Muslim Presence in Britain and their Religious Institutions (Mosques) Towards a Chronological Framework

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Abstract

Islam in Britain represents a wide diversity of ethnic, religious, linguistic and social backgrounds. The Muslim community in the UK is a matrix of national, ethnic, doctrinal and economic diversities. Muslim presence in Britain and their history of establishing religious institutions (mosques) in Britain represents the major investment of Islamic communities and reflects on their increasing numbers. Mosques play a significant role in constructing Islamic identity in a non-Muslim society of sub Muslim generation.

Keywords

Religious identity, Muslim, Britain, Mosque, migration, minority.

1. Introduction

Muslims all over the world have interacted in a myriad of different ways through the centuries. They have been described variously as a 'Military and ideological threat, political allies, trading partners, objects of intellectual curiosity, ripe for imperial conquest and, latterly, as fellow citizens' (Lewis, 1994: 10). However, scholars today possess the resources and linguistic potential to explore more rigorously than ever before the nature of the Muslim belief system, their history, traditions and practices. Consequently, writings on Islam have become more contradictory, reflecting the fragmented views held by non-Muslims on Muslim issues, influenced by political thinkers such as Descartes and Spinoza (Ansari, 2010: 6).

This article aims to discuss the growth of the Muslim neighbourhood in the UK and how it began. It outlines a chronological framework that highlights how Muslims in Britain experienced their first encounter of living as a minority within a non-Muslim society. The paper then explores Muslim settlement up until the First and Second World Wars, respectively. It then provides an insight into some statistical information to evaluate Muslim religious requirements in their new land. This review will help to understand the background of Muslims in the UK today: when they arrived to Britain, where they settled, and what their nationality and occupations were.

Examing the role of religious institutions in constructing, protecting and reproducing the religious identity of Muslim minorities in a non-Muslim society is a significant subject. Therefore, the second part of the article considers the legislation of mosques' building in Britain, its numbers and its history. The value of this study in general lies in its contribution to the growing body of literature about Muslim communities in Britain.

The small-scale study is based on narratives generated through qualitative methods to explain and analyse issues related to mosques from participant observation sessions in a few mosques in Manchester. In addition, semi-structured interviews with mosque trustees were used to explore the history of the main two mosques in Manchester.

2. Earliest Period of Muslim Migration to Britain

Indeed, the establishment of Muslim communities in Western Europe is generally regarded as an outcome of migration after the Second World War, but reading further back in history it can be seen that the ground was laid long before this period (Matar, 2010).

Of all the countries of Western Europe, Britain has always had a "special relationship" with the Muslim world. In the beginning, Muslims landed on these isles as explorers and traders. Trade was so important to King Offa of Mercia, a powerful Anglo-Saxon King of the 8th century, famous for building Offa's

Dyke, that his coins had the inscription declaring the faith of Islam (There is no God but Allah) in Arabic (Benson, 2011: 5).

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Later the relationship was dominated by the Crusades and the British played their part. For instance, the sacking of the Muslim city of Lisbon in 1147 during which perhaps 150,000 Muslims were massacred, was largely the work of soldiers from Norfolk and Suffolk (Nolan, 2006: 200). By the 14th century following the crusades, there was the introduction of several Muslim cultural traditions into British life, from the paisley design to the architectural arch, to spices and the very concept of chivalry, the Muslim world was admired and respected for its scholarship and advances in all fields of knowledge. Muslim scholarship such as that of *Al-Razi*, Avicenna *Ibn Sina* and Averroes *Ibn Rushd* formed the backbone of intellectual and scholarly life in Britain (Esposito, 1992: 55).

The Muslim world related to the Western world in many different ways. The first reference to Muslims in Europe was written in the 8th century by an Anglo-Saxon monk, St Bede. In his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, he reported on Saracens and presented Muslims in an unfavourable way, namely as a military threat. Roland Count of Brittany fifty years later mentioned Charlemagne's army, who were killed fighting the Arabs in Spain. This influenced the Christian epic, the *Song of Roland*, which presents Islam as evil and as part of an unknown world (Buryová, 2005: 3).

In addition, there are some references to Islamic scholars in the prologue to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (1386). Following the Crusades against Islam, Britain became friendly with some Islamic countries. Queen Elizabeth I asked the Ottoman Sultan Murad for naval assistance against the Spanish Armada (Matar, 1998: 123, Gilliat-Ray, 2010b: 13). The first Englishman to become Muslim was John Nelson, who converted to Islam at some point in the 16th century. In 1641 a document refers to "A sect of Mahomatens" discovered in London. There were also a few conversions to Islam during this period, and a few years later, as discussed subsequently in more detail. Then in 1649, the first English version of the Qur'an came to Britain, delivered by Alexander Ross (Gilliat-Ray, 2010a: 19, Hewer, 2006: 188, Matar, 1998: 82).

2.1 Muslim Settlement up to the First World War

The historical settlement of Muslims in Britain goes back to the 16th and 17th century (Gilliat-Ray, 2010a: 42, Din, 2006: 19), when travellers from the Ottoman Empire and Moorish Spain visited the British Isles. Like sailors and servants who came from India, some of them joined the merchant army of the East India Company while other sailors settled in British ports. The East India Company also gained the interest of professional and wealthy Muslims from India (Buryová, 2005: 3), such as Sake Dean Mahomed, the author of the first work published in England by a Muslim: *The Travels of Dean Mahomed*, who came to Britain in 1784 and settled there permanently.

Later in the 1840s, Indian students came to Britain. The first mosque in Britain is recorded as having been at 2 Glyn Rhondda Street, Cardiff, in 1860 (Spellman, 2006: 6, Cavendish, 2010: 114). There were only four Indians involved at that time, then by 1931 their number had reached 1,800 (Visram, 2002: 88). Muhammad Iqbal, one of these individuals, studied at Cambridge in 1905 to become a barrister. He is a famous Muslim scholar and writer (Hewer, 2006: 189).

Generally, Muslim migration to Britain started in the mid-nineteenth century. However, the greatest opportunity for Muslim migration was in 1869 through the opening of the Suez Canal. This made trade between Britain and its colonies easier, and a contingent force of labourers was needed to work on the ships and in the ports. Yemenis were the first group of Muslim migrants who arrived at the British ports. They settled in Cardiff, Liverpool, Pollock Shields and London (Ansari, 2004: 156). From 1890 until 1903, nearly forty thousand seamen arrived on British shores and about thirty thousand of them, according to one report, spent some part of their lives in Britain (Halliday, 2010: 168, Siddiqui: 1995). Moreover, some Somali seamen and Ottoman Turks came to Britain at the same time. The Yemeni workers worked in the steel industry. However, the reign of Sultan Abdul Mecit of the Ottoman Empire saw the first arrival of Turkish political refugees, such as Namik Kemal, Ziya Pasha and Ali Suavi, where they published broadsheets like *Hurriyet* directed against the Sultan's tyranny. Those migrants established the earliest permanent Muslim communities in the UK in the cities of London, Cardiff, Liverpool, South Shields, Hull and Sheffield (Lewis, 1994: 13). London and Liverpool were centres for a wide mix of Muslim backgrounds.

