Understanding and Appreciating Muslim Diversity in the City of Nottingham

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UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATING MUSLIM DIVERSITY IN NOTTINGHAM

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Nottingham City Council commissioned this report following a review carried out in 2007 by iCoCo for the Government Office of the East Midlands on Muslim diversity and key community cohesion issues in the 3 cities of the region. It builds on that report and develops in more detail issues affecting Nottingham, focusing primarily on Muslim communities in the city.

Our aim is to provide Nottingham City and its partners with a more detailed understanding and appreciation of the Muslim communities and in particular to support the development of a new engagement strategy.

1. Background

1.1 Our Brief

In essence, iCoCo's brief contained four elements:

- Develop a detailed understanding of the make-up of Nottingham's diverse Muslim Communities
- Develop a Demographic, Economic and Social profile of the Muslim community, within the limitations set out in our proposal
- Develop an outline picture of the views and experiences of the Muslim Communities, as a spin-off from the engagement process
- To comment upon existing organisational structures and to identify gaps in Muslim Representative Bodies.

1.2 Our Methodology

The team's approach to the work has involved

- Initial data gathering and analysis
- Interviews with key stakeholders, Councillors, Muslim Community leaders and representatives etc. (see below)
- Report preparation.

We have engaged with the Muslim communities to review:

- Theological issues: Sects, Denominations, Schools of Thought, and Branches
- Ethno national heritages including New Arrivals

In terms of leaders and representatives, we have looked at

- Political and other leadership – including Councillors
- Traditional/cultural – Tribal/Clan and Extended Family Network Leaders
- Mosques – Imams and Trustees
- Voluntary and Community Groups and Organisations – National and Locally based
- Under-represented groups, such as women and young people

1.3 Community Cohesion in Nottingham

The understanding of community cohesion by One Nottingham has been specifically customised through detailed dialogue and consultation with the communities of Nottingham. The Partnership has developed a Community Cohesion Strategy which will be implemented through 12 detailed performance indicators which fall across four key aims:

- A shared vision and shared sense of belonging
- Appreciation for the benefits that the diversity in our society brings
- Similar life opportunities and positive outcomes for everyone
- Good relations between different people at work, school and in communities.

The key challenge will be to turn this into a deliverable action plan with ownership from the voluntary, community and faith sector.

Of the four key aims the two most pertinent to that of our mapping are:

- A shared vision and shared sense of belonging
- Good relations between different people at work, school and in communities.

1.4 Acknowledgements

Our thanks are due to the Council members, staff, partners and community groups that contributed their views. Their willing participation and cooperation was greatly appreciated.

A full list of participants is given at Annex 1.

1.5 About iCoCo

The Institute of Community Cohesion (iCoCo) was established in 2005 to provide a new approach to race and diversity and, in particular, to focus on the development of harmonious community relations. iCoCo is a unique partnership of academic, statutory and non-governmental bodies, which combines the experience and expertise of four Universities – namely, Coventry, Warwick, De Montfort and Leicester. Other key partners include local authorities, voluntary agencies and the Improvement and Development

Agency (IDeA). The iCoCo team come from a wide range of backgrounds and professions.

We are committed to 'improvement from within', to working with local authorities to build on their current strengths and good practice. We therefore operate as a 'critical friend', constantly questioning and challenging, but also trying to find ways of supporting councils in improving community cohesion by bringing good practice and expertise to the recommendations we make.

Details of the iCoCo team are at Annex 2.

SECTION 2: THE CONTEXT: NOTTINGHAM CITY

2. Demographic, social and economic profile of Muslim Communities in Nottingham

The population of Nottingham is 286,400, and increasing, particularly in respect of younger age groups. 29% of the population is aged between 18 and 29, and there are lower than average proportions in the older age groups (especially ages 40 – 64). And almost 16% of the population are within the 20-24 age group (national average 6.6%).

15.1% of the population of Nottingham City classify themselves (according to the 2001 census) as from an ethnic minority.

Of the 20 wards in the City, there are 7 where more than 90% of the population are white.

Although minority communities tend to be clustered in certain parts of the city, as the more detailed figures below illustrate, there do not seem to be any extreme examples of concentrations of particular ethnic groups in terms of where people live or where they go to school.

The people we met suggested that much of the diversity of Nottingham's Muslim communities is due to recent changes to the population (ie after the 2001 census). For example, Somalis first began to settle in the city in 2002 drawn directly from Somalia. A second wave of significant Somali migration into Nottingham began in 2004 mainly from Europe (Scandinavia and the Netherlands) – this group now constitutes the majority of the Somali heritage Muslims in Nottingham. Nottingham's Somali community is reportedly an organised and united group. There are other "new arrival" communities such as asylum seekers and refugees as we discuss below.

Part of the City's diversity is accounted for by the significant number of students.

We were told by many of the people we met that the proportion of senior staff working for the Council from Black and Minority Communities reflect the communities they serve. This is as a result of the positive action programme which supports Black and Ethnic Minorities into management through mentoring and support. We gained the impression that this programme has been seen as very positive and has been well received by the Black and Ethnic Minority staff. An additional positive feature is the active BME Forum for staff, which is seen as an effective vehicle for discussion of issues affecting these staff and their communities.

2.1 Ward Analysis: Muslim communities

As the bulk of the available data is structured according to ethnic origin rather than religion, we have, in some instances, focused on "Pakistani" as a proxy for Muslim on the basis that the majority of Muslims in Nottingham are of Pakistani origin.

According to the 2001 Census, Asian (including Pakistani) communities are found in the most significant proportions in 5 wards in the City: Arboretum, Berridge, Dales, Leen Valley, and Radford and Park. The table below shows the broad ethnic categories and the proportions of these communities in each ward. Analysis at Super Output Area (SOA) level shows that, within each ward, there are particular concentrations of people from Muslim communities. For example more than 20% of the population are Muslim: in one SOA in Arboretum; in four in Berridge; in two in Dales; and in one in Radford and Park.

Ward	**Total population In ward**	**White**	**Mixed**	**Asian***	**Pakistani**	**Black**		**Muslims**
Arboretum	10,284 (100%)	7, 434 (72.3%)	499 (4.9%)	512 (5%)	797 (7.7%)	672 (6.5%)		1,058 (10.3%)
Berridge	16,122 (100%	11,157 (69.2%)	541 (3.4%)	850 (5.3%)	2,506 (15.5%)	907 (5.6%)		2,676 (16.6%)
Dales	13,867 (100%)	11,322 (81.6%)	456 (3.3%)	253 (1.8%)	1,295 (9.3%)	449 (3.2%)		1,460 (10.5%)
Leen Valley	9,191 (100%)	7,154 (77.8%)	253 (2.8%)	607 (6.6%)	682 (7.4%)	420 (4.6%)		809 (8.8%)
Radford and Park	14,548 (100%)	10,606 (72.9%)	496 (3.4%)	769 (5.3%)	1,246 (8.6%)	1,197 (8.2%)		1,530 (10.5%)
Total: 5 wards (% of city)	64,012 (24%)	47,673 (17.8%)	2,245 (27%)	2,991 (39%)	6,526 (67%)	3,645 (31%)		7,533 (61%)
City as a whole	266,988 (100%)	226,710 (84.9%)	8,370 (3.1%)	7,630 (2.8%)	9,725 (3.6%)	11,582 (4.3%)		12,353 (4.6%)

NB: Chinese and "other ethnic groups" have been omitted from the above table for reasons of space and because their numbers are small: 1715 Chinese, 1256 other groups for the City as a whole.
"Black" includes Black or Black British: Caribbean, African, and Other Black. Those of Somali origin would be included in this category. However, as mentioned above we understand that the main Somali community settlement in Nottingham began in 2002 (after the census) and assume if there was a community before then it would have been very small. There is also an Arab community in Nottingham, but this group is not shown separately in the Census analysis.

The figure for Muslims includes those from the ethnic groups set out to the left of the table. Figures may not add up precisely because of rounding

* Excluding Pakistanis

2.2 Index of Multiple Deprivation

As in other parts of the country, Muslim communities appear to live in some of the most deprived parts of the city (for example in parts of Dales, Arboretum and Berridge). This echoes the findings of the Neighbourhood Services consultation events carried out in the Meadows in 2005 ("Rising to the Challenge: Meeting the needs of the Pakistani Muslim Community"). However, there are other parts of the City (for example in wards such as Aspley and Bulwell) where there are high levels of deprivation and low numbers of Pakistani communities. According to the 2007 Indices of Multiple Deprivation, of the wards highlighted above, only in Arboretum are 4 out of the 7 SOAs amongst the worst 10% in the country. It should be noted that many Muslims also live in affluent areas of the city such as Wollaton.

According to the Crime and Drugs Partnership Strategic Assessment for 2007/08, there is a strong correlation between crime and anti-social behaviour and deprivation in the City at ward level.

2.3 Education

In terms of Nottingham City's overall school population, 2006 PLASC data shows

School type	Total population	Pakistani (%)	Bangladeshi	Indian
Primary	20,453	2,041 (10%)	100 (0.4%)	549(2.7%)
Secondary	13,679	1,103 (8%)	53 (0.3%)	348(2.5%)
All	34,132	3,144 (9%)	153 (0.4%)	897 (2.6%)

There appears to be no data showing students' religion. We gained the impression that there are relatively few Indians that are Muslim in Nottingham; and there is a small but significant proportion of Hindus amongst the Bangladeshi community.

The following schools have the greatest proportions of Pakistani pupils (Nottingham schools do not collect information on faith):

Primary:

- Bentinck Primary and Nursery (31%)
- Berridge Junior (44%)
- Berridge Infant and Nursery (59%)
- Greenwood Junior (33%)
- Scotholme Primary and Nursery (35%)
- Mellers Primary and Nursery (26%)
- Claremont Primary and Nursery (42%)
- Forest Fields Primary and Nursery (57%)
- Jesse Boot Primary (19%)
- Greenfields Community (35%)

Secondary:

- Manning Comprehensive (17%)
- Fernwood (11%)
- Nottingham Bluecoat School and Technology College (18%)
- Greenwood Dale (22%)
- Djanogly City Academy (22%)

There are also two independent Muslim faith schools in Nottingham: Nottingham Islamia School, under the auspices of the Karimia Institute (primary: opened in 2000 and a secondary school for girls in 2001) with 86 on the roll; and Jamia Al-Hudaa Residential Girls College with 231 on the roll.

With the exception of Fernwood, most of the schools listed above appear to be in or near the wards where there are the greatest concentrations of communities of Pakistani origin. However, a significant proportion of Manning pupils come from primary schools with smaller proportions of Pakistani pupils than those listed above.

2.3.1 Educational attainment

All the secondary schools listed above (with the exception of Manning), appear to be high performing schools (based on 2007 KS4 results on the DCSF website) exceeding both national and local average in terms of points score per pupil.

Of the two independent Muslim faith schools, Jamia Al-Hudaa out performs schools in the City at KS4. There is no reliable data for Nottingham Islamia school because of the small size of the school role, although DCSF performance data for 2007 suggests that its KS4 results were lower than for other schools in the City.

