Introduction: Muslim integration in Britain – a theoretical and analytical framework

The history of Muslim communities in Britain is widely documented. A small number of Ottoman Muslims were already present during the late sixteenth century and, as a result of vast imperial connections and its reputation as a place of opportunity, Muslims migrated from the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East and North Africa during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, it was the Indian, Somali and Yemeni seamen who began arriving particularly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and settled in port cities and towns like Cardiff, Liverpool and South Shields, who are often perceived to have comprised Britain's first Muslim communities.[1] Yet despite this rich historical context, the vast majority of Muslims in Britain today have their roots in the nation's post-1945 immigration history. A mass influx of Muslim immigrants from the Indian subcontinent took place during the 1950s and 1960s as a result of both a need for workers to help with Britain's post-war economic reconstruction and the process of decolonisation, and was followed by large-scale family reunification. Other Muslim communities who arrived and settled across the post-war years consisted of economic migrants, students, skilled professionals and refugees from a range of countries in the West Indies, the Middle East, the Balkans, and North and East Africa, including Bosnia, Egypt, Guyana, Iraq, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Tunisia and Turkey.[2]

There is an increasingly multidisciplinary, sizeable and vibrant academic literature on Islam and Muslims in post-war Britain, much of which has been dominated by the larger, and thus more visible, Muslim communities from the Indian subcontinent, and especially those of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin.[3] This body of research is widely cited and well known, and addresses a plethora of topics and themes, including geographical distribution, residential and employment patterns, educational attainment, multiculturalism, assimilation, social cohesion, segregation, belonging, and religious practices and identities.[4] It portrays British Muslims as having a young age profile, as being overwhelmingly rural in origin and religious, as having strong family values, and as largely marrying within their communities. Furthermore, it documents a prevalence of socio-economic marginalisation and exclusion, discrimination

and disadvantage, and struggles regarding identity, recognition and equality of opportunity. More specifically, it has long argued that Muslims in Britain suffer from higher rates of unemployment, have become concentrated in poor-quality housing, experience educational underachievement, endure persistent mis-representation, and suffer ever-increasing levels of racism and Islamophobia.[5] Yet simultaneously, it reminds us that Muslims in Britain have long enjoyed entrepreneurial, political, organisational and leadership success; that they are catching up educationally, especially when it comes to university credentials; and that there is ample evidence that points towards a successful integration into British society.[6] Furthermore, despite these bold and definitive findings and conclusions regarding British Muslims, we are correctly reminded that by no means do they constitute one homogenous community.[7] To the contrary, Muslims in Britain originate from a range of ethnic, social, cultural and lin-guistic backgrounds, belong to various religious denominations, and represent numerous migration experiences, levels of education, religious practices, and generational and gender differences. Some are religiously active, whilst others have inherited their religion, but do not practise it, and their experiences of migration and integration have naturally been varied and multifaceted.

It is a common assumption that this history of post-war Muslim minority populations in Britain is a history of urban communities. Indeed, the historiog-raphy largely depicts first-generation Muslim settlers as rural–urban migrants who originated from rural areas like Anatolia, Azad Kashmir and Sylhet in Turkey, Pakistan and Bangladesh, respectively, and became concentrated in a handful of British cities.[8] This is not surprising as it is primarily cities with sizeable migrant populations that have long provided the geographical frameworks within which a significant share of post-war migration has taken place. Whether accounts of inner-city racial tension and discrimination during the 1960s and 1970s,[9] studies of individual minority communities of the 1980s and 1990s,[10] or the increased focus on cities amongst scholars of migration and diaspora during the 2000s,[11] immigration has long been associated with the urban landscape. With regard to Muslim communities specifically across the post-war period, they quickly became concentrated in a small number of large urban areas: Greater London, the East Midlands, Greater Manchester, the West Midlands and West Yorkshire.[12] As a consequence, it has overwhelmingly been the likes of Birmingham, Bradford, Leicester, London and Manchester that have come to represent Britain's story of Muslim migration and settlement.[13]

Conversely, an assessment of smaller Muslim migrant communities in more rural and semi-rural areas remains overwhelmingly absent from the academic literature, and it is this historiographical gap that has acted as inspiration for this book. It examines the previously unexplored relationship between Muslim migrant integration and rural Britain by using the county of Wiltshire in the south-west of England as a case study. It adopts a historical approach

across the post-1960s period, and assesses both local authority policies and strategies, and Muslim communities' personal experiences of migration and integration in the county. The book offers an insight into a range of areas, sectors and topics in relation to Muslims from various ethnic backgrounds, including Bangladeshi, Indian, Moroccan, Pakistani and Turkish. It charts how Wiltshire's local authority has responded to, and provided for, the arrival and settlement of Muslim communities, as well as how the county's Muslims' migration and integration experiences have been shaped by their rural surroundings.[14] In doing so, it suggests that there has long existed a clear rural dimension to Muslim integration in Britain.

