

Are Muslims in Hong Kong more marginalized after ‘September 11’?

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Abstract

This paper aims to answer whether or not Muslims in Hong Kong more marginalized in the aftermath of 'September 11'. The Muslim community is an ethnic minority in Hong Kong. Assimilation theory, accommodation model, Primordialism and Circumstantialism confirm that members of ethnic minority experience struggling powers in everyday live practices. I argue that non-Chinese Muslims suffer more marginalizations than Chinese Muslims. In my research, non-Muslims, Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims are interviewed. It is hoped the data help to answer two questions. First, whether or not Muslims in Hong Kong are more marginalized after 'September 11'? Second, do Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims have very different experiences?

A. Introduction

After the ‘September 11’¹ in 2001, together with the surfacing of Islamic extremist organizations such as al-Qaeda, Islam has caught increased attentions from non-Muslim communities. General discussions and political controversies in the mass media are booming. As ‘September 11’ is perceived as a terrorist attack that is affiliated with Islamic extremist organizations², Muslims in the world are treated with different degrees of exclusion ranging from state’s reactions and the public’s attitudes. Certain discriminating policies were introduced in different countries as well. Policies usually are reactions taken by states to response to public’s requests or demands. So, policy change reflects the attitude change of public. If discriminating policies are imposed, baseline discrimination is supposed to find presence. (Fetzer & Soper, 2003:247). Therefore, it is worth asking whether or not Muslims in Hong Kong have become more marginalized after the terrorist attack of ‘September-11’.

1) Awareness on Islam is booming

¹ On the morning of September 11 2001, four flights which are American Airlines Flight 11, United Airlines Flight 175, American Airlines Flight 77 and United Airlines Flight 93, were hijacked and crashed on north tower of the World Trade Center, south tower of the Trade Center, Pentagon in Washington and Pittsburgh respectively within two hours. After the collapse of the World Trade Center, 5000 people were told missing. (for more detail, see Appendix one)

² After the terrorist attack, US started to investigate Osama Bin Laden and his al-Qaeda organization. At least one of the hijackers was confirmed have connections with al-Qaeda organization on September 24, 2001 (BBC News Online - ‘Investigating Al-Qaeda’: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/world/02/september_11/investigating_al_qaeda/timeline/html/default.stm).

Muslims communities caused increased public awareness after the incident. Before 'September 11', the international television channel, BBC News has only eighty-eight numbers of news related to Islam from 12 June 2001 to 10 September 2001, but two hundreds and twenty-nine numbers of news related to Islam from 11 September 2001 to 10 December 2001 (for detail, see appendix two). It tells the fact that public want to know more about Islam after 'September 11'.

Apart from television programmes, reports about Islam also increased in international magazines such as TIME. I found that there were only two issues' cover page is about Islam within two years before the incident, while there were eleven issues with cover page about Islam within two years after the incident (for detail, see Appendix three).

Although the cover page of magazines depends on editors' preferences, we cannot deny the possibility that if the editor of the magazine is an American, the frequency of reportage about Islam would increase, as a result of his hostile sentiments on extreme Islamic organizations. However, be noted that magazines are managed on commercial-based, thus determine the contents of magazine are reflecting public's favours. In addition, magazine also has a shaping effect to public, through the pictures and texts in magazines as to construct an image of a person or a group of people. So,

attitudes of mass media are positively related to the attitudes of public.

In Hong Kong, a similar booming of mass media's reporting of Islam was also found.

The three most popular local Chinese newspapers, Apple Daily, Oriental Daily and Mingpao were investigated. Number of news' title or content containing the term '伊斯蘭' (Islam) was counted from August 12, 2001 to October 10, 2001. There are sixty-nine related news being found, where only five are before the incident, and the rest sixty-four appeared after the incident (see Table 1).

Table 1.1. News Articles about Islam in local newspaper from August 12, 2001 to October 10, 2001³

No.	Date	News Title	Newspaper / Section
1	Aug 13, 2001	Xinjiang People surround the Guest Room of Shenzheng, request to release their colleagues	Oriental Daily
2	Aug 20, 2001	DICTA	Mingpao
3	Aug 25, 2001	Saint City before the Mecca of Islam	Mingpao
4	Sept 02, 2001	Islam course teaches 'three representatives'	Mingpao
5	Sept 02, 2001	Islamic institute of Xinjiang, learn how jiang speaks	Apple Daily
6	Sept 13, 2001	Pearl River batter turns Liberal win, tragedy of New York destroy the King Power?	Oriental Daily
7	Sept 14, 2001	US suggest four strategies to attack Afghanistan, two houses approve, may use nuclear weapon	Apple Daily
8	Sept 14, 2001	No impacts to international finance system	Apple Daily
9	Sept 14, 2001	Poor Afghanistan sells opium	Apple Daily

³ News titles are translated to English, for original Chinese, please refer to appendix three.

10	Sept 15, 2001	Western culture violates Muslims	Mingpao
11	Sept 17, 2001	Holy War, against whom?	Oriental Daily
12	Sept 20, 2001	Call for holy way, defend U.S.	Apple Daily
13	Sept 20, 2001	HK Muslims oppose U.S. use violence	Apple Daily
14	Sept 20, 2001	Ethiopia, the proudest	Oriental Daily
15	Sept 20, 2001	Attack U.S. 'we don't fear death'	Apple Daily
16	Sept 20, 2001	Defend, causes massive 'holy war'	Apple Daily
17	Sept 20, 2001	Devote to Allah, abnormal Muslim	Apple Daily
18	Sept 20, 2001	Friends in past, now enemies	Apple Daily
19	Sept 20, 2001	Islam in China	Apple Daily
20	Sept 20, 2001	Men don't shave, girls not go school	Apple Daily
21	Sept 21, 2001	Nearly shake hands with TALIBAN	Mingpao
22	Sept 21, 2001	FBI, no actual contribution, members avoid danger and hardship	Apple Daily
23	Sept 21, 2001	If attack Afghanistan, two countries provide palces	Apple Daily
24	Sept 22, 2001	Pakistani in HK, oppose war, might back home for battle	Apple Daily
25	Sept 22, 2001	Just hope the devil dreams went off	Apple Daily
26	Sept 22, 2001	Rules in Islamic states	Oriental Daily
27	Sept 23, 2001	Communist of USSR, rebirth?	Oriental Daily
28	Sept 23, 2001	Tom Hanks: we need to do something	Apple Daily
29	Sept 24, 2001	How many need to sacrifice, US will start war?	Apple Daily
30	Sept 24, 2001	What had been swear at Islam?	Mingpao
31	Sept 24, 2001	Not the matter of religion	Oriental Daily
32	Sept 25, 2001	If war, please don't only got brave, but no strategies	Oriental Daily
33	Sept 26, 2001	Anti-terrorism, a long war	Apple Daily
34	Sept 26, 2001	Saudi support anti-terrorism, break off with Afghanistan	Oriental Daily
35	Sept 26, 2001	Distinguish religion and violence	Apple Daily
36	Sept 26, 2001	Devil dreams had been lingered Afghanistan for over 2000 years	Oriental Daily
37	Sept 27, 2001	Tibetan bible in silence hills	Mingpao
38	Sept 27, 2001	Sixty Minutes	Mingpao
39	Sept 28, 2001	Italian Prime Minister depreciate Islam, was criticized	Apple Daily
40	Sept 29, 2001	French Team nearly attacked by terrorist	Oriental Daily

		boom	
41	Sept 29, 2001	Cancel exhibitions in Middle-east	Mingpao
42	Sept 29, 2001	Bin Laden discloses the secret of Holy Way	Oriental Daily
43	Sept 29, 2001	Violence to Violence, deepen the resentment	Apple Daily
44	Sept 30, 2001	Religions groups mourn for 911	Apple Daily
45	Sept 30, 2001	Boxer Ally, never die	Mingpao
46	Sept 30, 2001	Best-selling prophesy	Oriental Daily
47	Sept 30, 2001	Bin Laden discloses the secret of Holy Way	Oriental Daily
48	Sept 30, 2001	500 person holding hands to mourn the 911, high security, officials and religions leaders presence	Oriental Daily
49	Oct 1, 2001	Boom the cave, destroy protecting lines of Laden, prepare for tunnel war	Mingpao
50	Oct 1, 2001	School graduation ceremony been anti-American	Apple Daily
51	Oct 2, 2001	Bin Laden discloses the secret of Holy Way	Oriental Daily
52	Oct 2, 2001	Alternative international school, muslim students	Apple Daily
53	Oct 4, 2001	Testimony of Muslim family	Oriental Daily
54	Oct 5, 2001	Kashmir	Oriental Daily
55	Oct 6, 2001	Qatar TV station become Laden's representative	Apple Daily
56	Oct 7, 2001	Faith of Islam	Oriental Daily
57	Oct 7, 2001	Islam is not horrifying, interview with Imam Yang	Mingpao
58	Oct 8, 2001	Good quality of human fully expressed before tragedy	Apple Daily
59	Oct 8, 2001	Teleban, telson of US	Oriental Daily
60	Oct 8, 2001	Indian soldiers, show their quality	Oriental Daily
61	Oct 8, 2001	Learning Islam	Apple Daily
62	Oct 9, 2001	Worldly cooperation, anti-terrorism	Apple Daily
63	Oct 9, 2001	International response to the air attack of Afghanistan	Apple Daily
64	Oct 9, 2001	Chinese Hung brothers	Apple Daily
65	Oct 9, 2001	Teleban oppose US, guerrilla warfare	Oriental Daily
66	Oct 9, 2001	Start holy war, don't fear death, swear to attack US	Apple Daily

67	Oct 9, 2001	Indonesian dollar deflated 6%	Oriental Daily
68	Oct 9, 2001	Gratitude or resentment, Laden and US, no way out	Apple Daily
69	Oct 9, 2001	XinJiang people save rices to prevent turmoil	Oriental Daily

Except from the increased reports about Islam, another important issue to be addressed is that terrorism is always emphasized or mentioned in the news related to Islam. It is vividly true when we look at the three local newspapers. Soon after the attack, people just alerted it was a ‘terrorist attack’, but do not have any assumptions on who are the terrorists. But three days after the incident, i.e. 14 September of American time, the FBI first announced the identities of hijackers and started to investigate the al-Qaeda Islamic organization (BBC News Online)⁴. Since then, the ‘September 11’ incident was affiliated to Islam. As a result, we could not find local newspapers containing the word Islam on September 12, but booming news on Islam since September 14. So, we might make a logical guess that if Islam had not been affiliated to terrorism, it might not cause widespread awareness.

2) Antagonistic Actions by States

In America, the government made profiles of the Muslims and Arabs in the country since November 2001. Their work location, residential area, religious belief were

⁴ BBC News Online – Investigating al-Qaeda, website:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/world/02/september_11/investigating_al_qaeda/timeline/html/default.stm

documented (Council on American-Islamic Relations 2002, p.11). Thus, Muslims, Arabs, Middle-Easterners and South Asians were frequently subjected to security check in airport or ports. As recorded by the Council on American-Islamic Relations, complaints on discrimination from members of Muslim community received significant increase (see Table 1.2). Types of discrimination include government profiling, job termination, denial of religious practices, violence treatment, verbal abuse, unreasonable suspicion, denial access to public facilities, etc. (see Table 1.3)(p.13). And discrimination occurred in workplace, airports, government agencies, schools, etc. (see Table 1.4) (p.12). Clearly, these evidences tell us that the impact of ‘September 11’ on Muslim is all-rounded, and happen everywhere.

Table 1.2: Number of Incidents by Year

Year	Number of Discrimination Complaints
1995/1996	80
1996/1997	240
1997/1998	284
1998/1999	285
1999/2000	322
2000/2001	366
2001/2002	525

Source: ‘The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States 2002: Stereotypes and Civil Liberties’, Council on American-Islamic Relations (<http://www.cair-net.org/civilrights2002/civilrights2002.pdf>)

Table 1.3: Percentage of Incidents by Type of Alleged Abuse (1999 to 2002)

Incident Type	1999	2000	2001	2002
Passenger profiling	2	1	2	24
Government profiling	2	1	2	18
Verbal abuse	10	9	8	14

Job termination/Denial of employment	12	17	20	14
Unfair employment practice	6	4.5	7	3
Denial of religious accommodation	49	31	27	12
Physical assault/Shooting/Property damage	4	7	4	6
Denial of service/Access to public facility	3	5	5	5
Unreasonable suspicion	5	4	4	1
Unequal treatment	7	20	10	2
Threatened with violence	-	-	1	1

Source: 'The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States 2002: Stereotypes and Civil Liberties', Council on American-Islamic Relations

Table 1.4: Percentage of Complaints by Place of Occurrence (1999 to 2002)

Place of incident	1999	2000	2001	2002
Workplace	47	42	48	26
Airports	3	3	2	26
Government agencies	8	11	10	19
Schools	8	13	15	8
Public accommodation	10	8	9	7
Mosques/Community organizations	2	2	1	3
Prisons	17	13	9	3
Internet	-	-	-	2.5
Courts	2	3	1	0.5
Military	0.7	0.3	1	0.5
Other	1	3	2	4.5

Source: 'The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States 2002: Stereotypes and Civil Liberties', Council on American-Islamic Relations

It is unquestionable that the responses of America have become hostile towards the Muslim community, where the 'September 11' happened. In Britain, France and Germany, where containing the largest Muslim communities in Europe, likewise, discriminating actions were found. Tighter restrictions and investigations were implemented to limit the immigration of Muslim (Fetzer & Soper, 2003:247-258). In Asian countries such as Singapore, a policy was approved in February 2002 which

banned Muslim school girls who wear headscarves (hijab) from going to school (Muzaffar, 2002:2). Obviously, the aftermath of ‘September 11’ was spreading all over the world. In the stance of these governments, they bear an antagonistic attitude towards Muslim after ‘September 11’ by imposing excluding policies.

3) Public Anxiety to Muslims

Under the atmosphere of Islamic terrorism learnt from mass media, and State’s suspicious policies changes, public’s fear towards Muslims was exaggerate. It was proved from the political elections. In Britain, Dutch and France, political parties which advocate anti-immigrant or anti-Muslim received increased supports (Fetzer & Soper, 2003:247). Public’s support to accommodate Muslims’ religious practices decreased, example such as the accommodating Islam in schools (See Table 1.5).

Table 1.5: Support for Islam in state-run schools before and after September 11

Responses (%)	Britain		France		Germany	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Expand	31.8	28.0	16.7	14.4	61.6	55.8
Restrict	19.9	25.6	38.8	41.2	10.5	11.8
Muslims	2.3	0.8	3.5	3.0	0.8	0.8

Source: Roper Europe (2001, 2002), quoted from Fetzer & Soper, 2003:256.

4) After ‘September 11’, Muslim community in Hong Kong

To argue whether discrimination exists or not, we can investigate the policies,

implications and public attitudes. Following the cultural liberal ideology brought by the British colonial ruling tradition, there are no obvious policy changes after the 'September-11' in Hong Kong. However, the Education and Manpower Bureau rejected a proposal to establish an Islamic education center in Yuen Long in 2003. It was explained by the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) that there are already enough resources to cater the needs of the ethnic minorities, but the United Association of Hong Kong (Umah) argued that the existing resources are either unsuitable or insufficient (SCMP Jun 28, 2003). People may wonder whether or not the rejection is because of 'September 11', however, by investigating the arguments presented by both parties, i.e. the EMB and Umah, they had not ever mentioned 'September 11', so it is assumed that they did not take the impacts from 'September 11' into consideration (for related news, please refer to appendix five).

As no policies change in Hong Kong, if baseline marginalization towards Muslims has been engendered, it might resolve Muslims in Hong Kong become more marginalized in the aftermath of 'September-11'.

In October 2001, there was a protest towards the building of an Islamic mosque in Sheung Shui by residents. Although the proposal is still under consultation, it reflects

the ‘September 11’ incidents had caused marginalization towards Muslims by public.

The views expressed by the residents reveal their anxiety come from the terrorist and radical image of Muslims after the incident.

In America, physical appearance, such as skin color is an identifier for the airport security guards to single out passengers for security check. Specially, Islamic terrorists are perceived as Central-Asian Muslims, and their major physical appearances are Muslim clothing and skin color. So, discrimination towards Muslims can be attributed to racial discrimination, in particular, discrimination towards people bearing Middle-Easterners’ or Muslim’ appearances. Actually, there were increased enquiries upon ethnic discrimination received by the Equal Opportunities Committee (EOC)⁵ in Hong Kong (see Table 1.6). It may indicate marginalizations towards Muslims are increased after ‘September 11’.

Table 1.6: Statistics on Racial Discrimination Enquiries

Year	Total Number of Enquires
1997	20
1998	10
1999	40
2000	157
2001	191
2002 (up to November 30)	189

Source: Equal Opportunity Commission
(<http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr02-03/english/panels/ha/papers/ha1213cb2-588-3e.pdf>)

⁵ The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) is a statutory body set up in 1996 to implement the Sex Discrimination Ordinance (SDO), the Disability Discrimination Ordinance (DDO) and the Family Status Discrimination Ordinance (FSDO)

5) Aims of this Study

If the role of the Hong Kong government towards religion is really neutral, then it should not bring about the increased marginalizations of Muslims after ‘September 11’. However, the number of enquiries about racial discrimination has actually increased after the incident. So, to answer this question, we need to first examine the baseline experiences in the everyday lives of Hong Kong Muslims. Secondly, I intend to compare whether or not the experiences of Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims are different since Chinese is the ethnic majority in Hong Kong.

B. Conceptual Framework

1) Defining exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination

Before mapping the experiences of Muslim communities in Hong Kong, we need to distinguish between exclusion, marginalization and discrimination. The three terms share some similarities that are fundamentally based on the existence of advantaged groups and disadvantaged groups in society in my view. Commonly, the groups with lesser power are always the disadvantaged groups who experience differential treatment by the group holding more power. In the following, I will explain how the advantaged groups are privileged and the disadvantaged groups are excluded, marginalized and discriminated as a result.

Exclusion is one dimension to examine the social differentiation through legitimate and institutionalized instruments imposed by the government. It designates deprivation of resources or social links of individuals by society. The concept of 'exclusion' is mainly used to study the ideology of government, especially discussing the inequality of social policy. Individuals are prevented or being set barriers to exercise their social rights as others do. It leads to unfair citizenship based on ethnicity in some societies such as Malaysia. It results in forcefully social integration

and extinction of minority culture. Usually, exclusion reflects extreme marginalization (Marshall, 1998:212-213).