During the First World War, a high demand for cheap labour accelerated, especially for the shipping industry. Therefore, Muslim seamen increased in number in British ports such as Cardiff, Newport,

Barry, Liverpool, Tyneside, London and Glasgow (Ansari, 2004: 41). However, following the war's economic stagnation, unemployment increased leaving many demobilized soldiers out of work. As a result, tension and anti-racial protests occurred, especially in 1919, with some demanding the "deportation of aliens" to create more opportunities for soldiers to have work. Many white workers refused to work together with Arabs and other minority communities. The Aliens Restriction Bill in 1920 ordered the deportation of hundreds of Arabs. Those who entered Britain illegally were deported. The increase of unemployment among Arabs in British ports left many of them starving. They were prevented from receiving help from public funds by the 1935 Maritime Assistance Act. However, the demand for shipping in the late 1930s again increased the Muslim population in Britain (Buryová, 2005: 5).

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Another important source of migration of this period was from Cyprus, then under British control. Immigrants from Cyprus were students, professionals and seamen and settled in London, Liverpool and Cardiff (Kirby et al., 2000: 737). By1939 there were around 8,000 Cypriots living in London itself. Another significant group of Muslims continuing to arrive were Indian students, studying mostly medicine and engineering. By 1931 there were around 1,700 Indian students in Britain. Another 1,000 Indians worked as medical doctors (Adams, 2007: 279, Buryová, 2005: 5). 2.2Muslim Migration to Britain after the Second World War

Before the Second World War the Muslim presence in UK was invisible (Fetzer and Soper, 2004: 26). During the Second World War, however, many Muslim migrants found work in Britain since there was a growth of war industries producing wartime products in factories in Bradford, Leeds, Birmingham and Coventry. Aircraft factories also offered jobs to a small number of Indians, Arabs and Somali seamen. By the end of Second World War, the number of Indian Muslims in Britain had probably risen above 30,000 (Minahan, 2012: 254). In the 1950s, the largest influx of Muslim migrants came to Britain mostly from the rural areas of Pakistan and Bangladesh, parts of the Middle East, Africa and Cyprus (Buryová, 2005).

Muslim migration in the post-war period can be divided into two key phases: the first era of Muslim migration was from 1945 to the early 1970s and the second one was from the 1970s to the present time. The first phase was caused by expansion of production which created job opportunities for a large number of new immigrants (Hammar, 1985: 97, Buryová, 2005: 5-6). Therefore, Muslim workers arrived in Britain in response to the demand for cheap labour as mass unemployment disappeared and migrant labour was needed because of the labour shortage that had developed with the enlargement of industries such as garment manufacturing and shoemaking (Hammar, 1985: 97, Siddiqui: 1995). Moreover, these immigrants were needed for the declining industries, which were being rejected by local workers because of the low pay and poor conditions that often required working at unsocial hours. They mostly worked in the cleaning industries and transport, and restaurants were a perfect source of work for immigrants from the Indian subcontinent, Cyprus and Morocco. In 1971, 25% of all restaurant workers in Britain were born abroad as well as 14% of all hotel workers. These earlier Muslim migrants were motivated by their material circumstances not by their religious affiliation (Ansari, 2004: 147). The expansion in medical services after the Second World War also created a need for a wide range of health professionals and workers, many of whom came from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Morocco and the Middle East, including doctors, nurses, porters, attendants, cleaners, laundry and canteen workers, drivers and maintenance staff (Ansari, 2004: 147, Buryová, 2005: 7).

The second era started in 1973 with the oil crisis when the dramatic rise in the oil price precipitated the arrival of an elite group of Arabs in Britain. They mostly came from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. They invested their capital in Britain and acquired businesses, banks and hospitals or invested in property. However, other Arabs, especially Syrians, Lebanese, Egyptians, Palestinians and Jordanians fled to Britain because of continued political instability in their home countries and they established their businesses in Britain. Although economic motivation was the most common motivation for migration between 1945 and 1973, there were also many Muslims who came to Britain for political reasons, especially Asians expelled from East Africa in the early 1970s (Gilliat-Ray, 2010b: 51, Ansari, 2004: 145).

2.3 Patterns of Muslim Migration

There was a four-phase pattern of migration to Britain. Unskilled workers made up the majority of the first phase. The second phase saw migrants recruited in response to specific demands from employers who saw that utilizing people of the same origin had certain advantages. They sent their agents to search for workers in their own villages. They provided transport to the new migrants' destination and

lodging. In addition to that, useful knowledge of the new environment was provided by the early pioneers who were part of the first phase of migration. These Muslims headed for some of the main industrial areas - Greater London, the South-East, the West Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire, central Clydeside in Scotland and the ports of South Wales and Belfast. The third phase was the migration of wives and children. Then the fourth phase was marked by the emergence of a British-born Muslim generation (Buryová, 2005: 8).

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Whilst there are different patterns of migration, they mostly share the same religious identity. They were people from the Indian subcontinent, Turkish Cypriots, Moroccans and Yemenis. Ninety-five per cent of the Bangladeshi migrants were from the Sylhet district in the north-east of the country, most Pakistanis came from the Mirpur and Cambellpur districts and in India most pioneers who were later joined by their friends and relatives came from the districts of Jalandhar and Ludhiana in East Punjab (Ansari, 2004: 156). By the early 1960's, there seems to have been a considerable determination by Muslim countries to send their students for higher education in Britain. These overseas students started to form Islamic Societies in various British universities (Martyn, 1996: 43, Siddiqui: 1995).