The rural context

With immigration, integration and diversity traditionally being perceived as urban phenomena, issues of migration and race have rarely been associated with rural Britain.[15] Instead, in the words of Sarah Neal, 'pastoral images of England – rolling green fields, winding lanes, cream teas, chocolate box villages – have, historically and contemporarily, provided the corner-stones of a specific national identity'.[16] Despite calls to recognise the fact that the historical correlation between British rurality and 'ethnic purity' is being challenged by the presence of 'people of colour',[17] rural Britain continues to be seen as being white, pure, safe, stable, peaceful and still untouched by immigration. As Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland argue, 'the rhetoric of rural living has the capacity to evoke powerful feelings of patriotism and nationalism, characterized, for example, by images of "England's green and pleasant land"… such imagery conjures up notions of a homogenous, quintessentially English haven to which the more problem-ridden urban world can aspire'.[18] The consequence of this has been twofold. Firstly, the academic research that exists on immigration, race and minority communities in rural Britain is fairly limited compared to that which has been carried out at the city level. Secondly, the available research has shown that the prevalence of overwhelmingly small ethnic minority communities in more rural settings has often led to both increased racial harassment and a tendency amongst local authorities to maintain that migration and integration are not pressing policy concerns. Thus, despite enduring racism and discrimination, minority communities living in more rural areas have often been ignored from both an academic and political perspective.

Nevertheless, there was a surge in scholarly attention regarding rural racism and intolerance from the 1990s to the mid-2000s. Much of this research was local in focus, and went some way towards highlighting the frequency of racist prejudice and racial exclusion, and the need for adequate policy responses, in

more rural contexts across Britain. The turning point and inspiration for this focus on rural racism is often perceived to have at least partially been the publication of a series of reports during the early to mid-1990s, most notably *Keep Them in Birmingham* in 1992, which was commissioned by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and examined both the prevalence of racism and local authority responses in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset.[19] It found that not only was racism extensive in the south-west, but also that there was 'widespread complacency' and a perception that 'there is no problem here'.[20] Sarah Neal has maintained that it was the publication of this research that helped advance an awareness that policy intervention in the areas of rural race and racism was needed.[21]

This notion that racism and discrimination were common in rural Britain, yet simultaneously 'invisible', was a theme that dominated subsequent studies. From Norfolk to Lincolnshire and from Shropshire to rural Scotland, not only was it argued that small rural ethnic minority populations also experienced racism, were often more isolated and vulnerable than their urban counterparts, and that they lacked a community support network, but it was maintained that they continued to be overlooked from a policy perspective and that context-specific responses were lacking.[22] These works considered a range of rural and semi-rural areas and explored experiences of racism amongst small ethnic minority communities, and stressed that there was a pressing need to further develop an understanding of the attributes and profiles of rural minority populations. Writing at the turn of the twenty-first century, Mohammed Dhalech contended that, compared to what was the case in urban areas, work on issues of race equality in rural Britain had 'just begun'.[23] Philomena de Lima went as far as to argue that, during the early 2000s, the rural policy context still continued to largely ignore ethnic minority communities, and that there was no clear strategy on how to address rural racism and race issues.[24] Moreover, these findings and pleas of the 1990s and early 2000s emerged alongside a belief that rural Britain's ethnic minority communities were likely to grow in size in subsequent years due to a number of factors, including increased mobility and job opportunities.[25]

Yet contrary to what one might expect, there has since been something of a lull in academic research on immigration, race and minority communities in rural Britain. In fact, since the mid-2000s, studies addressing the relationship between rurality and ethnicity have been sporadic at best. Key works from the last decade or so include those of Katharine Tyler on Leicestershire, which uncover majority white racialised urban and rural discourses, as well as perceptions and portrayals of British Asians amongst white middle-class villagers.[26] Further examples are the studies by Kye Askins and Caroline Bressey on how ethnic minorities perceive and make use of rural space, and on the extent to which the black presence has been excluded from white

imaginaries of the English countryside, respectively.[27] Some research, inspired by the migration flows that followed the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, has addressed Eastern European migrants working in the agricultural and horticultural sectors in rural Britain.[28] Other studies, although not focusing on the rural context specifically, have also gone some way towards shifting the attention away from inner cities and urban areas. These include the study by Anoop Nayak on race and racism in white English suburbs, and that of Daniel Burdsey on racism and marginalisation at the English seaside.[29]