2.3.2 Free school meals

The percentage of Pakistani origin pupils eligible for Free School meals in the secondary schools mentioned is as follows:

- Manning: 5.7%
- Fernwood: 2.5%
- Nottingham Bluecoat: 5.5%
- Greenwood: 9.2%
- Djanogly City Academy: 7.5%

2.4 Segregation and isolation

Although the wards we have highlighted do have significant proportions of those from Muslim communities, local residents do not experience the levels of segregation experienced in some parts of the country. For example, applying an Isolation Ratio* (a measure used by some commentators to illustrate the extent to which minority communities in a particular area are "separate from" white residents), Nottingham residents experience much less isolation (between BME and white communities) than, for example, places such as Derby, Kirklees and Pendle, even though the proportion of BME communities in each place is broadly the same. In terms of the Index of Dissimilarity† (ID) which measures the unevenness of distribution between social groups by showing the proportion of one group which would have to move in order for the distribution of the two groups to be the same, there is moderately high segregation in Nottingham, especially between white and Asian communities. In comparison with the other cities in the East Midlands, the levels of segregation as measured by the ID in Nottingham are significantly lower than those for Derby or Leicester. In national terms, Nottingham is significantly less segregated than places like Blackburn with Darwen and Bradford, but significantly more than places such as Milton Keynes and Northampton. Despite the statistics, a percentage of focus group participants said;

> "I would rather mix with Asians than Whites any day."
>
> "We are isolating ourselves from White people but we do need to mix."
>
> "We prefer to be separate from Whites and Blacks."
>
> Focus Group participants.

2.5 Crime and antisocial behaviour

In overall terms, the ethnicity of victims of crime in the City is proportionate to the population. However Asians are more likely to be victims of public order offences (harassment) and racism– namely hate crime. Verbal racist abuse was the most common allegation in 71% of incidents in 2006/07. Peaks in hate crime appear to coincide with national or international events such as the London Bombings in 2005, and the Danish Cartoon protests in February 2006. Reporting levels of hate crime appear low.

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* The isolation ratio measures 'the extent to which minority members are exposed only to one another' and is computed as the minority-weighted average of the minority proportion in each area – ie the ratio of the probability that your neighbour is BME if you are BME yourself; and the probability that your neighbour is BME if you are White. It is a measure of how isolated the two groups are from one another. [Reference: The Intercultural City: Making the Most of Diversity, Wood, Landry and Bloomfield, Comedia, March 2006]

† The index of dissimilarity measures the probability that a person from a given ethnic group will meet a person from a different ethnic group in their neighbourhood.

Reported race related incidents in Nottingham increased during 2006/07 by 4% in comparison with 2005/06. Although relatively high numbers of incidents were reported in some of the wards with the largest Asian communities (listed above), Bridge and St Anns wards each had over 10% of the total incidents reported, presumably because they contain the city centre. The next highest number of incidents was reported in Berridge and in Radford and Park.

In terms of the ethnic origin of victims, the highest proportion was of Pakistani origin in 2006/07 (as was the case the previous year). 35% of all victims were female, 62% male (no information available for 2% of victims). We gained the impression from some of the people we talked to, especially Muslim women, that crime was an issue, especially violence. Furthermore, there was a sense of frustration that nothing happened when people complained about issues such as juvenile crime, or drugs paraphernalia littering the street.
39% (the majority) of incidents in 2006/07 took place at or near the victim's home. However the proportion of incidents in the street not near the victim's home and those in shops increased in 2006/07.

SECTION 3: NOTTINGHAM'S MUSLIM COMMUNITIES

As in other parts of Britain, Muslims in Nottingham comprise of a richly diverse group of communities, and whilst the majority are born into the faith with origins or heritage in Muslim countries and regions overseas, Nottingham's Muslims are also represented across many other ethno national groups including converts of White English, African Caribbean and Dual/Multiple heritage. Within this diversity there are long established communities as well as more recently settled and newer arrival communities. It follows that there are considerable differences between and within these groups.

This section aims to provide an understanding and appreciation of Nottingham's diverse Muslim communities, looking at both ethno national and religious diversity, and where these intersect or overlap to influence leadership and representational structures. As with other faiths, Islam has many theological variations – which to some extent correspond with ethno national and cultural adoption or affiliation – dividing into sects, sub-divisions, communities, groups and organisations. Identifying Mosques (or to use the correct term Masjid, *plural* Masaajid) with reference to theological affiliation and corresponding ethno national adoption provides a good illustration of the diversity within Nottingham's Muslim communities. This can also help gauge levels of representation and potential gaps in terms of the council's engagement. It should be noted, however, that Muslim traditions in Britain and likewise in Nottingham are constantly evolving and adapting, hence some Muslims practice and identify with multiple religious and ethno national traditions. Furthermore, since faith is by definition a matter of conscience the degree to which someone is prepared to compromise the rigidities of their individual religious or cultural practice is a matter of personal choice and or level of devotion. Hence, much of what is contained herein may not apply to all Muslims in Nottingham. We have identified and list below the main Masaajid with reference to specific Muslim religious practices and also groups and organisations in Nottingham, and whilst we have endeavoured to do our utmost in checking all the information gathered, in view of the constant change, we may have inadvertently overlooked details of a few.

The majority of Nottingham's Muslims are of Pakistani heritage (Kashmiri/Mirpuri, Punjabi), followed by Bangladeshi (Sylheti), Somali, Arab, Kurdish and a significant community of White English and African Caribbean Muslim Converts.

Nottingham's Muslim communities have traditionally settled and live across five areas; Sneinton, Lenton, Forest Fields, Radford and Meadows. We understand that there is a residential concentration of Pakistani Punjabi heritage Muslims in the Sneinton area whilst Muslims of Pakistani Kashmiri heritage live across all five areas, though mainly in Lenton, Forest Fields and Meadows. Muslims of Bangladeshi and Somali heritage live across the Forest Fields, Radford and Hyson Green areas of the city. New arrival Muslim

communities, mainly of Kurdish heritage, are settled across all the areas mentioned above and have established a vibrant business sector (restaurants and retail shops) in Radford Road.

3.1 Muslim Theological Diversity* (Annex 4, Figure 1)

Muslims are divided into the main two sects of Sunni and Shia. The vast majority of Muslims resident in Nottingham are of the Sunni Sect. There are also well established – albeit significantly smaller – communities of Muslims in Nottingham confirmed to the Shia Sect.

Both the Sunni and Shia sects have many subdivisions, each with varying degrees of following, adoption and membership, based to some extent – though not entirely – on ethno national heritage. Of the two Muslim sects, Nottingham's Shia communities represent a less diverse community – both in terms of theological variations and ethno national heritage.

Essentially, there are five main Orthodox Muslim Schools of Thought (known singularly as Madhab and collectively as Madhahib) – Jafari, Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali – named after the Scholars who founded them circa 8th and 9th Centuries AD. Almost all Shia Muslims are confirmed to the Jafari Madhab, whereas Sunni Muslim adoption is mainly spread across four Madhahib – Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali. Despite scholastic differences, a principle of mutual respect and unity applies strongly at the Madhahib level of awareness and adoption. Notably, there are some Muslims in Nottingham practising and identifying at the Madhahib level of adoption (elaborated in more detail below – section 3.1.2.4).

3.1.1 Nottingham's Shia Muslims (Annex 4, Figure 2)

Most Shia Muslims follow the Jafari School of Thought (Madhab), which divides into several denominations, Fiqhs and branches. However in Nottingham only the Usuli/Jafari Fiqh of the Ithna Ashari denomination and Dawudi Bohra branch of the Ismaili denomination appear to be represented.

The Ithna Ashari denomination is predominant throughout the Shia world†. In Nottingham the majority and longest established Shia Ithna Ashari Muslim community is of Pakistani Punjabi heritage mostly confirmed to the Usuli Fiqh though prefer to be described as adopting the Jafari Madhab. There is one Shia Ithna Ashari Muslim Masjid in Nottingham, established and administered by Muslims of Pakistani Punjabi heritage:

1. Al Zahra Centre, 106 Radford Boulevard

* This section describes the affiliation and location of the main Masaajid/Mosques in Nottingham. Discussion of their role in terms of Religious leadership is set out at section 3.2.3 below

† The Shia Ithna Ashari denomination constitutes majority adoption for Shia Muslims in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, India, Azerbaijan and Bahrain

In addition, there is a prominent section amongst Nottingham's new arrival Afghani heritage community (some 200-300 in total) also of the Muslim Shia Sect, Ithna Ashari denomination and following the Usuli Fiqh. Nottingham's Afghani heritage Shia Muslim community do not have an established Masjid, though do reportedly organise regular Friday (Jummah) prayers at a location in the Meadows area.

The Ismaili denomination constitutes a relative minority amongst Shia Muslims throughout the world[*]. Nottingham's Ismaili community is mainly of Pakistani Punjabi heritage and confirmed to the Dawudi Bohra branch. They are reportedly a relatively affluent, well established and eminent community with three centres, just outside Nottingham; one in Beeston[†], and the other two in Hucknall:

1. Anjuman- e-Ezzi, Darul Imarat, 1 Henry Street, Hucknall, NG15 7RY. Tel: 0115 9634339

2. Husami Markaz, Old United Reform Church, Portland Road, Hucknall, NG15 7RW

3.1.2 Nottingham's Sunni Muslims (Annex 4, Figure 3)

Most Sunni Muslim practices are derived from four major Madhahib, namely Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali. Sunni Madhab association varies and is generally related to global geographic region(s). The Hanafi Madhab is adopted by the majority of Sunni Muslims throughout the world, across Eastern Europe, Iraq, Central, East and South Asia. The Maliki Madhab is predominant for Muslims throughout North, Central and West Africa. The Shafi Madhab constitutes majority adoption in South East Asia, Southern Arabia, and East Africa. The Hanbali Madhab is predominant throughout the UAE and Saudi Arabia. These Schools of Thought (Madhahib) – subject to scholarly re-interpretations, regional and cultural variations – are very diverse and sub-divide further into sub-schools (known singularly as Maslaq, dual as Maslaqain and three or more Masaaliq), many branches and practices. There are essentially two divergent Sunni theological approaches; Sufi and Salafi. Most Sunni Masaaliq (sub-schools) are interlinked with Sufi Orders (known singularly as Tariqa, in the plural as Turuq) which in turn can belong to any or none of the Madhahib (Schools of Thought). In contrast, Salafi teachings reject the need to be bound by any one Madhab, however through reproach inevitably consider all four.

Sufis are often described as the Mystical component of Islam however there are many variations both in terms of practices and internal structures. Branches within Sufi Turuq are organised around a spiritual leader (Shiekh,

[*] The Ismaili live mainly in India or Pakistan and also across a wide Diaspora spanning Iran, Myanmar, Bahrain, East and South Africa.

[†] We have been unable to obtain details of this centre, which is in any event outside Nottingham .

Pir or Wali) most often of Prophetic ancestry. Some individual Sufi branches exert considerable autonomy; others are tightly organised and connected in a hierarchical fashion to central authorities. Some are restricted to or have become grouped together specific to a country or region; others are widespread across continents and the world. There are numerous Sufi branches and practices vary vastly, ranging from the mystical to direct and militant action. The most prevalent Sufi Turuq in the UK are Naqshbandi, Chisti, Shadlisa and Qadria – and have traditionally been more prevalent amongst some British Muslims of Turkish, Central and South Asian heritages, including a few among newer arrival Bosnian and Kurdish heritage Muslims. Sufism also draws followers from a range of other diverse backgrounds including reverts/converts. Nevertheless, we were unable to locate any centres or Masaajid in Nottingham specifically catering to a particular Sufi Tariqa (order) other than those associated with the predominant Maslaqain (dual sub-schools) (see paragraphs 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2).