2.4Muslim Migration Factors

Muslim migrants came to Britain mainly because they could earn more than they did in their home country. In the early 1960s, wages for the jobs occupied by Muslims in Britain were over 30 times those offered for similar jobs in Pakistan or in other Muslim countries. Most of them were single men or left their wives at home. The 1961 Census data shows there were only 81 women out of the 3, 376 Pakistanis in Bradford, 95 per cent of whom were from rural areas. In Britain, they saved money to send it back home to support their extended families. In addition, events that happened in the home countries of these migrants also encouraged their migration, like the partition of India in 1947 and the building of the Mangla Dam near Mirpur in Pakistan in 1960. This affected the Mirpuris in particular: whilst some of them settled in other parts of Pakistan, others looked for the sponsorship of their relatives in Britain and subsequently settled here in large numbers. The dam had submerged 250 villages and displaced around 100,000 people. The Pakistani government encouraged migration by issuing 5,000 passports to prospective people from the area (Siddiqui, 1995). Their initial intent was to earn enough money to buy a plot of land and build houses for their families and settle in Pakistan. The rapid increase in demand for unskilled labour in British industries also occasioned large-scale migration.

In 1974, the partition of Cyprus led to an influx of 3,000 Turkish Cypriots to Britain. Similarly, after Bangladeshi independence in 1971, the political instability and economic crises together with natural disasters such as floods and cyclones were disastrous, especially for the rural population, and thus playing an important part in the increase in migrant numbers. The largest number of Bangladeshis arrived to the UK between 1980 and 1988 when unemployment in Britain was at its highest (Ansari, 2004: 155; Tozun 2004: 6).

Most Muslim migrants were home-oriented and thought that after earning money by working in Britain and collecting enough savings, they would be able to return home with prestige and would retire in comfort. From another point of view, some of the migrants wanted their children to have access to a better education. However, many Muslims had political reasons to escape to Britain or personal motives for breaking away from the obligations of their families and communities (Buryová, 2005: 10). Palestinians who could not live under Israeli rule after the creation of Israel in 1948 were also given British citizenship. 'From the mid-1960s Britain saw the arrival of East African Asians with British passports, a quarter of whom were estimated to be Muslims, who were forced to leave some of the newly independent states in East Africa. The migration of Turkish Cypriots and East African Asians, who had been forced to leave Kenya and Uganda in the late 1960s and in the early 1970s, were different in one significant way, in that unlike South Asian males, who were joined by their families some years later, Turkish Cypriots and East African Asians did not usually leave their families behind in order to support them by remittance' (Buryová, 2005: 10).

The ports and the shipping services after the Second World War which had provided work for Yemeni sailors and Arab communities declined. Therefore, some found jobs in the service sectors and others opened shops, which marked the foundation of Yemeni communities in Birmingham, Sheffield and South Shields. From the 1960s, some Yemenis moved to industrial cities like Liverpool where a Yemeni community emerged by the mid-1970s, which only grew after the arrival of more out-of-work

Yemenis leaving the ports of Cardiff, South Shields, Hull and Glasgow. By 1992, Liverpool's Yemeni community had about 3,500 members. Another large Yemeni community was in Sheffield where Yemenis worked in British Steel. By the late 1970s, the size of Sheffield's Yemeni community was about 2,000. Altogether there were estimated to be about 12,000 Yemenis in the early 1960s (Ansari, 2004: 156).

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Until 1962, entry to Britain by citizens of British colonies and member countries of the Commonwealth was unrestricted (Nielsen, 1995: 39). In 1961, the forthcoming Commonwealth Immigrants Act was announced hence a large number came from India, Pakistan, and Cyprus to settle in Great Britain. Compared with the years between 1955 and 1960 in which over 17,000 Pakistanis entered Britain, more than 50,000 Pakistanis migrated within a year and a half before the Act was passed in 1962. After the Act, the Commonwealth citizens could no longer enter Britain automatically (Nielsen, 1995: 39). An important aspect of this legislation was the introduction of limiting labour migration.

In the 1970s, involuntary migration affected a large number of people. Their numbers rose rapidly from the mid-1970s as a result of crises like religious or ethnic conflicts, famines and natural disasters or political oppression. This was similar to the case of Somali refugees in the 1980s and 1990s who tried to escape their country's civil war, famine and economic crises in their home country. From the mid-1980s, over 15,000 Somalis arrived in Britain as refugees. Although Muslims were not forced to leave their countries for purely socio-political or economic reasons, in many cases it was a combination of many factors including personal reasons on the part of highly educated professionals in Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia and Iraq who strove for material and intellectual fulfilment. Some Lebanese, too, chose to migrate not only because of the breakdown of civil life in their country, but also because their skills in professions, commerce and the media could be used more efficiently in Britain. Egyptians, too, started arriving in Britain in large numbers and by the end of 1970s they formed the largest Arab community in Britain. By 1991, their number was estimated to be around 23,000. Arabs were no longer mostly unskilled workers. Instead, they came from more varied regional and class backgrounds like writers, poets and journalists who escaped censorship in their countries. Indeed, for most Arabs since the 1970s, the reasons for leaving their countries were mostly influenced by political conflicts or because of religious and political persecution in their countries. Only a small number of them left for economic reasons.

Kurds who had been subject to persecution in Iran as well as in Iraq and Turkey fled to Britain in the 1980s and 1990s (Buryová, 2005: 12). A wave of Iraqi refugees arrived in Britain in the 1960s as political freedom was again limited in Iraq. In the 1970s and 1980s, many more refugees, including a large number of Kurds, arrived in Britain as political repression in Iraq intensified. During the Iran-Iraq war, thousands of Shi'a Muslims were forced to leave from Iraq to Iran, and from there many tried to seek asylum in Britain. The number of Iraqi refugees in Britain in the late 1990s was estimated to be between 70,000 and 80,000, half of whom lived in London. Those in London mostly belonged to higher classes and professions such as doctors, teachers, engineers, journalists, writers and businessmen. In Afghanistan in the early 1970s, many people found the conditions insecure and unstable. Therefore, about 3,000 Afghans came to Britain mostly to escape the Russian invasion in 1979 and the civil war that followed (Ansari, 2004: 160-163). In the 1990s, there was another influx of about 9,000 Iraqis as political refugees, most of them Kurds. Kurds from Turkey also tried to escape human rights violations and between the 1980s and 1990s, about 15,000 of them arrived in Britain. Later they were joined by another minority group, the Alavis, an Islamic sect who were under pressure to leave their homes (Buryová, 2005: 13).

3. Muslim Population Estimates via Census

Joly (1988) asserts that no statistical data can be gleaned on Muslims *per se* from censuses, and other sources are incomplete or unreliable. Census 1981 identifies 398,624 residents were born in countries where Islam is the main religion.

Table (1) shows Muslim distribution in Britain by country of origin.