Thus, there is an awareness that further investigation into migration and diversity in more rural and peripheral areas with small ethnic minority populations is needed, and that more needs to be done to frame this scholarship within wider debates on race and multiculturalism in Britain. Yet as Charlotte Williams argued in 2007 in relation to her work on the Welsh countryside, 'the race/racism and the countryside debate has, with few exceptions, progressed… arguably as something of a sideshow to the "real stuff" of British race relations'; this argument still holds true today.[30] This is especially the case regarding the arrival, settlement and integration of Muslim communities, a topic covered by only a handful of studies. Most notably is Rhys Dafydd Jones' work, which exposes the challenges and experiences encountered by Muslims in West Wales.[31] Similarly, Larry Ray and Kate Reed and Tom Villis and Mireille Hebing's research on East Kent and Cambridge, respectively, reveals how smaller Muslim communities that reside outside of the main conurbations of Muslim settlement frequently encounter barriers when trying to practise their religion and constitute fragmented communities.[32] Beyond these studies, whilst the wider historiography on ethnic minority communities in rural Britain periodically mentions Muslims, and the literature on Muslims in Britain occasionally acknowledges the rural context, neither deals with more rural Muslim communities in great detail or depth.[33] Instead, Muslims in Britain continue to largely be portrayed exclusively as having transitioned from a rural, and often South Asian, background to British cities with significant Muslim and ethnic minority populations.[34] Whilst this book acknowledges that residents of more rural areas are more likely to be white and of a Christian religious affiliation, it also recognises that there are smaller and scattered Muslim migrant populations, and ethnic minorities more generally, who live outside the urban centres associated with migration about whom we still lack an understanding.

Aims of the book

This study shifts the focus away from the traditional British hubs of migration towards comparatively smaller, and previously unexplored, Muslim communities. In doing so, it aims to challenge the notion that migration is purely an urban phenomenon, as well as the practice of reducing the study of locality

in migration studies to the study of cities, and global or gateway cities in particular.[35] It also responds to calls for both a need to increase our understanding of migration at a local level in more peripheral and non-metropolitan settings, and for research on Muslims in Britain to recognise that geography and locality matter in shaping British Muslims' experiences and identities, and that there is a need to move beyond the main areas of Muslim settlement.[36] Therefore, the study aims to build upon works that have invoked varying definitions and interpretations of 'rurality', and gone some way towards shedding light on the experiences of smaller and more 'hidden' Muslim communities in Cambridge, semi-rural East Kent, and in and around the market towns of West Wales.[37]

Indeed, the notion of 'the rural' runs throughout this study, a concept whose definition and meaning have been widely contested and debated. 'Rurality' has been used to describe more peripheral communities with small migrant populations that are perceived to be largely static and homogenous. There have been varying definitions according to population size and transport links, as well as levels of deprivation, poverty and social issues. The concept has been applied to localities whose wider geographical contexts are considered to be sparsely populated, as well as to settings that are associated with a romanticised image of national identity and idyllic environments. Furthermore, it is increasingly being recognised that there is no one definition of 'the rural', and that how rurality is identified changes across both time and locality.[38] This book engages with all of these definitions at different points and to varying degrees. Moreover, this study is also rooted in the fact that both Wiltshire's local authority and its Muslim minority communities have conventionally stressed the rurality of their policies and experiences, respectively.

The notion of integration also sits at the very centre of this study. Although like 'rurality', it also remains a debated and contested term, 'integration' continues to be widely used in research on migration across disciplines and is recognised as a key analytical tool for the study of migrant communities.[39] Following the frameworks established by a range of scholars, both historians and non-historians alike, this study adopts a broad definition of integration, taking it to refer to what Leo Lucassen terms 'the general sociological mechanism that describes the way in which all people, migrants as well as non-migrants, find their place in society'.[40] Rather than perceiving integration to mean assimilation, it interprets it as a long-term and evolving process, and recognises significant differences according to ethnicity, class, gender, generation, religious identities and migration backgrounds. Furthermore, it understands that integration is not a one-way process, but that receiving societies adapt in a number of ways in order to accommodate migrant populations, and that successful integration should not necessarily be seen as the natural conclusion to any migratory experience. Whilst there are many works that have studied integration at a fixed moment in time, in relation to one migrant

community, and from the perspective of either the receiving society or the migrant community in question, they tend to only partially capture what constitutes the integration process.[41] This book proposes an examination of how integration has been approached and interpreted by both members of local Muslim populations and a local authority, the extent to which this has or has not changed across time and ethnic groups, and the degree to which there has existed a clear rural sphere to the integration process.