Salafi Muslim doctrine rejects all forms of mysticism as associated with some Sufi Turuq, and – although derived primarily from the Hanbali Madhab – actually propagates calls for a return to the original sources of Islam. Salafism in effect circumvents the Madhahib, however, in doing so acknowledges teachings from all four. The Salafi Muslim branch – most predominant in Saudi Arabia – draws followers from across Sunni Madhahib and ethno national heritages including many Somali, North Africans and revert/convert Muslims, particularly African Caribbean. Understandably, as with Sufi Turuq there are many variations of Salafi practices.

Almost all organised Sunni Muslim practices stem from Sufi and Salafi based methodological approaches, manifest across a fluctuating gradient - often merging - range of religious teachings. In Nottingham the variety of established Sunni Muslim practices include the; Barelwi Maslaq; Deobhandi Maslaq; Salafi Ahle Hadith branch; Salafi-Modernist[*] and Madhahib adoption.

Both the Deobhandi and Barelwi Maslaqain (two sub-Schools) are derived from the Hanafi Madhab (School of Thought), are essentially Sufi Turuq collectives, and originated as reformist movements in India during the 19th Century, yet represent two mutually exclusive Maslaqain (dual sub-schools). The Barelwi Maslaq (sub-school) is more closely associated with aspects of Sufi traditions emphasising Mysticism both in terms of practices and leadership hierarchy, whereas the Deobhandi Maslaq (sub-school) rejects many mystical aspects and is reflective of Sufi traditions representing more scripturally-based practices and regimented structures. The respective adoptions and affiliations to the Maslaqain of Barelwi and Deobhandi are generally related to ethno-national and regional heritage specific to South Asia including Diaspora communities from across East and South Africa.

[*] The term Salafi-Modernist is a composite construction used here for descriptive purposes and to avoid use of pejorative terms.

3.1.2.1 Deobhandi Maslaq

The Deobhandi Maslaq constitutes majority adoption amongst Sunni Muslims from Indian Gujarat, (Surut and some from Baruch), Afghanistan, Bangladesh, specific regions in Pakistan of Peshawar, Baluchistan, some from Kashmir and the Punjab. The majority of Deobhandi Muslims in Nottingham are of Pakistani Kashmiri heritage. The Deobhandi Maslaq is renowned as the basis for instituting Tableeghi Jammat (Preaching Congregation) – the largest Muslim evangelical group in the world (see also section 3.2.2.4 below). Followers of the Deobhandi Maslaq are noted for being well organised and having a developed proficiency for setting up Masaajid and Madrassas. There are four Masaajid in Nottingham affiliated to the Deobhandi Maslaq - established, managed and administered mainly by a section of Nottingham's Pakistani Kashmiri heritage community:

1. Madni Masjid and Muslim Education Centre, Madni Trust, Muslim Educational Trust, 289 Gladstone Street and the former Church 2 doors east on Alberta Terrace, Forest Fields, Nottingham, NG7 6HX. Tel: 0115 962 6688, 0115 9691275. http://www.madnitrust.com/
2. Dar-us-Salaam, Islamic Affairs Central Network, 41 Sneinton, NG2 4LG. Tel 0115 8449705
3. Masjid Bilal, 3-5 Lenton Boulevard, Lenton, NG7 2ET. Tel: 0115 947 3910.
4. Jamia Al Huda, Mapperley*

3.1.2.2 Barelwi Maslaq

The Barelwi Maslaq represents the predominant practice for Nottingham's Sunni Muslims of Pakistani (Kashmiri, Punjabi and Sindhi) heritage, and also amongst some Bangladeshi and Indian (Kutch and Gujarati Baruchi) heritage Muslims. Preferring the term Ahle Sunnah Wal Jammat – Muslims of Barelwi origins seemingly make up the largest section of Muslims in Nottingham, reportedly constituting the basis for 11 Masaajid, all managed and administered by Pakistani Heritage Muslims, including Nottingham's only purpose built Masjid. Whilst these Masaajid are connected in that all seemingly work together there is however some variation. For example the mainstream Barelwi Maslaq or Ahle Sunnah Wal Jammat practice is said to form the basis for the following Masaajid in Nottingham:

1. Islamic Centre, Noorani Masjid, Curzon Street, St Annes, NG3 1DG. Tel: 0115 959 0001.
2. Lenton Muslim Centre, 56-58 Rothsay Avenue, Lenton Sands, Nottingham, NG7 1PW. Tel: 0115 9780468.

* We have been unable to obtain full details of this Masjid.

3. Jameah Fatimiah Masjid, 118a Berridge Road, Forest Fields, Nottingham, NG7 6HT. Tel: 0115 9244004
4. Meadows Muslim Action Group and Masjid, Collygate Road, Meadows, NG2 2EJ. Tel: 0115 986 3245.

We understand that the Masjid Ghosia in Beeston also follows the same practice as do some worshippers associated with the Shah Jalal Masjid (see below).

Significantly, two Masaajid in Nottingham of the Barelwi Maslaq are established and managed by devotees (Mureed) to the spiritual leader Pir Sultan Fiaz-ul-Hassan Sarwari Qadri – the current head of the Pakistan based Sultan Bahu Trust – and confirmed to the Sufi Qadri Tariqa (Silsila in Punjabi) www.hsbtrust.com/founder.htm, www.**sultan**i.co.uk/ukmarkaz.htm

5. Jamia Islamia Nottingham, Pakistan Muslim Association, 22 Hubert Street, Hyson Green, NG7 5AJ. Tel: 0115 8447041.
6. Jamia Masjid Sultania, Madrassa-e-Islamia, Thurgaton Street, Sneinton Dale, NG2 4AG. Tel: 0115 9117601.

In addition, there are two Masaajid in Nottingham associated with the Karimia Institute (http://www.karimia.com), headed by Dr Musharraf Hussain Al Azhari who, according to many we spoke to, follows the Barelwi Maslaq, though himself professes to teach and govern in accordance with the Hanafi Madhab.

7. Karimia Masjid and Institute, 141 – 143 Berridge Road, Forest Fields, NG7 6HR. Tel: 0115 9420588.
8. As-Shifa and Karimia Masjid, Association of Muslim Schools. 512 Berridge Road West, Bobbersmill, NG7 5JU. Tel: 0115 8415806/8411919.

There are many variations within the Barelwi and Deobhandi Maslaqain both in terms of theology and ethno national culture, sometimes manifest in amalgamated practices. A recent addition to Nottingham's Masjid network is the:

1. Shah Jalal Masjid and Islamic Education Centre, Acourt Street, Nottingham NG7 5AH

This Masaajid was established and is administered by a section of Nottingham's Bangladeshi heritage community and although the Imam is said to be affirmed to the Deobhandi Maslaq, the board of trustees are reportedly, mainly followers of the Barelwi Maslaq. The Shah Jalal Masjid could be described as representing an amalgamation of Deobhandi and Barelwi Maslaqain practices specifically associated with Bangladeshi ethno cultural religious traditions. This Masjid is part of a separate structural leadership network from Nottingham's other Deobhandi and Barelwi Maslaqain based

Masaajid. In particular, it is detached from the wider Deobhandi Maslaq based group Tableeghi Jammat (indeed, we heard that individuals from Tableeghi Jammat are not welcomed at the Masjid). It is also separate from the Pakistani Barewli Maslaq linked 'Pir' (spiritual leader) network and respective scholar base – see discussion of religious leadership structures below (section 3.2.3).

3.1.2.3 Salafi

Nottingham's Salafi Muslims constitute a minority compared to followers of the Barelwi or Deobhandi Maslaqain. The majority of Salafi Muslims in Nottingham are of Pakistani Kashmiri heritage and associated with practices related to the Pakistani based group Jamiat Ahle Hadith which forms the basis for two Masaajid:

1. Markazi Jamiat Ahle-Hadith, 53 Cromwell Street, Radford, NG7 4GL. Tel: 0115 9789939
2. Masjid E Umer, Alfreton Road

3.1.2.4 Muslims of Arab heritage (Salafi-Modernists)

A significant section of Nottingham's established Muslim communities of Arab heritage adhere to a practice termed here as Salafi-Modernist*. This composite religious practice combines traditional Madhahib (School of Thought) adoption and principles emerging as part of Salafi theologically based responses to the advent of Modernity during the mid to late 20th century. Salafi-Modernist Muslim practices are also evident amongst a cross section of Nottingham's Muslims from various other ethno national heritages. Although, collectively, Salafi-Modernist Muslims are not easily recognisable as a community in the traditional sense (i.e. are not identifiable with specific ethno national heritages) – Muslims following such practices tend to affiliate to groups and organisations. Most endearing of these groups and organisations is the call for Unity, appealing to the concept of Ummah (global Muslim communion) through emphasis on a Madhahib level of mutual respect (reference section 3.2.5.2). Nottingham's only Arab Muslim heritage established and administered Masjid reportedly reflects such principles:

1. The Muslim Welfare House, 215 Derby Road, Lenton, NG7 1QJ, Tel: 0115 956 8965

3.1.2.5 Somali heritage Muslims

Nottingham's Somali heritage community are all Sunni Muslims and primarily adopt their traditional Shafi'i Madhab with a significant proportion drawn to

*We have found when describing this particular Muslim practice, the use of crude vernacular renderings of Muslim scholar's names or organisations. Hence the composite term Salafi-Modernist is used herewith for sake of accuracy and to avoid being misconstrued.

Salafi traditions and a very small minority confirmed to an ethno cultural specific Sufi Qadri Tariqa. In relative terms, Somali Muslims are recently settled in Nottingham and whilst content to use Nottingham's existing Sunni Masaajid for prayer and worship, have in fact established two separate regular Madrassa* classes at:

1. Hyson Green Community Centre
2. Meadows Community Centre

3.1.2.6 New Arrivals

The newest additions to Nottingham's diverse Sunni Muslim population are asylum seeker and refugee communities, which include a mix of Kurdish, West African and Arab heritages. Predominantly Sunni and affirmed to their respective Madhahib, devout sections of Nottingham's New Arrival Muslim communities tend to use existing Masaajid for worship. However a section of Nottingham's new arrival Kurdish heritage Muslim community (confirmed to their traditional Shafi'i Madhab) do hold regular Jummah Prayers at:

1. The Kurdish Centre, Radford Road

3.1.2.7 Muslim converts – Madhahib Adoption

Apart from the traditional ethno national specific Muslim communities, and quite unique to Nottingham's Muslim community diversity is an active and prominent Muslim convert led organisation; Nott's New Muslims (http://www.nottsnewmuslims.com/). Adopting, practising and teaching at the Madhahib level, Nott's New Muslims have recently established a Masjid and centre for activities under the auspices of:

1. The Lote Tree Institute, (http://www.lotetreeinstitute.com/) 179 Bobbers Mill Road, Nottingham

Notably The Lote Tree Institute attracts young Muslims from a range of ethnic backgrounds including Pakistani Kashmiri and Punjabi heritage. Vital to the appeal of Nott's New Muslims and The Lote Tree Institute amongst Nottingham's younger generation Muslims is that the Qutbas (Friday prayer sermons), talks, courses and lectures are all conveyed in English at a highly intellectual and stimulating level, whereas many of Nottingham's established Barelwi and Deobhandi Masaajid present primarily in other languages (Urdu, Bengali etc).

