem in my area	AS	A	NC	D	DS
10. The bible seems irrelevant to life today	AS	A	NC	D	DS
11. All war is wrong	AS	A	NC	D	DS
12. Trade unions have too much power	AS	A	NC	D	DS
13. I think the National Lottery is a good thing	AS	A	NC	D	DS
14. It is wrong to become drunk	AS	A	NC	D	DS
15. Unemployment is a growing problem in my area	AS	A	NC	D	DS
16. I think that immigration into Britain should be restricted	AS	A	NC	D	DS

1. I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my father AS A NC D DS
2. I believe that God made the world AS A NC D DS
3. Most unemployed people could have a job if they really
wanted to AS A NC D DS
4. There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under
the legal age (18 years) AS A NC D DS
5. I am worried about being attacked by pupils from
other schools AS A NC D DS
6. I think Sikhism is the only true religion AS A NC D DS
7. Drug taking is a growing problem in my area AS A NC D DS
8. I often long for someone to turn to for advice AS A NC D DS
9. Divorce is wrong AS A NC D DS
10. I believe in ghosts AS A NC D DS
11. I would be reluctant to discuss my problems with a doctor AS A NC D DS
12. Drunks are a growing problem in my area AS A NC D DS
13. I want my children to be baptised/christened in church AS A NC D DS
14. Contraception is wrong AS A NC D DS
15. There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems ... AS A NC D DS
16. My parents do not agree with most of the things that I do
in my leisure time AS A NC D DS
17. It is wrong to sniff butane gas AS A NC D DS

1. Homosexuality is wrong	AS	A	NC	D	DS
2. I would be reluctant to discuss my problems with a social worker	AS	A	NC	D	DS
3. Christian ministers/vicars/priests do a good job	AS	A	NC	D	DS
4. It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	AS	A	NC	D	DS
5. I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment ..	AS	A	NC	D	DS
6. I believe in reincarnation	AS	A	NC	D	DS
7. In my area there are lots of things for young people to do in their leisure time	AS	A	NC	D	DS
8. Pornography is too readily available	AS	A	NC	D	DS
9. I think Christianity is the only true religion	AS	A	NC	D	DS
10. My parents allow me to do what I like in my leisure time	AS	A	NC	D	DS
11. It is wrong to use heroin	AS	A	NC	D	DS
12. I would be reluctant to discuss my problems with a youth club/group leader	AS	A	NC	D	DS
13. My Youth Centre is boring	AS	A	NC	D	DS
14. I am frightened of going into a church alone	AS	A	NC	D	DS
15. It is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (16 years)	AS	A	NC	D	DS
16. I find it helpful to talk about my problems with close friends ...	AS	A	NC	D	DS
17. There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	AS	A	NC	D	DS

PART FOUR

Do you feel you belong to a Christian church?

Yes	2	
No	1	

If 'yes', please complete the following questions on pages 16 - 17

Are you a Hindu?

Yes	2	
No	1	

If 'yes', please complete the following questions on pages 18 - 19

Are you a Muslim?

Yes	2	
No	1	

If 'yes', please complete the following questions on pages 20 - 21

Are you a Sikh?

Yes	2	
No	1	

If 'yes', please complete the following questions on pages 22 - 23

If the answer is 'no' to the above questions, then please turn to page 24

This section is for people who feel they belong to a Christian church.

1. Which church do you belong to?

Baptist	1	
Church of England	2	
Jehovah's Witness	3	
Methodist	4	
Pentecostal	5	
Roman Catholic	6	
Salvation Army	7	
Society of Friends	8	
URC/Presbyterian	9	
Other (please specify)	10	

2. Are you involved with any of the following at your church? (Please tick 'yes' or 'no' against each activity)

	Yes	No
Bible Study Group		
Prayer Group		
Community Service Group		
House Group		
Evangelistic Group		
Church Youth Group		
Adult membership/confirmation class		
Music Group		
Choir		
Sponsored Scouts/Guides		
Reading the lesson		
Leading prayers		
Serving at the altar		
Preaching		
Giving out books		
Taking offertory/collection		
Liturgical dance		
Drama		
Teaching in Sunday School/ Junior Church		
Helping with the creche		