Framed around this notion of integration are five key arguments and themes that run throughout this book and through which it makes a contribution to academic scholarship. Firstly, in assessing integration from the perspectives of both local government and the Muslim communities themselves, this study reveals that Wiltshire's rural nature and identity have long played a part in influencing the integration process in a range of different ways. In doing so, it builds upon the aforementioned literature that recognises that there is a clear rural dimension to local-level migration and integration policymaking and the experiences of ethnic minorities in Britain, whilst also both championing the need to extend the academic focus beyond the more traditional emphasis on rural racism and offering an unprecedented insight into Muslim communities specifically. Secondly, this study examines the manner in which Wiltshire's local authority has negotiated and approached immigration, integration and diversity across the post-1960s period, as well as the relationship between local- and national-level migration policy and mandate. Thereby, it uncovers the extent to which Britain's post-war immigration history and political framework have filtered down and influenced the county's policies and practices. Whilst some attention has been awarded to how urban authorities with sizeable migrant populations have adopted national policy directives and legislation,[42] we still lack an understanding of the extent to which more rural areas with smaller ethnic minority communities have adhered to a national mandate. Contrary to a large proportion of the academic literature that asserts that local authorities in more rural areas have often failed to devise adequate policy responses,[43] this work argues that Wiltshire's local authority has long acknowledged, and actively responded to, its Muslim migrant populations as well as its ethnic minority communities more broadly.

Thirdly, this book supports and furthers the increasingly sizeable body of academic literature that moves beyond the study of the traditional 'national model of integration', and recognises the importance of studying both migration policymaking and migrant communities' experiences and integration at the local level.[44] In doing so, it argues that offering a historical insight into a more rural locality increases our understanding of the local dimension of migration that has largely been shaped by the study of the urban context.[45] Fourthly, this book champions the need to both study Muslim migrant populations at a grassroots level and to pursue a more interdisciplinary and cross-sector approach to migration history

in doing so. It purposefully shifts the focus away from the heated political and popular accusations and debates regarding conflict and incompatibility that British Muslim communities have found themselves at the centre of, especially since the turn of the twenty-first century. Indeed, the Rushdie Affair, Islamist extremism and terrorism, and fears and suspicions regarding Shariʿa law, the treatment of women and cultural segregation have firmly categorised Muslims as 'them' in the 'them and us' dichotomy. They have become the main protagonists in allegations of parallel lives, the retreat from political multiculturalism and the perceived need for greater community cohesion. To the contrary, this book's local-level approach offers a much more positive assessment of the integration of British Muslims in a more rural and peripheral setting. It does so by bridging a range of different indicators of integration and topics, from education, housing and entrepreneurship to multiculturalism, social cohesion and religious identity and practice. These themes feed into the fifth point, and what is the book's central argument, which is that the integration of Muslim migrant communities in Wiltshire has long been pursued and achieved in a number of ways. Indeed, despite the fact that there were often a series of limitations to the county's local authority's measures, policies and practices, and that its Muslim populations by no means avoided experiences of constraint, discrimination and prejudice, there was nevertheless a clear and consistent commitment to pursuing integration on both sides.

In charting and assessing Wiltshire's local authority's immigrant, integration and diversity policies and strategies and its Muslim communities' experiences of migration and integration in the county across the post-1960s period, this study both draws and builds upon concepts, findings and theories from a range of different bodies of scholarship beyond those that have already been mentioned. These include historical works on the topics of immigration to, and migrant communities and Muslims in, Britain;[46] and studies addressing the migrant and Muslim experience in Britain's employment, housing and education sectors,[47] Muslim practice, recognition and representation,[48] and racism, victimisation and Islamophobia;[49] as well as those that have examined Muslim communities of particular ethnic backgrounds, and considered the place of Islam in wider debates on migrant integration.[50] In doing so, this book aims to complement these various historiographies through its unique combined historical and rural approach.

Sources and chapter overview

This book attempts to move beyond the traditional study of migration that draws upon either government documentation or oral history interviews.[51] Instead, it pursues the study of integration from the perspectives of both local government and the Muslim communities themselves. As such, the aim is to

re-examine, and develop a more dynamic understanding of, Muslim integration in Britain in a more rural setting. It charts local government policy through major turning points across the post-war period, including the introduction of race relations legislation, the resettlement of Ugandan Asians, the emergence of a multicultural ideology and subsequent community cohesion agenda, and the persistent shift in the construction of difference from a focus on 'race' to 'ethnicity' to 'faith'. In an attempt to capture the complete picture, this study adopts a lenient and flexible definition of 'local policy', taking it to include not just adopted policy, but also local authority correspondence, reports and suggested measures and practices that also offer an insight into Wiltshire's local authority's attitudes towards its Muslim migrant populations. Furthermore, it considers inaction, and thus 'non-policy', as well as local institutions, such as Community Relations Councils, as crucial parts of the local policymaking process.[52]