Madhab adoption is also increasingly evident amongst cross sections of Nottingham's Muslim communities from various backgrounds, particularly amongst devout sections of second and third generation Muslims displaying a

* Supplementary Islamic religious schooling

relatively high level of Islamic educational awareness. Notably, we heard in focus groups that some young professional Muslim women, although from a Barelwi Maslaq background, are drawn toward the Madhahib level of practice as it is more inclusive and engaging of Muslims across ethno national heritages.

In addition to Muslims who are permanent residents of Nottingham, there is also a transient population of Muslim University students drawn from various ethno national heritages, theological backgrounds and practices, both from other parts of the UK as well as from overseas. In terms of facilities for worship, Nottingham University's Muslim students are generally catered for by the;

1. University Islamic Society Masjid (prayer room), Students Union, Portland Building, University Park, NG7 2RD. Tel: 0115 9515151

University prayer facilities tend not to have permanent affiliation to any particular Muslim practice and as is typical with most University based facilities, represent a vibrant centre for debate and discussion.

3.2 Muslim Leadership and Representation (Annex 4, Figure 4)

As indicated above Nottingham's Muslim communities are represented across a complex set of theological variations, which correspond to a large extent with ethno national and cultural traditions. Similarly Nottingham's Muslim leadership structures are organised along complex theological, ethno national cultural and political dimensions. As is common in most British faith communities, Muslim religious and civic leadership structures are separate but overlap. However, we gained the impression from the people we met that Nottingham's Muslim Civic and Religious leadership/representational structures were more detached compared to other areas we have reviewed. Furthermore, this separation appears to transfer down through generations.

The following section unravels some of the complexities to provide an understanding and appreciation of Nottingham's separate but overlapping Muslim religious, traditional, civic leadership and representational structures.

3.2.1 Religious Central Leadership: context

Although, Sunni and Shia Muslims hold the same fundamental beliefs, there are distinct differences in terms of central leadership structures. Shia Muslims have a distinctive institution in the Imamate. This is essentially a central clerical hierarchy, headed by a Grand Imam or Ayatollah, exercising both spiritual and temporal authority, appointed, to a large extent, on the basis of hereditary rites linked to Prophetic ancestry. The Shia Grand Imam/Ayatollah is believed to be appointed by God and considered sinless and infallible in matters of faith and morals. For many Sunni Muslims central authority and

ultimate allegiance is reserved for the Caliph - the title given to the head of the Islamic State (Khilafah). In contrast to the Shia Imamate the Sunni Caliph is elected and accountable. In essence, neither the Imamate nor the Caliphate exist.

For Shia Ithna Ashari Muslims, the prophesised leader Imam Mahdi (Guided One) is believed to be in occultation. Meanwhile Imamate branches headed by individual Grand Imams or Ayatollahs provide interim spiritual and temporal authority. The most pre-eminent Grand Imams or Ayatollahs are based in Iran and Iraq. On the other hand, Shia Ismaili Dawudi Bohra Muslims do not believe in occultation and have a clearly defined centralised structure assigning global leadership based on divine hereditary rites – the current leader for Dawudi Bohras is Mohammed Burhanuddin, who resides in India. Sunni Muslims do not have a clergies which whilst allowing for greater autonomy and adaptability it has also led to more fragmented structures. Accordingly, much dispute and debate ensues between the various traditional Sunni Muslim practices regarding the definition and need for a Caliph or an Islamic State, as is the method by which it is established and the leader is appointed. A Muslim organisation particularly focused on the topic of an Islamic State is the Muslim political revolutionary group Hizb Ut Tahrir (Party of Liberation) http://www.hizb.org.uk.

Hizb Ut Tahrir (HT) was established in the early 1950s by the Palestinian born Shiekh Taqquidin An Nabhani, essentially presenting Islam as an ideological alternative to Communism and Capitalism. The main aim of Hizb Ut Tahrir (HT) is to “re-establish the Khilafah (Caliphate) [through political means] somewhere in the Muslim world”. HT are a strictly non-violent movement and in Britain, seek to build capacity within Muslim communities for an eventual [Khilafah] state-led revolution. Throughout the 1990s, this group gained popularity amongst young British Muslims including in Nottingham, across Muslim communities, on the university campus, amongst some professionals and elders. Although support for HT in Nottingham has declined over the last few years, a group of members and supporters continue to be active, distributing literature outside Masaajid and arranging talks and events addressing issues of concern for Muslims from an “Islamic ideological political” perspective. In addition, as in other places, there are many indications in Nottingham of a general sympathy and tacit support for HT and their views. We heard in focus groups with young Muslims that there was a general awareness of HT and despite sometimes being perceived as aggressive in approach, there was also a consensus that HT would continue to be influential amongst young Muslims.

3.2.2 Religious local leadership

At the local level, Shia Imams across denominations and branches are noted for being highly trained and held in high esteem across their respective communities, with the highest positions reserved for those of Prophetic

ancestry (identifiable by black turbans). In contrast, Sunni Imams do not hold such an exalted position, however, roles, responsibilities and degree of influence vary depending on the individual's level of knowledge, skills and abilities. In Nottingham, there are a number of nationally renowned and influential Sunni Imams and Scholars. There are however, notable variations in terms of structures and levels of engagement related to Maslaqain, branch of practice and ethno national cultural heritage.

3.2.2.1 Barelwi Maslaq – Holy Men

Whilst there are distinct differences in terms of central leadership between Shia and Sunni Muslims, there are some subtle overlaps and similarities. Followers of the Barelwi Maslaq – in line with their mystical Sufi origins – practise a type of reverence for Holy Men qualified through Prophetic ancestry, denoted by titles such as Pir, Syed, Wali or Shah. This is similar to the Shia Imamate hierarchy, which is also appointed on the basis of Prophetic ancestry. However, Barelwi reverence for Holy Men is generally only confined to spiritual and/or mystical matters which can extend to rites of divine intercession. The respective and relative popularity of individual Barelwi Holy Men amongst devotees (Mureed) is based to some extent on a combination of charisma, perceived mystical powers, specific ethnic heritage and scholarly qualification.

As indicated above, and significant to Nottingham are the two established Masaajid devoted to 'Pir' Sultan Fiaz-ul-Hassan Sarwari Qadri of the Pakistan based Sultan Bahu Trust (see section 3.1.2.2). Amongst devout sections of Nottingham's wider Barewli Maslaq (Ahle Sunnah Wal Jammat) affiliated Muslim community there is a tendency to be Mureed (devotees) of individual 'Pir' (Holy Men) – often belonging to the same ethno national or regional origin as the devotee. In addition, although not strictly affirmed to the Barelwi Maslaq, Dr Musharraf Hussain of the Karimia Institute does note among his teachers the renowned scholar 'Pir' Muhammad Karam Shah.

It is important to note however, that whilst prevalent amongst Nottingham's first generation elder followers of the Barelwi Maslaq, such reverence for 'Pir' (Holy men) is practised only by a very small minority of Nottingham's second and third generation Muslims.

In contrast, whilst Prophetic ancestry affords a special position across all Muslim practices, the Deobhandi Maslaq, Salafi and Salafi-Modernists, reject reverence based on perceived mystical powers or position attained solely through Prophetic ancestry. Instead assigning religious authority based primarily on scholarly qualification. Significantly, these structural arrangements find greater resonance amongst devout sections of Nottingham's younger Muslims.

3.2.2.2 Deobhandi Maslaq – Scholar Network

The Deobhandi Maslaq represents the largest network of Imams and Scholars based and/or trained in Britain, and whilst drawn mainly from specific ethno national heritages*, this network includes young, old, male and female, providing access with relative ease to both spiritual and temporal guidance. Additional religious guidance is provided by the Deobhandi based group Tableeghi Jammat, which sends out small teams of men from Masjid to Masjid and also out into the community preaching the essentials of Islam, primarily to Muslims (see section 3.1.2.1). Tableeghi Jammat are reportedly active in Nottingham in and around Masaajid based on the Deobhandi Maslaq (see example final paragraph section 3.2.6).

3.2.2.3 Salafi Muslims – Scholar Network

Some Salafi Muslims, view respective religious institutions based in Saudi Arabia as representing a central religious authority. But more specifically, Islamic guidance is assigned to a wide network of qualified scholars, significantly ranging across ethno national heritages, including African Caribbean and White English converts. In Nottingham, the two Masaajid affiliated to the Salafi practice are aligned to the Pakistani based group Ahle Hadith (see section 3.1.2.3). It was therefore suggested that primary reference is made to Pakistani based Salafi scholars, however wider networks also exist through British based groups such as JIMAS (www.JIMAS.org)

3.2.2.4 Nottingham's Other Muslim Groupings

For other Muslim groupings in Nottingham, including Arab and other heritages adopting Salafi-Modernist practices – and as indicated above – affiliating to Muslim groups and organisations, access to spiritual and other guidance is provided through a wide range of respective Scholar networks and resources.

3.2.2.5 Muslim Religious Leadership and Scholarship in Nottingham

Notably, Nottingham is home to a number of nationally recognised Muslim religious leaders and Scholars. A strong proponent of Muslim faith schools, Dr Musharraf Hussain is the Director of the Karimia Institute, which provides a range of services across two centres based in Nottingham (for detailed information see http://www.karimia.com). We heard from many in focus groups and interviews that Dr Musharraf Hussain is held in high regard and widely respected, particularly amongst Nottingham's Barelwi Muslim community. We also heard widespread commendations of the Karimia Institute for being relatively inclusive and accessible in all activities and

* Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritages

events. The Karimia Institute and School are affiliate members of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) and Dr Hussain consults and advises at a national level on various issues.

It is also noted that Allama Masood Alam of the Barelwi Maslaq affiliated Islamic Centre or Noorani Masjid, Curzon Street, St Annes, is a named trustee of the national Barelwi Muslim representative organisation the British Muslim Forum (BMF) as is Pir-zada Imdad Hussain of nearby Retford.

Also of national Scholarly recognition is Nottingham based Deobhandi Maslaq affiliated Maulana Raza Ul-Haq Siakhvy, head of the Madni Masjid and Trust (information on services is at http://www.madnitrust.com/). Maulana Raza Ul-Haq Siakhvy is nationally renowned across Deobhandi Muslim communities for providing exceptional standards of Islamic education.

Nottingham is also the centre for The Lote Tree Institute (see section 3.1.2.7). The Institute was established and is led by three Muslim converts of Danish, Canadian and Dual (Egyptian American) heritages respectively – all are highly qualified in Islamic studies and teach at a Madhahib level. The Institute provides a range of courses including Classical Arabic, serving, for the most part, young Pakistani Kashmiri heritage Muslims. (For more information see http://www.lotetreeinstitute.com/)

3.2.2.6 Religious Leadership: Guidance through other media

In addition, all the various Muslim groupings access Islamic guidance, education and news through a range of media such as: radio stations, websites, satellite TV channels, books, DVDs, literature, attending talks, lectures and other activities.