Marginalization is ‘a process by which a group or individual is denied access to important positions and symbols of economic, religious, or political power within any society’ (Marshall, 1998:385). The degree of differentiation is less vigorous as exclusion, which operates mainly in everyday lives. The outcome of marginalization is ‘unequal shares of the rewards of success’ (p.386). It invokes the analysis of key cultural values in society, either cultural liberalism or cultural hegemony. Therefore, the existence of extreme marginalization is a sign of the tendency towards cultural hegemony by exclusive measures of the State.

Discrimination is used to describe the relationship between two groups of people. Struggles exist between two groups of people, and further shape the attitudes towards the other group by stereotyping (Marshall, 1998:163-164). It is the basis of exclusion and marginalization by government or wider society, which expresses primarily divisions and negative subjective perceptions towards a certain group of people.

2) Muslims as a Minority Group

A deprived social group can be defined 'as a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential an unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination' (Marshall, 1998:420-421). Ethnicity is a fundamental identifier for social grouping in society. When different ethnic groups do not share equal opportunities and receive fair treatment in a society, then we would describe the disadvantaged ethnic group as being excluded, marginalized or discriminated, depending on the level of inequality and power of discriminating agents.

Marshall (1998) also noted that disadvantaged groups might not be the minority in number, but 'are marginal in terms of their access to power' (p.421). If it is the case in a multi-ethnic society, we would question who is responsible for the unfairness, what forces are ascribed to the inequality and how the marginalizations take place. If it is not the case, we would like to know why it is different from other societies. In non-Islamic states such as Hong Kong, Muslim communities are always a minority group in society. So, scholars are interested to know the experiences of the Muslim community in order to uncover the significance of religious identity and the position of this religious group in a society.

To understand the situations of the Muslims as a minority group in society, firstly is to recognize the minority status by Muslims communities themselves and non-Muslims, secondly is to know what or who determine the situations.

According to Anderson (2001), assimilation theory tells us interactions between ethnic minority and majority enhance the integration of minority to society. Thus, 'ethnicity was expected to disappear' (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:4). However, it was criticized as 'rather deterministic', in addition the ethnic reality does not match with the prediction of assimilation theory, so Primordialism was developed (Anderson, 2001:210). Primordialism explains that the power of primordial ties affect the ethnic identification of ethnic minority, so ethnicity does not disappear even more integrations to majority are taken place (Anderson, 2001:210-211).

In the following, I aim to affiliate assimilation theory and Primordialism to state's accommodation and ethnic identity of minority, in order to discuss how state's accommodation and primordial ties affect the ethnic identification of minorities projected in their experiences.

3) Dimension of State: Assimilation VS Accommodation

Assimilation Theory

The motive for the formulation of the assimilation theory was the emerging presence of migrant communities in America. It was observed that the immigrant groups gradually integrated to the society after decades of interactions. Similar experiences are promoted to every resident through the interactions between migrants and local community (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:43). In Europe, interaction between Muslims and majority gave rises to the number of Muslims. There are about twenty thousands of 'new' Muslims in UK, where a half of them are women, another half contains some students, businessmen and diplomats (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:356). At the same time, the descendents of migrants are born and grow in the migrated place. The migrants and their descendents finally 'acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups in the society, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural lives' (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:43).

Assuming that it is a tendency of 'minority identities eventually would disappear', assimilation theory supports the ultimate realization of 'a universalistic model' (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:43-44). Industrialization, urbanization and widespread

mass media bring people together to share a similar culture; so racial and ethnic identities are presumed to play lesser roles in modern life (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:7).

Considering assimilation as a 'process' (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:43), analyses on minorities' experiences, such as Fetzer & Soper (2003), Husain & O'Brien (2000), Johnstone & Slomp (1998), attend to what have happened in the process, including how state's ideology and actual policies affect the dynamics of ethnic groups.

Accommodating Apparatus

Most European countries contain 'mainly Christians', and 'few Europeans had first-hand acquaintance with Muslims' (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:355). Muslims came to Europe through migration since 17th century and the most significant migration wave is after the World War II (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:356 and Husain & O'Brien, 2000:1-2). Among different European countries, Britain, France and Germany have the largest population of Muslims (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:355 and Soper & Fetzer, 2003:39).

Apart from the demographic facts, the changes in the purposes of Muslims' migration

from short-term temporarily staying to permanent settling progressively in Europe along the time frame are also significant to the establishment of Muslim communities (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:356, Soper & Fetzer, 2003:247-248 and Husain & O'Brien, 2000:2).

As a result, recognizing the status of Muslim minority groups by states and migrants themselves in society encourages the development of a Muslim community, such as accommodating Islamic religious practices, constructing mosques or Islamic schools, and allocating worshipping areas are essential. Johnstone and Slomp (1998) delineate the establishment of Muslim communities in European countries by examining the mosques building, allocating Islamic burial place, setting up Islamic organizations, arrival of Imams and accommodating Islamic diet (p.357-359). The role of states is important to allocate resources and to make policy in order to fulfill the above establishing steps (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:357-359 and Soper & Fetzer, 2003:39).

The state's stance usually plays a decisive role in the successful establishment of a Muslim community (Fetzer & Soper, 2003:247-248 and Husain & O'Brien, 2000:3-4).

The state can reject or approve the constructions of mosques or schools in public space. Thus, the state's philosophy to accommodate the minority groups is also

projected from its public policies. Soper & Fetzer (2003) explain Britain, France and Germany's accommodation of Muslims religious practices from three dimensions, they are resource mobilization, state structure and ideology (p.39-59).

Though Britain, France and Germany are perceived as liberal societies, and actually put some effort in accommodating Muslims' demands, they show different mentalities in catering to the minorities. Muslims in Britain get more resources than in France. Britain's liberal political tradition protects the independent sphere of minorities in society. France's republican tradition favors assimilating scheme to make minority integrate to the larger society (Soper & Fetzer 2003, p.44-46).

As a result, Britain allows separate Islamic schools in society, while France intends to deepen the understanding between Muslims and others but not to separate Muslims children in mainstream school. Their ultimate goals are different. Interactions between minority and majority in Britain are limited but in France are inescapable. Muslims in Britain retain their minority status, while the minority status of Muslims in France is supposed to vanish eventually (Soper & Fetzer 2003, p.52-55).

4) Ethnic Identity: Primordialism VS Circumstantialism

Assimilation theory witnesses the integration of minorities to larger society. It further develops its arguments from a macro approach by evaluating the role of government in accommodating minority groups. In addition, the establishment of minority communities confirms the intention of minorities themselves to assert their status in society. Yet, it does not explain what forces the interactions between majority and minorities in an endless process. So, Primordialism was developed in parallel with Circumstantialism. They attempt to elicit the underlie mechanisms in a dynamic perspective (Cornell & Hartman, 1998:4-9 & Anderson, 2001:209-213).

Fixedness and Fluidity of ethnic identity⁶

Primordialism thinks ethnic identity is unchangeable. Primordial attachment is the basic identity given to one to explain one's 'social existence' (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:48). It is derived from 'race, kinship, group history, nationality or other group affiliation, inherited language, religion, culture and geographical birthplace' (Anderson 2003:211). So, it is both primordial and sentimental. As explained by Cornell & Hartmann (1998:52), 'ethnicity is something deeply meaningful and uniquely powerful, irreducible or other social forces or phenomena'. When primordial

⁶ In Cornell and Hartmann (1997), the title of chapter 3 is 'Fixed or Fluid? Alternative Views of Ethnicity and Race', I use a similar title to characterize the meaning of ethnic identity to minority. My discussions about ethnic identification will be based on Cornell and Hartmann's argument, but I will focus more on Muslims identity instead of ethnic identity.

ties are embedded and deep-rooted, assimilation is not achieved finally when one is seeking for one's social existence.

In Johnstone and Slomp (1998), Muslims in Europe turned from temporarily staying to permanent settling by 'chain migration', thus the Muslim communities became larger when relatives and friends of earlier migrants arrived. Then, 'a sizeable city' was inhabited with the ethnic minorities, 'for example, Mirpuris in Bradford, UK; Turks in areas of large German cities'. At the same time, women of the extended families usually could not speak the new language. So, a tight social network was formed among people with the same origin to serve the 'social and religious priorities' (p.356). Primordialism illustrates how the tight social network formed by the Muslims in Europe based on their same language, religions, and origin. Religious identity of the Muslim migrants in Europe did not changed even they had migrated to Europe.

The line of thinking elaborated by Primordialism overlooks the assimilating realities of minorities in larger society, so Circumstantialism re-considers ethnic identity on practical grounds. Ethnic identity is 'fluid, superficial, and changeable' confronting different situations is the assumption of Circumstantialism (Anderson, 2001:211). Ethnic groups stress their 'interests' and 'make utilitarian choices' in order to attain

maximum benefits (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:53). Ethnic identity is a form of intangible resources. So, Circumstantialism thinks ethnic identity is a 'strategic choice by individual' (Anderson, 2001:212). Hence, ethnic identification as offering minority groups collective power on one hand, and offering individuals choice to de-emphasize its ethnic identity in different circumstances on the other hand, in order to attain advantages at the end.

'e[E]thnic group as interest group' claimed by Circumstantialism explains the Black Americans fight for equal Civil Rights collectively in 1960s (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:57). Ethnic members emphasize their ethnic identity when the identity is the reason of disadvantaged treatment. They form collective power to bargain. Their collective actions demonstrate how ethnic identity is seen as strategic choice to yield for benefits.

Refer back to the experiences of migrant Muslims in Europe, it says because migrant women could not speak the new language, so they maintain close relationship among people of same origin (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:356, or see previous page). It tells us language is a barrier to affect assimilation of the new migrants to majority. As a result, primordial attachments of ethnic members are not only determined by their

preferences or family ties (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:55), but also shape by their ability to integrate to society.

Both Primordialism and Circumstantialism elicit some realities of what force ethnic identity to operate in daily social interaction of people in modern society. The assimilation theory delineates how institutional factors such as accommodating policies affect the minority to integrate to the larger society. However, the incomprehensiveness rests in contextualizing the ethnic identity of minorities in society. It means it overcomes the inequality in society. For example, whether there are accommodating resources for minorities to attain fair opportunities in society, such as language, religious practicing place, health and welfare (Johnstone & Slomp, 1998:356). As suggested by Johnstone and Slomp (1998) from the development of Muslims in Europe, ethnic identification is a process, composed of several stages including arrival, establishing communities, states' accommodation (p.356-360).

In order to re-construct the whole picture of ethnic minority's identification process, we are required to stick on the time frame. Along the time frame, by singling out the most significant force such as states' accommodation or ethnic minorities' incentive and financial power at a moment and accompanied by other marginal or minor forces

existing at that time, it helps to reveal the underlying logic of the fluidity and fixedness of ethnic identity in a dynamic way.

Notions of Power

Based on the above discussions about assimilation theory, Primordialism and Circumstantialism, minority group is suffering from struggling powers when they are bearing their ethnic identity in daily life experiences. Viewing both primordial ties, situational calculations and ability to integrate to society as internal forces affecting an individual's consciousness to act, thus seeing the state's accommodating apparatus and majority's interactions as external forces shaping an individual's behaviour, ethnic identity is 'asserted' by minorities themselves and also 'assigned' by majorities or environment (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:73). The internal and external forces can be understood as a form of power. Power means whether or not minority members have abilities to achieve their expected outcome, whether or not the majority restricts minority members' to achieve their expected outcome and whether or not the society has provided facilitating conditions for minority members to attain opportunity to execute their actions.

As minority is living in struggling powers confronting larger society, I deduce a

certain possible pictures for the experiences of minority group: 1) they are not free to make choices, 2) their choices are bounded by some powerful agents, 3) they tend to make some sets of choices through experiences, and 4) there exists a boundary between minority themselves with others.

When there is an existing demographic setting, including majority and minorities, a minority group member must recognize its minority identity, in order to communicate with others on the basis of what state assigns to majority and minorities. What we call the 'basis' includes religious demands of Muslims and states' policies (Soper & Fetzer, 2003:39). It already suggests minorities' action is carried out after some considerations. So, it explains why minorities are not free to make choices. For example, judicial environment restricts any person to violate legitimate laws.

Choices are not free to make, and are bounded

When an Islamic organization has money to build a mosque in society, however, if the related governmental body does not approve such an application, the mosque still cannot be built finally. So, economic power afford minority to execute its desire, but political power is able to ban minority to act. When a Muslim wants to worship during his working time, but if his/her company do not allow him/her to practice or no

suitable areas are provided, then he is not able to worship.

As France prohibited Muslim children to wear hijab to school, the religious demands of Muslims are restricted (Soper & Fetzer, 2003:248). Although laws are applied to both majorities and minorities, it does not mean laws enables citizens with equal opportunities to assert their preferences. So, the opportunity for minority to make choice also means there are restrictions to choose. In Britain, Islamic schools are of private financed based, while Christian and Jewish ones are fully financed by the state. Although the state enables the construction of Islamic schools, the different subsidies to different religious schools lead to unfairness (Soper & Fetzer, 2003:41). In Germany, there are already Catholic and Protestants agencies within the social system, but Islamic ones are not yet to be included. It also leads to unequal access to social resources for different religious organizations (Soper & Fetzer, 2003:41).

So, minorities are not free to make choices because external environments determine whether minority members can make such a choice. Choices are bounded because available choices are already under certain circumstances, may be laws or public infrastructures.

Preferences for choices, to distinguish from others

Muslims are prohibited to eat pork and drink beer. When all the colleagues of a Muslim go to bar after work, the Muslim probably chooses not to accompany them to go, even it might be a necessary gathering in others' view. One of my respondents in my research, Jamillah⁷ said, when she goes out for lunch, she will choose vegetarian restaurants as the food must not contains pork.

Therefore, primordial attachment persuades a Muslim to choose those not violate his religious belief. Possibly, others would recognize his preferences in some situations while their guesses on his choices would be quite accurate. Thus, it affords the Muslim to draw a boundary between him and other non-Muslims. Of course, if the Muslim intends not to disclose his religious identity, others may not alert his tendency in choices. In this case, the boundary would not appear between the Muslim and others in others' views (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:77).

Negotiating along status of majority and minority

Because both minorities and majorities have power to determine the outcomes, the intention of the minority members is important. For Muslims, power of Muslims

⁷ For details about my respondents, please refer to the methodology part

includes their incentive to maintain Islamic lifestyle⁸, economic power of Islamic organizations to build mosques and Islamic school; power of majorities or states include their attitudes towards Islamic practices in society, public infrastructure to accommodate religious demands of Muslims, immigration policies to enable Imam's arrival, resources such as financial support for the establishment of Islamic schools or mosques and approval to the application of mosques building (Soper & Fetzer, 2003:40-42).

Religious identities is different from ethnic identities in the sense that ethnic identities are obvious as ethnic members have distinct physical appearances such as face color, while religious identities are not obvious if there are no religious dressing. For Muslims, the only physical appearance is their Islamic dressing such as hijab for women and Islamic hat for men. So, if Muslims do not put on the Islamic dressing, non-Muslims might not recognize their religious belief. (Le Quesne, 2001:44).

Whether or not Muslims can enjoy equal access to public resources as other religions enjoy rely on state's multi-cultural policies to protect Islam as a religion in society.

Europe, different states show different mentalities upon the accommodation of Islam.

⁸ Lifestyle of Muslims can be simply understand as five times prayer everyday, taking Islamic diet, i.e. no tobacco, beer and pork, fasting in daytimes during Ramadan, Islam dressing, i.e. Muslims women wear hijab, Muslims men wear hat (Muslims handbook, 2003).

Britain allows Muslims to have their separate Islamic school, but no public funding while Christian schools receive funding; In France, it encourages Muslim children to enter mainstream schools, at the same time enhance the knowledge of Islam in curriculum (Fetzer & Soper, 2003:248-250). As a result, Britain's attitude reflect the inequality between Islam and Christian; while France intends not to draw boundary between Muslims and majorities, but allow multi-cultural lifestyle by promoting dialectic understanding towards different cultures.

Chapter 3. Historical overview

History of Hong Kong is inter-woven with the colonial history. The emergence of ethnic minorities is an intrinsic part and also a product of history. Indian Muslims are the first group of Muslims settled down in Hong Kong. They arrived together with the British colonial government during the nineteenth century. They served as soldiers and were employed as police since landing. Later, Indian businessmen came to conduct trading between Indian and China, where part of the Indian are Muslims (Weiss, 1991:419-420; Pluss, 1999:2; Pluss, 2000:3-5; Ho, 2001:64-65).

Pluss (2000) and Ho (2001) discuss the development of Muslim community by focusing on the earliest prominent Muslim group, i.e. the non-Chinese Muslims. However, Chinese Muslims actually contribute half of the Muslim population in Hong Kong. The earliest Chinese Muslims arrived Hong Kong in the late nineteenth century. After the World War II and the Cultural Revolution, massive migrants from the mainland China rushed to Hong Kong. As a result, the Chinese Muslims population grew rapidly (Pluss, 2000:20).

And the weakness of available studies is the insufficient examination on the

experiences of Chinese Muslims. The reason is due to the unclear identifying the ethnic group for study. They usually depicted the non-Chinese Muslims for analysis. It does not reflect the actual realities of the demographic facts of Muslim population. Therefore, a comprehensive examination must also consider the Chinese Muslims in order to construct the whole picture of Muslim community.

In addition, the inadequacy to evaluate Muslim's everyday lives interactions with majority in Ho (2001) and Pluss (2000) lies in the absence of understanding the Chinese Muslims. However, their contributions do alert us that Chinese Muslims share the same ethnic origin with the majority, it makes common people hard to recognize their religious belief if no visible appearances or behaviours representing their Muslim identity are displayed to other people.

The above echo two problems, firstly, what has been ethnicized is the non-Chinese identity, rather than Muslim identity. Secondly, I argue Ho (2001)'s employing the term 'Muslim community' was inaccurate.

1) Relationship with the British colonial government

Path for accommodation

As explained by Pluss (1999, 2000, 2000) and elaborated by Ho (2001), the close relationship between British colonial government and the non-Chinese Muslims did benefit to the establishment of Muslim communities in Hong Kong. Although there were Chinese Muslims at that time, mosques and Islamic organizations were founded by non-Chinese Muslims, especially the Indian Muslims. Pluss (2000) delineates the development of Islamic organizations and the construction of Islamic mosques in Hong Kong. It tells us the significant role of non-Chinese Muslims to the establishment of Muslim communities. Without the financial support from Indian traders, mosques such as the Shelly Street Mosque and the Kowloon Mosque were difficult to set up (Ho, 2002:65-66). Thus, the formally launching of Islamic organizations such as The Trustees of the Islamic Community Fund in 1850 and the Islamic Union in 1905 also drew out the demands of Muslim in Hong Kong to have well-organized Islamic activities (Pluss, 2000:19).