3. Have you experienced anything that could be called 'conversion'?

Yes	2	
No	1	

4. Which services did you attend last Sunday?

No Services	1	
Morning Service	2	
Evening Service	3	
Morning and Evening Service	4	

PLEASE DRAW ONE RING IN EACH LINE

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|---|----|---|----|
| The Sunday worship of my church is boring | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| I prefer services which use up to date language | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| My minister/priest/vicar is out of touch with ordinary people | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| I would like my church to do more evangelism | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| People in my church are not concerned enough about social problems in the area | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| I would like my church to give clearer teaching on moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| More young people would come to church if the services were more lively | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| More young people would come to church if the sermons were more relevant to everyday life | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| More young people would come to church if we were more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| More young people would come to church if they could be involved in decision making | AS | A | NC | D | DS |
| More young people would come to church if the church did not have so many rules about how to live | AS | A | NC | D | DS |

Please now turn to page 24

This part of the questionnaire is for people who feel they belong to a Hindu community

1. Do you go the Mandir (temple)?

Yes	No

Which one(s)?.....

2. Have you been to a Mandir in

The last two days	1	
The last week	2	
The last month	3	
The last year	4	

3a. Do you have a shrine in your home?

Yes	No

3b. Who looks after the shrine?

Mother	1	
Grandmother	2	
Sister	3	
Other (please specify)	4	

4. Have you experienced anything that could be described as conversion/spiritual enlightenment or an awakening?

Yes	2	
No	1	

5. Are you involved in any of the following activities in your Mandir?

	Yes	No
Learning Hindi		
Learning about Hinduism		
Helping in the langar (kitchen)/ preparing prasad		
Learning bhajans (hymns)		
Playing musical instruments		
Welcoming visitors		

6.

	Yes	No	Don't know
Was there a naming ceremony held for you when you were born?			
Were you taken to a mundan (hair cutting) ceremony when you were young?			
Have you received the sacred thread (janeu)?			

PLEASE DRAW ONE RING IN EACH LINE

- The prayers at my mandir are boring AS A NC D DS
- I prefer it when the prayers use up to date language AS A NC D DS
- My pujari of my mandir is out of touch with ordinary people AS A NC D DS
- The people at my mandir are not concerned enough about social problems in the area AS A NC D DS
- I would like to have clearer teaching about moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mandir if we had more up-to-date bhajans AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mandir if the sermons/talks (*biakhya*) were more relevant to everyday life.....AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mindir if it was more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mandir if they could be involved in decision making AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mandir if there were less rules about how to live their lives..... AS A NC D DS

Please now turn to page 24

This part of the questionnaire is for people who feel they belong to a Muslim Community

1. Do you attend mosque?

Yes	No

Which one?.....

2. Do you attend Friday prayers?

Weekly	1	
Monthly	2	
In the school holidays	3	

3. Have you experienced anything that could be called a conversion or a religious awakening?

Yes	2	
No	1	

4. Do you attend any of the following activities at your mosque?

	Yes	No
Study circle		
Community Service Group		
Mosque youth group		

5. Do you do any of the following?

	Yes	No
Attend the mosque to learn Qu'ran?		
Read the Qu'ran daily?		
Read the Qu'ran weekly?		
Pray five times daily?		
Fast during Ramadan?		
Attend prayers on Eidulfitter /Id-al-Fitr(end of Ramadan)?		
Attend prayers on Eiduladha/Id- al- Adha(sacrifice of Abraham's son)?		
Been on a pilgrimage to Mecca?		
Give zakat (alms)?		

For girls only

	Yes	No
Do you wear a scarf at school?		
Do you wear a scarf at mosque?		
Do you wear purda at mosque?		

PLEASE DRAW ONE RING IN EACH LINE

- The prayers at my mosque are boring AS A NC D DS
- My imam at my mosque is out of touch with ordinary people AS A NC D DS
- I would like my mosque to do more to spread the Islamic faith.....AS A NC D DS
- People at my mosque are not concerned enough about social problems in the area AS A NC D DS
- I would like my mosque to give clearer teaching about moral issues such as abortion, divorce and sex AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mosque if the sermons were more relevant to everyday life AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mosque if it was more concerned about social issues such as poverty and the environment AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the mosque if they could be involved in decision making AS A NC D DS
- More young people would go to the mosque if there were less rules about how to live their lives..... AS A NC D DS

Please now turn to page 24

This section is for people who feel they belong to a Sikh community

1. Do you go to the gurdwara?

Yes	No

Which one(s)?.....