3.2.2.7 Religious Leaders and Muslim Community Engagement

In general, Nottingham's Muslim religious leaders provide an effective channel of engagement into the communities they serve. However, we found particularly amongst local religious elders, a general reluctance and in some cases a refusal to engage with Muslims outside the confines of their respective Muslim Maslaq or practice. Certainly there was a general acknowledgment with respect to religious leaders' difficulties in engaging beyond devout sections of Muslim youth.

> "We cannot engage youth who don't come to the Masjid"
> Masjid Trustee

> "I will not enlist any youth onto activities within the Masjid, unless I first have assurance from the parents that the youth understands, accepts and is practising the basic fundamentals of Islam" (Director of a Masjid in Nottingham)

> "We had an Imam type, come to our centre to talk to teenage [Muslim] boys about the dangers of drugs and crime. Most of the boys walked out as soon as the Imam entered

the room. When asked why, they said if we want to listen to a Maulana we'll go to the Mosque" (Community Worker, Nottingham)

3.2.3 Religious - Structural Leadership – Masaajid/Mosques*

Overall, the many complex differences outlined above tend to be accepted and tolerated. Indeed Muslims in Nottingham of various ethno national heritages and practices can often be seen worshipping together in the same Masjid. Essentially places of worship, Masaajid are generally considered an important focal point for Muslim communities. Although regularly frequented only by more devout Muslims, the congregational prayers such as the Friday (Jummah), Eid (Festival) and Janazah (Funeral) prayers have very high attendance rates, even amongst nominally practising Muslims. The range of services offered by Masaajid in Nottingham varies widely – some are small places used only for worship, while others are almost like community centres offering educational support, pastoral care, hall hire and even sports facilities.

Recognising the important role of Masaajid within Muslim communities, a group of Nottingham's Muslims have set about establishing a Federation of Mosques with the aim of creating a collective representative body. The Federation has succeeded in involving several of the city's Masaajid although the organisers acknowledge that it will not be possible to include all Nottingham's Masaajid, due to the many theological and ethno national/cultural variations.

As is common in most faiths, Muslim ritual worship is most often performed in places with others of the same denominational practice and from similar ethnic backgrounds. Accordingly, as indicated, most of Nottingham's Masaajid and Madrassas (Muslim Schools) are established and administered along theological and (in the majority of cases) corresponding ethno national lines.

3.2.3.1 Shia Masaajid

In terms of ritual worship, Shia Ithna Ashari and Sunni Muslim practices of prayer are similar, and given that there is only one Shia Ithna Ashari affiliated Masajid in Nottingham, we heard that some Shia Ithna Ashari Muslims would often use Sunni Masaajid. In contrast, Shia Ismaili Muslims perform ritual worship in a distinct way, hence will not use Sunni Masaajid. Furthermore, Ismaili Muslims, as a matter of religious doctrine restrict entry to their places of worship. Specific to the organisational arrangements within Shia Ithna Ashari Masaajid – although typically administered by all male elder management committees specific to the majority ethno national heritage of the community – are the impressive facilities and provision for female worshippers. These typically include regular activities which extend to key involvement in decision making processes related to Masaajid administration

* Details of the affiliation and location of the Masaajid in Nottingham are set out in section 3.1 above.

and management. Within Ismaili centres, administration and management tends to be particularly well organised and professional.

3.2.3.2 Sunni Masaajid

As is fairly common in other places, Nottingham's Sunni Barelwi and Deobhandi Masaajid are mostly run by elder all-male management committees that represent the predominant ethnic group and Maslaq upon which the Masajid is established. Within both Barelwi and Deobhandi Maslaqain affiliated Masaajid, control of the management committee can sometimes be the subject of rivalry and dispute. Since these types of Masaajid predominantly serve specific communities, competition for appointment onto the management committee is often based on traditional and cultural leadership structures generally known as the Birardari (brotherhood) and Khandani (clan) systems (explored in more detail in section 3.2.4 below). Exceptions to the usual management committee structures are the two Masaajid in Nottingham administered by the Karimia Institute, for which the Director is Dr Musharraf Hussain. And the two Masaajid established under the auspices and central organisational framework of the Sultan Bahu Trust. In contrast, Masaajid aligned to the Salafi, Madhahib and Salafi-Modernist practices tend to be administered and managed by a diverse range of trustees including young professionals, often of various ethnic backgrounds and with active female involvement.

The establishment of Masaajid requires organisation, funding and a level of consolidated community support. In this respect Nottingham's Barelwi and Deobhandi Muslim communities are particularly apt at accessing their established traditional ethnic specific community networks (Birardari and Khandani). Nationally, the Deobhandi Maslaq forms the basis for the most sophisticated and largest network of Masaajid, although in Nottingham, as indicated above, the majority of Masaajid are affiliated to the Barelwi Maslaq.

There are further differences between Masaajid dependant on and related to Maslaq and/or branch. For example, wherever possible most Sunni Masaajid provide prayer facilities for women. Significantly, this is not the case in many Deobhandi Masaajid, due to a theologically based assertion that the most appropriate place for women's prayer is in the home. To compensate, women are given access to the Masaajid outside prayer times and often catered for and engaged through extensive programmes and activities including CB radio systems which transmit key sermons and lectures into the homes. Hence, women followers of the Deobhandi Maslaq generally appear to be relatively well engaged with and involved in organising Masaajid activities and significantly, possess a high level of Islamic educational awareness. Similar technologies and approaches are also used by other Masaajid in Nottingham.

3.2.4 Leadership – Traditional and Cultural

All leadership structures are arranged in a hierarchical manner irrespective of faith, community, tradition or culture. And as in many communities, not exclusively Muslim communities, positions of leadership tend to mainly be held by male elders. It is often suggested that traditional Muslim community leadership structures follow such practices more stringently, and whilst all systems in varying degrees share a degree of deference towards elders, amongst Muslim communities this is reinforced by religious dictum. And although Muslim leadership in Nottingham appears in many respects to be separated between civic and religious roles, the combined traditional and religious teachings of respect for elders support the position of elders within the City's civic sphere.

At a local level, many Muslim community leadership structures operate within traditional extended family, tribal/clan networks and allegiance systems, usually transposed from the cultural norms of their respective countries of origin. Common in established British Muslim communities of Arab, African and Indo-Pakistani heritage, these systems tend to be organised with male elders at the helm, often involving nepotism and ancestry. The degree of influence, adherence to, and level of social control is dependant primarily on the population size and residential concentration of the respective community.

The main ethno-cultural specific leadership systems we encountered during our study in Nottingham have been associated with the Muslim traditions of Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and amongst sections of Nottingham's Somali communities. The most sophisticated, widely used, and certainly most influential in Nottingham are the traditions linked to Pakistani heritage communities.

3.2.4.1 Pakistani heritage Community: Birardari

Generally referred to as the Birardari (Brotherhood) or Khandani (Ancestral Clan) system, there are many complex variations, overlapping affiliations and intricacies in relation to Sect, Maslaq and ethno regional heritage.

Within the Pakistani Shia Muslim Birardari system, hierarchical position is – in line with Shia doctrine (as described above – see section 3.2.1) – clearly defined with leadership being restricted to those of the Syed caste i.e. Prophetic ancestral heritage. Similarly, the predominant Pakistani Sunni Barelwi Biradari system assigns hierarchical position based on caste, with the Syed caste being highly regarded (marriage between Shia and Sunni Barelwi 'Syeds' is quite common). However, a different tradition operates amongst Barelwi Muslims, which is less restrictive than the Shia Birardari system. Within the Pakistani Barelwi Birardari System the lead position is most often assigned according to ancestral economic caste (as opposed to being confined to those of Prophetic ancestry) and assumed by whoever has the

strongest clan base of support and is therefore more open to competition and dispute. Deobhandi Maslaq teachings reject the element of caste considering it to be an un-Islamic practice, and although hierarchical position is traditionally based on Khandani (Clan), leadership tends to only be attributed to those with Islamic knowledge and/or a degree of devoutness. Although widely adopted and influential both the Birardari and Khandani systems are often ethnically exclusive and inevitably discriminate against those with lower ancestral economic caste and/or little clan based support.

For Salafi Muslims leadership is based strictly on devoutness and intellectual Islamic capacity, completely rejecting of all ethnically based and discriminatory hierarchical systems. Hence, amongst Salafi Muslims it is far more common to find young leaders as well as African Caribbean and/or White European converts in highly respected and prominent leadership positions. Similarly, Salafi-Modernist and Muslims practicing at the Madhahib level tend to assign leadership based on skill, ability and commitment as opposed to ethno national and/or ancestral heritage.

Despite the differences outlined above there are multiple and cross-affiliations. Since Caste is determined by ancestral heritage and Muslim Maslaq or branch affiliation is by definition interchangeable it is possible for Pakistani heritage Muslims of various practices to be part of the same Birardari, Khandani or even family. In general, however, religious affiliation and Birardari or Khandani tend to correspond with regional and ancestral origin. As the majority of Nottingham's Muslims are of Pakistani Kashmiri heritage, they represent the largest Birardari and Khandani groupings. However we also heard of wider alliances and co-operation involvong smaller Birardari and Khandani sections of Nottingham's Pakistani Punjabi heritage Sunni and Shia Muslim communities. There are additional complexities related to differential levels of attained status and political allegiances rooted in Pakistan and/or Kashmir (explored in more detail below in section 3.2.5.2).

Both the Birardari and Khandani systems operate at a highly sophisticated level in Nottingham, particularly amongst first generation Pakistani heritage elders. These systems traditionally play an instrumental role in arranging marriages, conflict resolution, organising joint commercial activities, selecting community and Masaajid leadership, and vitally in consolidating support for sponsorship of Local Councillors and community leaders. Birardari and Khandani based support networks often span cities and national borders. Nottingham's Pakistani heritage communities have particularly strong Birardari and Khandani based national links from the South East to the North East (London borough of Waltham Forest, Luton through to Sheffield, Newcastle and Middlesbrough). Naturally, there are also strong family and political ties with Pakistan (Kashmir and Punjab), where Birardari and Khandani structures feature as an integral part of the institutional and authoritative framework.

In Nottingham, compared to other Local Authority areas we have reviewed, Birardari and Khandani affiliations appeared to be relatively more significant amongst younger generation Pakistani heritage Muslims. It was suggested to us that this strong attachment had been inherited from first generation Pakistani elders, who through traditions of deference towards elders and perceived successes had in the past exerted a higher degree of social control. However, we also heard of serious concerns and frustrations from some elders regarding a general loss of influence over younger generations.

Adding to the Birardari and Khandani dynamics is the residential spread of Pakistani heritage Muslims in Nottingham. As outlined above (section 2 and the introduction to section 3), this corresponds – to some extent – with regional origin, which we understand has affected the formation of Birardari/Khandani specific groupings concentrated on a neighbourhood level. These groupings relate both to regional origin and residential location influencing both elder and youth based hierarchies. We heard of Birardari type structures sometimes being replicated in gangs forming around neighbourhoods and localities, specifically around youth belonging to higher caste ancestry connected to the larger, more prominent, influential and established Birardaris and Khandanis. It was also suggested that some Pakistani heritage youth based gangs draw on or echo wider Birardari support networks, precipitating rivalries, and conversely were increasingly challenging the traditional structures of elder social control.