Mosques building and establishment of Islamic organizations signify the status of Muslim as a minority group in Hong Kong. A firmly recognized status demonstrates the Muslims were not pursuing a short-term temporary stay or occasional visits, they either had transnational businesses with Hong Kong, which requires them to come periodically, or they had committed to employment contracts with Hong Kong

government such as the Prison Department and the Police, which demands them to stay for a long period of time. The most common forms of staying in Hong Kong of these non-Chinese Muslims are either forcefully transported by colonial government including soldiers, prison guards, or on voluntary base such as businessmen and those seeking for working chances (Pluss 2000, p.20).

To look under the assimilation theory, Muslim minorities had no choices to interact the majority non-Muslim people. Chinese is the majority of Hong Kong, but 'there was little if any contact between Indian and Chinese Muslims' (Pluss, 2000:20). To accommodate their religious customs, relevant religious infrastructures must find presence for sustainable staying. So, mosques building are necessitated to accommodate the Muslim minorities. As a result, colonial government spared places for Islamic organizations to build their mosques nearby their residing areas. In addition, there was also a prayer room for army and prison guards to worship.

From this point of view, the colonial government respects the Muslim-minorities. They did not only allocate places for their developments, but also actively provided assisting instruments to accommodate the Muslims served in prison. On the other hand, accommodating the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong also consolidated the

colonial ruling. The presence of these ethnic minorities helped economic developments directly through business activities, and maintaining stability indirectly by assigning unfamiliar ethnic people to serve for public security in early Hong Kong. As described by Pluss (2000), the reason why British colonial government was keen on employing non-Chinese to serve as policemen is 'their lack of networks with the majority population in Hong Kong, the Chinese inhabitant of the colony' (p.7).

Before and after the British colonial ruling

Ho (2001) compares the situation of Islamic organizations before and after the withdrawal of colonial ruling in Hong Kong. He argued that the Muslims in Hong Kong are no longer privileged after the handover. The reason is Indian Muslims are usually occupying the leading role in Islamic organizations such as the Trustees of the Islamic Community Fund and the Islamic Union. As these groups of Indian people had good relationship with colonial government, it offers them greater negotiating power to bargain for resources.

The case was magnified by similar applications for mosque building before and after the handover 1997. The proposal to construct the fifth mosque in New Territories has been pending for several years. And the proposal for the mosque has been revised

many times after being reminded for the ‘appropriate’ land usage claimed the by Land Department. Now, it has turned to be a community center including education institution and elderly center, instead of serving the religious worshipping only. It was examined by Ho (2001) that affirmative social policies including resources mobilization were easier to get consensus with the previous colonial government. So, the four previous mosques⁹ were easier to get permissions to construct.

Privileged identity of Muslims

Ho (2001) elucidates the sovereignty change is the main reason to explain why it is more difficult to get approval from government to build a new mosque. The notion of political power is always connected with economic development. It invokes many studies (Chiu, 1996; Choi, 1997 & Ngo, 1999) to evaluate the development of Hong Kong from the political-economy model. However, Ho (2001) does not incorporate the development history of Hong Kong in a comprehensive perspective. It leaves gaps to make clear why colonial government intended to establish good relationship with Indian merchants by accommodating their religious demands.

⁹ The four previous mosques are located in Hong Kong island and Kowloon. They are the Jamia Masjid on Shelley Street, Kowloon Masjid and Islamic Centre on Nathan Road, the Masjid Ammar & Osman Ramju Sadick Islamic Centre located in Wan Chai and Chai Wan Mosque (Hong Kong Yearbook 2002).

The reliance of political stability offered by economic development in fact tailors the development history of Hong Kong. Hong Kong does not have natural resources, so it had to rely on manufacturing industries. At the same time that Hong Kong is a small city and population were mostly constituted by migration, import-substitution did not suitable for sustainable development. As a result, the colonial government signified export-oriented development strategy. The inherent principle to achieve good profits is to increase the business transactions through Hong Kong (Schiffer, 1991:202-203). The Indian Borah Muslims' 'long standing trading expertise and connections in Asia were appreciated by the British' and 'were sheltered by the British' (Pluss, 2000:5). So, the colonial government at that time had ambition to maintain good relationship with Indian traders where parts of them are Muslims.

Relationship is intangible resources to facilitate economic development. By maintaining good relationship with the target participants, government was willing to provide accommodating facilities. Although relationship does not guarantee firming agreement between both parties, approving affirmative policies were seen as the efforts government displayed to maintain the relationship. So, it is a tacit consensus between both parties, the 'recognized competence' of Indians related to 'business dealing' made them 'sought to foster themselves a niche in Hong Kong's economy'

(Pluss, 2000:2).

Privileged identity of early Muslim is resolved by uncovering the mechanism of relationship between colonial government and Indian Muslim. Indian Muslims being in charge with economic power was advantaged, to exchange religious accommodating infrastructure received from government guarantee by its political power. 't[T]he Trustees of the Islamic Community, were formed in the 1850s in order to assure the appropriate use of a piece of land the Hong Kong government had given to the Muslims to build a mosque' (Pluss, 2000:6) In fact, Pluss (2000) also examines the representatives within the Trustees, who are confirmed with close relationship with the British government and British army (p.6).

When colonial rule came to an end, 'the relatively privileged affirmative policies extended to Muslim ethnic minorities' departed, 'the advantageous position enjoyed by Muslims' disappeared (Ho, 2002:75). The application to construct community center in order to cater the increasing Muslim population in New Territories by The Islamic organization, United Association of Muslims in Hong Kong (Umah) is still pending for approval, but we have to be noted that the concerned Muslim population are of ethnic minority in his analysis. We do not know whether there is also an

increased Chinese Muslim population in New Territories or not, so the community center might actually aim at serving the ethnic minority, rather than the Muslim minority.

2) Harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims in daily lives

Boundary between Chinese and ethnic minority

Pluss (2000, p.20-21) mentioned the Lower Lascar mosque in Central remains in Indian style. The non-Chinese Muslims in Hong Kong 'considered themselves as a tightly knit and separate community' (Pluss, 2000:5). It entails the motivation for non-Chinese Muslims to integrate to Chinese society was low. The Chinese called the Lascar mosque as 'Moh Loh Miu' (摩囉廟) where 'Moh Loh' (摩囉) is a term used by Chinese to indicate the Indian people. 'This is a colloquial expression for Indians, making allusion to their dark skin color' (Pluss, 2000:2).

Actually, the non-Chinese Muslims worshipped in the Lascar mosque includes both Indian and Malays (Weiss, 1991:420), the term 'Moh Loh Miu' indicates the presence of ethnic stereotyping of Islam, where the impression of Muslims in majorities' perception are Indian only. The illusions of majority ignore two facts, firstly, not all non-Chinese people are Muslims, some are Hindus (Pluss, 2000:14); and secondly,

some Chinese are Muslims.

Although there are misunderstandings on the geographical origin of Muslims, the Chinese majority and the non-Chinese Muslims share good relationship in daily lives, for example, the Chinese ‘never dared to pass through that street after marketing for fear of hurting the Muslims’ feelings when they held pork and walked along while the Muslims were having their prayers’ (Pluss 2000, p.21). However, it was not explained whether these practices came voluntarily or upon request by the Muslims.

Religious discrimination or ethnic discrimination?

As stated, both Ho (2001) and majorities non-Muslims Chinese inaccurately identifies Muslims as non-Chinese Muslims. The majorities recognize Muslims by physical appearances only. The Islamic mosques are called ‘Moh Loh Miu’ indicates the impression of Muslims are Indians, who have darker skin color. Three misunderstanding can be drawn from the categorization: firstly, not all Indians are Muslims, some are Hindus; secondly, not all darker skin color people are Indians, some are Malays, Indonesians; thirdly, the Muslims communities contain not only non-Chinese, but contain Chinese also.

The misunderstandings upon identifying Muslims lead us wonder whether marginalizations towards Muslims are ethnic discrimination or religious discrimination.

3) Re-constructing the experiences of Muslim community

The above two parts had delineated the experiences of Muslims from macro environment such as mosque building to micro atmosphere such as the interactions with majority. Yet, the insufficiency rests in examining experiences of Chinese Muslims due to inaccurately categorizing ethnic group for study

In Hong Kong, there is no particular governmental body directly responsible for the religions affairs. In addition, the related body responsible for inequality affair, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) also does not include religious discrimination or ethnic discrimination as a category under its catering areas. So, although it shows the government is lacking the sensitivity towards religious affairs, it indeed reflects the demographic setting in Hong Kong. Statistics tell us that Chinese contributes about 95% of overall population in Hong Kong (See table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Population by ethnicity, 2001

Chinese	6,364, 439 (94.9%)
Filipino	142,556 (2.1%)
Indonesian	50,494 (0.8%)
British	18,909 (0.3%)
Indian	18,543 (0.3%)
Thai	14,342 (0.2%)
Japanese	14,180 (0.2%)
Nepalese	12,564 (0.2%)
Pakistani	11,017 (0.2%)
Others	61,345 (0.9%)
Total	6,708,389 (100%)

Source: 'Population by Ethnicity, 2001' Census & Statistics Department
(http://www.info.gov.hk/censtatd/eng/hkstat/fas/01c/cd0052001_index.html)

According to Cheng & Wong (2003), about 60% of people had no religion in 1995. So, people who have religions are already a minority group in society. The major religions include Chinese traditional folk religion, Buddhism, Protestant and Catholic, which contributes 15.3%, 11.6%, 8.4% and 4.5% to the overall population respectively. Other minority religions include Islam, Mormon, etc. (p.300-301). Islam is one of the minority religions in Hong Kong. It contributes only 1% to the overall population that is about 70,000 numbers of people. More than half are Chinese, with the rest being either locally born non-Chinese or believers from Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Indonesia and Middle Eastern and African countries (Yearbook 2002).

In the stance of government, the available resources ranged from housing, education,

welfare are already enough to provide the assistance to different group of people. To simplify the role of government in religions, it tends to be coherent with Western countries' philosophy where 'issues of church and state are no longer relevant to public policy' (Soper & Fetzer, 2003:41). Government bears a neutral principle to treat different groups of people in Hong Kong.

Unsettled Questions

To go back to our research question, the above investigations on available literatures tell us two clues that are important to set up our analysis in next chapter. Firstly, non-Chinese Muslims are already marginalized. Secondly, government is bearing a neutral principle to cater religious affairs.

Based on the above two clues, two questions rest unanswered in order to know whether Muslims became more marginalized after the 'September 11'. The questions are, firstly, whether Chinese Muslims are also marginalized before the incident, and secondly, whether baseline marginalization increased after the incident

If Chinese Muslims are not marginalized before the incident, but both Chinese and non-Chinese Muslims received marginalization after the incident, then increased

marginalizations towards Muslims in Hong Kong after ‘September 11’ is proved. If Chinese Muslims do not received marginalization before and after the incident, then the marginalization can be regarded as ethnic discrimination based on visible physical difference, instead of religious discrimination based on differences in belief and practice.

4) Objectives of this Study

Having no previous studies concerning the Chinese Muslims, this study firstly intends to understand the experiences of Chinese Muslims to fill in the gap. Secondly, by comparing the different experiences of Chinese and non-Chinese Muslims, I aim to evaluate the power tensions which subject the non-Chinese Muslim under marginalizations. Finally, I aim to elicit how the Chinese Muslims be free from discrimination towards Muslim identity after ‘September 11’. In this paper, I argue there are very different scenarios for Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims to interact with others, and ethnic identity is more significant than Muslim identity to explain the existing marginalization.

Chapter 4. Methodology

1) Use of Qualitative Study

Everyday life is a reliable platform to observe the power struggles and compromises between an individual and his or her environments. The power tensions, ranged from external environments, such as policies and infrastructures, to everyday lives environments including any forms of interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims, experienced by a person are fully expressed from his everyday life practices. So, I proposed to adopt a qualitative research in order to capture the narratives of Muslims. By this way, the dynamic of Muslim identity in different social spheres and within different time frames could be revealed.

2) Research and Data Collection Method

There are four ways of data collection being applied in this research. They are content analysis, interviews, participant observations and archival materials.

Content analysis is used in two areas. Firstly, to measure the increased awareness of Islam after 'September 11', thus how mass media transmit the negative image of Muslims to readers. It may resolve one reason for why Muslims are marginalized.

Secondly, to analyze the news about local Muslim community development which reflect the difficulties of nowadays' Muslims. International TV channel (BBC News), international magazine (TIME) and four local newspapers (Apple Daily, Oriental Daily, Mingpao and South China Morning Post) are used in this research.

There are two categories of people being invited for in-depth interviews, and two categories of people for simple interviews. Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims are invited for in-depth interviews, including their life history, daily activities, family, social network, etc., are questioned. Non-Muslims and people with frequent daily contacts with Muslims are invited for simple interviews. They would be questioned about their views on Muslims and if there are changes after 'September 11'.

Participant observations in Muslims' gathering, Islamic sessions and Islamic wedding party enabled me to understand how Muslims view non-Muslims. Thus, joining the daily activities of Muslims such as going to market let me know empirically how others interact with Muslims.

Inquiring the Planning Department for the archival materials about the application

made by Islamic organization for the construction of mosques and community center was adopted. However, when I phoned to the Planning Department, I was transferred several times to different departments, including the Land Department, Planning Department and District Board. Finally, an official Mr. Ng from the District Board suggested me to send an email¹⁰ to the Planning Department, and then they would gather all information from different bodies or boards and send me a complete one. So, I sent an email to the email address given by Mr. Ng and also fax a copy of the email to them. However, two weeks later, I still did not receive their responses.

3) Preparations and Settings

Two interview guides for Muslims and non-Muslims were prepared (See Appendix seven). They include the major domains for investigation. But some probing questions were asked in response to the respondents' narratives.

I originally planned to record the whole interviews. And I asked for permission from my respondents if they are willing if I record our dialogues at the beginning. However, all of my respondents expressed they wished no recording taken place. So, I did not make any recording for my interviews finally. I dropped some notes during the

¹⁰ See appendix six for the content of the email

interviews instead, and made a better-organized summary soon after the interviews. I requested for their contact phone numbers after the interview, in case if I am unclear about their points of view, I can contact them to clarify for me. And all of them gave me their contact phone numbers.

4) Approaching the Respondents

There are six ways to approach my target in-depth interviews respondents. And I had successfully interviewed with three Chinese Muslims, seven non-Chinese Muslims and four non-Muslims. At the same time, I also contacted with two other Chinese Muslims but finally failed to conduct deeper interview, reasons are given below (See Appendix eight).

i. Approaching Muslims respondents

I accompanied with my social work classmates on their project on ethnic minority. So, I met one Indian Muslim girl in one of the field activities. Secondly, my social work classmate was doing his placement job in a Community Center located in Kwun Tong and responsible for a Cantonese learning course for ethnic minorities. So, I was introduced to one Pakistani Woman who was one of the students in the Cantonese course.

Thirdly, I contacted the Chinese Muslim Cultural & Fraternal Association, and reached my Chinese Muslims respondents there, thus also attend their activities for participant observations. Fourthly, I went to the Bowrington Road market in Wan Chai located nearby the Islamic organization, and interviewed with two Pakistani men there, one is beef-shop-owner and another one is his friend. In addition, non-Muslims who have daily contacts with Muslims are also reached in Wan Chai.

Fifthly, I visited the Kowloon mosque and interviewed with some non-Chinese Muslims girls there. Finally, I know there are Muslims in school, they have booked a particular area for worshipping, so I went there and interviewed with one Bangladesh student and one Pakistani Security Guard working in Hang Seng Bank.

ii. Approaching non-Muslims respondents

Ah Sim is a waiter working in an Islamic restaurant 'Muslim Wai Kee' located in Wanchai, a non-Muslim Chinese owned Restaurant that has been opened for over twenty years. She has been worked in that shop for 15 years. I went to the restaurant during lunchtime, i.e. 1:30 p.m., explained my intention and interviewed with her for 15 minutes. Billy, Dayo and Jimmy are my friends of different occupations.

5) Profiles of respondents

i. Profiles of Muslims Respondents

	Name	Sex	Age	Origin	How Long has been in HK	Occupation
1	Nilopher	Female	16	Indian	16	Student
2	Shahida	Female	25	Pakistan	7	Housewife
3	Jamillah	Female	66	Chinese	HK born	Housewife
4	Imam Yang	Male	37	Chinese	7	Missionary
5	Rahimah	Female	61	Chinese	HK born	Housewife
6	Umar	Male	20	Pakistan	6	Beef shop-owner
7	Sultan	Male	24	Pakistan	7	Technician
8	Sammi	Female	13	Pakistan	9	Student
9	Ahmed	Male	30	Bangladesh	3	Student
10	Muhammad Zubair	Male	34	Pakistan	14	Security Guard

ii. Profiles of non-Muslims Respondents

	Name	Sex	Age	Origin	Religion	Occupation
1	Billy	Male	20	Chinese	No	Student
2	Ah Sim	Female	50	Chinese	Chinese traditional cult	Islamic Restaurant worker
3	Jimmy	Male	23	Chinese	No	Designer
4	Dayo	Male	23	Chinese	No	Internet Programmer

iii. Profiles of unsuccessful Muslims Respondents

	Name	Sex	Age	Origin	How Long has been in HK	Unsuccessful reasons
1	Thomas	Female	30-35	Chinese	HK born	I met him in his wedding party, plus the converting ceremony of his wife. When I requested

						for an interview, he claimed he seldom attends Islamic gathering. And he is not willing to spend time on interview.
2	Aslyah	Female	27	Chinese	HK born	I met her in an Islamic lesson. She is keen to respond to my enquiries or even expressed willingness to attend my in-depth interview. However, we cannot deal a convenient time for both of us.

6) Limitation of this Study

The major non-Chinese Muslims includes Indians, Pakistani and South-east Asian, however, the six non-Chinese Muslims I had approached included only one Indian and one South-east Asian, it restricts me to go deeper whether or not different experiences exist within the category of non-Chinese. It was said by Weiss (1991) and Pluss (2000) that Indians are the richest group among non-Chinese Muslims in Hong Kong. Due to the unequal distribution in the origins of my respondents, I could not compare the influences of economic status to the degree of marginalizations.

Another restraint to afford me to compare the different lifestyles between Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims lies in the age distributions of my respondents. The lifestyles of youngsters, adults and elderly are different. However, the age of my

Chinese Muslims respondents are from 37 to 64, the age of my non-Chinese Muslims respondents are from 13 to 34.