It is important to recognise that it proves difficult to research and assess local-level policymaking with regard to post-war Muslim migrant communities in Britain. For much of the period, and as was also the case at the national level, local authority documents identified minority communities according to their race and ethnicity rather than their religion, and those pertaining to Wiltshire were no exception. Thus, this book aims to study the county's local authority's political response to Muslim minority populations before religious identities and affiliations were officially considered and recorded.[53] This means that whilst there are some references to Muslim communities specifically amongst the documentation employed, minority populations are predominantly discussed along ethnic lines. An additional challenge is that, due to Wiltshire's rural nature and it being home to small Muslim communities, there was no specific unit or committee that was entirely responsible for issues of migration.[54] This resulted in its local authority's response permeating various levels and aspects of local government, from county, district and town councils to a wide range of committees and sub-committees, including those relating to community development and services, education and schools, environment, finance, health, housing, policy and resources, race relations, social services, the resettlement of Ugandan Asians, and youth. More specifically, the local government documentation that this book draws upon, the vast majority of which is held at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, consists largely of agenda papers, correspondence, minutes and reports from a series of councils and committees, which include the Education Committee, the Executive Committee, the Religious Education Standing Advisory Council, the Housing Committee, the North and West Wiltshire, Kennet, Salisbury Racial Equality Council, the County Local Government Joint Committee, and the Environmental Committee, to name but a few.

These government records are used alongside oral history interviews carried out with members of Wiltshire's Muslim communities. An assessment of both

the practice of oral history within the field of migration studies and the oral history research carried out for this study specifically will be provided in more detail in Chapter 5.[55] For now, it is important to stress that the interviews uncover the 'human' side of the migration and integration process, and allow for individual and unique histories and voices regarding past and ongoing experiences as Muslims in a more rural and peripheral setting. The interviewees were first-generation, 1.5-generation and second-generation migrants who shared their experiences, perceptions and circumstances across a range of areas, including employment and entrepreneurship, housing and the neighbourhood, the formation of multi-ethnic Muslim communities, racism and prejudice, and religious identity and practice.[56] Thus, the two very different types of sources that sit at the centre of this book provide both an insight into the established narrative of the state and uncover invaluable first-hand Muslim migrant stories and experiences. To a much lesser extent, census data, the press and a number of research reports are also drawn upon. Crucially, rather than limiting the scope to certain dimensions or indicators of integration, this study is shaped around those areas and themes that emerged from the source material, and from the local government documents and oral history testimonies especially.

The next chapter, Chapter 1, introduces Wiltshire and the rationale for choosing this county as a case study. It offers an insight into its towns, economy, landscape, history of immigration and its post-war Muslim communities. Chapters 2 to 4 address local government policy from the early 1960s to the early twenty-first century. They chart policies and political strategies from the arrival of the first waves of post-war Muslim immigration to the passing of the Race Relations Act 1976, the pursuit of multicultural policies during the 1980s, and the subsequent importance awarded to equal opportunities, community cohesion and religious identity. The chapters show that despite persistent claims that more rural areas in Britain have long shied away from devising policies due to their numerically small immigrant communities, a range of measures were introduced in Wiltshire, albeit often at a slower pace, and with less frequency and different priorities than those implemented in cities with larger migrant populations. Chapter 5 draws upon the oral history interviews, which give a voice to what are often visible and long-settled, yet under-researched and 'hidden', Muslim migrant communities whose experiences of integration are simply not captured in the official archival narrative. Chapter 6 places the Wiltshire case study and findings within the context of rural Britain, and considers the extent to which it can be argued that there exists a rural dimension to the integration process. Finally, the conclusion moves beyond the novelty of the Wiltshire case study, and frames the study's key findings and conclusions within a range of debates pertaining to local, national and international contexts.

Notes

1 For an insight into the historical Muslim presence in Britain, see Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871–1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988); Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London: Pluto Press, 2002); Humayun Ansari, '*The Infidel Within': Muslims in Britain since 1800* (London: Hurst, 2004); and Sophie Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

2 See Serena Hussain, *Muslims on the Map: A National Survey of Social Trends in Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 23–37; and Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain*, pp. 44–52.

3 See Badr Dahya, 'Pakistanis in Britain: transients or settlers?', *Race*, 14:3 (1973), 241–77; Philip Lewis, *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994); and Pnina Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims: The Public Performance of Pakistani Transnational Identity Politics* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002).