Country of Origin	Muslims Resident in Britain
Pakistan	188,198

Bangladesh	48,517	
Malaysia	45,430	
Algeria	2,417	
Egypt	23,463	_
Libya	6,004	
Morocco	5,818	
Tunisia	2,037	
Iran	28.068	
Middle East (less Israel)	36,824	
Turkey	11,848	

Table (1) Distribution of Muslims in Britain by Country of Origin

(Joly, 1988: 33-34)

The England and Wales Census of 2001 and 2011 asked: 'What is your religion?' Even though the question was voluntary, it explored only religious affiliation or whether a person connects or identifies with a religion, irrespective of actual practise or belief. Religion is a many-sided concept and has different aspects such as religious belief, religious practice or belonging, which are not covered by this question. Religion is an important defining characteristic of people's identity. Collecting information on religious affiliation complements other questions on people's ethnic group, national identity and language to provide a detailed picture of the society we live in and how it is changing (ONS, 2012b: 1-2) over time, see Table (2).

Table (2) Census Religion Question in 2011

Census religion question

0	This question is voluntary
N D	No religion
	Christian (including Church of England, Catholic, Protestant and all other Christian denominations)
	Buddhist
P	Hindu
	Jewish
	Muslim
	Sikh
	Any other religion, write in

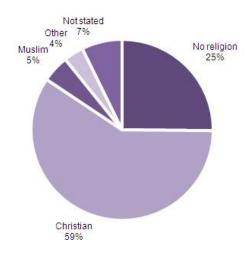
The main issue here is how to define Muslims officially. For statistical purposes, family background has been thought to be most relevant. For Kettani, Muslims are those who: 'Affirm Muhammad to be the last messenger of Allah and hold his teachings to be true, irrespective of the extent to which they know about his teachings, or the extent to which they are able to live according to them' (Kettani, 1986: 2).

For Nielsen, the term Muslim has been applied to those for whom Islam is considered to have some significance in the ordering of their daily lives – for whom Islam continues to be the "master signifier". However: 'It is necessary to be aware of the differing factors (social, economic, cultural and generational) which may contribute to vary the application of ideas of Islam at both the individual and the collective level'(Nielsen, 1987: 386).

Iqbal identifies himself as a Muslim because he was "born in a Muslim home". He says: 'I am not religious in belief or practice but I am a Muslim, just as a lot of non-church-going whites describe themselves as belonging to the Church of England.'(Ansari, 2002: 12). Thus, there are different ways of being Muslim in Britain; but all have to engage with the realities of living as a minority in a

non-Muslim society.

Figure 1: Religious Affiliation, England and Wales 2011

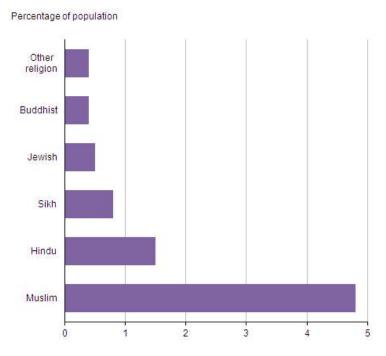


Source: Census - Office for National Statistics

3.1Ethnic Groups, England and Wales 2011

The majority of the resident population in England and Wales, 48.2 million people (86.0 per cent of the population), reported their ethnic group as White in the 2011 Census. Within this ethnic group, White British was the largest, with 45.1 million people (80.5 per cent), followed by any other Whites with 2.5 million people

Figure 2: Minority Religious Groups, England and Wales 2011

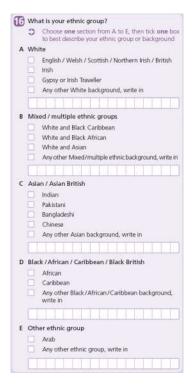


Source: Census - Office for National Statistics

(4.4 per cent). Indian was the next largest ethnic group with 1.4 million people (2.5 per cent) followed by Pakistani (2.0 per cent). This is consistent with census findings on international migration, which found that South Asian countries (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) continued to rank highly within the most common non-UK countries of birth. The remaining ethnic groups each accounted for up to 2 per cent of the population in 2011. There were two new tick boxes in the 2011 Census: Gypsy or Irish Traveller and Arab. Arab accounted for 240,000 usual residents (0.4 per cent of the population). Gypsy

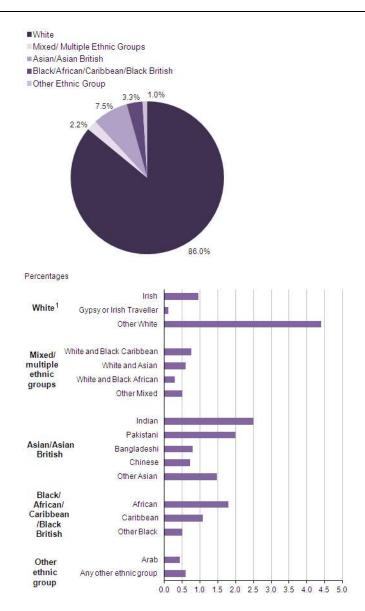
or Irish Traveller accounted for 58,000 usual residents (0.1 per cent of the population), making it the smallest ethnic category (with a tick box) in 2011 (ONS, 2012a: 2).

Figure 3: Final Recommended Ethnic Group Question for England in 2011



Source: Census - Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2009)

Figure 4: Ethnic Groups, England and Wales, 2011



Source: Census - Office for National Statistics

4. Muslim's Religious Requirement in UK

Once the families of Muslim minorities arrive to the UK, the immediate concern of the parents was for their children. They wanted to impart religious education by teaching the Qur'an, the basic beliefs and practices of Islam to their children. This meant allocating a house for their children's religious education in the neighbourhood as is going to be discussed later, and using the same house for the five daily prayers. Muslim dietary laws saw the development of halal butcher shops and the import of Asian spices. This also gave birth to the Asian corner shops in Britain. In this way, the growth of the Muslim neighbourhood had begun (Siddiqui, 1995).

The growth of Muslims in Britain has created in some ways a generation gap. In the early days of migration and settlement, Muslims imported imams to run their local mosques and to teach their children basic Islamic education. Furthermore, the children's language of communication has increasingly become English, and now for the third and fourth generation of Muslims, English is their first language. However, in a large number of Qur'an schools the imams still teach students in Urdu, or in other Asian languages. It is not surprising that there is an increasing frustration amongst the youth about different methods of teaching (Siddiqui: 1995) between mosques and in British schools. Issues which emerge from require an examination in a different paper.