As the Planning Department did not respond to my inquiries on the number of application to construct new mosques, I could not evaluate from the stance of government on whether or not there are increased marginalizations towards Muslims after the 'September 11' from mosque building.

Chapter 5. Findings on majority's perceptions and Muslims' experiences

In this chapter, I aim to answer two questions. Firstly, whether or not Muslims in Hong Kong suffer from more marginalizations in their everyday life experiences after the terrorist attack. Secondly, whether or not there are different experiences of Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims.

1) Constructions of Muslim Identity

Scary stereotype of Muslims

My non-Muslim respondents express their views on Muslims, including their appearances, their thoughts, their origins, etc. Their descriptions determine their attitudes to Muslims, and affect their behaviours in the interactions with Muslims.

Billy (non-Muslim Chinese):

'Islam? It is an evil cult! You can see from the "September 11" terrorist attack! They hijacked flights and crashed on the World Trade Center, many innocent people die. Thus, many terrorist attacks happened in these two years, so do you agree Islam is an evil cult? (*Question: how you know the terrorist attacks are related to Islam?*) Newspapers and TV news say it everyday; there is an al-Quada Islamic organization, and Osama Bin Laden! (*Question: Then how you identify who is Muslim?*) Those who have black face color, i.e. their race. (*Question: but the face color of most the Southeast*

Asians are also different from us!) We can easily signify who are Filipino domestic workers! Thus, Muslims wear long robe and white hat! (*Question: Indonesia and Malaysia are Islamic states, some political officials also wear Muslim hat, you should have watched from TV, then how you identify the Muslims?*) In Hong Kong, most of the Southeast Asians are domestic workers, and are female!

「伊斯蘭教？邪教！你睇下九一一？騎劫飛機撞落雙子塔，好多無辜的人因此死去。呢兩年周圍咁多恐怖襲擊，你話伊斯蘭教係咪邪教丫？（問：你點知恐怖襲擊同伊斯蘭教有關呢？）報紙電視日日都係咁講，阿蓋達組織嘛、仲有拉登呀！（問：你如何分辨伊斯蘭教徒？）黑媽媽果 d 人嘛係囉。（問：但東南亞人如菲藉人士膚色都唔同華人啲！）菲傭一睇就知邊 d 係啦！而且 d 伊斯蘭徒著長袍，帶白色帽嘛！（問：印尼同馬來西亞都係伊斯蘭教國家，佢地 d 政治人物好多時都會戴象徵伊斯蘭教的帽，你應該從電視上看過。那你又如何分辨哪些是伊斯蘭教徒呢？）香港好少東南亞人，最多的都是做傭工的，而且全部是女人。」

Jimmy (non-Muslim Chinese):

'Islam is horrible. Because the belief of Islam can control the behaviour and thinking of its followers, its power is influential! But, most people do not understand Islam in depth, so they categorize Islam as an evil cult. Thus, the events happened in Iraq and Arabian countries make me think Islam is really horrible. (*Question: Do you think there are Muslims in Hong Kong?*) Yes. (*Question: then who are the Muslims?*) Indian. And they use many cloths to cover their hair; their appearance is like those making snacks to dance in movies. (*Question: the face color of Southeast Asian is also different from us, then do you think they are Muslims?*) I do not distinguish Muslims by race or skin color, I just identify by clothing. (*Question: do you think terrorist attack would take place in Hong Kong?*) No, because the relationship between China and Arabian countries is good. Furthermore, Chinese people do not like American; we won't discriminate or attack Muslims. (*Question: did you avoid going to TST where the Kowloon Mosque located after 911?*) No. (*Question: have you ever seen female Muslims?*) yes. (*Question: do you think female Muslims would participate in terrorist attack?*) Yes, but the possibility is lesser.'

「伊斯蘭教好恐怖。因為佢地的信仰可以控制到一個人的想法和行爲，佢地的 power 好厲害！不過，大部分人對伊斯蘭教認識不深，所以才

會將它歸類為邪教。而且伊拉克、阿拉伯國家的情況令我更加覺得伊斯蘭教很恐怖。(問：你覺得香港有冇伊斯蘭教徒?) 有。(問：哪些是伊斯蘭教徒?) 那些貌似印度藉，而且戴住吹蛇舞那種帽的，將個頭包到成舊稷果 d。(問：印度人膚色不同華人，哪你會否認為東南亞裔人都係伊斯蘭教?) 我不會用膚色分，只靠衣著。(問：你覺得香港會有恐怖襲擊嗎?) 不會。因為香港屬中國，而中國又同阿拉伯國家關係良好。另一方面，香港人不同美國人，不會歧視或侵略佢地。(問：911 之後，有冇減少在到九龍清真寺一帶?) 沒有。..... (問：有冇見過女伊斯蘭教徒?) 有。..... (問：女伊斯蘭教徒會參與恐怖襲擊嗎?) 會。但較少。」

These two non-Muslims respondents share a stereotyped perception that there are terrorists among non-Chinese Muslims in Hong Kong. They ascribe their views with the 'September 11' and terrorist attacks currently spreading in the world. In their view, the group who is responsible for terrorism consists of Indian-looking males. They distinguished the Muslims by their skin color and clothing. Their statements tell us that the statement 'Muslims are more marginalized after September 11' is segmented according to ethnicity and gender. Within the Muslim community, men bearing Indian skin color and Islamic clothing are the major group most likely to suffer possible discrimination by non-Muslims.

Fung (non-Muslim Chinese):

'I do not know who are Muslims. But I do not like the Indian and Pakistani, because they are smelly. (Question: Do you know there are Chinese Muslims in Hong Kong?) No. But O'neil – a famous NBA player, is also Muslim. (Question: do you think O'neil would participate in terrorist attack?) No, because he is very wealthy!'

「我唔識分邊 d 係伊斯蘭教嗎！但我唔鍾意印巴藉人士，因為佢地好臭。(問：知唔知香港有好多華人都係伊斯蘭教?) 唔知，但 O'neil (中文譯：奧尼爾，美國籃球手) 都係伊斯蘭教徒。 (問：奧尼爾會參與恐怖襲擊嗎?) 唔會。因為佢好有錢」

One of my respondents Fung did not identify who are Muslims. But he soon connected my question to the ethnic-minority people in Hong Kong. It indicates that many Indians and Pakistanis are Muslims in his view. Another reason for why he did not distinguish Muslims by appearances is he knows one of the basketball players – O'neil (Shaquille O'Neal)¹¹ is Muslim too. But he thinks O'neil would probably not participate in terrorist attacks because he is wealthy. It tells us that Fung ascribed the cause of terrorism to poverty.

As seen from the responses of Billy, Jimmy and Fung, the apparent discrimination is in fact racism. They categorized the discriminating group by physical characteristics such as skin color and describe them as 'Indians', 'terrorists' and 'smelly'. However, not all darker skin color ethnic people are Indians, not all Indians are Muslims, thus not only Indians are 'smelly', others may also become smelly after sweating. In addition, their discrimination against Muslims is sexist. So, the reasons to discriminate Indians are imagined.

¹¹ Shaquille O'Neal is now serving for the team Los Angeles Lakers in National Basketball Association (NBA) (<http://sports.yahoo.com/nba/players/847/>)

Zubair (Non-Chinese Muslim): 'Hong Kong people normally do not interrupt how you look like, including Islamic clothing. But after the incident, they keep silence when I am in lift. But the neighbours I know do not avoid talking with me'

刪除:

Iman Yang (Chinese Muslim):

'Yes, it is true that the aftermath of the incident actually caused some influences (means discrimination) to Muslims, but it is not serious in Hong Kong (*Question: Would the impacts to Chinese Muslims lesser?*) Yes, indeed, other nationality's Muslims such as Pakistani, Indian are easier to be discriminated or excluded. But also because of the incident, public generally want to know more about Islam. That's why I am always invited to give talks on basic understanding of Islam to school, religious gathering and different group of people in Hong Kong'

「對，九一一對伊斯蘭教的影響是有的，但我相信並不嚴重。(問：對華裔伊斯蘭教徒的影響會否少一點呢?) 可以這樣說。確實，其他國籍的伊斯蘭教徒，比如說巴基斯坦籍、印度籍的伊斯蘭教徒，較容易受其他人的歧視和排斥。但就是因為九一一，香港人反而更有興趣認識更多有關伊斯蘭教的教義。所以，學校、其他宗教和一些團體都有邀請我給他們的學生、信徒一個講一講有關基本的伊斯蘭信仰。」

Zubair and Imam Yang reflect the non-Chinese Muslims in Hong Kong receive more marginalizations after the incident. Although public do not have a hostile attitude to them, they keep distance from Muslims. The aftermath of 'September 11' is relatively moderate in Hong Kong, compared to America, people tends to seek for more understanding on Islam, instead of excluding Muslims from society.

Jamillah (Chinese Muslim):

‘Terrorism is a misunderstanding to Islam. I do not think there are any differences before and after the incident. Because my friends have known me for a long time, they know how a real Muslim is, and they also recognize how the mass media transfer the negative image of Islam to public. It is unfair to Islam.’

「恐怖襲擊是一個對伊斯蘭教的誤解。我覺得九一一前後無乜分別，生活如常。因為我 d 朋友認識我很久，知道一個真正的伊斯蘭教徒是怎樣，也知道傳媒如何將伊斯蘭教負面化了。這是很不公平的！」

Umar (non-Chinese Muslim):

‘911 did not bring me any problems. People come to buy beef as usual.’

Ah Sim (non-Muslim Chinese):

‘There are no influences to our business (i.e. Islamic Restaurant). People came to lunch as same as they did before 911. (*Question: did the non-Muslims keep distance from Muslims? That means during lunchtime, many customers come to have lunch, did the non-Muslims avoid sitting with the Muslims in the same table?*) No. People here have known Muslims well. And many Muslims live in this district. They (i.e. Muslims) live here and they pray in the Islamic center nearby. There are some stalls in this market owned by Muslims!’

「對我地的生意無乜影響。D 人如常來食野，就同 911 之前一樣。(問：咁 d 食客有冇避開伊斯蘭教徒？例如午餐時間好多人，食客會唔會唔肯同伊斯蘭教徒同枱？) 無喎。其實呢度 d 人都認識伊斯蘭教，呢度好多伊斯蘭教徒，佢地住响呢區，隔離又有個中心俾佢地禮拜。街市下層仲有幾個檔係伊斯蘭教徒開架！」

Overall, the icon of Muslims in Hong Kong is ‘Indian-looking male’ as perceived by

the majority. Their ideas are learned from mass media due to their inadequate knowledge about Islam or limited contacts with Muslims. So, the appearances of the terrorist attackers are the major source of the image of Muslims. Because of this recognizing reason, my respondents who are Chinese Muslims do not receive marginalizations from public.

Majority does not exclude non-Chinese Muslims, but keep distance from them. It is proved from the jobs of my respondents. Shahida's husband, Mr Khant and Muhammad Zubair work as a security guard in the Hang Seng bank, while Sultan works in the Labour Department, all of them are not fired by their bosses after 'September 11'. Another important finding is both the Chinese and non-Chinese Muslims who have daily contacts with non-Muslims received the least influences from the terrorist attack.

Islamic Dress Code

In the reflections of my respondents and the observations from my field visits, Muslims always bear some Islamic symbols in their dressing. These symbols are one of the major identifiers for non-Muslims to signify Muslims as suggested in last part. So, how Muslims look upon their dressing and how others interact with Muslims

based on these symbols in daily lives is important to portray the experiences of Muslims in Hong Kong.

Jimmy (non-Muslim Chinese)

‘(Question: have you ever seen Muslims on public transport or on streets?) Yes, I always see them in MTR, but seldom see them in restaurants or in cinemas. *(Question: then do you have any different action to them?)* I would avoid them, because their bodies are smelly. *(Question: if you do not sense the smell?)* Then fine, I would not avoid standing beside them. *(Question: have you ever seen female Muslims?)* Yes. *(Question: any difference with male Muslims?)* Yes, they usually not as smelly as male. *(Question: would female Muslims participate in terrorist attacks?)* Yes, but lesser.

(問：坐車或去街有沒有見過伊斯蘭教徒?) 有。上班途中常常在地鐵上見到，但在餐廳和戲院內很少看到。*(問：看到他們你有有特別的反應?)* 我會被開佢地，因為佢地個身好臭。*(問：如果聞唔到臭味呢?)* 那便沒所謂。... *(問：有冇見過女伊斯蘭教徒?)* 有。*(問：有何反應?)* 沒什麼。她們通常無咁臭。*(問：女伊斯蘭教徒會參與恐怖襲擊嗎?)* 會。但較少。

Ahmed (non-Chinese Muslim):

‘No one in Hong Kong would bother how you look likes. So, I like Hong Kong and enjoy the culture here’

Sultan (non-Chinese Muslim)

‘I do not wear Islamic dressing normally, you know, I am a technician in the Labor Department. It is impossible for me to wear Islamic dressing. Sometimes when I visit the mosque, I would put on the Islamic hat. But actually, I prefer this style (he is wearing trousers and black t-shirt). I buy my clothes in Mongol!’

Sammy (non-Chinese Muslim):

'I do not wear the headscarves in school. It is clumsy and require me time to adjust it. It is light in weight and easy to drop down! Others (means Muslims) wear it because they like it, they think it is good-looking, but I do not think so. (*Question: why are you wearing it?*) Because I am in mosque! (*Question: as you come for Islamic lesson everyday after school, then you need to carry the headscarves everyday in order that you can wear it when you go mosque, do you think it is more inconvenient?*) No, I used to do so. And many of us do the same as me!'

Allah (Chinese Muslim):

'I wear headscarves all the time, except I am not in office. I think it is good for me. (*Question: why are you not wearing it in office?*) Because everyone does not wear like this, though my colleagues know my Muslim identity. They know, because I used to do the prayer in office during lunch time.'

「除了在公司，我都會戴頭巾。而且我覺得頭巾是好的。(問：為甚麼在公司不戴頭巾?) 因為其他人都不會戴，雖然同事都知道我是伊斯蘭教徒。因為每天午飯我也會在公司做禮拜。」

Camilla (Chinese Muslim):

'Headscarf is necessary for Muslims. We do not think it is a bad practice. Headscarves is one of the fashion styles, you can choose the pattern you like, there are no restrictions on the color or the pattern designated in the Koran.'

「對伊斯蘭教徒，頭巾是必須的。我不覺得頭巾是給我們限制。事實上，頭巾時時裝的一部分。我地可以揀自己鍾意的顏色、款式，而且古蘭經內裡也沒有訂明頭巾是什麼模樣！」

Clearly, Muslims usually choose not to dress in Islamic style when they go school, go to work, but in mosque only. The reason for this circumstantial choice is similar, to

avoid 'looking different' from others. As majority non-Muslims usually identify Muslim by their dressing, when the Muslims choose not to wear in Islamic style, they would not suffer from marginalizations. However, as stated in earlier part, another identifier for non-Muslims to signify Muslims is skin color. So, marginalizations to non-Chinese Muslims happen even they do not dress like Muslims.

Non-Chinese Muslims describe Hong Kong people are liberal, would not 'bother how you look likes', so they believe they have freedom to choose their preference on dressing. Chinese Muslims reflect the perception of non-Chinese Muslims and regard Islamic dressing is 'one of the fashion styles'. So, pattern and color of their headscarves can change according to their taste's change, such as seasonal change, trendy color's attraction.

As majority non-Muslims had defined the image of Muslims, I wonder the choices available for Muslims are already limited, and no longer decide by their preferences only.

2) Accommodation

When non-Chinese Muslims are easier to suffer marginalizations and Muslims who

have daily contacts with non-Muslims help to maintain good relationship by understanding, I intend to find out how Muslims practise their everyday lives and examine how Muslims in Hong Kong accommodate their religious practices. It is hoped to find out how Chinese Muslims and non-Chinese Muslims interact with non-Muslims in Hong Kong.

Accommodating to Hong Kong Society

Nilopher (Indian Muslims, female, 17 years old)

Nilopher is an Indian Muslim girl born in Hong Kong. Her parents arrived Hong Kong before she born and doing diamond business. She is now 17 years old and studying in an international school. Three years later, she might enter University. She said she wish to study business related programme.

The time I met her is near sunset of November 11, 2003, during the Ramadan. The place is a park in Jordon. She was wearing school uniform and chatting with her classmate Lali, a Buddhist. She claimed the chocolate she was eating was the first thing she ate on that day. She does not wear Islamic dressing, and seldom go to mosque to pray but pray in home. Then I asked where she learned about Islam? She told me her parents told her.

I asked what she does on weekend or in holidays. She told me she usually goes to see movies or gather with her classmates. She likes horrifying movie, especially the Hollywood ones, but she does not watch Cantonese-films, though she know Cantonese from her classmates.

About her friends, most are her classmates, some Korean, Pakistani, Chinese, German, etc., some of her classmates do have their own religion, just like Lali is a Buddhist. But she said it does not matter to their relationship.

Shahida / Mrs Khant (Pakistani Muslim, female, 25 years old)

Shahida is a 25 years old Pakistani woman. She had one son, six years old and one daughter, three years old. She lives in a public estate in Yau Tong.

Her children studied in local schools that use Chinese as the main medium for instruction. She explained that the children in international schools are very naughty and speak foul languages. So, she decided to put their children in Chinese schools. So far, her children do enjoy the school life. Although she was told by her son, Bilak's teacher that he was quite shy at the beginning, he now makes friends with classmates and becomes active as same as other students.

Because her children are studying in Chinese Medium schools, so she attends the Cantonese lesson in order that she could teach her children. However, she can only remember a small part of the Cantonese, mostly are those can be used in her daily lives, especially those which helps her to buy things in market, ask someone to wait her when she is rushing to the lift, thank-you, etc.

She spends most of her time in doing home affairs, so she has no time to enjoy the entertainments such as shopping in Hong Kong. She wears in Islamic style, with headscarves covering from hair to breast. So, she sews the dress by herself. During weekend, her husband would take the whole family to park or go hiking.

About her religious practices, she had been to the Kowloon mosque once. However, she said she wouldn't go anymore, as there are too many people of different sects¹². Thus, there are many males there that made her feel unnatural. So, she performs the prayers in home.

As seen from Nilopher and Shahida' experiences, living areas and school provide them chances to make friends with nearby persons, such as neighbourhood and

¹² As explained by Shahida, sects means different divisions of Islam, including Sunni, Shia, etc. Different divisions have different gestures for prayer.

classmates. Nilopher is student, she has much free time to gather with friends and learn their culture after class or during weekend, but Shahida already has two children, so she has no time to make new friends or participate in cultural activities in Hong Kong, such as seeing movies, shopping, etc.