4 For some other key works on Muslims and Islam in Britain, see Ansari, '*The Infidel Within*'; Tahir Abbas (ed.), *Muslim Britain: Communities under Pressure* (London: Zed Books, 2005); Tariq Modood, *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005); Peter Hopkins and Richard Gale (eds), *Muslims in Britain: Race, Place and Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain*; John Bowen, *On British Islam: Religion, Law, and Everyday Practice in Shariʿa Councils* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016); and Philip Lewis and Sadek Hamid, *British Muslims: New Directions in Islamic Thought, Creativity and Activism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

5 See Humayun Ansari, *Muslims in Britain* (London: Minority Rights Group International, 2002); Elizabeth Poole, *Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002); Abbas (ed.), *Muslim Britain*; Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain*; and Waqar Ahmad and Ziauddin Sardar (eds), *Muslims in Britain: Making Social and Political Space* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

6 See Pnina Werbner, 'From rags to riches: Manchester Pakistanis in the textile trade', *New Community*, 8:1–2 (1980), 84–95; Nahid Afrose Kabir, *Young British Muslims: Identity, Culture, Politics and the Media* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Sarah Hackett, *Foreigners, Minorities and Integration: The Muslim Immigrant Experience in Britain and Germany* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Mario Peucker and Shahram Akbarzadeh, *Muslim Active Citizenship in the West* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 33–4; and Richard Alba and Nancy Foner, *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

7 For example, see Ansari, '*The Infidel Within*', pp. 145–65.

8   See Ceri Peach, 'South Asian migration and settlement in Great Britain, 1951–2001', *Contemporary South Asia*, 15:2 (2006), 133–46; and Olgu Karan, *Economic Survival Strategies of Turkish Migrants in London* (London: Transnational Press, 2017).

9   For example, see John Rex and Robert Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); and John Rex and Sally Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1979).

10 For example, see Werbner, 'From rags to riches'; and John Eade, 'Identity, nation and religion: educated young Bangladeshi Muslims in London's "East End"', *International Sociology*, 9:3 (1994), 377–94.

11 For example, see Joanna Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries in the City: Migration, Ethnicity, and Gender in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and Seán McLoughlin, William Gould, Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Emma Tomalin (eds), *Writing the City in British Asian Diasporas* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

12 See Tufyal Choudhury, *Muslims in the UK: Policies for Engaged Citizens* (New York and Budapest: Open Society Institute, 2005), p. 204.

13 See Lewis, *Islamic Britain*; Steven Vertovec, 'Multiculturalism, culturalism and public incorporation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19:1 (1996), 49–69; Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*; Richard Gale, 'The multicultural city and the politics of religious architecture: urban planning, mosques and meaning-making in Birmingham, UK', *Built Environment*, 30:1 (2004), 30–44; McLoughlin, Gould, Kabir and Tomalin (eds), *Writing the City in British Asian Diasporas*; and Sarah Glynn, *Class, Ethnicity and Religion in the Bengali East End: A Political History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

14 Although this study employs the term 'local authority', it charts policies and strategies implemented at various levels of local government, including county, district, town and parish.

15 Whilst some research has been carried out in Scotland and Wales, much of the literature on migrant communities and racism in rural Britain has focused on England.

16 Sarah Neal, 'Rural landscapes, representations and racism: examining multicultural citizenship and policy-making in the English countryside', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25:3 (2002), 443.

17 For example, see Julian Agyeman and Rachel Spooner, 'Ethnicity and the rural environment', in Paul Cloke and Jo Little (eds), *Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, Marginalisation and Rurality* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 197–217; Jon Garland and Neil Chakraborti, 'Racist victimisation, community safety and the rural: issues and challenges', *British Journal of Community Justice*, 2:3 (2004), 21–32; and Larry Ray and Kate Reed, 'Community, mobility and racism in a semi-rural area: comparing minority experience in East Kent', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28: 2 (2005), 212–34.

18 Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, 'England's green and pleasant land? Examining racist prejudice in a rural context', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 38:4 (2004), 384–5.

19 Eric Jay, *'Keep Them in Birmingham': Challenging Racism in South-West England* (London: Commission for Racial Equality, 1992). Two years later, the CRE sponsored a second landmark report on ethnicity and the countryside. See Helen Derbyshire, *Not in Norfolk: Tackling the Invisibility of Racism* (Norwich: Norwich and Norfolk Racial Equality Council, 1994).

20 Jay, *'Keep Them in Birmingham'*, p. 3.

21 Neal, 'Rural landscapes, representations and racism', 453.

22 See Derbyshire, *Not in Norfolk*; Parveen Nizhar, *No Problem? Race Issues in Shropshire* (Telford: Race Equality Forum for Telford and Shropshire, 1995); Satnam Virdee, 'Racial harassment', in Tariq Modood, Richard Berthoud, Jane Lakey, James Nazroo, Patten Smith, Satnam Virdee and Sharon Beishon (eds), *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1997), p. 271; Paul Henderson and Ranjit Kaur (eds), *Rural Racism in the UK: Examples of Community-based Responses* (London: Community Development Foundation, 1999); Philomena de Lima, *Needs Not Numbers: An Exploration of Minority Ethnic Communities in Rural Scotland* (London: Commission for Racial Equality/Community Development Foundation, 2001); Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, 'An "invisible" problem? Uncovering the nature of racist victimisation in rural Suffolk', *International Review of Victimology*, 10:1 (2003), 1–17; and Philomena de Lima, ' "Let's keep our heads down and maybe the problem will go away": experiences of rural minority ethnic households in Scotland', in Sarah Neal and Julian Agyeman (eds), *The New Countryside? Ethnicity, Nation and Exclusion in Contemporary Rural Britain* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2006), pp. 73–97.