Muslim youth who become actively involved in Islamic activities during their college and university lives discover a sense of attachment as well as pride in their religion. Usually their new found faith in Islam questions their parents' beliefs and practices in religion (Martyn, 1996: 48). At times, the youth

seem to become born again Muslims, with zeal to change their families' and friends' way of practising Islam. Their missionary zeal convinces them to see themselves as right and others as wrong (Siddiqui, 1995)

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In 1962, the university Islamic Societies felt the need to form a Federation of Islamic Societies in order to provide basic guidance to new students arriving in Britain as well as facilities for Friday prayers in university campuses. They also held annual "Islamic Weeks", consisting of lectures, exhibitions and video shows and in general, they helped Muslim students by supporting their needs. Gradually, a number of students decided to stay and came to play a leading role within their communities. A number of organizations also came into existence including The UK Islamic Mission (1962), The Muslim Student's Society (1962), The Union of Muslim Organizations (1970), The Islamic Council of Europe (1973), Young Muslims (1984), The Islamic Party (1989), The Islamic Society of Britain (1990), and more recently, The Muslim Parliament, The UK Action Committee of Islamic Affairs and many others (Aslan, 2009: 186, Rosseau, 1985: 83). Muslims are a faith community and do not fit into a strict racial definition. Their needs and priorities are different, and are more closely related to their religion rather than to their race.

Generally, the growing number of Muslims in the UK produced a network of mosques attracting larger and more committed congregations. Life-cycle rituals requiring religious ceremonies further reinforced the role of mosques as religious institutions in a non-Muslim society, requiring social and political activity. From the mid-1980s, British Muslims became more effectively organized as they gained confidence and experience. They broadened their agendas to address issues ranging from gaining recognition of Muslim family law to political representation. That gave them the opportunity to deal with local government and other areas of public life (Ansari, 2002: 6).

4.1 Establishing Religious Institutions in the New Land

Establishing minority institutions addresses the welfare, cultural and religious needs of minority ethnic communities. They were introduced during a period when the population of minority ethnic communities started to expand as a result of family reunion and the growth of the new generation (Küçükcan, 2004:19-20). The arrival of these communities brought different social customs and cultural characteristics to Britain principally their own languages and religions. Moreover, minorities built their own religious organizations such as mosques, temples, synagogues and gurdwaras. Appadurai demonstrates how imagination and nostalgia provide new avenues for creating alternatives to the modern nation-state (Appadurai, 1998: 1073).

In Britain the term "Muslim British" or "British Muslim" has been coined to indicate the dual focus of identities among immigrant Muslims (Brown, 2008: 474). However, this identity is contingent and self-conscious, and does not necessarily coincide with increased piety among Muslim minorities (Lewis, 1994: 176–178). Despite the absence of a simple correlation between piety and increased assertion of "Islamic" identities, the construction of these identities is symbolised and played out in mosques (Brown, 2008: 474). The next section will show in detail how mosques in UK have played a large part in Muslims' social, (McLoughlin, 2005: 1049) religious and cultural life.

4.1.1 Legislation and Numbers

In the British context, some migrant Muslims felt that keeping hold of their religion in their new environment, hence the survival of their religious identity, was a priority for them. Therefore, they established simple places to pray which slowly led to the establishment of a legal framework (Ramadan, 2005: 26) to set up their places of worship in a non-Muslim society like Britain. Although the establishment of mosques is indicative of a growing Muslim population in an area with increased organizational and their financial capacity and power, it also reflects an emergent sense of "belonging" with an anticipation of long-term residency (Gilliat-Ray, 2010a: 181). Sophie Gilliat-Ray emphasises: 'The wish to register a mosque with local authorities is of further practical and symbolic significance since it indicates a desire for "official" recognition of Muslim presence and identity' (Gilliat-Ray, 2010a: 181). Mosques are subject to several key pieces of legislation: the Places of Worship Registration Act 1855, the Town and Country Planning Act 1990, and the Charities Act 1993. Muslims who wish to establish a mosque must normally apply for planning permission from local authorities, which can be accepted, rejected or have proposed amendments added to the application. Although there is no legal requirement to register the premises under the Places of Worship Registration Act 1855, there are advantages in doing so, most notably in terms of exemption from local chargeable rates and taxes, and exemption from separate or additional registration under the Charities Act. As of December 2001, 635 buildings were certified for Muslim worship in England and Wales under the 1855 Act, although at the time there will have been other additional mosques only registered under the Charities Act 1993 (Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 136).

Generally, building or establishing mosques in Britain represents a major investment by Islamic communities and reflects an increase in their population. Britain has no applicable legal framework for establishing religious communities (Nielsen, 1995: 43). Therefore, building a new mosque demands planning permission from local authorities. However, applications to set up mosques are sometimes met with opposition. Eade (see in McLoughlin, 1998) shows 'objections to the construction of Muslim buildings are routinely represented in terms of the nuisance of extra noise and traffic. However, he also demonstrates that when issues of "heritage" are at stake, Muslim buildings are routinely placed outside hegemonic representations of what does, and does not, constitute "Britishness". For example, in the accounts of some London residents, Eade (1996) reports that church bells are included in, and azan (the call to prayer) is excluded from, the canon of what can be regarded as "English culture" (214).

Although Britain is not a Muslim society, the public sphere is very open to the spreading of prayer halls and to the construction of mosques, including high visibility projects on some occasions. For example, in Manchester there are a few mosques have been constructed in Longsight; there is one called *Makki Masjid* and others behind Stockport Road. There is one in Cheetham Hill called *Masjid Khizr* and one in Old Trafford called *Masjid Noor*. Mcloughlin (2005) in his study about the Bradford York Road Mosque cites Nielsen's observation, 'Britain has no generally applicable legal framework for religious communities' (see in Nielsen, 1995: 43). Therefore, whereas both Anglicans and Presbyterians have established status in England and Scotland respectively, the majority of mosques in Britain usually function under the provisions of the law that legalizes charitable organisations (McLoughlin, 2005: 1047). The Manchester Islamic Centre, for example; is a British charity organisation registered under charity number 327235. Trustee Number 2 declares that:

We are registered as a charitable organisation and therefore we have responsibility towards the regulations and the laws of the charity commission in Britain.

(Interview with trustee number 2)

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Although there is no requirement under British law for mosques to register with the Charity Commission, most mosques have done so because of material benefits such as company tax exemption and reduced local property taxation. The state demands only that planning permission for all proposed mosques is forthcoming from local authorities (McLoughlin, 2005: 1047).