Both Nilopher and Shahida do their prayers in home and seldom go to mosque. Reason for Shahida is she has no time to go mosque and she dislikes praying in mosque. While for Nilopher, prayers seem to be a private event that only practice in home. So, she does not bear the Muslim identity when she is interacting with others even others know her religious identity. The niche here is even people around Nilopher know she is Muslim, she does not do the prayer when gathering with friends. She tends to de-emphasize her religious identity when interacting with her classmates. However, in views of majority, she is still bearing an ethnic minority identity, as seen from her skin color.

Although Nilopher and Shahida do not have many Chinese friends, they both have chances to interact with non-Muslims Chinese when they are purchasing things or when they go out. As said by them, they have not experienced marginalizations by others after the 'September 11'. Reasons might be only Indian males are marginalized

after ‘September 11’.

Accommodating Religious Practices

Rahimah is 66 years old and a Chinese Muslim. She has retired from work, so she does the home affairs.

‘I do the prayers either in home or in the Islamic center. Sometimes, I will go hiking with friends or other Muslims. (*Question: then when you are on the mountain, do you perform the prayer?*) If I go hiking, I usually go at morning around 8 and return at 2 afternoons. So, I might miss only one prayer, i.e. the noon prayer. Sometimes, if there is facility for washing and enough space, I would also do the prayer there.’

「我通常在家或在中心做禮拜。有時，我會與我的朋友或其他教友去行山。(問：如果你行到山頂，你會做禮拜嗎?) 我通常在早上八時出發，大概兩時便回來。那我只錯過一次禮拜，正午那次。假如郊區有清潔的洗手間，地方又夠大，我會如常做禮拜。」

As seen from Rahimah, her daily activities are quite similar to non-Muslims. The other two Chinese Muslims respondents, Jamillah and Imam Yang also go hiking in their leisure time. They make adjustments to accommodate their religious practices, such as time management. Once, I left the Islamic center with Rahimah, and I accompanied with her to go to the market nearby to buy food for dinner. So, location of a mosque and facilities such as washroom is very important for Muslim community to maintain their religious life.

Muhammad Zubair also goes hiking with family in weekends and makes similar time adjustment as Rahimah does. He is working as a security guard

in Hang Seng Bank - City University of Hong Kong (CityU) branch. As there is a reserved area for Muslims to perform their prayers in school, so he goes to do the prayers in that area without losing any prayers everyday.

Compare with Sultan who is a technician of the Labour Department, Zubair is able to do his prayers because there are accommodating facilities in CityU and Hang Seng Bank allows him to leave for ten minutes for prayer. But Sultan is unable to do so, as he is not working in a particular place, he is required to go around upon requested. He can only do the prayers only if he is sent to the districts which consist a mosque, so he sometimes do the prayer in Kowloon Mosque, sometimes in Chai Wan Mosque, sometimes in Wan Chai. If there are no mosques nearby, it means he has to miss out one prayer. Therefore, in order to accommodate religious practices for Muslims, public facilities such as washroom, mosque in convenient location and employers' cooperation are all decisive.

To conclude in this chapter, my non-Chinese male Muslims respondents experienced discrimination when he was in the same lift with other non-Muslims. However, government and banks do not excluded Muslims from jobs. My non-Muslims Chinese respondents identify Muslims by physical appearances such as dressing and skin color. Thus, the Indian males are the major group of people to be discriminated, although they may not be Muslims. My non-Muslims Chinese respondents keep distance from

Indian males when they are in the same MTR. For this reason, Chinese Muslims do not receive marginalizations as they bear the same skin color with the majority. The image of Muslim is largely 'learned' from mass media, especially newspaper and television programmes.

Environments such as public facilities and company's attitude are constraints for Muslims to emphasize their religious belief through practicing prayers. Interacting with non-Muslims offers choices for Muslims to decide either to emphasize or de-emphasize their religious identity. However, even they choose to de-emphasize their religious identity, it rests on their intentions only. If the objective of de-emphasizing Muslim identity is to avoid marginalizations, either of the two elements must be present in order to realize the intention. Firstly, they are Chinese. Secondly, they have daily or frequent face-to-face interactions with non-Muslim Chinese, such as my respondent Ah Sim who works in Islamic restaurant.

Chapter 6. Discussion and Conclusions

Perception of majority, mass media's influence, physical appearances such as skin color and dress code, public facilities, mosque location, daily contacts with majority, Muslims' intention, etc., all contribute to the struggles of a Muslim to actualize the identity he/she is constructing. In this chapter, I intend to organize these restrains and facilitators with the literatures we had discussed in order to answer whether or not Muslims in Hong Kong are more marginalized after the 'September 11', thus why and how does it happen.

My research findings confirmed that there are increased marginalizations towards Muslims in Hong Kong after the 'September 11'. Due to the impacts of mass media, the group of people who are subjected to marginalizations are those bearing Indian and Muslim dressing' male Muslims. Chinese Muslims, because of the same skin color as majority, do not suffer from marginalizations after the incident. Visibility of Muslim identity as an Other is crucial to determine whether a Muslim is marginalized.

Most of my non-Chinese Muslims who migrated to Hong Kong because of working opportunities, study or marriage, do not know Cantonese, or only know very few

words. Language barriers restrict them to communicate with the non-Muslim Chinese majority, in the same way as the Chinese Muslims can and do.

Even when some non-Chinese Muslims intend to de-emphasize their Muslim identity, the biased perceptions of some non-Muslim Chinese may still affect them. If the biased perceptions are found in most Chinese majority, Muslims are expected to receive marginalizations.

Nilopher was born in Hong Kong and know Cantonese. Her lifestyle is no different from her classmates. She perceives herself as part of Hong Kong society. However, her self-perception and views of her social network may not matter to the larger society. My non-Muslim Chinese respondents' racist statements suggest that discrimination against Indian Muslims may be present in the majority's behaviour, especially against supposedly 'smelly' males. So, intentions of an individual do not promise his/her outcome if perceptions of majority do not change.

Interactions with members of the majority lessen the probability of marginalizations.

However, it is bounded by the limited social network of the non-Chinese Muslims.

The skin color of non-Chinese Muslims tends to be different from the Chinese

majority Chinese, so the majority do not see the non-Chinese Muslims as the same, even if they live in Hong Kong, and even if the non-Chinese Muslims have Hong Kong identity card. The racist attitudes of the non-Muslim Chinese need to change if non-Chinese Muslims are to be fully integrated into Hong Kong society.

In this paper, I argue the 'neutral' philosophy of government, such as no particular governmental body to cater religious affairs, does not guarantee the equal opportunities for different people to access equal power of different people to acquire the desired outcomes. At the same time, the insufficient understanding on minorities, such as misunderstanding in identifying the Muslims communities, is barrier to guarantee all people in society to receive fair outcomes for their aspirations.

Perhaps, assimilation is impossible to achieve as it might eradicate any groups of people' preferences on desired lifestyles, so accommodation seems more important to maintain the harmony in a society. By promotion of understanding between different groups of people as in France, and actively allocating resources to establish accommodating infrastructures such as in Britain (Soper & Fetzer, 2003:40), the government can facilitate different groups of people to access equal opportunities, to

choose their desired lifestyle, and promise different groups of people to receive fair outcomes.

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Appendix One.

Timelines of the terrorist attack ‘September 11’

Time	What happened?
0840	The Federal Aviation Administration alerted NORAD [North American Aerospace Defense Command: the military organisation which monitors the skies over the United States and Canada] that American Airlines Flight 11 had been hijacked.
0843	FAA notified NORAD that United Airlines Flight 175 from Boston to Los Angeles had also been hijacked. Two F-15 jet fighters took off from Otis Air National Guard Base in Falmouth, Massachusetts.
*0846	At the height of New York’s morning rush hour <i>American Airlines Flight 11</i> crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center.
*0903	News cameras trained on the burning tower captured the horrifying view of another passenger jet, <i>United Airlines Flight 175</i> , crashing into the south tower of the Trade Center causing a devastating explosion. It had left Boston for Los Angeles carrying 65 passengers and crew. It became clear that the catastrophe was not an accident.
0910	In Florida President Bush was reading to children in a classroom when his chief of staff, Andrew Card, whispered news of the attacks into his ear.
0920	The FBI announced that it was investigating reports of planes being hijacked.
0929	Rescue workers and firefighters rushed to the foot of the World Trade Center as the upper floors blazed. On an ordinary day, up to 50,000 people would be working in the Trade Center.
0930	A grim-faced President Bush declared: "We have had a national tragedy. Two aeroplanes have crashed into the World Trade Center in an apparent terrorist attack on our country."
*0940	<i>American Airlines Flight 77</i> , carrying 64 people from Washington to Los Angeles, crashed into the Pentagon in Washington. The nerve centre of the US military burst into flames and a section of the five-sided structure collapsed. F-16 fighters were still 100 miles away when the plane crashed. President Bush authorised fighters to shoot down any other aircraft that threatened targets in Washington.
0945	The White House and The Capitol were evacuated amid further threats.
0950	All airports across the US were shut down and all commercial flights grounded.
0958	An emergency dispatcher in Pennsylvania received a call from a passenger on United Flight 93 who says "We are being hijacked, we are being hijacked!" Several passengers called relatives and told them they intended to try to overpower the terrorists.
*1003	<i>United Airlines Flight 93</i> crashed 80 miles (128 km) south east of Pittsburgh. It

	had been bound for San Francisco from Newark, New Jersey.
1005	The south tower of the World Trade Center suddenly collapsed sending a massive pall of smoke across Manhattan. Many emergency workers and firefighters were crushed, as well all those who could not get out of the tower.
1029	The north tower of the World Trade Center collapsed as well, adding to the devastation and loss of life. The southern part of Manhattan Island was covered in a thick layer of debris and dust
1239	President Bush made a second statement, in which he vowed to hunt down and punish those responsible.
1320	President Bush left Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana and flew to Omutt Air Force Base in Nebraska.
1344	The Pentagon deployed five battleships and two aircraft carriers along the east coast of the US to provide upgraded air defence for the New York and Washington areas.
1350	Washington DC Mayor Anthony Williams declared a state of emergency in the US federal capital.
1448	New York's mayor Rudy Giuliani said the eventual death toll from Tuesday's attack may be "more than any of us can bear?"
1630	President Bush left Offutt Air Force Base aboard Air Force One to return to the White House in Washington.
1720	Number 7, World Trade Center, a 47 storey building adjacent to the ruins of the twin towers, collapsed
2030	President Bush addressed the nation on TV and hinted at a strong US response against the "terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them".

* hijacked airplane crashed

Source: BBC News Story - 'America's day of Terror'. Electronic version:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/americas/2001/day_of_terror/timeline/default.stm
 [April 26, 2004]

Appendix Two.

BBC News Online - from August 12 2001 to December 10 2001

	Date	News Title	Brief Contents
1	14/06/2001	Islamic banking reprieve for Pakistan	The Pakistan Supreme Court has allowed the government another year to prepare to introduce interest-fee Islamic banking.
2	14/06/2001	'Rebels' on trial in Kyrgyzstan	Prosecution lawyers in Kyrgyzstan demand the death sentence for two men who are accused of fighting alongside an Islamic rebel group.
3	14/06/2001	Islamic militancy on Shanghai agenda	The leaders of Russia, China and states of Central Asia gather for a summit in Shanghai to discuss the cross-border threat of Muslim extremists.
4	14/06/2001	Farrakhan calls for 'responsible' rap	Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan calls on rap artists to "accept their responsibilities" at New York's hip hop summit.
5	15/06/2001	Shanghai plan to fight extremism	Russia, China and four central Asian countries meeting in Shanghai pledge to fight the spread of Islamic militancy.
6	16/06/2001	Bangladesh bomb blast kills 21	A bomb at Bangladesh's governing party offices kills 21, as the government blames Islamic extremists.
7	16/06/2001	Iran hardliners 'attack reformist rally'	Reports from Iran say 30 people have been injured in an attack by suspected Islamic hardliners on a rally of President Khatami's supporters.
8	16/06/2001	Bangladesh bomb blast kills 21	A bomb at Bangladesh's governing party offices kills 21, as the government blames Islamic extremists.
9	18/06/2001	Egyptian feminist threatened with divorce	Feminist Egyptian writer Nawal el-Saadawi might have to divorce her husband if the suing lawyer convinces the court that she has offended Islam.
10	19/06/2001	OIC condemns violence in Burma	The Islamic Conference Organisation, the OIC, condemns what it calls the aggressive attacks against Muslims in Burma.
11	19/06/2001	Egyptian feminist faces Islamic divorce case	A court in Egypt begins hearing a case on whether the leading Egyptian writer and feminist, Nawal Al-Saadawi, should be divorced from her husband of 40 years.
12	20/06/2001	Death sentence for Islamic militants in Kyrgyzstan	A court in the southern Kyrgyz city of Osh sentences two men to death after finding them guilty of charges of membership of an armed group, crossing illegally into Kyrgyzstan, and kidnapping.
13	22/06/2001	Turkey bans Islamic party	The constitutional court in Turkey orders the closure of the Islamic Virtue Party in a verdict that threatens the stability of the government.
14	23/06/2001	Palestinians 'arrest militant'	The Palestinian Authority says it has detained a

		leader'	leader of the Islamic Jihad after he publicly urged an end to the ceasefire.
15	23/06/2001	Arafat 'tries to rein in militants'	Yasser Arafat's forces attempt to arrest Palestinian militant leaders who have refused to respect a fragile ceasefire in the Middle East.
16	24/06/2001	Muslims step out at Gay Pride	Facing death threats from fellow Muslims, an Islamic gay and lesbian group calls for greater tolerance from members of their faith.
17	25/06/2001	Taleban rejects bin Laden threat	The Taleban movement in Afghanistan says it is restricting the ability of the Saudi-born Islamic extremist, Osama bin Laden, to launch attacks on foreign targets.
18	25/06/2001	Islamic countries meet in Mali	Foreign ministers of Islamic Conference countries are meeting at Bamako in the West African state of Mali.
19	25/06/2001	Spain to extradite bin Laden suspect	Spain extradites to France an Algerian suspected of belonging to fugitive Osama bin Laden's militant Islamic group.
20	26/06/2001	Tuesday, 26 June, 2001, 08:28 GMT 09:28 UK NO A c...	An aide to Islamic radical Osama bin Laden challenges the authenticity of a videotape in which threats were allegedly made against US and Israeli targets.
21	02/07/2001	Uzbek women detained over protest	At least 50 women are detained in Tashkent for protesting against the imprisonment of relatives accused of belonging to an Islamic group.
22	06/07/2001	Algerian senator 'abducted'	A member of the Algerian parliament is kidnapped by Islamic extremists, reports say.
23	07/07/2001	Tajik troops kill more guerillas	Tajikistan says its troops have killed at least six Islamic guerillas in a major military operation to root out warlords east of the capital, Dushanbe.
24	07/07/2001	Algerian civilians killed by militants	Reports from Algeria say suspected Islamic militants have killed 10 people in an attack to the south of the capital, Algiers.
25	07/07/2001	Algeria violence kills 16	The security services in Algeria say 16 people have been killed in an area where the armed Islamic group GIA is known to be active.
26	09/07/2001	Egypt apostasy trial adjourned	An Egyptian court adjourns the trial of a feminist writer, Nawal El-Saadawi, who is accused of being a heretic against Islam.
27	09/07/2001	Court to hear Egypt apostasy case	An Egyptian court is to hear the case against the feminist writer Nawal El-Saadawi, who is accused of being a heretic against Islam.
28	09/07/2001	Suicide bomber dies in Gaza blast	The Islamic militant group Hamas says it carried out a suicide car bombing in the Gaza Strip which killed the vehicle's driver.
29	12/07/2001	Mobile divorce unacceptable, says Malaysia	Muslim men are not permitted to divorce their wives through text messages on mobile telephones, a senior Malaysian official says.
30	12/07/2001	Nation of Islam leader ban 'unlawful'	A ban preventing the head of the Nation of Islam entering the UK is condemned as

			"unlawful" in court.
31	12/07/2001	Suspected Islamic militant extradited to France	Spain has handed over a suspected Islamic militant to France.
32	13/07/2001	Nation of Islam leader must wait	Judgement is reserved on the ban preventing the Nation of Islam leader, Louis Farrakhan, from visiting Britain.
33	13/07/2001	Two Tajik students sentenced to death	The Supreme Court in Tajikistan sentences two Islamic students to death for carrying out bomb attacks at a Christian mission.
34	13/07/2001	Hamas vows revenge for 'assassination'	The militant Islamic group Hamas accuses Israel of killing one of its activists in a West Bank car bomb and warns of revenge.
35	14/07/2001	US tries to revive Mid-East peace	A US envoy discusses ways of reviving the peace process with the Palestinian leader, while two Islamic militants killed on Friday are buried.
36	18/07/2001	School trains suicide bombers	The Islamic Jihad is running summer camps to teach Palestinian boys how to become suicide bombers against Israel.
37	23/07/2001	Strike after massacre of Hindus	A general strike is underway after the killing of 15 Hindus by suspected Islamic militants in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.
38	25/07/2001	Palestinian dies in Israeli missile attack	A senior member of the Islamic militant group Hamas is killed as Israel fires anti-tank missiles at his car in the West Bank.
39	25/07/2001	'Millionaire' fatwa rejected	One of the highest authorities in Sunni Islam contradicts an earlier ruling from Egypt's Grand Mufti that big cash game shows are un-Islamic.
40	31/07/2001	Farrakhan may now enter Britain	The High Court overturns a 15-year ban preventing the Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan from visiting the UK.
41	31/07/2001	Blasts kill Palestinian militants	Two senior Hamas leaders and two children are among eight Palestinians killed in an Israeli attack in the West Bank.
42	31/07/2001	Nation Of Islam - who are they?	Smartly dressed in suits and red bow-ties, the Nation of Islam are a powerful political force in the US and now they're in the UK too.
43	31/07/2001	Profile: Louis Farrakhan	BBC News Online profiles Minister Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam's spiritual and political leader.
44	31/07/2001	Farrakhan UK ban overturned	Controversial US black political leader Louis Farrakhan wins his High Court battle for the right to visit the UK.
45	31/07/2001	Blasts kill Palestinian militants	Eight Palestinians, including two senior members of the Islamic militant group Hamas have been killed by Israeli fire in the town of Nablus in the West Bank.
46	01/08/2001	Papers debate Farrakhan ruling	The papers consider the implications of the High Court ruling allowing Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan to visit Britain.