23 Mohammed Dhalech, *Challenging Racism in the Rural Idyll* (Exeter: National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux, 1999), p. 28.

24 Philomena de Lima, 'John O'Groats to Land's End: racial equality in rural Britain?', in Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland (eds), *Rural Racism* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2004), p. 42.

25 See Neal, 'Rural landscapes, representations and racism', 448.

26 Katharine Tyler, 'Debating the rural and the urban: majority white racialized discourses on the countryside and the city', in Bo Petersson and Katharine Tyler (eds), *Majority Cultures and the Everyday Politics of Ethnic Difference: Whose House is This?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 75–93; and Katharine Tyler, 'The English village, whiteness, coloniality and social class', *Ethnicities*, 12:4 (2012), 427–44.

27 Kye Askins, 'Crossing divides: ethnicity and rurality', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25:4 (2009), 365–75; and Caroline Bressey, 'Cultural archaeology and historical geographies of the black presence in rural England', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25:4 (2009), 386–95.

28 For example, see Helen Moore, 'Shades of whiteness? English villagers, Eastern European migrants and the intersection of race and class in rural England', *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies*, 9:1 (2013), 1–19; and Allan Findlay and David McCollum, 'Recruitment and employment regimes: migrant labour

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29   Anoop Nayak, 'Race, affect, and emotion: young people, racism, and graffiti in the postcolonial English suburbs', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 42:10 (2010), 2370–92; and Daniel Burdsey, ' "The foreignness is still quite visible in this town": multiculture, marginality and prejudice at the English seaside', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 47:2 (2013), 95–116.

30   Charlotte Williams, 'Revisiting the rural/race debates: a view from the Welsh countryside', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30:5 (2007), 742.

31   Rhys Dafydd Jones, 'Islam and the rural landscape: discourses of absence in West Wales', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 11:8 (2010), 751–68; and Rhys Dafydd Jones, 'Negotiating absence and presence: rural Muslims and "subterranean" sacred spaces', *Space and Polity*, 16:3 (2012), 335–50.

32   Ray and Reed, 'Community, mobility and racism in a semi-rural area'; and Tom Villis and Mireille Hebing, 'Islam and Englishness: issues of culture and identity in the debates over mosque building in Cambridge', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 20:4 (2014), 415–37.

33   For example, see Sarah Neal and Julian Agyeman (eds), *The New Countryside? Ethnicity, Nation and Exclusion in Contemporary Rural Britain* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2006); and Hopkins and Gale (eds), *Muslims in Britain*.

34   For example, see Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain*, p. 210; and Glynn, *Class, Ethnicity and Religion in the Bengali East End*.

35   For a critique of the way in which the study of migration has been restricted to global cities, see Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar, 'Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: migrant incorporation and city scale', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35:2 (2009), 177–202.

36   See Richard Gale and Peter Hopkins, 'Introduction: Muslims in Britain – race, place and the spatiality of identities', in Peter Hopkins and Richard Gale (eds), *Muslims in Britain: Race, Place and Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 15. These arguments and calls have also extended to Northern Ireland. See Paul Hainsworth (ed.), *Divided Society: Ethnic Minorities and Racism in Northern Ireland* (London: Pluto Press, 1998); and Ruth McAreavey, *New Immigration Destinations: Migrating to Rural and Peripheral Areas* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

37   See Ray and Reed, 'Community, mobility and racism in a semi-rural area'; Jones, 'Islam and the rural landscape'; Jones, 'Negotiating absence and presence'; and Villis and Hebing, 'Islam and Englishness'.

38   For an insight into some of these definitions, see Chakraborti and Garland, 'England's green and pleasant land?'; Perminder Dhillon, 'Rethinking rural race equality: early interventions, continuities and changes', in Sarah Neal and Julian Agyeman (eds), *The New Countryside? Ethnicity, Nation and Exclusion in Contemporary Rural Britain* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2006), pp. 232–3; Jones, 'Islam and the rural landscape'; and McAreavey, *New Immigration Destinations*, pp. 6–7.