2. Which days do you normally go to the gurdwara?

Monday	1	
Tuesday	2	
Wednesday	3	
Thursday	4	
Friday	5	
Saturday	6	
Sunday	7	

3. Have you experienced anything that could be called 'conversion'?

Yes	2	
No	1	

4. Are you involved in any of the following at your gurdwara?

	Yes	No
Gurbani learning (gurbani path)		
Learning kirtan		
Gurdwara sports club		
Gurdwara martial arts group		
British Youth Sikh Association		
Playing musical instruments		
Leading prayers		
Welcoming visitors		
Helping in the langar (kitchen)		

5. a) Do you observe any of the following?

	Yes	No
Uncut hair (kesh)		
Wearing a turban		
Wearing a steel bracelet (kara)		
Or any other Sikh symbol.....		

b)

	Yes	No
Have you accpeted Sikh amrit (baptism)?		
If not, do you intend to?		
Are you keeping your obligations of amrit?		
Do you know why Sikhs observe the five K's?		

PLEASE DRAW ONE RING IN EACH LINE

- The worship of my gurdwara is boring AS A NC D DS
- I find it hard to understand when the granthi (priest) reads
our of the Sikh holy book (granth)..... AS A NC D DS
- The members of the gurdwara committee out of touch
with ordinary people..... AS A NC D DS
- I would like my gurdwara to do more to spread the Sikh faith..... AS A NC D DS
- People in my gurdwara are not concerned enough about social
problems in the area AS A NC D DS
- I would like my gurdwara to give clearer teaching on moral issues
such as abortion, divorce and sex AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to the gurdwara if the
services were more lively..... AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to my gurdwara if the sermons
(talks) were more relevant to everyday life..... AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to my gurdwara if we were more
concerned about social issues such as poverty and
the environment AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to my gurdwara if they could be
involved in decision making AS A NC D DS
- More young people would come to my gurdwara if there were
less rules about how to live their lives AS A NC D DS

Please now turn to page 24

**HAVE YOU ANY HELPFUL COMMENTS YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ABOUT THIS
QUESTIONNAIRE?**

[Page 24 was a blank page, inviting the adolescents to make any comments they wished to]

PLEASE MAKE SURE YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL THE QUESTIONS