Nevertheless, for the most part Birardari and Khandani systems exercise a positive influence on and provide essential support networks across communities. However, when associated with other factors such as deprivation, alienation, and poor socio-economic expectations, these systems can be exploited in a negative context. For example in gang culture, and in particular in aiding criminal activity and anti-social behaviour – the Birardari and Khandani systems can strengthen allegiances, relative reach and, in exceptional cases provide protection from prosecution through harnessing of influential elder support networks. Amongst Nottingham's elder Birardari affiliated leadership it was revealed that various factional rivalries had on several occasions been played out in violence involving physical attack at public meetings.

3.2.4.2 Bangladeshi heritage communities: Birardari

Nottingham's Bangladeshi traditional leadership structures operate in a similar way to those described above – also termed as either Birardari or Khandani, with subtly similar variations according to adopted Muslim Maslaq or branch of practice. The most significant difference is a generally looser affiliation to either clan or caste amongst Bangladeshi heritage Muslims compared to that of the traditions related to Pakistani heritage Muslim communities. Seemingly, across Nottingham's Bangladeshi heritage Muslim elder representative

networks, it is political factors that are of most relevance both in terms of affiliations and allegiances. Bangladeshi based political allegiances are generally divided between Jamati Islam (JI) and the Awami League. The JI represents a Muslim modernist approach developed by the early 20th century Indian Muslim Scholar Imam Abu Ala Mawdudi. The JI draws support from both partisan JI members and sections of Bangladeshi heritage Muslims following the Deobhandi Maslaq. In contrast, The Awami League is reportedly more rooted in secular principles, and is the current ruling party of Bangladesh, enjoying support from the less devout and some followers of the Barelwi Maslaq and also a minority Hindu section of Nottingham's Bangladeshi heritage communities.

3.2.4.3 Somali heritage communities (Figure 5)

Somali Muslim community leadership traditions – though in Nottingham, not as influential as either the Birardari or Khandani systems – are equally as sophisticated and complex. Leadership structures within Somali Muslim communities essentially reflect national boundaries of dispute. Somali elders traditionally identify with either North or South Somalia (Somalia – Somaliland) and then along structures associated with tribal affiliations (the three most influential/political tribes are the Isaac, Darood and Hawiye) combined with variations related to religious adoption and political affiliation. Seemingly, however, Nottingham's Somali heritage community appear united and are not subject to divisions based on tribe or other affiliations.

3.2.5 Political Leadership

3.2.5.1 Muslim Councillors

Overall, Nottingham's Pakistani heritage Muslim communities appear to be the most pragmatic and amenable to civic level activity and engagement, though this is probably related primarily to the relative size of the population and length of time they have been established in the City. All elected Muslim Councillors in Nottingham are of Pakistani heritage and mainly of Kashmiri regional origin (and all but one are members of the Labour Party). In other areas reviewed we have found that most Pakistani heritage Muslim councillors draw support from both Masaajid and traditionally based support networks. In contrast we heard that the majority of Nottingham's Pakistani heritage Muslim councillors did not acknowledge obtaining sponsorship from the Masaajid network but rather based their support on links with local community centres and organisations. Of the Muslim councillors we interviewed, most were keen to disassociate themselves from Nottingham's Masaajid, religious structures and groupings. Many were critical of faith-based schools and highlighted theologically based divisions to explain their preference for a secular based mainstream approach to tackling issues effecting Muslim communities. Most surprising was that, some took a stance on Muslim issues contrary to that of majority Muslim opinion (e.g. Iraq War).

Nottingham's Pakistani heritage Muslim councillors also sought to distance themselves from Birardari and Khandani support structures, identifying instead primarily with their respective Political Party. Some emphasised that they represented "majority white English" constituencies as evidence that they did not require Birardari and/or Khandani support for votes. Others demonstrated their indifference to Pakistani specific traditional networks by highlighting their involvement with wider BME and other community issues. A recurring criticism of the Council from a section of Muslim Councillors was related to an alleged policy systematically dismantling of certain community structures such as the Nottingham Black Partnership – which it was suggested had in the past given an effective voice to all BME organisations in the city.

However, as we heard overwhelmingly in feedback gathered during focus groups and interviews, most Pakistani heritage Muslim councillors were perceived by their respective communities as being sponsored and elected through Birardari based support networks accessed in part through certain Masaajid congregations. However, this arrangement was criticised by many Muslims as a system that permitted selection on grounds other than skill and ability. Further, due to the perception that Muslim councillors' primary allegiances were determined by their personal Birardari affiliations, almost all were viewed as being self-serving and unrepresentative of wider Muslim opinion and needs. We also heard of accusations that the Council's leadership had exploited the Birardari system in order to secure otherwise non-winnable seats. In this sense some of Nottingham's Muslims blamed the Council for supporting and appointing what they saw as an ineffective and unrepresentative Muslim civic leadership.

3.2.5.2 <u>International perspective: religious, national and political</u>

As with other migrant communities of all faiths, including Britons and Europeans living abroad, Muslims in Nottingham retain a degree of affiliation and attachment to their country of origin. This is manifest in many different ways – such as maintaining cultures and traditions; in language; remittances; family ties; and in political affiliations. And, as with other faith and ethnic groups, such links and attachments do not necessarily contradict nor undermine an identification with the place and country of residence.

Most Muslims, of all generations and ethno national groups, including the devout and those only nominally practising, share – as a matter of religious principle – a common concern for the plight of Muslims across the world. Centred on the concept of "Ummah" (global Muslim communion – see also section 3.1.2.4), the majority of Muslims feel a sense of grief related to international developments such as the Iraq War. Understandably, for many of Nottingham's Muslims, the political situation in their country of origin is also of great significance and can impact on local community relations.

We found in Nottingham particularly sophisticated political ties to countries of origin amongst, for example, Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage community elders, who have strong links to political parties in those countries. And we understand that some Somali community elders in Nottingham formerly held high political position and status in Somalia.

As the majority of Nottingham's Muslims are of Pakistani Kashmiri heritage, there is a natural focus of concern on the plight of Muslims in Kashmir and Pakistan in general. This interest is reflected amongst the wider community in charity based work. More generally community links to Pakistan are demonstrated through remittances (second homes, businesses, and landholdings etc); frequent travel to Pakistan and visits – for example sourcing marriage partners. In many cases, positions of high status in Pakistan are achieved through Birardari status and wealth. This process appears to retain a strong appeal amongst younger generations.

Similarly as most Bangladeshi heritage Muslims in Nottingham have origins in Sylhet, there is a natural focus of concern for Bangladesh, primarily for the Sylheti region. In addition, Nottingham's Bangladeshi communities also maintain ethno national and regional connections through family links, remittances, political affiliations and positions of status and influence through Birardari or Khandani frameworks. Significantly, some amongst Nottingham's Bangladeshi heritage community elder representatives maintain high-level political connections in Bangladesh. For example Nottingham's Bangladeshi centre (http://www.bangladeshcentre.co.uk) is noted for having – in the past – organised and hosted visits from formerly high-ranking Bangladeshi Politicians and national cricket team personalities.

For Nottingham's Somali heritage communities, the current war situation in Somalia means concerns are of a particularly serious nature. Remittances therefore take a different form than those of Nottingham's other Muslim communities, being more focused on "survival" (i.e. provide help and assistance to family members), rather than investing in property or business. Nevertheless, specifically amongst Somali elders, there is a retained strong and passionate emphasis on aspirations of reviving their links with Somalia as and when conditions permit the situation stablises.

Whilst many of Nottingham's Muslim Civic leaders, (councillors etc), community representatives and workers we met mainly emphasised concerns and priorities within a local context (City-wide, neighbourhood and area-based), their ethno national origins were understandably also significant to them. Given their Pakistani Kashmiri Heritage, many Muslim councillors in Nottingham naturally focus, in particular on the Kashmiri dispute – with approaches influenced by attachments to various Pakistani political affiliations. Significantly, some amongst Nottingham's councillors have clear and strong political party links in Pakistan through membership and position.

3.2.6 Civic community leaders

In general, Nottingham's Pakistani heritage Muslim civic community representatives and workers, although primarily connected to community centres, were drawn from a more diverse range and generally displayed relatively closer links to religious and Masaajid structures than did the Muslim Councillors. However, some amongst this group shared Councillors' criticism of faith based schools and were also critical of religious leaders' inability and reluctance to engage with the most vulnerable amongst the younger generations e.g. on serious issues of concern such as crime, drugs, anti social behaviour and low academic attainment. Whilst many of these civic community representatives and workers are inevitably linked to traditional leadership networks through ethno national heritage and background, we understand that this is relatively less significant than for the political leadership.

Amongst, community workers and leaders within Nottingham's Bangladeshi community, there was a general view for a need to encourage and facilitate closer working relationships between their Masjid and community centre. However, concerns were also raised around rivalries played out amongst management committee members of the community centre, ultimately to the detriment of community needs. In this respect, it was suggested that the council could help by engaging beyond traditional leaders through developing communication channels direct with the community. In addition, specific to engaging Bangladeshi heritage youth, there was a consensus that the Shah Jalal Masjid currently provided the best route.

Relative to both Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage Muslims, Nottingham's Somali Muslims are a relatively small (approximately 250 families) and recently settled community[*]. In terms of perceptions, Nottingham's Somali leaders felt least engaged with the council. Of the Somali heritage Muslims we spoke to, all conveyed a wish to increase their engagement with the council and whilst recognising the current arrangements meant their needs were often overlooked there was also reluctance save creating divisions between themselves and Nottingham's wider Muslim community. A particularly pressing concern for Nottingham's Somali community is a general feeling that the council neither recognises nor provides appropriate resources to meet their needs: for example, in overcoming language and cultural barriers. Significantly, the community itself lacked any form of dedicated community centre and are struggling to pay for the hiring of facilities in existing centres.

[*] Reportedly, significant Somali migration into Nottingham began in 2002, mainly from Somalia. More recent migration 2004 has been from EU member states (Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, and Denmark), this community now constitutes the majority of Somali heritage Muslims resident in Nottingham.

Overall, most Muslim civic and community workers spoke favourably about relations with New Arrival Muslim communities (specifically Kurdish) however some did raise concerns about the effect on wider community cohesion issues related to gradual settlement and integration. Of Nottingham's established Muslim communities, Pakistani heritage Muslims have evidently developed particularly good relations with New Arrival Kurdish Muslim communities – through business arrangements and also significantly in connection with Masajid based activity, specifically those based on the Deobhandi Maslaq and linked to community based outreach work of Tableeghi Jammat (see section 3.2.2.2). In addition, Nottingham's Kurdish heritage Muslim community have an established community centre, respective community representatives and council appointed workers.

3.2.7 Support and engagement of younger community members

As we mention above, we found in some quarters greater support for the Birardari system amongst second and third generation Muslims of Pakistani heritage in Nottingham than has been the case in other parts of the country. And, whatever their view of the system, there tends to be tacit support from second and third generations for Birardari and Khandani appointed leaders. However we also encountered in Nottingham a strong consensus of criticism from second and third generation Muslims. This was primarily in frustration over the refusal by elders to move aside to make room for them.

> "Our leaders are like our parents who are our elders and half of them are related to us, so we are afraid to speak out." (Participant in Focus group for Asian young women: Nottingham, May 2008).