47	02/08/2001	US: 'No change in Taleban policy'	A senior US diplomat says the US position on Afghanistan will not alter until its radical Islamic government accepts UN resolutions.
48	02/08/2001	Uday Hussein denies conversion	The eldest son of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein dismisses Western reports that he has converted to Shia Islam.
49	03/08/2001	India police seize suspected militants	Police say two members of the Students Islamic Movement of India were planning independence Day disruptions.
50	04/08/2001	Malaysian state bans heavy metal	A Malaysian state says it fully supports a recent conference of Islamic clerics that declared a type of heavy metal music forbidden by Islam.
51	05/08/2001	Malaysia arrests suspected Islamic activists	The son of the spiritual leader of Malaysia's Islamic opposition party has been detained under a new controversial security law.
52	05/08/2001	Turkey purges military	The Turkish army has dismissed 15 personnel suspected of having links to separatist Kurdish and anti-secular Islamic movements.
53	05/08/2001	Fresh violence erupts in Middle East	Israeli forces kill an Islamic militant in the West Bank, just hours after the shooting of 10 people by a gunman in the heart of Tel Aviv.
54	06/08/2001	Afghan aid workers 'face trial soon'	A senior Taleban official says 24 aid workers arrested for promoting Christianity will be tried shortly under Islamic law.
55	07/08/2001	Kyrgyz authorities arrest Islamic activists	The Kyrgyz internal affairs ministry says nine members of an outlawed Islamic movement have been arrested in southern Kyrgyzstan.
56	08/08/2001	Singapore bans mobile phone divorce	Senior Islamic figures in Singapore have ruled that Muslim men cannot divorce their wives by sending text messages over their mobile phones.
57	09/08/2001	Who are Islamic Jihad?	Militant Palestinian group Islamic Jihad are a mysterious presence among militant Palestinian groups.
58	09/08/2001	Palestinians blame Sharon for blast	The militant Palestinian group, Islamic Jihad, blames Ariel Sharon for the Jerusalem bombing.
59	10/08/2001	Kashmir women face acid attacks	There is growing fear among women in Indian-administered Kashmir after a number of acid attacks in the capital, Srinagar.
60	10/08/2001	Israel's press sees 'stairway to hell'	Israel's newspapers share the outrage at Thursday's bomb attack in central Jerusalem, but give differing assessments of where responsibility lies.
61	11/08/2001	Palestinians arrest Hamas militants	The Palestinian authorities, under international pressure following Thursday's suicide bomb in Jerusalem, detain two Islamic activists.
62	12/08/2001	Police patrols against Kashmir acid attacks	India's Border Security Force joins local police in Indian-administered Kashmir to prevent acid attacks against women who do not follow the Islamic dress code.
63	13/08/2001	Beer row in northern Nigeria	The burning of a lorry load of beer in Kano in northern Nigeria reveals tensions in how

			Islamic law is being implemented in the state.
64	13/08/2001	Nigerian woman sentenced to 100 lashes	An Islamic court has sentenced a Nigerian woman in northern Zamfara state for having an extra-marital affair.
65	13/08/2001	Afghan aid workers face trial	The Taleban in Afghanistan say 24 aid workers - including eight foreigners - arrested for trying to spread Christianity will face an Islamic court.
66	14/08/2001	Musharraf bans two extremist groups	The Pakistani president, General Pervez Musharraf, has banned two militant Islamic groups in an effort to curb sectarian violence in the country.
67	18/08/2001	Malaysian party debates quitting alliance	The biggest Malaysian opposition party is debating whether to quit the opposition front over plans by a Muslim ally for an Islamic state.
68	21/08/2001	Warning of violent image of Islam	Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi warns that the rising number of public hangings and floggings in Iran could create a violent image of Islam.
69	21/08/2001	Pakistan reiterates Islamic militant ban	The Pakistani Government reaffirms its ban on militant Islamic groups collecting money in public places in the name of jihad or holy war.
70	22/08/2001	Pakistan cracks down on Islamists	Police in the southern Pakistan port city of Karachi launch an operation against Islamic groups supporting militants fighting in Kashmir.
71	23/08/2001	Pakistan police free Islamic activists	Pakistan releases 200 Islamic activists who were arrested in the southern city of Karachi.
72	25/08/2001	Modern missionaries	As eight Christian aid workers are held by the strictly Islamic Taleban, Kate Clark looks at the traditions of these great proselytising faiths.
73	27/08/2001	Islamic tourism conference	Iranian President, Mohammad Khatami is to open a two-day conference on ways of increasing tourism revenues in member states of the OIC.
74	27/08/2001	Indonesia: Protesters call for Sharia law	Hundreds of people stage a demonstration outside the Indonesian parliament, calling for the introduction of Islamic law.
75	30/08/2001	Uzbekistan to reduce death penalty	The President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, has proposed a reduction in the number of crimes punishable with the death penalty.
76	01/09/2001	Khatami lashes Taleban's Islam	Iran's reformist President Khatami condemns the Afghan Taleban's harsh version of Islam and scorns hardliners at home who seek to practise it.
77	02/09/2001	More killings in Algeria	The Algerian authorities say five more civilians have been killed in an attack blamed on Islamic rebels.
78	03/09/2001	Kashmir dress code deadline extended	A little-known militant group in Indian-administered Kashmir has extended its deadline for all women to wear the burqa, the full Islamic veil.
79	04/09/2001	Uzbek police detain women	Police in Uzbekistan prevent a protest by

		protesters	women whose relatives are accused of being members of an outlawed Islamic group.
80	04/09/2001	Kashmir veil campaign criticised	A to enforce the Islamic dress code by a militant group in Indian-administered Kashmir is criticised by a separatist leader.
81	04/09/2001	Seven killed on Algerian beach	Seven are reported murdered in Algeria - the latest incident in a wave of attacks against young couples by Islamic militants.
82	04/09/2001	Philippines military clashes with rebels	The Philippines military is involved in a series of clashes with the Muslim separatist group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, or MILF.
83	05/09/2001	Algerian militants strike again	Seven civilians are killed and 11 are injured in another attack by suspected Islamic militants - this time on a beach near Algiers.
84	06/09/2001	Algerian Islamist leader flees	A prominent figure in Algeria's outlawed Islamic Salvation Front evades heavy police surveillance and escapes to Europe.
85	10/09/2001	Senegal's Carmen controversy	A powerful Senegalese Islamic brotherhood halts the screening of a film version of the classic opera, Carmen, saying it is blasphemous.
86	10/09/2001	Iran and EU hold high level talks	The European Union and Iran have held their highest level contacts since the Islamic Revolution in 1979.
87	10/09/2001	Cover-up deadline for Kashmir women	Muslim women in Indian-administered Kashmir have begun adhering to strict Islamic dress codes in compliance with a militant demand.
88	11/09/2001	Kashmir women attacked for defying order	Two Muslim women in Indian-administered Kashmir are splashed with paint for ignoring a militant demand to wear strict Islamic dress.
89	12/09/2001	What does it all mean?	As the world tries to come to terms with Tuesday's bomb attacks in the United States, we ask a panel of distinguished Newsnight guests how these events will shape the world's future.
90	13/09/2001	Echoes of another war	As details about the hijackers emerge, BBC News Online's Chris Summers investigates their similarities with World War II kamikaze pilots.
91	14/09/2001	Asia's Muslims uncertain after US attack	Muslims in South-East Asia - as elsewhere - are now looking at the likely repercussions on their own communities of Tuesday's attacks on the US.
92	14/09/2001	Islamic world deplors US losses	Religious leaders condemn the attacks against the USA during Friday prayers, although some say America and Israel may be partly to blame.
93	14/09/2001	Islam: Faith under fire	The US attacks have caused simmering Western "Islamaphobia" to boil over into anti-Muslim violence and hate.
94	14/09/2001	Fear closes Islamic schools	A number of Islamic schools in Britain are shut amid anti-Muslim threats following the attacks in America.
95	14/09/2001	Bin Laden's command structure	The BBC's Middle East analyst Roger Hardy examines the nature of Osama Bin Laden's

			global network of Islamic militants.
96	14/09/2001	Malian Muslims flex their muscle	Muslims leaders in Mali have been calling for the election of a devout Muslim as president in next year's elections, as Islamic fervour rises in the country.
97	15/09/2001	Taleban threatens to retaliate	Afghanistan's Taleban regime says it will strike back at any country that helps the United States to launch an attack against it.
98	16/09/2001	Probe into US terror links	A man with suspected links to the US attacks may have been planning meetings with Islamic activists in Wales, it is reported.
99	16/09/2001	Your comments on The World's Most Wanted	Your comments on The World's Most Wanted
100	16/09/2001	Afghan opposition leader dead	Afghan's key opposition chief Ahmed Shah Masood is dead, dealing a striking blow to the opposition to the Islamic Taleban regime.
101	16/09/2001	Analysis: Building a coalition	The BBC's Barnaby Mason examines the American attempt to build an international alliance to help root out those behind Tuesday's devastating attacks.
102	16/09/2001	Egypt helps US anti-terror campaign	Egypt promises to co-operate in the American investigation into the recent terror attacks, which may have been committed by its nationals.
103	17/09/2001	Bush seeks Muslim support	BBC diplomatic correspondent Barnaby Mason says President Bush seeks Muslim support, but risks offence by calling the war against terrorism a "crusade".
104	17/09/2001	US leaders warned against war	The first western journalist to interview Osama Bin Laden warns America that military action would polarise Islamic groups.
105	18/09/2001	Who is Osama Bin Laden?	The United States suspects Osama Bin Laden - a wealthy Saudi dissident based in Afghanistan - is behind a string of terrorist attacks.
106	18/09/2001	Students block Islamic militants	A militant Islamic group is being barred from campuses by student leaders who say their recruitment leaflets are promoting "hatred".
107	18/09/2001	Karachi protest against US	Thousands of religious students in the Pakistani city of Karachi protest at possible military action by the US against Afghanistan.
108	18/09/2001	British Muslims issue fatwa	A British-based Muslim group issues a death sentence against Pakistan's General Musharraf for 'helping a country at war with Islam' - the United States.
109	18/09/2001	Islamic schools reopen	Three Islamic schools in north London reopen after closing their doors to protect pupils from abuse in the wake of the attacks in the US.
110	18/09/2001	US trials of Muslims delayed	US judges delay trials of Muslims for fear of jurors' bias amid a wave of anger over last week's suicide attacks.
111	18/09/2001	Saddam tells West 'be wise'	Iraq sends its first condolences to the victims of

			the US terror strikes, but President Saddam Hussein warns Western leaders to get conclusive proof before retaliation.
112	18/09/2001	Jane Corbin and Dr Saad Al Fagih quizzed	A Panorama Special reports on Osama Bin Laden, the world's most wanted man. Reporter Jane Corbin and Dr Saad Al Fagih answered your questions on the issues raised in the programme.
113	18/09/2001	Press anguish over US co-operation	Newspapers in Pakistan and Afghanistan react strongly to the possibility of American military action in the region.
114	18/09/2001	Bush condemns 'revenge attacks'	President Bush calls for an end to violence against US Muslims as the FBI investigates 40 hate crimes.
115	18/09/2001	Algeria tackles Islamic militants	The Algerian military says it has killed a significant number of militants, amid growing criticism over official failure to root out terrorism.
116	19/09/2001	Islamic groups warn of Indonesia violence	Radical Islamic groups warn they will attack American targets in Indonesia if the US takes military action against Afghanistan.
117	19/09/2001	Tony Blair interview: full transcript	A full transcript of Tony Blair interviewed on BBC's World Service's Newshour on Tuesday about the UK's role following last week's terror attacks in the US.
118	19/09/2001	UK to monitor Islamic group	The activities of an Islamic activist group are being monitored by the home secretary to check they do not stir up unrest.
119	19/09/2001	Muslim community targets racial tension	Community leaders meet in Manchester amid fears that Muslims in Britain face racial hatred after the terror attacks on America.
120	19/09/2001	Viewers' e-mails	We want to hear your views on the US attacks. Did they mark a defining moment in the world's history? Has everything changed forever?
121	19/09/2001	Pakistan warns of 'destruction'	President Musharraf says Pakistan is facing its worst crisis for 30 years over its support for the US action against Osama Bin Laden.
122	19/09/2001	Text: Musharraf rallies Pakistan	Excerpts from Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf's television address to the nation, defending his support for US policy Osama Bin Laden.
123	19/09/2001	On edge: Afghanistan's neighbours	Afghanistan's neighbours have much to be concerned about in the current crisis, whatever their view of the Taleban.
124	20/09/2001	Analysis: Afghan ruling on Bin Laden	The BBC's Islamic affairs analyst, Roger Hardy, examines the significance of the clerics' decision to ask the Saudi-born radical to leave the country.
125	20/09/2001	Pakistan militants step up protests	Islamic hardliners across Pakistan rally against President Musharraf's decision to support the US in a possible strike on Afghanistan.
126	20/09/2001	The language of conflict	BBC Middle East and Islamic affairs analyst

			Roger Hardy explains why the use of language has become so sensitive in the current international crisis.
127	20/09/2001	Bin Laden urged to quit Afghanistan	Senior Islamic clerics urge Osama Bin Laden - chief suspect in the attacks on the US - to leave Afghanistan voluntarily.
128	21/09/2001	Pigs' heads left at Islamic centre	Ten pigs' heads are left outside an Islamic centre in Exeter following the terrorist attacks in the United States.
129	21/09/2001	Anti-US rally called off after threats	A controversial Islamic group which supports Osama Bin Laden calls off an anti-American meeting after receiving death threats.
130	21/09/2001	When the West is unfashionable	Pakistan's population is not convinced by assurances that the US is targeting terrorism, not Islam.
131	21/09/2001	Text: Bush address to Congress	Extracts of US President George W Bush's rallying cry against international terrorism in a speech to both houses of the US congress.
132	21/09/2001	Islamic 'plotters' held in France	France foils a suspected plot to attack the US Embassy while Germany issues arrest warrants in connection with the attacks on America.
133	21/09/2001	Strategy discussion transcript - 18/9/01	Jeremy Paxman discussed whether the Bush administration has a choice with Terry Waite, Max Hastings and Professor Tony Judt.
134	22/09/2001	Attacks 'no excuse for racist violence'	Yusuf Islam - formerly singer Cat Stevens - says racism against Muslims should not be allowed to flourish following the US attacks.
135	22/09/2001	Belgium swoops on 'bomb factory'	Two men with possible Islamic militant links are arrested in Brussels along with a store of potentially explosive chemicals.
136	23/09/2001	Nigerian bishops protest at Islamic law	Roman Catholic bishops in Nigeria have warned that the introduction of Islamic law in some states violates the rights of non-Muslims.
137	24/09/2001	Text of Taleban leader's speech	Text of a speech by the Taleban supreme leader Mullah Mohammad Omar.
138	24/09/2001	Malaysian opposition in disarray	In Malaysia, opposition parties are dealing with the fallout following the disintegration of their alliance over the question of an Islamic state.
139	24/09/2001	Australian Muslims attacked	Australia steps up security around mosques and Islamic schools after a mosque in Brisbane was fire-bombed over the weekend.
140	24/09/2001	UN pulls out of Somalia	The UN withdraws its international staff from Somalia because it cannot insure flights to Mogadishu a day after anti-US protests there.
141	24/09/2001	Profile: Ayman al-Zawahri	BBC News Online profiles Ayman al-Zawahri - one of the leading figures in Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda network.
142	25/09/2001	Indonesia clerics threaten jihad	Indonesia's top Islamic organisation warns it will call for a jihad or holy war if the United States attacks Afghanistan.

143	25/09/2001	Russian press review	Russia's newspapers comment on President Putin's support for US reprisals against Afghanistan, and Central Asia's restrictive approach to Islam.
144	25/09/2001	Bin Laden statement in full	Full text of Osama Bin Laden's statement in which he calls on Pakistan's Muslims to fight "the American crusade forces".
145	25/09/2001	Bin Laden: US banned list	The full list of organisations, people and groups the US says are linked to the Osama Bin Laden network.
146	25/09/2001	Saudi Arabia warns of West-Islam split	Saudi ambassador to London Ghazi Algosaibi says it would be "very dangerous" for world stability if the west is perceived as waging war against Islam.
147	26/09/2001	Bin Laden's strong links to Britain	Osama Bin Laden is one in a long line of Muslim militant extremists with strong connections to the UK.
148	26/09/2001	Analysis: Coalition sparks human rights fears	Human rights groups fear that the West's drive to build an anti-terrorism coalition may lead to it turning a blind eye to some countries' human rights abuses.
149	27/09/2001	Four killed in Muslim protest	At least four people die in the Indian city of Lucknow as police opened fire on a protest against a clampdown on an Islamic group.
150	27/09/2001	Muslim leaders urged to improve image	King Mohammad the Sixth of Morocco has called on Muslim leaders to work to improve the image of Islam and promote its message of peace.
151	27/09/2001	Analysis: Afghanistan's future	Islamic affairs analyst Roger Hardy examines whether or not President Bush is committed to the overthrow of the Taleban.
152	27/09/2001	Blair to meet Muslim leaders	Tony Blair is to meet members of the Muslim Council of Britain at Downing Street to discuss fears of a backlash against Muslims in the UK.
153	27/09/2001	September 27, Southampton	September 27, Southampton
154	27/09/2001	Arabs demand Berlusconi apology	Italian PM Silvio Berlusconi's remarks on the superiority of Western civilisation prompt Arab calls for a denial or apology to Muslims.
155	27/09/2001	Muslim and Christians share values - Blair	Tony Blair highlights the shared values of Islam and Christianity telling community leaders attacks on British Muslims will not be tolerated.
156	27/09/2001	Mind of Bin Laden transcript - 26/0/01	Our Diplomatic Editor Mark Urban has been immersed in the apocalyptic thinking of Osama Bin Laden.
157	28/09/2001	Prince Charles visits victims' friends	Prince Charles meets friends and colleagues of financial workers who died in the US terror attacks and visits a London mosque.
158	28/09/2001	Berlusconi comments dominate Italian debate	A row over the Italian prime minister's claim that Western civilisation is 'superior' to Islam continues to dominate the news in Italy.
159	28/09/2001	Berlusconi regrets Islam	The Italian premier says sorry for remarks

		jibe	which offended Muslims, but insists he was quoted out of context.
160	28/09/2001	Putin urges CIS joint anti-terror action	Russian President Vladimir Putin tells CIS leaders not to confuse Islam with terrorism and confirms Russia supports the US anti-terror campaign.
161	28/09/2001	Philippine rebels "helped by Bin Laden"	The Chief of Staff of the Philippines military says Osama Bin Laden is supplying arms and training to the Islamic extremist group, Abu Sayyaf.
162	28/09/2001	Bin Laden 'still helping Philippines rebels'	The chief of staff of the Philippine military says Osama Bin Laden is supplying arms and training to the Abu Sayyaf Islamic militants.
163	28/09/2001	India arrests militant chief	Indian police say they have arrested the head of a banned militant group, the Students Islamic Movement of India.
164	28/09/2001	Eyewitness: Inside the militant camps	Saleya Ahsans describes the conditions inside an Islamic militant training camp inside Afghanistan.
165	29/09/2001	Iran's love-hate relationship with the UK	The BBC's David Blow analyses the stresses and strains that have dogged Anglo-Iranian relations.
166	29/09/2001	Pledge to wipe out Islamophobia	Home Office Minister John Denham promises that the government will act to cut out the "cancer of Islamophobia" in British society.
167	29/09/2001	Iran's love-hate relationship with the UK	The BBC's David Blow analyses the stresses and strains that have dogged Anglo-Iranian relations.
168	30/09/2001	Funding the 'heroes of Islam'	Martin Plaut reports on the Al Rasheed Trust, widely believed to be a fundraising operation for the network serving Osama bin Laden.
169	30/09/2001	Analysis: Inside Wahhabi Islam	The crisis in Afghanistan has put the spotlight on Wahhabism and other strict forms of Islam.
170	01/10/2001	Your comments on Britain on the Brink	Your comments on Britain on the Brink
171	01/10/2001	Nigeria's firebrand Muslim leaders	Dan Isaacs in northern Nigeria meets two of Nigeria's radical Muslim preachers questioning their country's support for US military action.
172	02/10/2001	Analysis: Bin Laden and the Balkans	The presence of foreign ex-mujahideen fighters in Bosnia sparks claims that Osama Bin Laden has bases there - but should they be taken seriously?
173	02/10/2001	Islamic militants on trial in France	Three suspected Islamic militants go on trial in the northern French town of Douai, charged with taking part in a series of hold-ups carried out in 1996.
174	02/10/2001	Pakistan's Islamic parties lead anti-US fight	George Arney focuses on the Pakistani religious right, which is spearheading protests against possible US military action in Afghanistan.
175	02/10/2001	Iraqi Kurds fear new Islamist group	A new militant Islamist group in Iraq's Kurdish region is suspected of having links with Osama