McLoughlin (2005) declares that during the 1950s and 1960s there were thirteen mosques listed with the Registrar General (see Nielsen 1995: 44). The number of mosques in Britain today is estimated to be more than one thousand. However, establishing the precise number is a complex matter, because not all of them are registered as a place of worship with local authorities (Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 138). Gilliat-Ray and Birt assert that perhaps the most recent comprehensive quantitative study of mosques in Britain has been undertaken by the British Charity Commission (Coleman, 2009: 5). However, there is contradictory information concerning the exact number of British Muslim mosques in Britain. Nonetheless, the Charity Commission indicates only 331 registered charities that have been identified as mosques (Coleman 2009: 5). Clearly, defining a mosque and establishing what counts as a mosque is complex, and it is probable that informal places of prayer in many maritime ports and major commercial cities (such as London or Manchester) were established prior to 1891 (Gilliat-Ray 2010: 189). One of the difficulties that researchers in this field face is the absence of a definitive list of mosques in Britain and their classification as Sunni or Shi'a, and which sect they follow under each of these categories. Andrew Rudd, Public Affairs Manager in the Charity Commission states in his email to me when I asked him about mosques in Britain:

I am by no means an expert on this topic, but other academics who have contacted me have suggested that there is very little existing research on mosques in England and Wales - so the secondary literature might be quite small.

(Andrew Rudd by email 2011)

In Britain many mosques have been purpose-built, especially where large ethnic communities reside. Generally, there are 116 mosques in Birmingham, of which 10 are purpose-built, for a total of 140,033 Muslims; 44 in Bradford, of which six are purpose-built, for the city's 75,188 Muslims; 31 in Manchester, of which five are purpose-built, for 125,219 Muslims; 25 in Leicester, of which five (20 per cent) are purpose-built, for 30,885 Muslims; and ten in Cardiff, two purpose-built (also 20 per cent),

for the city's 11,000 Muslims (Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 139, Allievi, 2009: 29). See table (8):

Table (8) Purpose-built Mosques in Britain¹

City	Muslims in 2001	Total Mosques	Purpose-built	Percentage Purpose-built
Birmingham	140,033	116	10	9%
Bradford	75,188	44	6	13%
Cardiff	11,261	10	2	20%
Leicester	30,885	25	5	20%
Manchester	125,219	31	15	16%

Source: (Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 139)

The precise number of Britain's mosques is unknown, although the estimates vary between 1,500 to 3,000 (Brown, 2008: 474). This number of mosques is significant when we take into account that 2.4 million Muslims have over 1,500 mosques in Britain. This makes any claims about mosques and their influence subject to scrutiny. Nevertheless, the dynamics and the role of mosques in Britain have undergone a number of transformations (MCB, 2006: 1-7). From the 1950s through to the early 1970s, mosques simply accommodated the religious needs like praying of migrant labourers. Following the abandonment of the "myth of return" and reunification of families (Brown, 2008: 474), mosques transformed into sites of socialisation, providing cohesion and continuity for younger generations (Wardak, 2002: 208). Brown (2008) states that establishing mosques in the host society shows how Muslim communities move away from marginalisation—from "prayer rugs to minarets" (Brown 2008: 474). Mosques are not simple rooms in the corner of a working place; they are developed to be purpose-built with specific building permission.

Mosques are not only places of worship for Muslim minorities in a non-Muslim society. One can also frequently find Muslim prayer rooms and other religious facilities in a wide range of places. Such examples include airports, shopping centres, meeting places of various kinds (notably the Millennium Dome in Greenwich, now the O2), football stadiums (the first was Ewood Park, the home of Blackburn Rovers), and even motorway service stations (the first was on the M6) (Allievi, 2009: 29, Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 139). The growth of prayer rooms reflects the strength of multiculturalism of British society².

Within the category of mosque, a number of differences are discernible. The main element is that an "Islamic Centre" means a centre of significant size. Such a centre has, in addition to the function of prayer and worship, a number of social and cultural functions through various forms of teaching like Qur'an schools and other educational courses or conferences; meeting opportunities for adults, women and converts; and cultural activities usually organized in separate rooms from the prayer hall itself. Moreover, such centres also carry out the activities of institutional and symbolic representations of Muslims (Allievi, 2009: 17-18). In major cities, there might be more than one Islamic centre or it could be that there are none at all. For example, in Manchester there are two Islamic centres: the Manchester Islamic Centre (MIC) in the Didsbury area, and the Central Mosque known as the Victoria Mosque³ in Longsight.

The existence of a strong spatial concentration of Muslims in the host society has attracted the attention of urban geographers and social scientists (sociologists and anthropologists) who are more frequently involved in these types of studies (Allievi, 2009: 29). Therefore, the knowledge of how Muslims established their own religious institutions in Britain as a non-Muslim society is quite a controversial topic. The long and complex historical process of establishing mosques has prevented the research from going into much detail, since it will be far from linear. The discussion will only be an attempt to summarize the key stages in this process in Britain generally.

4.2The History of Establishing Mosques in Britain

Muslims in Britain have dedicated more resources and energy to the creation of mosques than perhaps

any other type of institution in order to bring them together as minorities. Research shows that the most significant period of mosque establishment in Britain occurred from the 1950s onwards (Gilliat and Birt 2010: 140). The various stages of mosque construction reflect the growth, evolution, fortunes, and aspirations of Muslims in Britain. The first mosques established in the 1950s and 1960s were not purpose-built mosques. Rather, they were nearly always what can be called "house mosques" (Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 140). Most of the Muslims' religious institutions were prayer rooms during this time period (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 134). In other cases some mosques were semi-detached houses (Ansari, 2004: 342) like the case of the Victoria Mosque in Manchester before Muslims re- built the current building.

Mosques at that time were converted houses, churches or pubs. Later on as you know, the number of Muslims increased, thus they established more mosques.

(Interview with MIC Manager)

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Sometimes mosques were converted from churches, synagogues, cinemas, factories, or warehouses (Gilliat-Ray, 2010b: 189, Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 142). The process of building mosques in Britain generally reflects the character, history, and evolution of British Muslim communities. Therefore, going back to the history of these old mosques shows that early mosques, particularly those established in the nineteenth century, were established by Muslim traders (Gilliat and Birt 2010: 140) often associated with the shipping industry, as will be discussed later.

When the first mosque was built would require extensive study which is beyond the scope of this research. The study provides examples of establishing the first mosques in Cardiff, Bradford and Manchester. These cities have a high number of Muslims and a long history of settlement.

There is much dispute about where the first mosque in Britain was founded. Some authors that argue it was in Cardiff, others argue it was in Liverpool. I will briefly summarise the main history of both mosques. Sophie Gilliat-Ray investigated the research into the "first mosque in Britain". Its multiple repetition and embellishment satisfied a growing need to articulate ideas about the long life and legitimacy of Muslim settlement in Britain. She discovered a transcription error that rests upon a straightforward human misunderstanding, which "created" what can be called the first recorded mosque in Britain. Analysing mosque registration data revealed the origin of the factual inaccuracy. However, a number of academic and non-academic sources cite the first registered mosque in Britain as having been established in Cardiff in 1860⁴ (Gilliat-Ray, 2010a: 180). In the light of Gilliat-Ray's evidence, the claim is made for the Liverpool Mosque and Institute as the first mosque in England. Nevertheless, the activities of Abdullah Quilliam⁵ in Liverpool mark a particularly significant starting point in British Muslim institution building (Gilliat-Ray, 2010a: 189).