Indeed we also found amongst religious, community and civic elders a reluctance to give up their positions to younger generations. The common response from both religious and civic elders was that the young were not "ready" to take up leadership positions. When asked to identify any prospective young leaders, most "couldn't or wouldn't", despite some being involved in projects or programmes supporting the development of young Muslim leaders.

> "Yes, I have for many years been training many amongst the younger generations of Muslims in how to be leaders but none are ready to take position" (Director of Muslim Organisation, Nottingham)

Crucially, however, specifically amongst Pakistani heritage councillors, there was a general acknowledgment of having neglected to nurture new leadership, with one displaying an active interest in developing new leadership suggesting the development of specialist training programmes involving Muslims across ethno national heritages.

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3.2.8 Community Centres and Organisations (Figure 6)

As indicated above, rather than being attached to Nottingham's Masajid network, Nottingham's Muslim councillors tended to be attached to community centres and organisations. Considering this and all the other complex factors related to the diversity evident in Nottingham's Muslim communities and the innate nature for human cultures to adapt and change, it is not possible to position Muslim Community Centres and organisations neatly within distinct categories as, in practice, they overlap and are internally diverse.

To get a better understanding of the specific affiliations, representation, aims or objectives of Nottingham's Muslim Community centres and organisations it is helpful to use overlapping categories. When applied to a particular centre combined with local knowledge it is possible to gauge potential levels of engagement and capacity. And in some cases revealing rival groupings can help predict potential tensions.

Considering the picture of Nottingham's Muslim Diversity as outlined above, most of Nottingham's community centres can be grouped into the overlapping categories of:

- religious affiliation,
- ethno national/cultural representation and
- political affiliations

Community centres focused on such categories are inevitably subject to a certain amount of rivalry and competition between different factions or groups. We heard of such conflicts involving the members of various Muslim community centre management committees. In such circumstances, there appeared to be a lack of a common focus or aim, with individual committee members driven by personal agendas. We heard suggestions that some centres were run as a "one man show" – precipitating rivalries, conflict and accusations of corruption and pilfering. Another commonly expressed concern was related to the appointment of family and fellow Birardari members onto management committees and other positions of influence.

Suggestions as to ways in which the Council and its partners might more effectively engage with Muslim communities included making contacts beyond community centre management committees. It was also suggested that community centres and Masaajid should work more closely together to ensure that activities reached and catered for wider groups. However, others we spoke to (such as the Pakistani heritage civic leaders referred to above) favoured the separation of community and religious structures and arrangements, suggesting a more mainstreamed approach.

This section on Muslim Diversity in Nottingham would not be complete without mentioning aspects of those differences that Muslim communities share with

all other communities – namely those of economic class, gender and generational. Whilst some of these will be addressed in more detail below, special note should be taken of the changing socio-economic class position. Whilst, many of Nottingham's Muslims live in areas of deprivation, there are also increasingly affluent sections and increasing numbers employed in professional occupations. There are many Muslims in Nottingham, both within the business sectors and of professional status, who are keen to make a contribution to Muslim communities and their wider development. This is a vital potential resource for the Council to harness and benefit from.

3.3 Women and girls

3.3.1 Exclusion

As in other parts of the country, we heard from Muslim women in Nottingham who feel that their voices are not heard. They seemed to distance themselves from mainstream society, the Council in particular. And they are excluded from the majority of Masaajid in the city. They have no confidence in the traditional community leadership, nor that of the Council. This echoes the findings of the 2005 consultation events mentioned earlier.

We detected a worrying impression from the young girls we spoke to that they do not want to engage with mainstream society but prefer to live in community silos – based on sect and coming together as Asian Muslims. Somali Muslim women and girls appeared to see themselves as a separate group, wishing to stick to their own and are seen as an insular community by the Muslims of Asian heritage. This was accepted as a natural part of a process which would in time allow the Somali community themselves to develop the confidence to engage more with other communities.

We heard from the young girls that their parents were very protective and will not allow them to engage in mainstream activities.

> "Some of us want to mix with other groups but are not allowed to."
>
> (Young Muslim girl participant, Focus Group, Nottingham, May 2008)

Young girls and women felt that the imams had an undue influence over their parents who were not prepared to challenge the imams for fear of being isolated from their community. Similarly, young girls were afraid to speak out against the elders in leadership roles for fear of the negative impact this would have upon them.

We heard that older Muslims did not like young girls wearing the Jilbab, which demonstrates the diverse approach amongst young girls to religion, culture, tradition and different perspectives.

Language is a considerable barrier for many women, as is fear of misunderstanding/stereotyping in response to practices such as wearing the hijab. Such experiences tend to inhibit any willingness from some members of the Muslim Communities to take active steps to integrate into the wider community.

> "I never experienced discrimination until 9/11 and then decided to wear the hijab – people treat me as though I can't speak English and am stupid."
> (Professional Muslim woman, Nottingham, March 2008)

There are organisations, such as the Muslim Community Organisation (MCO), which provide opportunities for Muslim women and girls to become involved. The MCO worked with the Youth Service to set up a group to encourage Muslim girls to engage in mainstream activities. However we gained the impression that at present the Council does not enter into meaningful consultation with groups such as the MCO (see also section 3.4 below). Muslim women would welcome the opportunity to engage more directly with the Council and its partners rather than rely on community leaders and Councillors to represent their views.

3.3.2 Experiences in Schools

We heard that there appear to be tensions within schools in particular with the teachers, stemming from young girls' frustration at the lack of cultural knowledge and understanding of the Muslim communities, their complexity and diversity.

One example mentioned in a Focus group concerned girls wearing a Palestinian style scarf as a fashion accessory. Some schools had banned Muslims, from wearing such scarves, but this prohibition did not apply to the White girls. This had caused friction and further alienation. The girls we spoke to said that they had tried to discuss this with Muslim teachers who were afraid to raise such issues with their colleagues and inform them of students' concerns. As a result they were perceived as colluding against Muslim students.

Despite the young women we met being critical of the school environment there was also a general view that school provided a safe haven. They felt they would experience problems after they left school concerning issues such as arranged marriages, alcohol, drugs, and relationships.

3.3.3 Other concerns

We also heard in focus groups that young people were worried about forced marriages to first cousins. They also mentioned that there were drugs and alcohol problems amongst young girls.

3.4 Community Engagement

3.4.1 Consultation and involvement

We gained the strong impression that across all the Muslim community structures (described above), leaders were highly critical of the Council's current approach. There was a general distrust, suspicion and doubts about the Council's sincerity and commitment in relation to engagement with Nottingham's Muslim communities. There was also a general consensus of opinion amongst civic community representatives that engagement should be based on a secular mainstream approach inclusive of all of Nottingham's communities, not just Muslim communities. There are many second and third generation Muslims amongst this group who can effectively reach out to Muslim youth and for whom faith is not an important issue.

Those involved in the Muslim religious leadership structures feel that they have never been seriously consulted by the Council because of the domination of the channels of engagement by the civic leadership. Effective engagement with the religious structures will require reaching out across the full spectrum of Muslim practices. In the first instance such an approach should be through the Masaajid and existing organisational structures (community centres, groups and organisations) complemented in due course by wider, more informal engagement.

3.4.2 Community activity and engagement

We also sensed from those we met that there had been significant changes in the nature of community activity and engagement within Muslim Communities since the events of 9/11 and, more recently, the London Bombings in July 2005 (7/7). Prior to those events, we gathered that there had been a lot of community activity and engagement involving various Muslim groups and organisations. Whilst this had unfortunately allowed some radical elements to propagate more extreme views, it had also created a general atmosphere of Islamic devoutness amongst Muslim youth on the street and discouraged anti-social behaviour, drugs and crime related activities by promulgating strong moral values.

"Young Muslims began to attend Masaajid and learn about Islam"
(Professional Muslim Male, Discussion Group, Nottingham, May 2008)

It was also suggested that this increased devoutness amongst young Muslims also had a positive effect on Community Leaders by challenging unrepresentative, non devout Birardari appointed councillors and leaders as we mention in the discussion of Birardari systems above (see section 3.2.4.1).

However, since 9/11 and 7/7 Islamic group and organisational based activity had become more "withdrawn". We heard those that continue to be active

tend to do so in a more guarded fashion to avoid the risk of being labelled as “extremist”. Others are perceived as following the Government’s Preventing Violent Extremism initiatives and mistrusted in consequence. The cumulative effect of such reactions, combined with a generally perceived negative focus on Muslims (Government, press, other media etc) has precipitated a general move the opposite way. Young Muslims in Nottingham are now said to be openly involved in un-Islamic behaviour and the old style Birardari appointed leadership have regained prominence and significance within their communities (Ref paragraph 3.2.4.1).

SECTION 4: RECOMMENDATIONS – ENGAGING WITH MUSLIMCOMMUNITIES

4.1 Engagement Strategy

The key challenge for the Council and its partners is to build the confidence and trust of the Muslim communities as part of its wider community cohesion strategy. An apparently exclusive focus on Muslim communities risks being counter-productive. We set out below a set of suggested actions and recommendations developed in light of our findings. We include at Annex 3 a summary in the form of an outline Delivery Action Plan.

We were struck by the complexity of the Muslim communities in Nottingham. This presents a particular challenge to the Council and its partners in developing an effective engagement strategy, but it also makes the need for such a strategy of even greater importance.

4.1.1 Engagement and Participation

At present, the Council does not appear to be engaging across the full spectrum of Muslim diversity in the City. In particular, there is little contact with the religious structures. And because individual Muslim Councillors are linked to Muslim specific community centres, the Council's engagement is better with those centres than others. Amongst the Groups most excluded are the Somali community, young people and women.

The Council needs to

- ensure it is aware of (and has up to date contact details for) all the key groups and individuals across Nottingham's Muslim communities. Of particular concern is the lack of information held by the Council at present and this needs to be remedied urgently;

- encourage individuals from groups not currently actively engaged in civic life to become more involved by setting up new channels of communication and engagement and other initiatives (see below);

- work with the faith communities in the City to encourage Imams (and other faith leaders, where appropriate) to speak English and become more closely engaged with the wider life of the City;

- ensure, through staff training and briefing, that the employees of the Council and its partners (particularly those involved in Youth Services) understand and have the confidence to engage with the different parts of the communities they serve, so as better to appreciate and meet their needs and expectations;

- work with the local media to challenge and reduce the occurrence of unfounded negative reference to Muslim communities based on inappropriate stereotyping – highlighting ways in which the Council, with minority communities is building community cohesion to the advantage of all.

4.2 Working with and in schools

Compared to other areas, the proportions of Asian pupils in schools in the city are not high but are nevertheless significant. The converse is even more significant – many of the City schools have very few pupils from any Black and Ethnic Minority (BME) communities. And, as the brief discussion of the demographic and related data shows (see section 2 above), whilst most BME communities live in mixed areas, there are many members of the White communities who do not. All schools are required to meet the recently introduced duty to promote community cohesion in the *Education and Inspections Act 2006*. The recent Ajegbo Report into Citizenship is also relevant in this context.

All schools in the City, therefore, need to

- develop plans for school twinning across the City; and/or

- find other ways to encourage interaction amongst young people from different communities through theme based issues looking at culture, tradition and values outside the traditional religious studies curriculum;

- ensure that teachers are given the necessary briefing and training to work sensitively in a multicultural environment, especially in areas where significant proportions of their students come from minority community backgrounds.