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

14.2.0.0. Glossary

<i>Ahmadiyya</i>	A sufi order, followers of the teaching of Ahmad al-Badawi
<i>Akali Dal</i>	A Sikh political party
<i>Akhirah</i>	The Muslim belief in the afterlife
<i>Akhand path</i>	A continuous reading of the Guru Granth Sahib, the sacred Sikh scriptures, usually completed in forty-eight hours
<i>Amrit</i>	Holy water used in the Sikh religion for initiation ceremonies
<i>Armit pahul</i>	The Sikh ceremony of initiation into the <i>Khalsa</i> . Sometimes known as <i>Amritsanskar</i>
<i>Arti</i>	Hindu worship, involving the waving of a lamp.
<i>Baja/baia</i>	Drum, played with the <i>tabla</i>
<i>Barelvi</i>	A Muslim sect which originated in India, with an emphasis on shrines, tombs and saints
<i>Bhajan</i>	A Hindu worship song
<i>Bhakti</i>	Devotion or love, in Hinduism and Sikhism
<i>Bhangra</i>	Asian dance music, originating in the Punjab
<i>Bhatra/Bhattra</i>	A Sikh subcaste, traditionally of beggars
<i>Biraderi</i>	A brotherhood or caste
<i>Chamar</i>	A caste associated with leather-workers
<i>Chhitta</i>	A Sikh ceremony when <i>amrit</i> is sprinkled on the worshippers
<i>Chula</i>	The drinking of the remaining <i>amrit</i> after the initiation ceremony
<i>Da'wah</i>	Call, invitation, the Islamic missionary task
<i>Da'wat Islam</i>	An Islamic political organization associated with the <i>Jama'at i Islami Party</i>
<i>Deobandi</i>	A fundamentalist, reforming Muslim group, which originated in India
<i>Divali</i>	Hindu festival of lights
<i>Eiduladha/Eid-ul-Adha/Id-al-Adha</i>	The Muslim feast of sacrifice
<i>Eidulfitter/Eid-ul-fitr/Id-al-Fitr</i>	The Muslim feast at the end of Ramadan
<i>Garbha</i>	Hindu dance
<i>Got/gotri/goptra</i>	An exogamous clan in an endogamous <i>zat/jati</i>
<i>Granth</i>	A volume of Sikh scriptures
<i>Granthi</i>	One who reads the Guru Granth Sahib
<i>Gurbani/bani</i>	The hymns in the Guru granth Sahib
<i>Gurdwara</i>	A Sikh temple or meeting place
<i>Gurpurb</i>	The anniversaries in the life of the Guru
<i>Haj/hajj</i>	The Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>Haram</i>	That which is forbidden by Islamic law
<i>Izzat</i>	Family honour
<i>Jagrata</i>	A Hindu night prayer vigil for <i>Durga</i>
<i>Jama'at i Islami</i>	An Islamic reformist movement which originated in Pakistan
<i>Janeu</i>	The sacred thread given to Hindu boys at the <i>yagnopavita</i> ceremony
<i>Jat</i>	A caste of Sikh peasant landowners in the Punjab
<i>Jati</i>	An endogamous group, usually with a common occupation
<i>Kabaddi</i>	Team game which originated in India
<i>Kara</i>	One of the five Ks; a steel band worn on the wrist
<i>Kesh</i>	One of the five Ks; uncut hair
<i>Kesdhari</i>	A Sikh with uncut hair
<i>Kirtan/keertan</i>	The singing and musical settings of <i>gurbani</i>
<i>Khalsa</i>	Literally 'the pure'. Sikhs who have been through the initiation ceremony known as <i>Armit pahul</i> or <i>Amritsanskar</i>
<i>Kirpan</i>	One of the five Ks; a dagger
<i>Kirtan</i>	The singing of the <i>gurbani</i> in Sikh worship

<i>Langar</i>	A shared meal; the kitchen where it is prepared
<i>Mandir</i>	Hindu temple
<i>Madrasa</i>	Quranic school or college, usually associated with a mosque
<i>Mochi</i>	A Hindu caste from the Gujarat
<i>Mundan</i>	Hindu hair cutting ceremony
<i>Naam</i>	A Hindu naming ceremony, often call <i>Naam Karan</i>
<i>Namdhari</i>	A movement in Sikhism founded by Baba Balak Singh, which is against meat-eating, drugs and alcohol.
<i>Navrati/</i>	
<i>navaratri</i>	An Hindu festival, celebrated in the autumn
<i>Pani</i>	Water
<i>Panth</i>	Path or way, used to describe the followers of the Sikh faith
<i>Patel</i>	A caste, originally associated with agriculture
<i>Path</i>	A reading from the Guru Granth Sahib
<i>Prajapatis</i>	A Gujurati caste, originally made up of carpenters
<i>Prashad/</i>	
<i>Prasad</i>	Favour or kindness; food which has been blessed
<i>Puja</i>	Hindu worship, usually performed in the home
<i>Pujari</i>	The Brahmin who leads (Hindu) worship
<i>Radhasoami</i>	A tradition of Sikhism stressing meditation and vegetarianism
<i>Rag</i>	A musical theme or phrase on which a piece of music is based
<i>Raksha bandhan</i>	Hindu ceremony when girls tie a thread around their brothers' wrists
<i>Ramayana</i>	An Hindu epic concerning the life of Rama
<i>Ramgarhia</i>	A caste of builders
<i>Ravidasi</i>	Followers of Ravidas, a religious group with its origins in Sikhism
<i>Rumala</i>	A handkerchief used in Sikh worship
<i>Sahajdhari</i>	A Sikh who do not keep all the obligation of the <i>Khalsa</i>
<i>Salah/Salat</i>	Muslim prayers, said five times each daily
<i>Sant</i>	A (charismatic) religious leader
<i>Sangat</i>	The congregation in a Sikh gurdwara
<i>Satsang</i>	A Hindu or Sikh religious meeting
<i>Sawm</i>	Muslim fasting
<i>Shi'ite</i>	A member of the <i>Shi'a</i> branch of Islam
<i>Sunni</i>	One who adheres to the <i>sunna</i> or customary practice of the Prophet Muhammad. The word is used as the name for the largest branch of Islam
<i>Tabla</i>	Drum used in Sikh worship
<i>Umma</i>	Community, people, nation
<i>Valmiki</i>	A <i>zat</i> from the Punjab
<i>Yagnopavita</i>	An Hindu ceremony when boys receive the sacred thread (<i>janeu</i>)
<i>Zakat</i>	The giving of alms; one of the five pillars of Islam
<i>Zat</i>	An endogamous caste