In addition to Sophie Gilliat-Ray's study, Stephen Barton (1986) recalls the establishment of the first mosque in Bradford. In 1960 the first mosque was in a terraced house on Howard Street. It was used by both Pakistanis and Bengalis, by the major Sunni *Hanafi* School of the Indian Sub-Continent. By 1969, a separate Bengali mosque was established, and this was a "house mosque". It was located within a predominately Bengali area of settlement on Cornwall Road. Muslim worshippers began to exert their own distinctive ethnic and linguistic identity or theological preferences. This process is often contentious, as particular factions break away to establish a new congregation that conforms to their particular interpretation of Islamic practice. "House mosques" remain the prototypical mosque in Britain today (Gilliat and Birt, 2010: 141). Then later on terraced houses were converted into mosques in the late twentieth-century (McLoughlin, 2005: 3).

4.3 The First Mosque in Manchester

Following the discussion above, Manchester is a large multicultural city. Around 503,100 Muslims live in Manchester according to the first release of data of the 2011 Census, the majority of them are Punjabi Pakistanis. In Manchester there are 29 mosques, many within walking distance of each other. Each mosque represents a stream, sect and nationality. However, the vast majority of Punjabi Pakistanis in Britain tend to identify with the Barelvi movement. They emphasise the love of the Prophet and his continued active existence and the veneration of his "friends", saints or *auliya* (Werbner, 2004: 904). The current paper only mentions the main two groups of Sunni and Shia. Sunni means "one who follows the *sunnah*" (what the Prophet said, did, agreed to or condemned). Shi'a is a contraction of the phrase *Shi'at Ali*, meaning partisans of Ali (Brown, 2011: 9-10), in addition to there being practical differences between the two sects. However, it is not one of this paper's aims to develop the arguments

about these categories and their differences; the paper focuses mainly on Sunni mosques.

The first mosque in Manchester was the Central Mosque, which is known among Muslims as the Victoria Mosque because it is situated in the Victoria Park area. Werbner (2002) indicates that the Central Mosque was controlled by the management committee *Jami't el Muslemin*⁶. The current property initially was bought by Syrian traders and run by the Syrian community (Werbner, 2002b: 37). In contrast Seddon (2012) argues that the first mosque was established in the late 1940s by a group of seventy Levantine Muslim businessmen and students from a number of countries including, Pakistan, Iraq, Egypt and India (84). Moreover, Halliday (1992) in his paper *The Millet of Manchester: Arab Merchants and Cotton Trades* states that few of the Syrians were Muslims compared to the larger numbers of Syrian Christians and Syrian Jews. He did not refer to the two central mosques as having been established by the Manchester Syrian Arab Muslim community (see in Seddon, 2012: 83).

The Pakistani trustee of the Victoria Mosque whom I interviewed explains how and why the Muslim community in Manchester decided to buy a mosque and who contributed to buying the first house of Allah. He says:

It is interesting to know that the Muslim students in Manchester who used to celebrate Eid at the Britannia Restaurant, opposite the BBC television building every year, had a meeting at Manchester University to discuss buying a property for the mosque. In 1948, a semi-detached house at 22 Upper Brook Road, Victoria Park, in Manchester was bought. The mosque was bought for £2,250 pounds. Jamiatul Muslimeen was already in existence and had £550 in its account. A sum of £1,000 was donated by Mr Ahmad Dawood the owner of Dawood Textile Pak. Mr M Hanif and Mr M Ismail, both from religious families contributed £750 and the rest, £500 was collected from the rest of the Muslim community. A sum of £550 was spent to make a room for prayers, a room for meeting and a room for sports. 50 Muslims celebrated the first Eid. Some friends from the Hindu and Sikh community in the mosque attended Eid celebrations, food was served. Indoor sports competitions were held every year.

(Interview with trustee number 3)

However, the Arab Syrian trustee of the Didsbury Mosque gave a different interpretation of about who bought the first mosque in Manchester. He declares:

The first mosque in Manchester was a house-mosque in Victoria Park. It was also bought by some Syrian merchants, it was a semi-detached house. They opened it to the whole Muslim community irrespective of nationality. Then the Asian community came and bought the other semi-detached house and over the years the Asian community decided to build a proper mosque thus, they knocked the houses down and built the current building of Victoria Mosque now. From the mid-1950s until the early 1960s, Abdullah Qassas, a cotton merchant from a religious family in Damascus⁷ was the acting imam. He worked in the Didsbury Mosque later on. When each community grew bigger, the Syrians left their part for the Asian community and went to look for another space, then they found this church.

(Interview with trustee number 1)

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Werbner (2002) in her book *The Migration Process: Capital, Gifts and Offerings among British Pakistanis* says however: 'A separate Pakistani mosque of grand proportions was set among terraced houses in the cheap area of Rusholme, built with funds raised mainly by prosperous Bengali restaurants, but as the West Pakistani community grew in number and spread into Victoria Park and West Longsight, its members came to dominate the Manchester Central Mosque officially the Victoria Park Mosque remains the central mosque of the wider Muslim community in Manchester⁸, whose representatives sit on the mosque committee and have contributed towards the construction of a new mosque building. The bulk of the contributions, however, were raised by the West Pakistani community, and they are its effective proprietors' (Werbner, 2002b: 35). The aged trustee of Victoria Park Mosque mentions how the Muslim community decided to rebuild the mosque again to be similar to mosques in Muslim countries. He said:

It was decided to build a new mosque in 1968 and to appoint an architect to give advice. When the collection was started, the next-door semi-detached house that belonged to the Syrian community was donated towards the new project in 1970.

(Interview with trustee number 3)

'Changing migration patterns in the 1960s meant that the ethnographic composition of the mosque

congregation became predominantly South Asian with the Pakistani migrants emerging as the numerically dominant sub-group' (Seddon, 2012: 85). Alongside the ethnographic change, the conflict over running the Central Mosque led as Werbner asserts (1998: 30) the Syrian merchants in 1962 to purchase a disused Methodist Church on Burton Road, East Didsbury. The Syrian imam Abdullah Qassas continued to function as the main imam in the newly established mosque until another Syrian Sheikh from *Halab* (Aleppo), Muhammad Saeed al-Badinjky⁹, became the full-time imam in 1973 (Seddon, 2012: 86) for the Didsbury Mosque. Now the current imam is Libyan. Over the years, the congregation of the Burton Road Mosque has evolved from its original Syrian-Lebanese merchant class to a large contingent of political refugees mainly of Iraqi, Palestinian and North African origin (Seddon, 2012: 16).