39   See Rinus Penninx, Karen Kraal, Marco Martiniello and Steven Vertovec (eds), *Citizenship in European Cities: Immigrants, Local Politics and*

Integration Policies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Jonathan Laurence, *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims: The State's Role in Minority Integration* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Marlou Schrover and Willem Schinkel (eds), *The Language of Inclusion and Exclusion in Immigration and Integration* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014); and Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*.

40   Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005), p. 18. See also Ibrahim Sirkeci, Betül Dilara Şeker and Ali Çağlar (eds), *Turkish Migration, Identity and Integration* (London: Transnational Press, 2015); and Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx (eds), *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2016).

41   For a few exceptions, see Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*; and Leo Lucassen, David Feldman and Jochen Oltmer (eds), *Paths of Integration: Migrants in Western Europe (1880–2004)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

42   For example, see Wendy Ball and John Solomos (eds), *Race and Local Politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); Romain Garbaye, *Getting into Local Power: The Politics of Ethnic Minorities in British and French Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); and Sarah Hackett, 'The "local turn" in historical perspective: two city case studies in Britain and Germany', *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 83:2 (2017), 340–57.

43   Much of this literature has already been cited, but in particular see Jay, *'Keep Them in Birmingham'*; Derbyshire, *Not in Norfolk*; and de Lima, 'John O'Groats to Land's End'.

44   For a few key works that have addressed the British national model of integration, often from a comparative perspective, see Adrian Favell, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998); Christian Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Martin Schain, *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain, and the United States: A Comparative Study* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

45   For an insight into some of the literature that has exposed the importance of studying migration at the local level, see Patrick Ireland, *Becoming Europe: Immigration, Integration, and the Welfare State* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004); Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert (eds), *The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010); Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar (eds), *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); and Tiziana Caponio, Peter Scholten and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of the Governance of Migration and Diversity in Cities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

46   See, for example, Ansari, *'The Infidel Within'*; Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain*; and Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2010).

47   For example, see Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain* (Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill Open University Press, 2008); Ken Clark and Stephen Drinkwater, 'Recent trends in minority ethnic entrepreneurship in Britain', *International Small Business Journal*, 28:2 (2010), 136–46; and Deborah Phillips, 'Claiming spaces: British Muslim negotiations of urban citizenship in an era of new migration', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 40:1 (2015), 62–74.

48   See Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper, *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Parveen Akhtar, *British Muslim Politics: Examining Pakistani Biraderi Networks* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

49   See Chris Allen, *Islamophobia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); and John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin (eds), *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

50   For example, see Alison Shaw, *Kinship and Continuity: Pakistani Families in Britain* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 2000); Ceri Peach, 'Muslims in the 2001 Census of England and Wales: gender and economic disadvantage', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29:4 (2006), 629–55; Myriam Cherti, *Paradoxes of Social Capital: A Multi-Generational Study of Moroccans in London* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008); Laurence, *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims*; Bowen, *On British Islam*; and Jed Fazakarley, *Muslim Communities in England 1962–90: Multiculturalism and Political Identity* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

51   For a few key works that have drawn upon oral history, see Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-war Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); and Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries in the City*. For examples of studies that have made use of government documentation, see Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*; and Gurharpal Singh, 'Multiculturalism in contemporary Britain: reflections on the "Leicester model"', *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 5:1 (2003), 40–54.

52   For an insight into works that have approached and defined local migration policy in this way, see John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 97–8; and Michael Alexander, *Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 38.

53   The Census, for example, did not include a question on religious affiliation until 2001. As a result, attempts to calculate the number of Muslims in Britain, or the size of a specific Muslim community, were mere approximations. For example, see Ceri Peach, 'The Muslim population of Great Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13:3 (1990), 414–19.

54   This was frequently the case in cities. For example, see Mano Candappa and Danièle Joly, *Local Authorities, Ethnic Minorities and 'Pluralist Integration': A*

Study in Five Local Authority Areas (University of Warwick: Monograph Series in Ethnic Relations No. 7, 1994).

55 For an insight into the importance of oral history for the study of migration, see Alistair Thomson, 'Moving stories: oral history and migration studies', *Oral History*, 27:1 (1999), 24–37; Cynthia Brown, 'Moving on: reflections on oral history and migrant communities in Britain', *Oral History*, 34:1 (2006), 69–80; and Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries in the City*.

56 First-generation migrants were born abroad and arrived in Britain as adults (after the age of 16). 1.5-generation migrants were born abroad and arrived in Britain during childhood (before the age of 16). Second-generation migrants were born in Britain and had parents who had been born abroad. See Anthony Heath, Stephen Fisher, Gemma Rosenblatt, David Sanders and Maria Sobolewska, *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 33–4. The 1.5-generation is also referred to as the 'one-and-a-half generation'. See Cherti, *Paradoxes of Social Capital*.