14.3.0.0. Abbreviations

Chr	Christian
CRC	The Community Relations Commission
CRE	The Commission for Racial Equality
EM	The Evening Mail
ES	The Express and Star
HMS	Hindu, Muslim and Sikh
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IWA	The Indian Workers' Association
JSSR	The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion
MLC	The Muslim Liaison Committee
N	Number
NAYM	The National Association of Young Muslims
n.d.	not dated
PSE	Personal and Social Education
PSI	The Policy Studies' Institute
SAB	South Asian British
SYM	The Southall Youth Movement
UMO	The Union of Muslim Organisations of U.K. and Eire
WA	The Walsall Advertiser
WC	The Walsall Chronicle
WO	The Walsall Observer
YMO	The Young Muslims' Organisation, U.K.

14.4.0.0. Transliteration

For the sake of consistency I have generally used the transliterations which are found in the *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Werner, 1994), *A Popular Dictionary of Islam* (Netton, 1992) and *A Popular Dictionary of Sikhism* (Cole and Sambhi, 1990). There are a few exceptions to this in the questionnaire. When I ran the pilot study I found that some of the adolescents did not recognise certain words, usually because of local pronunciation or dialects. Therefore I experimented with different forms of spelling, or in some cases included more than one word in order to ensure that the teenagers understood the statement or question. When quoting from a book or articles I have followed the transliteration used by the author.

14.5.0.0. A note of nomenclature

A wide variety of terms has been used to describe the ethnic and racial groups in the United Kingdom. Many of these have changed over time and reflect different levels of self-understanding and political correctness (Banton, 1977: 480-482 and 1987: 170-175). Such terms include negro, black, coloured, New Commonwealth, immigrant, coloured immigrants, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Asian. The way that the terminology has changed is illustrated by a letter in the Walsall Observer, 10th November 1989, in which Mr Tim Oliver, chairman of the Palfrey Labour Party, criticised the newspaper for 'using the language of the 1950s by referring to 'coloured people'. Mason (1990: 123-33) examined a range of terms and concluded that no one set of terms proved fully adequate. Modood (1988: 397-404) was critical of the term 'black' to encompass all non-white ethnic groups and some years later Ranger, Samad and Stuart (1996:1) argued that 'Blackness defined as the common experience of oppression by non-whites has given away to a myriad of externally imposed or self-asserted ethnicities'. Some authors have tried to leave open the terminology (Modood, Beishon and Virdee, 1994: 15), whilst others have adopted the terms which are now becoming most widely used, such as 'Asian British' or 'South Asian British' (Bald. 1989: 537). For the purposes of this research the term 'South Asian British' is used to describe those whose racial origins are in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh and who are living in the United Kingdom. In some sections those from the three main South Asian religions have been joined together as Hindu/Muslim/Sikh, which is sometimes abbreviated to HMS.

In order to make the text read in a more interesting way a number of terms have been used interchangeably such as sample or cohort and teenager or adolescent.

14.6.0.0. The use of statistics

Numbers have been rounded up or down to one decimal point, unless a source is being quoted which uses two or more decimal points. Where there is a percentage figure of less than 0.5 it has been recorded as <1.

When noting statistical significance the convention of using three categories: $p < .05$, $p < .01$ and $p < .001$ has been used. This means that there are five times per hundred, one time per hundred and one time per thousand respectively when the results would be produced by random. Therefore it is important for the reader to exercise more caution over the results based on $p < .05$ than the results based on $p < .01$ and $p < .001$.

11.0.0.0. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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