			Bin Laden.
176	02/10/2001	Berlusconi hails 'great' Islam	Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi meets Muslim leaders in a fence-mending exercise after his controversial remarks about Islam.
177	03/10/2001	Uzbeks imprisoned for illegal religious activities	A court in Uzbekistan has sentenced nine people to prison terms of between nine and 12 years for membership of an outlawed Islamic group.
178	03/10/2001	Bangladesh's Islamic revival	The success of an Islamic party allied to the BNP in Monday's poll has raised concerns about growing Islamic influence, writes the BBC's Alastair Lawson.
179	04/10/2001	The UK's Bin Laden dossier in full	The full text of the document issued by Downing Street setting out its case against Osama Bin Laden
180	04/10/2001	Malaysian opposition figure loses court hearing	A court in Malaysia dismisses an application for the release of a man accused of leading a militant Islamic group.
181	04/10/2001	October 4, London	October 4, London
182	05/10/2001	France terror code 'breakthrough'	French police reportedly recover a code book said to have enabled Islamic terror suspects to send encrypted messages over the internet.
183	05/10/2001	The investigation and the evidence	BBC News Online looks at the investigation so far into the 11 September attacks and the evidence it has thrown up.
184	06/10/2001	Text: Taleban amnesty offer	The Taleban Foreign Ministry offers to release aid workers on trial for promoting Christianity if the US curbs its anti-Taleban campaign.
185	07/10/2001	Ask Baqer Moin	The BBC's Central Asia specialist Baqer Moin answered your questions on the issues raised in 'Afghanistan - The Dark Ages' in a live forum
186	07/10/2001	Bin Laden warns US	Osama Bin Laden says in a televised statement that the US will never be safe unless the Islamic lands have security.
187	07/10/2001	Bin Laden's warning: full text	The full text of Osama Bin Laden's televised statement condemning the US attacks and calling on Muslims to defend their religion.
188	08/10/2001	Book fair feels winds of war	The Frankfurt Book Fair opens on Tuesday with the influence of the international situation keenly felt with books on Islam in demand.
189	08/10/2001	Muslim media hit back over strikes	Media in Afghanistan's Islamic neighbours voice criticism of the air strikes - but few take sides with the Taleban.
190	08/10/2001	Palestinian police kill three protesters	Palestinian police shoot dead three demonstrators in a rally protesting against the US attack on Afghanistan.
191	08/10/2001	Indonesia moves to protect US embassy	Indonesia steps up security as Islamic extremists plan demonstrations against the US military action in Afghanistan.
192	08/10/2001	Archbishop warns against a	The Archbishop of Wales urges the public to

		'holy' war	remember that the military action in Afghanistan is "not a war against Islam".
193	08/10/2001	Taleban refuse to bow to US	Afghanistan's ruling Taleban say they will "forcefully resist" the US-led military campaign against them, and will not hand over Bin Laden.
194	09/10/2001	Africans split on US strikes	Several African countries have backed the US-led strikes on Afghanistan, Liberia has offered to send troops, while Sudan has condemned them.
195	09/10/2001	Allies want 'justice, not revenge'	Prime Minister Tony Blair tells an Arabic television station that the US and its allies want "justice, not revenge".
196	09/10/2001	War cabinet meets for first time	The UK's specially-convened war cabinet meets for the first time after a second wave of strikes on targets in Afghanistan.
197	09/10/2001	Palestinians on emergency footing	The Palestinian Authority closes universities and schools and appeals for unity a day after three people die in anti-US unrest.
198	09/10/2001	Pakistan changes direction	Pakistan's new political direction in the wake of the 'war on terrorism' is not without dangers, reports the BBC's Zaffar Abbas.
199	10/10/2001	Interview: Taleban ambassador Zaeef	In an exclusive interview, Taleban ambassador Abdul Salam Zaeef tells the BBC that his government remains strong and will resist the US attacks.
200	10/10/2001	Your comments on Afghanistan - The Dark Ages	Your comments on Afghanistan - The Dark Ages
201	10/10/2001	In full: Al-Qaeda statement	The statement by Sulaiman Abu Ghaith, a spokesman for Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda group, calling on Muslims to join a holy war against the United States.
202	10/10/2001	Malaysian opposition declares jihad	The opposition Islamic Party in Malaysia, PAS, declares a jihad or holy war over the US-led strikes against Afghanistan.
203	11/10/2001	Islam 'hijacked' by terror	Leading Islamic scholar Hamza Yusuf argues that his religion is being twisted by people using it to justify violence.
204	11/10/2001	Malaysian opposition denounces arrests	Malaysia's main Muslim opposition party accuses the government of seeking favour with the US after six alleged Islamic militants are arrested.
205	11/10/2001	Analysis: Muslims in Europe	European governments need the goodwill of the Muslim communities but there is a growing distrust between the two, writes William Horsley.
206	11/10/2001	Malaysia arrests alleged Islamic militants	Police in Malaysia have arrested six people suspected of having trained at camps in Afghanistan.
207	12/10/2001	Clash of civilisations transcript - 10/10/01	Jeremy Paxman explored whether this campaign can side-step the trap laid by Bin Laden, and avoid being seen as the prophesied

			clash of civilisations.
208	13/10/2001	Afghanistan's scholarly soldiers	The BBC's Owen Bennett-Jones looks at the motivation that drives Afghanistan's young Taliban militants.
209	13/10/2001	Africa's Muslims on Afghan raids	Many African countries view the US bombing of Afghanistan with particular interest because of the important role of Islam in their societies.
210	13/10/2001	Charles dined with Bin Laden's brother	Prince Charles had dinner with Osama bin Laden's brother - two weeks after the US terror attacks.
212	14/10/2001	Khatami attacks Taliban and US	Iran's president accuses the Taliban of "exporting violence, war, murder and drugs to the world", but says the US is the other side of the same coin.
213	15/10/2001	Islamic militants shot dead in Kashmir	The police in Indian-administered Kashmir say border security guards have shot dead at least six suspected Muslim separatists.
214	15/10/2001	War View: Are the air strikes wise?	Pakistani writer Sabiha Sumar says she fears the US and UK's air strikes might be pushing her country to the brink of civil war.
215	15/10/2001	Analysis: Bosnian stability at stake	The BBC's Alix Kroeger in Sarajevo examines whether Bosnia faces a threat from Muslim radicals.
216	15/10/2001	Killings in Algeria ambush	Eleven guards are killed by suspected Islamic militants raising the death toll to about 40 since the beginning of October.
217	16/10/2001	Analysis: The roots of jihad	Middle East analyst Fiona Symon charts the background to the Islamic idea of a holy struggle, or jihad.
218	16/10/2001	Egypt orders swift trials for Islamists	President Hosni Mubarak wants 170 suspected Islamic militants put on trial immediately, David Bamford reports.
219	17/10/2001	Pakistan cleric charges condemned	Members of a hardline Islamic party in Pakistan condemn the government's decision to put their leader, Fazlur Rahman, on trial for treason.
220	18/10/2001	October 18, Cheltenham	October 18, Cheltenham
221	18/10/2001	Saudi minister warns against militants	Interior Minister Prince Nayef warns Saudi citizens not to sympathise with those he says are trying to hurt the country in the name of Islam.
222	19/10/2001	Your comments on Koran and Country	Your comments on Koran and Country
223	19/10/2001	Roots of extremism	The BBC's Roger Hardy examines how Osama Bin Laden has harnessed a decades-old Islamic radical movement.
224	19/10/2001	Nigerian appeals Sharia sentence	A woman sentenced under Islamic law to death by stoning for adultery in northern Nigeria is to appeal against the verdict.
225	22/10/2001	Your comments on Clash of Cultures	Your comments on Clash of Cultures
226	22/10/2001	Asian warnings over	Islamic leaders warn that Muslims in the region

		Ramadan	could become more hostile if US airstrikes against Afghanistan continue into Ramadan.
227	23/10/2001	Mullah Omar offers condolences to Afghans	Taleban spiritual leader Mullah Mohammed Omar expresses his condolences to the families of those killed in the US strikes on Afghanistan.
228	23/10/2001	Militants claim Kashmir attack	An Islamic group, Lashkar-e-Taiba, says it carried out a suicide attack in Indian-administered Kashmir in which at least six people were killed.
229	24/10/2001	Talks with Islamic scientists 'welcome'	The scientific adviser to the US Secretary of State wants more contacts with Islamic colleagues.
230	25/10/2001	Saudi Arabia slams Western media	Saudi Arabia counters criticism of its support for Islamic causes by accusing Western media of religious bias.
231	25/10/2001	'Global code' needed in terrorism fight	Prince Hassan of Jordan calls for the creation of a world cultural parliament to help the global fight against terrorism.
232	25/10/2001	Fears over 'tri-border' Islamic extremists	Mike Ceaser visits the Paraguayan border town of Ciudad del Este, where the US and Paraguay suspect there is support for terrorist groups.
233	26/10/2001	Pakistan bans Islamic leader from rally	The Pakistani authorities stop Qazi Hussein Ahmad, the head of one of the country's main Islamic parties, from going to a protest in Quetta.
234	26/10/2001	Kuwait closes 'terror-link' charities	Kuwait closes dozens of Islamic charities, amid fears that some may be channelling money to terrorist groups.
235	26/10/2001	Indonesian Islamists hold fire	Radical Indonesian Islamic groups are refraining from attacks on Westerners in retaliation for air strikes on Afghanistan, says the BBC's Richard Galpin.
236	26/10/2001	No compromise	Nawal El-Saadawi, Egypt's foremost feminist writer, is used to controversy. At 70, she is once again in trouble for expressing her views. Samira Hepburn reports from Egypt.
237	28/10/2001	Tribesmen mass on Afghan border	The Pakistan authorities refuse to let thousands of armed militants cross into Afghanistan to fight alongside the Taleban.
238	28/10/2001	Kaduna state prepares for Sharia	Officials in Nigeria say that Islamic Sharia law will be introduced next week in the state of Kaduna.
239	29/10/2001	UK Muslims 'killed' in Afghanistan	Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon warns UK Muslims of the dangers of joining the Taleban after three Britons are reportedly killed in Kabul.
240	29/10/2001	British Muslim deaths 'a waste'	Community leaders in Luton deny the war in Afghanistan is a Jihad and say two local men killed there should not have been fighting.
241	29/10/2001	'My allegiance is to Allah'	Some Muslims in Luton hold Islam above allegiance to their country and believe those who die fighting with the Taleban are martyrs.

242	30/10/2001	Palestinian police arrest four militants	The Palestinian Authority has arrested four members of Islamic Jihad, as pressure mounts on Yasser Arafat to crack down on extremists.
243	30/10/2001	UK Muslim 'was delivering aid'	Friends of a 24-year-old British Muslim reportedly killed in Afghanistan fighting for the Taleban claim he was delivering aid when he died.
244	31/10/2001	Taleban radio reports 'panic' in west	Taleban radio says people in America and Europe are panicking because the attacks on Afghanistan have produced no results.
245	01/11/2001	The Arab-American community	In America, George Arney talks to a cross-section of people from the Arab-American community to examine the community's fragile self-image.
246	01/11/2001	Bin Laden calls Pakistanis to arms	Osama Bin Laden urges Pakistani Muslims to defend Islam in the face of US attacks, in a letter sent to the BBC and other news outlets.
247	01/11/2001	November 1, Glasgow	November 1, Glasgow
248	01/11/2001	Charity gets royal seal of approval	Prince Charles's visit to the Islamic Relief's London headquarters put the spotlight on its aid work in Afghanistan.
249	01/11/2001	Young Scots 'fighting with Taleban'	A radical Islamic group says two Scots Muslims have travelled to Afghanistan to help the Taleban.
250	01/11/2001	Full text: Bin Laden's 'letter to Muslims'	A message purportedly from Osama Bin Laden calls on Pakistanis to stand up for Islam against Christianity.
251	02/11/2001	Rushdie attacks 'paranoid Islam'	Novelist Salman Rushdie questions the Western leaders insistence that terrorism and Islam are not connected and attacks "paranoid Islam".
252	02/11/2001	Sharia compromise for Nigerian state	The northern state of Kaduna, which saw bitter religious violence last year, tries to reassure Christians as it introduces Islamic courts.
253	03/11/2001	Bin Laden rails against Crusaders and UN	Fugitive al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden has issued a battle cry to Muslims to back Afghanistan in the struggle against the "Crusader" campaign led by the United States.111
254	04/11/2001	War View: 'UK Muslims must obey UK law'	A personal view by Professor Muhammad Abdel Haleem, director of the Centre for Islamic Studies at SOAS, University of London.
255	04/11/2001	Archbishop demands freedom of worship	The head of the Anglican Church, Dr George Carey, calls on Muslims to support Christian minorities threatened by extremists in their lands.
256	05/11/2001	Pakistan 'sedition' leader defiant	The leader of Pakistan's main Islamic party denounces the government after being charged with sedition for attacking its Afghan policy.
257	05/11/2001	Ramadan: Tensions raised in holy month	History provides many cases of Muslims at war during Ramadan, but Islamic leaders still fear the consequences of a continuing US campaign.

258	05/11/2001	Pakistani Islamic leader defiant	The leader of one of Pakistan's main Islamic parties, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, says his house arrest will not stop his campaign against the bombing of Afghanistan.
259	05/11/2001	Archbishop says conflict 'not war on Islam'	Dr George Carey is to go on Arabic television to urge Muslims not to view the military campaign in Afghanistan as a war on Islam.
260	05/11/2001	Arrests follow Kaduna clashes	Two prominent figures have been arrested and detained in connection with a week-end of violence in the northern Nigerian state of Kaduna.
261	05/11/2001	Violence erupts in northern Nigeria	Ten people are killed as violence flares after the introduction of a compromise version of Islamic law in the northern state of Kaduna.
262	05/11/2001	Philippine rebels release nurse	Military authorities in the Philippines say Abu Sayyaf rebels have released a hostage who converted to Islam while being held.
263	06/11/2001	Tories defend pledge refusal	The Tories defend their refusal to sign a pledge against religious intolerance as part of Islam Awareness Week.
264	06/11/2001	Islamic activists said arrested in Egypt	Egypt's banned Muslim Brotherhood reports the arrest of 15 members, including academics.
265	06/11/2001	'Foreign Islamic militants' killed in Algeria	Algerian security forces kill seven Islamic rebels, including three foreigners, reports say.
266	06/11/2001	UK Muslims tackle religious ignorance	British Muslims hope to bring a greater understanding of their religion with the launch of Islam Awareness Week.
267	06/11/2001	Pakistanis protest for peace	Peace activists in Pakistan hold their largest demonstration yet, denouncing both Islamic extremism as well as the US-led bombing of Afghanistan.
268	06/11/2001	Pakistan moves 'sedition' leader	Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the leader of Pakistan's main Islamic party, is moved from his home, where he has been under house arrest for sedition.
269	06/11/2001	Arroyo rejects US troops offer	The President of the Philippines, Gloria Arroyo, rules out bringing in American troops to help fight Islamic militants.
270	07/11/2001	Will Bush's asset freeze work?	The US is freezing the finances of 27 people and groups it says are linked to terrorists - but how effective can such measures be.
271	09/11/2001	Abdullah says bombing must go on	King Abdullah of Jordan says US attacks on Afghanistan must continue despite Muslim reservations about bombing during Ramadan.
272	09/11/2001	Talking to King Abdullah	The BBC's Bridget Kendall, who conducted an interactive phone-in programme with King Abdullah of Jordan, describes the experience.
273	11/11/2001	Iranian dissidents on trial	Twenty-five Iranian dissidents are on trial, accused of plotting to overthrow their country's Islamic regime.
274	13/11/2001	Afghan neighbours look to	The six states which border Afghanistan all