Bearing in mind the risks to community cohesion of “parallel” or separate lives, the Council needs also to

- Look in more detail at school numbers and the experiences of Muslim families in areas where school intakes of Muslim students are disproportionately high compared to their share of the overall population. In particular, it is important to establish whether, and if so to what extent, such families experience “parallel lives” (i.e. find that the majority of their day to day life is spent with members of their own communities, with very little or minimum involvement (or integration) with White or other communities in the area). In this context, it would be illuminating to explore ways in which the schools themselves encourage learning about others and provide positive experiences in the wider community. By the same token, the Council should seek to

encourage Muslim communities themselves to work with schools to break down barriers.

- Ensure that schools dominated by white students learn more about Muslim and other communities and are able to gain positive images of Muslim and other minority ethnic groups

4.3 Sense of identity

The comments from focus groups in particular suggested that Muslims in Nottingham identify primarily with their country/place of origin rather than with the City in which they live.

The Council should explore this potentially worrying finding, for example through further attitudinal research to determine if local Muslims' sense of identification with the City is low in comparison with communities in other parts of the country, and what the Council might do to address such possible alienation.

4.4 Leadership: Civic life

We describe above how reactions to the events of 9/11 and 7/7 have had the effect of reinforcing the dominance of Elders based on the Birardari system, who seem to be stifling the development or emergence of younger potential community leaders.

Many of those within the Muslim communities we spoke to recognise the problems brought about by this situation. Ultimately resolving such issues is a matter for the Muslim communities themselves, but the Council and its partners can support the process through more effective engagement as we suggest above and by encouraging younger members of minority communities to become involved in civic life through approaches such as:

- building on Citizenship education in schools to increase interest in the Council and its activities – through more direct involvement of individual Councillors in schools; supporting initiatives in Democracy week; youth parliament or councils etc;

- harnessing the support and commitment of younger Muslims involved in the professional and business sectors in the City to help tackle the alienation and disaffection of young people.

4.5 Language

The Council needs to identify ways of overcoming the language barrier experienced in particular by some women in the Muslim communities, taking into account the new ESOL recommendations, which are likely to bring to bear new approaches and new resources.

4.6 Funding

The Council needs to

- review criteria and approach to funding voluntary and community sector organisations to support the wider community cohesion agenda, including building capacity where necessary to ensure that those communities in most need of funding are not disadvantaged by lack of capacity;

- channel funding obtained (for example from the Government) to support Muslim communities through the wider community cohesion programme to avoid alienating and inappropriately stigmatising the Muslim communities in the City

Annex1

List of Participants

People Consulted/Interviewed – Total 31

Michael Williams – Corporate Director, Directorate Communtiy and Culture
Alan Hose – Head of Community Development Services
Jonathan Gore – Community Cohesion Officer
Afzal Sadiq – Nottingham Race Equality
Choudhari Shajaid – Muslim Communities Facilitator
Equa – Oliver Hinde Youth Club (Girls Youth Leader)
Sofia – Muslim Community Organisation
Cllr Mohammed Munir
Cllr Jon Collins, Leader
Cllr Mohammad Aslam
Cllr Hassan Ahmed Shah
Cllr Mohammed Ibrahim
Cllr Zahoor Mir
Najeeb Nazir, Manager Pakistan Centre
Safdar Azam, Pakistan Centre
Shahin Miah, Secretary, Bangladeshi Centre
Hanif Majide – Education Lead, Nottingham Race Equality Council
Dr Musharraf Hussain - Karimia Institute
Mohammed Abdul Rahman Mohammed - Somali Community Representative
Abdulahi Wahili – Somali Community Representative
Anonymous Male – Taxi Driver, Pakistani Punjabi heritage
Anonymous Male – Taxi Driver, Pakistani Kashmiri heritage
Shahid Sharif – Chief Executive, Voice East Midlands
Sheikh Shamir Khan – Bangladeshi heritage, Academic Researcher Muslim Community dynamics, former resident and Community Activist in Nottingham
Abdul Ghaffar – Neighbourhood Services
Graham Gardner – Information and Research manager, Environment and Regeneration Department
Cathryn Conchar – Equalities Officer, Nottingham City Childrens Services
Hiedi Leung – Data Anaylst Team Leader, Nottingham City Childrens Services
Susan Heath – Principal Analyst, Nottingham City Childrens Services
James Rhodes – Strategy Manager (Crime and Disorder) Nottingham Crime and Drug Partnership
Leila Thorp, Research Fellow in Community Cohesion, DeMontfort University

Focus/Discussion Groups - Total = 82

Professional Muslim Women's Discussion Group – (4)
Male group (aged 25 – 35 years) Pakistani Kashmiri heritage (10)
Muslim Connections – Male group (aged 14 – 16 years) Pakistani Kashmiri heritage (6)

Group Discussion, Pakistani (Kashmiri and Punjabi) Male (aged 50+) (8)
Discussion with local Pakistani heritage traditional community representatives at Lord Mayor's reception for Government official from Pakistan (10)
External links – anonymous individual Males (Waltham Forest, Sheffield and Central London) (4)
Muslim Community Organisation Focus Group – women from Mirpur, Azad Kashmir, Punjab, Lahore, Karachi, (20)
Desi youth Group - young Muslim girls aged 15 – 25 years (20)

Annex 2

iCoCo Team Biographies

Nadeem Baksh

Nadeem Baksh is a Principal Associate with iCoCo, and works on a wide range of iCoCo projects. An Alumnus of The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) he is skilled in research and analysis methods across several social sciences.

Nadeem's work has included contributions to numerous borough and city-wide reviews, the Faith and Cohesion Project, and research work for the Academy of Sustainable Communities. Recently, Nadeem was the lead specialist for iCoCo's ground breaking publication "Understanding and Appreciating Muslim Diversity: Towards developing better engagement and participation". In addition, he regularly consults and advises on a range of Social Policy areas both at a national and international level.

Daljit Kaur

Daljit is Director, Service Development where her key role is to work with public, private and voluntary sector organisations to provide practical solutions to the Community Cohesion Agenda.

Prior to this Daljit has 20 years work experience in Training and Development, Organisational Development, Human Resources, Equalities and Diversity from Sheffield City Council and 17 years experience of working across the voluntary, community and faith sectors across South Yorkshire.

Daljit was also a member of the Cantle Review team in 2001.

Daljit was also an integral part of the IDeA's Community Cohesion team in Leicester, and assisted the IDeA's work with Blackburn with Darwen, Tameside, Plymouth, Redcar and Cleveland, Middlesbrough, Swindon, Brent and Sunderland in identifying strategic priorities and action planning for community cohesion. She also assisted in delivering Modern Member modules on community cohesion and leadership.

She was also the IDeA's advisor for Beacons on the theme of supporting the Social Care Workforce and worked with Westminster, Tower Hamlets and Gloucestershire Council. Daljit also as part of a team assessed and advised the ODPM on the Race Equality Beacon's theme.

In a voluntary capacity Daljit for the last 15 years has been a strong activitist in Sheffield in the following organisations:

- Chair Black-CARD (Community Agency for Regeneration and Development)
- Secretary Roshni Asian Women's Resource Centre
- Treasurer Ashianna
- Board member of VAS – Voluntary Action Sheffield
- Chair of Association of Languages Sheffield
- Transnational European UDIEX member/advisor on social inclusion on behalf of

SPAT-C (Sheffield Positive Action Training Consortium)

Her particular interests are in community cohesion, equality and diversity in service areas such as education, employment and housing and in broader areas of social and economic regeneration.

She is experienced in community involvement, policy development, service delivery in the area of employment programmes, facilitation and training and development.
She is a graduate of the Common Purpose and 20:20 programmes, Matrix and Power Dynamics.

Judith Lemprière

Judith is a free lance consultant and Associate of the Institute of Community Cohesion, following a career in the University Sector, Local and Central Government. Her work for the Institute has focused on young people and extremism, as well as wider issues of Community Cohesion. Until July 2006, Judith was a Senior Civil Servant in the Home Office, where she was head of the Cohesion and Faiths Unit, which works to bring communities together and tackle inequalities. Her previous roles include working to deliver the Government's National Drug Strategy, focusing in particular on strengthening local delivery and performance management.

Judith also held a number of senior positions in the Cabinet Office. And, prior to joining the Civil Service she worked in HR – in local government and the university sector in generalist roles, focusing in particular on equal opportunities. She was a fellow of the CIPD. She is also a Governor and Chair of Personnel for a Community Primary School in Islington.

Recent projects
iCoCo Reports:
• Sharing the Future: Young People in Hounslow – a study of identity, social pressures, extremism and social exclusion (2006/07)
• Breaking down the 'Walls of Silence': supporting community engagement and tackling extremism in the London Borough of Waltham Forest (2007)
• City of London Corporation: Community Cohesion (2007)
• Young People and Extremism – Some reflections from our local studies (for IDeA – 2007)

Annex 3

Draft Action Plan

Theme	Action	By whom
Engagement and Participation	• To build the confidence and trust of the Muslim communities as part of the Community Cohesion strategy • Develop a wider engagement strategy taking on board the complexity of the Muslim and other communities in Nottingham • Develop a working relationship with those that feel most excluded such as the Somali, Bangladeshi and newer Muslim communities. • Explore creative ways to engage as well as through the established community centres/ Mosques. Most of the new groups tap into mainstream services such as support for new arrival projects, Language and sewing classes.	• To be led by the Council through its community development team and work in partnership with the Communications section to develop a strategy • Ownership should be via the LSP
Training and development	• Provide training for the Imams so that they can engage in wider civic life and contribute to community cohesion. The first priority is to offer English and explore their role as leaders and mentors • Provide staff and member training in particular to front line staff, Youth Service and within schools. It is crucial that the key service providers are aware and understand the diversity of the Muslim communities	• Children and Young People Services in partnership with the Community development team and the Neighbourhood services
The role of schools under the new duty to promote community cohesion – inspections to take place in September 2008	▪ Develop plans for school twinning across the City and/or ▪ Find ways to encourage interaction amongst	• Children and Young People Services in partnership with the Community development team and the

	young people from different communities through theme based issues looking at culture, tradition and values outside the traditional religious studies curriculum. ▪ Ensure that teachers are given the necessary briefing and training to work sensitively in a multicultural environment, especially in areas where significant proportions of their students come from minority community backgrounds ▪ Use the new duty to promote community cohesion and engage with local parents and governors. Explore indicators as outlined in the LAA. ▪ Seek to encourage Muslim communities themselves to work with schools to break down barriers.	Neighbourhood services • To be led by the Cabinet lead • Seek endorsement from the LSP
Leadership	• Explore programmes to engage women and young people through a menu of options to empower people and build their confidence to engage effectively. • Provide training and development to elected Members so that they are as familiar with their role as community leaders in the widest sense in terms of Local Government	• Community Development Services and the Equality and Diversity team should work in partnership to address this. • Member development team to provide training for all members new and old.
Funding	• Review criteria and approach to funding voluntary and community sector organisations to support the wider community cohesion agenda, including building capacity where necessary to ensure that those communities in most need of funding are not disadvantaged by lack of capacity;	• LSP and Nottingham Council Grant Services

	• Channel funding obtained (for example from the Government) to support Muslim communities through the wider community cohesion programme to avoid alienating and inappropriately stigmatising the Muslim communities in the City	