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A further feature of Islam in Britain is that it remains nationally and ethnically diverse as the statistical and demographical data illustrates. Despite wishful talk of the emergence of a "British Islam", today there has been a proliferation of many smaller mosques (Werbner, 2002b: 37). For example: Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Arab, Kurdish, Turkish, *Ahmadia* and Shi'a mosques which reproduce the inevitable dynamics of intra-Muslim conflict between the two main sects within the Islamic world, namely the Sunni and Shi'a. In addition to the dynamics of this conflict, the various ethnic, linguistic, religious and political groups, as well as the specific characteristics of transnational Islamic movements all affect the trend to establish independent mosque¹⁰ (Allievi, 2009: 52). In many respects, mosques generally represent the highest locus of value and communal involvement since they are at the centre of religious debate and learning. As we have seen, the proliferation of mosques in Britain reflects differences in nationality, language and religious tendency. The main theological divide was between the Shi'a and Sunni followers.

5. Conclusion

This paper focused on the timeline of Muslim migration to the UK and their settlement. It then provided some statistical and demographical information about Muslims by analysing data from different UK Censuses. This helps to understand the background of the Muslim community in the UK. Then it turned to discuss the notion of establishing mosques in Britain. The growth phase of mosques seems to have passed, as facilities are now present in university campuses, airports and train stations, sports stadiums, and even motorway service stations. It is largely in smaller towns but less ethnically uniform (Allievi, 2009: 88). Moreover, identifying the mosque affiliation by location can provide a good illustration of Muslim diversity specific to city areas and in some cases on a neighbourhood level. This help to gauge levels of representation and potential gaps in terms of engagement (ICoCo, 2008: 27) or segregation channels among Muslims along lines of diversity, ethnicity and religious affiliation or sects.

Currently in the United Kingdom, there are significant "ethnic neighbourhoods" especially in big cities, where Muslims are obviously welcomed by a local population and enjoy full civil and political rights.

However, a further study can be done to discover if these small rooms are only used by Muslims or not, as the interview with the Friday prayer number 4 asserts, other religious minorities can use them: 'It says multi-faith room, but really which religion uses it five times a day. You rarely see a Christian sitting there or a Jew or a Hindu, perhaps they pray somewhere else'.

¹ The number of mosques in different European countries. It is very clear that the number of the UK's mosques is twice the European average, with almost one mosque for every 1,000 Muslims ALLIEVI, S. 2009. *Conflicts over Mosques in Europe Policy Issues and Trends NEF Initiative on Religion and Democracy in Europe*, Alliance Publishing Trust. (ibid).

² In terms of the visibility and institutionalization of Islam, including the issue of places of worship, the United Kingdom may be the most advanced nation in Europe (ibid).

³ In Greater Manchester there is a central mosque for each area itself like the CMA in Cheadle, and the AMA, Altrincham Muslim Association in Altrincham.

⁴ Some of the earliest mosques in the UK were established in Cardiff (see in Ansari 2004; Nielsen 2004: 45–6), and there is a long and largely unknown history that warrants dissemination GILLIAT-RAY, S. 2010a. The First Registered Mosque in the UK, Cardiff, 1860': the Evolution of a Myth. Cont Islam, 4, 179–193.

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These are two examples: "Yemeni sailors settling in Cardiff's Tiger Bay registered a house for use as a mosque as early as 1860". "1860: Existence of a mosque at 2 Glyn Rhondda Street, Cardiff, recorded in the Register of Religious Sites (now maintained by the Office of National Statistics)" ibid.

During the latter part of the last century and until the beginning of the Second World War, two key institutions emerged in Britain, one in Liverpool and the other in Surrey. William H Quilliam, a lawyer in Liverpool, visited Morocco in 1887 SIDDIQUI, A. 1995. *Muslims In Britain: Past And Present* [Online]. Hyderabad, India: Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies. [Accessed 24/08/2010. http://www.islamfortoday.com/britain.htm

NIELSEN, J. S. 1995. *Muslims in Wester Europe* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press Ltd. There he was attracted to Islam and he soon converted. Then he came back to Liverpool and spread ideas about Islam. Abdullah Quilliam's converts included his sons, prominent scientists and professionals. He claimed 150 adherents to Islam since he was an active writer and essayist and was appointed the Persian Consul in Liverpool

by the Ottoman Shah. William H. Quilliamwas called by the sultan Sheikh Al-Islam of the United Kingdom.Ibid., LEWIS, P. 1994. *Islamic Britain: religion, politics and identity among British Muslims*, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.11-12 (5). The Shah of Persia made him consul in Liverpool.NIELSEN, J. S. 1995. *Muslims in Wester Europe* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press Ltd.5). He published three editions of the Faith of Islam, which was subsequently translated into thirteen languages. He became famous throughout the Islamic world.

Sheikh Al-Islam, William H. Quilliam founded the Liverpool Mosque and the Muslim Institute. He organized regular prayers, festivals, weddings and funerals as well as boys' dayschools, evening classes; a hostel, a library and printing press. (ibid). He edited The Islamic World which started in 1890. The Crescent, a weekly publication in which he wrote widely about Islam and Muslims. A number of tracts were also published. Quilliam established Madina House, which was a house for orphans in Liverpool. Generally, his works attracted both Muslim and non-Muslim. SIDDIQUI, A. 1995. *Muslims In Britain: Past And Present* [Online]. Hyderabad, India: Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies. [Accessed 24/08/2010]. http://www.islamfortoday.com/britain.htm

His mother was a Methodist activist until 1893 when at the age of 63 she converted.

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⁶ The trustee in the Victoria Mosque says, 'The record shows the first trustees of the Jamiat el Muslimeen, are: Mr NazirAldin, Mr A M Hilli, Mr Jan Muhammad and Mr R Ukin el Din'.

⁷ Capital of Syria

⁸ It might be mostly for Pakistanis not for all Muslims minorities.

⁹ He passed away in 2013.

¹⁰ This claim needs more investigation by researchers who have interest in this field to know more about Muslim sects, their diversity; why they aimed to build their separated mosques, and what is their role in the community? And if they see themselves as beingdifferent from the rest of the Muslim community.

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