		the future	have interests in the future government of the war-torn country, but these interests are often conflicting.
275	13/11/2001	Bin Laden's continuing appeal	The cult of chief terror suspect Osama Bin Laden in the Islamic world looks set to survive any military reverses in Afghanistan.
276	14/11/2001	Rabbani's Afghan comeback	The former Afghan president and Northern Alliance leader Burhanuddin Rabbani will be a key figure in rebuilding the country.
277	14/11/2001	Breaking down religious barriers	How trainee teachers learn to appreciate pupils' diverse cultural and religious backgrounds.
278	14/11/2001	Palestinians attack own police station	Angry Palestinians attack one of their own police stations in the West Bank after the arrest of a local Islamic militant.
279	14/11/2001	Palestinians attack police station	About 3,000 protesters set fire to a Palestinian police station, furious at the arrest of a member of Islamic Jihad in the West Bank town of Jenin.
280	14/11/2001	Bin Laden 'safe inside Afghanistan'	A Taleban spokesman tells the BBC that Islamic militant Osama Bin Laden and the Taleban's leader are both safe and well.
281	15/11/2001	November 15, Norwich	November 15, Norwich
282	15/11/2001	China separatists linked with terror	China links Islamic separatists in its north-western region to the international fight against terrorism amid reports of separatists being executed.
283	15/11/2001	Saudi prince warns against Islamic extremism	Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz warns the country's top Islamic figures not to indulge in extremism.
284	15/11/2001	Analysis: Indonesia's Islamic radicals	As the US-led war against terror continues, the BBC's Richard Galpin looks at Islamist radical groups in the world's largest Muslim nation.
285	16/11/2001	Hardline Pakistani groups call protest	Pro-Taleban Islamic groups in Pakistan announce a "black day" of protest on Friday against the military campaign in Afghanistan.
286	16/11/2001	Ramadan arson threat in Indonesia	The Front for the Defenders of Islam threatens to burn down places selling alcohol during the Muslim holy month.
287	16/11/2001	Africa Media Watch	Ramadan's message of peace, Kenya's media bill, Nigeria's gas pipeline project and praise for politicians - all in this week's Africa Media Watch.
288	16/11/2001	Afghan city welcomes Ramadan	Many in Taloqan are glad the city has fallen to the Northern Alliance, but not everyone is critical of the defeated Taleban at Friday prayers.
289	17/11/2001	In pictures: Ramadan gets under way	The Islamic world marks the holy month of Ramadan with traditional fasting and local delicacies consumed after sunset.
290	18/11/2001	Egypt tries suspected militants	The trial begins in Egypt on Sunday of 94 suspected Islamic militants accused of plotting a

			series of killings and other attacks.
291	19/11/2001	Pakistan detains Islamic 'army leader'	An Islamic leader who led thousands of Pakistanis across the border to support the Taliban in Afghanistan has been arrested, his son has confirmed.
292	19/11/2001	Afghan powerbrokers: Who's who	BBC News Online examines some of the influential figures in the struggle to shape Afghanistan's future.
293	20/11/2001	US ambassador in Ramadan fast	The United States ambassador to Pakistan, Wendy Chamberlin, is fasting during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan.
294	21/11/2001	Pakistan jails Islamic leader	A three-year prison sentence is given to an Islamic leader who led thousands of Pakistanis across the border to support the Taliban in Afghanistan.
295	23/11/2001	Prince joins Ramadan ceremony	The Prince of Wales is joining more than 100 British Muslims in a breaking fast ceremony as part of the holy month of Ramadan.
296	23/11/2001	Nigeria's Emir opposes Bin Laden	One of Africa's top Islamic leaders, the Emir of Kano in northern Nigeria, tells the BBC he is opposed to Osama bin Laden's version of holy war.
297	23/11/2001	Koran transcript	At the start of the Muslim holy month Robert Pigott, the BBC's Religious Affairs Correspondent, examines how one book has come to mean so many different things.
298	26/11/2001	PR firm 'to polish Arab image'	The Arab League is considering hiring a public relations company to improve the international image of Arabs and Muslims
299	26/11/2001	Turkish women score victory for equality	The rights of Turkish women within the home are finally enshrined in law, 75 years after the country rejected Islamic law in favour of a more secular legal code.
300	28/11/2001	Terror suspect loses legal challenge	A Muslim cleric, named on a list of suspected Islamic terrorists, loses his legal challenge against the suspension of his income support payments.
301	28/11/2001	Analysis: Islam's modernity question	The aftermath of 11 September has stirred up a sometimes acrimonious debate about Islam and modernity.
302	29/11/2001	Kashmir gunfight 'leaves 10 dead'	Seven Indian soldiers and three Islamic militants are killed in a prolonged gun-battle in Indian-administered Kashmir, the authorities there say.
303	29/11/2001	Italy arrests terror suspects	Italian police swoop on mosques and Islamic centres and arrest two North Africans suspected of being militants with links to Osama Bin Laden.
304	30/11/2001	Islamic Jihad claims Israeli bomb blast	Islamic Jihad says it carried out a suicide bomb attack in northern Israel, as Prime Minister Ariel Sharon leaves for the US for talks.
305	01/12/2001	Palestinian police arrest top	A senior member of the Islamic Jihad group is

		militant	arrested by Yasser Arafat's police as new violence with Israeli forces leaves two Palestinians dead.
306	01/12/2001	Islamic militant arrested in Italy	Police in Italy arrest an Egyptian man suspected of playing a key role in Europe for Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda network.
307	02/12/2001	Your comments on Deep Down and Dirty	Your comments on Deep Down and Dirty
308	02/12/2001	Death toll climbs in Jerusalem attacks	Israel promises revenge after suicide bombers kill 12 including themselves in a packed Jerusalem shopping mall.
309	04/12/2001	Grand Sheikh condemns suicide bombings	Grand Sheikh Muhammad Sayyed Tantawi, the highest spiritual authority for Sunni Muslims, condemns the attacks in Israel.
310	05/12/2001	Islamic Jihad claims bombing	The radical Palestinian group says it was behind a suicide bomb attack outside a Jerusalem hotel which injured three people.
311	05/12/2001	Living on Nigeria's death row	A Nigerian woman appeals against her Sharia court sentence of death by stoning for adultery, a case which pits local against federal officials.
312	07/12/2001	Finding the needy is 'no easy task'	While UK-based charity Islamic Relief is distributing food, BBC Online discovers that finding those in most need is not easy.
313	07/12/2001	Letter to America	The first of two programmes exploring the tensions between America and the Muslim World. Rana Kabbani reports from the Middle East
314	07/12/2001	Ramadan massacre in Algeria	A group of suspected Islamic militants kills 17 civilians in the worst attack so far during this year's Ramadan, the Muslim holy month.
315	08/12/2001	Bin Laden deputy's family killed	The family of al-Qaeda's second in command, Ayman al-Zawahri, say his wife and children have been killed, presumably in Afghanistan.
316	09/12/2001	Sufi renaissance after Taleban fall	The end of draconian religious restrictions imposed by the Taleban means Afghan Sufis are free to practice once more, says the BBC's Peter Greste.
317	10/12/2001	Emergency Muslim talks on Israel	Islamic representatives ask the US to save the Middle East peace process, but previous such meetings have achieved little.

Source: BBC News, search for news containing the word 'Islam'
<http://newssearch.bbc.co.uk/cgi-bin/search/results.pl?scope=newsifs&tab=news&q=islam§ion=&range=range&fromday=12&frommonth=6&fromyear=2001&today=10&tomonth=12&toyear=2001&order=sortdate> [April 26, 2004]

Appendix Three.

Time Magazine's Cover Page - from September 2000 to August 2002

No.	Date	Cover Page title
1	Oct. 23, 2000	TERROR in the Middle East
2	Apr. 16, 2001	What Jesus saw: Jerusalem then and now
3	Sept. 14, 2001	(No Text) The Twin Towers of the World Trade Center being clashed by flight
4	Oct. 01, 2001	Target: Bin Laden
5	Oct. 15, 2001	Facing the Fury
6	Nov. 12, 2001	Inside Al-Qaeda
7	Nov. 26, 2001	Inside the Manhunt
8	Dec. 03, 2001	Lifting the Veil
9	Dec. 17, 2001	The Last Days of the Taliban
10	Dec. 24, 2001	Closing In (Osama's Last Stand)
11	Mar. 11, 2002	Can we stop the next 9/11?
12	Mar. 18, 2002	The Valley of Death: Inside the war's bloodiest battle
13	Mar. 25, 2002	Why Bush entered the Fray

Appendix Four.

Local Newspaper – before and after ‘September 11’

No.	Date	News Title	Newspaper / Section
1	Aug 13, 2001	疆民包圍深圳嘉賓派出所促放人	東方日報
2	Aug 20, 2001	DICTA	明報
3	Aug 25, 2001	耶路撒冷系列之二比麥加更早的伊斯蘭聖城	明報
4	Sept 02, 2001	回教學習班研讀三個代表	明報
5	Sept 02, 2001	新疆伊斯蘭學院習江講話	蘋果日報
6	Sept 13, 2001	珍珠港事變自由神稱霸，紐約浩劫強權滑落？	東方日報
7	Sept 14, 2001	美擬四方案攻阿富汗 兩院通過支持不排除用核武	蘋果日報
8	Sept 14, 2001	國際金融體系基調未損	蘋果日報
9	Sept 14, 2001	窮國阿富汗外銷鴉片	蘋果日報
10	Sept 15, 2001	西方文明對穆斯林的扭曲	明報
11	Sept 17, 2001	「聖戰」得倒誰？	東方日報
12	Sept 20, 2001	號召聖戰 對抗歐美	蘋果日報
13	Sept 20, 2001	港回教徒反對美動武	蘋果日報
14	Sept 20, 2001	埃塞俄比亞最架勢	東方日報
15	Sept 20, 2001	對抗美國「我從不懼怕死亡」	蘋果日報
16	Sept 20, 2001	反擊不會引發大規模「聖戰」	蘋果日報
17	Sept 20, 2001	獻身真神 清異教徒	蘋果日報
18	Sept 20, 2001	美戰友變死敵 行徑瘋狂	蘋果日報
19	Sept 20, 2001	伊斯蘭教在中國	蘋果日報
20	Sept 20, 2001	男不刮鬚 女不上學	蘋果日報
21	Sept 21, 2001	我差點與塔利班握手	明報
22	Sept 21, 2001	美中情局紙上談兵反恐怖 調查員怕辛苦拒以身犯險	蘋果日報
23	Sept 21, 2001	攻阿富汗 兩國提供通道	蘋果日報
24	Sept 22, 2001	在港巴人反戰欲回國	蘋果日報
25	Sept 22, 2001	只能祈禱噩夢快過	蘋果日報
26	Sept 22, 2001	伊斯蘭國家有家規	東方日報
27	Sept 23, 2001	蘇共想死灰復燃	東方日報
28	Sept 23, 2001	湯漢斯：我們要做點事	蘋果日報
29	Sept 24, 2001	再死多少人 美國才開戰	蘋果日報

30	Sept 24, 2001	伊斯蘭世界受了什麼詛咒？	明報
31	Sept 24, 2001	不關宗教之事	東方日報
32	Sept 25, 2001	開戰切忌有勇無謀	東方日報
33	Sept 26, 2001	反擊恐怖分子戰爭艱巨	蘋果日報
34	Sept 26, 2001	沙地支持反恐與阿斷交	東方日報
35	Sept 26, 2001	宗教暴力應該分清	蘋果日報
36	Sept 26, 2001	阿富汗二千年來噩夢不絕	東方日報
37	Sept 27, 2001	幽幽山洞藏經千萬卷	明報
38	Sept 27, 2001	《六十分鐘時事雜誌》	明報
39	Sept 28, 2001	意總理貶伊斯蘭教捱批	蘋果日報
40	Sept 29, 2001	法國隊險遭恐怖炸彈襲擊	東方日報
41	Sept 29, 2001	取消中東參展施祖祥嘆港商不拚搏	明報
42	Sept 29, 2001	拉登聖戰揭秘	東方日報
43	Sept 29, 2001	以暴易暴怨恨加深	蘋果日報
44	Sept 30, 2001	港宗教團體同悼 9.11	蘋果日報
45	Sept 30, 2001	拳王阿里 永打不死	明報
46	Sept 30, 2001	預言暢銷	東方日報
47	Sept 30, 2001	拉登聖戰揭秘	東方日報
48	Sept 30, 2001	港 500 人手牽手悼 9.11 死者 保安嚴密特首高官八宗教代表出席	東方日報
49	Oct 1, 2001	炸山洞毀拉丹防線 潛地堡再打坑道戰	明報
50	Oct 1, 2001	學校畢業禮變反美論	蘋果日報
51	Oct 2, 2001	拉登聖戰揭秘	東方日報
52	Oct 2, 2001	另類國際學校 穆民國際小學	蘋果日報
53	Oct 4, 2001	回教家庭生活見證	東方日報
54	Oct 5, 2001	喀什米爾	東方日報
55	Oct 6, 2001	卡塔爾電視台變拉登喉舌	蘋果日報
56	Oct 7, 2001	伊斯蘭世界的心態	東方日報
57	Oct 7, 2001	伊斯蘭不恐怖 訪楊興文教長	明報
58	Oct 8, 2001	慘案當前展示教養	蘋果日報
59	Oct 8, 2001	塔利班——美國毒刺	東方日報
60	Oct 8, 2001	啱喀兵可顯身手	東方日報
61	Oct 8, 2001	認識伊斯蘭教	蘋果日報
62	Oct 9, 2001	全世界協力鏟除恐怖主義	蘋果日報
63	Oct 9, 2001	國際社會對空襲阿富汗反應	蘋果日報
64	Oct 9, 2001	華人熊氏兄弟	蘋果日報
65	Oct 9, 2001	塔利班抗美打持久游擊戰	東方日報

66	Oct 9, 2001	發動聖戰不懼死亡 誓言抗美	蘋果日報
67	Oct 9, 2001	印尼盾匯價急瀉 6 %	東方日報
68	Oct 9, 2001	恩怨情仇 拉登與美 勢不兩立	蘋果日報
69	Oct 9, 2001	疆人紛貯糧防動亂	東方日報

Appendix Five.

Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) and United Association of Muslims in Hong Kong (UMAH) – on the controversies of school building

Gibb, Michael (2003, Jun 28). “Muslim leader angry over EMB letter; Information over 10-year bud to build centre ‘not disclosed at meetings’,” *South China Morning Post*: 2.

(2003, Jun 23). “Muslim group’s proposal does not qualify for support,” *South China Morning Post*: 10.

Gibb, Michael and Hui, Polly (2003, Jun 21). “Muslim group accuses EMB of racism; Bureau ‘used discriminatory language’ over application for backing for Islamic education and community center,” *South China Morning Post*: 1.

Chan, May (2003, Feb 5). “Legislators claim education system neglects minorities. The government is urged to subsidise school established by ethnic groups,” *South China Morning Post*: 4.

Appendix Six.

Interview Guides

Interview Guide (I) - on Muslims

■ Information

1. Origin
2. Age
3. Occupation
4. Family

1. Life History

2. Everyday lives

1. What would you do in your leisure time?
2. Do your friends/ neighbours/ colleagues contain Muslim too?
3. Do your friends know your Muslim identity?

■ Religious Practices, Dressing

1. Do you have any Islamic dressing? When will you wear them?
2. Was there decreased in frequency to wear Islamic dressing after the 'September 11'?
3. Do you obey the five times prayer everyday strictly?
4. Where do you do your prayer when you are in school/ office/ public areas?

■ Perceptions on Hong Kong

1. What do you think about Hong Kong people?
2. Do you satisfy living in Hong Kong?

Interview Guide (II) - on non-Muslim

■ Information

1. Name:
2. Age/sex:
3. Job:
4. Company Name:
5. Education Level:
6. University:
7. Secondary School:

■ Social Network

1. Have non-Chinese colleagues/classmates/neighbor?
2. What ethnic (種族) they are?
3. Did you talk with them?

■ Religions in Hong Kong

1. Did you ever heard Mormon (摩門教), Falung Gong (法輪功) and Islam (伊斯蘭教)?
2. Are they evil cult (邪教)?
3. Any comments on Mormon?
4. Any comments on Falung Gong?
5. Any comments on Islam?
6. Which is better and which is poorer for people, please rank:

■ On Muslims

1. Have Muslim colleagues/classmates?
2. Have Chinese colleagues/classmates?
3. Any differences with you?
4. Any differences between Chinese Muslim and non-Chinese Muslims?

■ September 11

1. Before 911, what do you think about Muslim?
2. After 911, what do you think about Muslim?
3. If you see Muslims on street, would you keep distance from them?
4. How you signify they are Muslims?

■ From 911 to now, does your view on Islam change?

Appendix Seven
Letter to Planning Department

To: Planning Department

Fax No.: 2877-0389

March 26, 2004

Dear Sir/Madam,

Enquiring Mosques Application number from a CityU Student

I am a student from the City University of HK, and currently conducting a research project about Muslims in Hong Kong. I would like to inquire some information and hope you could kindly help us!

The information I would like to gather is the number of applying the construction of mosque in Hong Kong by Islamic organizations within this twelve years (1991 to 2003). In particular for each application, information includes:

- Date of application
- Applicant
- Place for mosque building
- approve or reject

As the information is for urgent purpose, if possible, I would like to have your responses within two weeks. If my enquiry is not clear enough, you may contact me at 96091897. And you may send the information to my email:

5213880@student.cityu.edu.hk or
yoko.leung@student.cityu.edu.hk

Thank you for your kind attention and contributions to our research!

Yours Faithfully,
Leung Lai-fun, Yoko

East & Southeast Asian Studies
Department of Applied Social Studies
City University of Hong Kong

Appendix Eight.

Profiles of Respondents

Respondents Profile (I) - non-Muslims

	Name	Sex	Age	Origin	Religion	Occupation
1	Billy	Male	20	Chinese	No	Student
2	Ah Sim	Female	50	Chinese	Chinese traditional cult	Islamic Restaurant worker
3	Jimmy	Male	23	Chinese	No	Designer
4	Dayo	Male	23	Chinese	No	Internet Programmer

Respondents Profile (II) – Muslims

	Name	Sex	Age	Origin	How Long has been in HK	Occupation
1	Nilopher	Female	16	Indian	16	Student
2	Shahida	Female	25	Pakistan	7	Housewife
3	Jamillah	Female	66	Chinese	HK born	Housewife
4	Imam Yang	Male	37	Chinese	7	Missionary
5	Rahimah	Female	61	Chinese	HK born	Housewife
6	Umar	Male	20	Pakistan	6	Beef shop-owner
7	Sultan	Male	24	Pakistan	7	Technician
8	Sammi	Female	13	Pakistan	9	Student
9	Ahmed	Male	30	Bangladesh	3	Student
10	Muhammad Zubair	Male	34	Pakistan	14	Security Guard

Unsuccessful interview with Muslims' profile

	Name	Sex	Age	Origin	How Long has been in HK	Unsuccessful reasons
1	Thomas	Female	30-35	Chinese	HK born	I met him in his wedding party, plus the converting ceremony of his wife. When I requested for an interview, he claimed he seldom attends Islamic gathering. And he is not willing to spend time on interview.
2	Aslyah	Female	27	Chinese	HK born	I met her in an Islamic lesson. She is keen to respond to my enquiries or even expressed willingness to attend my in-depth interview. However, we can not deal a convenient time for both of us.

- end of Appendix -