

Religious Mapping of Chapeltown

The Complexity of Community and Identity in Chapeltown



Shane Adams, Elspeth Alexander, Jo Merrygold, Charlotte
Moore, Harriet Skehan, Helen Smith and Anna Sparks

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Introduction

The Religious Mapping of Chapeltown is a small-scale ethnographic research project undertaken by final year undergraduate students at the University of Leeds between February and May 2014. Continuing a pattern of 'Religious Mapping' projects started in the 1990s, the project falls within the remit of the Community Religions Project which has undertaken 'empirical research on religion and religions 'near at hand', in the cities of Leeds and Bradford and beyond' since 1976 (Community Religions Project [no date]). Religious mapping uses multiple methodologies to collect different types of data from a specific, bounded space, in order to map 'change, diversity, religious demography and religion in conjunction with other variables such as ethnicity, politics or gender' (Knott, 2011: 493).

The focus of the 2014 research project is the residential area of Chapeltown, to the north-east of Leeds City Centre. Chapeltown is an area which is associated with high crime rates and multi-ethnic, multi-national residents, many of whom only stay for a short time (Knott, 2009a: 157). The history of the area, with particular reference to the different religions present in Chapeltown, was the focus of a previous mapping project in 2007 which also provided a directory of key places of worship (Fotiou et al 2007). As the earlier project identified the significance of the religious communities in the development of the area, we decided to focus our research on the interrelationship between current religious groups and the area of Chapeltown. In particular this led us to explore the nature of the complexity of differing aspects of community and identity in the area.

Our initial research identified the problem of fixed boundaries for the area, as they appear to be porous, and defined by community identification with 'Chapeltown' rather than fixed geographic ties. This became evident in initial fieldwork visits and interviews where the suggested boundaries were contested (interview with police officers, 4/03/2014; interview with Mark Harwood 06/02/2014). A sense of identification with Chapeltown extended across communities, as well as reaching beyond fixed geographic points. While identification with Chapeltown relates to the area's history and development, we were interested in the extent to which current religious communities understand, respond to, and transmit that identity. The nuanced nature of the differing communities came into focus, as religion, ethnicity, geographical and national origin, and length of residency in Chapeltown all affected the relationship of any individual to the area. Our initial fieldwork further confirmed this as, in a short period of time; we identified a significant number of religious groups and places of worship. As such we have been able to undertake comparative, horizontal research, in line with the religious mapping model, which allows identification of common themes or features within a locality (Martikainen, 2002: 313).

The religious groups identified in the research project indicated some of the ways in which common themes are present across different religions in Chapeltown. In particular, the nuanced relationship between community membership or association and identity became evident. In the multi-religious, multi-national and multi-ethnic area of Chapeltown, these (and other) facets of identity inform the way in which groups of people are understood. The religious organisations reflect this diversity, as many attract and serve specific groups of people, especially through interlinking religion with ethnic and national heritage. The link between these themes is not only reflected in practice (interview with representative from Nation of Islam, 28/02/2014), but is demonstrated through personal practice (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014). As

such, the interrelationship between religious belief and practice in Chapeltown cannot be separated from other aspects of identity and culture, such as ethnicity, national origin and length of both personal and community residency in the area.

The religions present in Chapeltown reflect the pattern of settlement in the area (Fotiou et al, 2007: 23-26), and there are high numbers of Christian, Muslim and Sikh places of worship. In our report we will look at the way in which these groups represent differing models of community in the area, many of which are built around transnational and ethnic identities. We will consider the way in which these themes are understood alongside the establishment of religious communities in Chapeltown and then assess the way migrant communities establish themselves, particularly through the overlapping associations with religious groups. The interrelationship between community identity and religious practice will be explored through the way in which groups transmit their religious ideas, both to those within their own community, and to those outside. This will allow consideration of whether the models of community explored earlier remain evident in such a complex area. By researching these interrelated themes, we will contrast different religious and migrant groups in order to identify trends and to assess whether the number of religious groups is on the rise and whether this is unique to Chapeltown.

Ultimately, this project will show that Chapeltown is a complex and nuanced area in which religion can be found in many areas of local and community life. The number of groups, and the diverse communities they represent, show the way in which religion in the area is contextual and informed by the complex individual identities of the group members.

Methodology

Religious mapping is a complex and multifaceted form of research with no 'formal' methodological process (Knott, 2011: 491). For comprehensive data to be collected, multiple methods of data collection should be used (Martikainen, 2002:312). For our research this was paramount in trying to create an accurate portrayal of the religious identity of Chapeltown.

Our research broadly fell into two strands: background information gathering through literature searches and through discussions with our community partner, and through undertaking fieldwork within the Chapeltown community.

Background Information Gathering

We conducted Internet based research from local databases, literature and official figures such as Leeds City Council, NHS Leeds and from Network Leeds, a local religious network (Besford and Lancaster, 2012). We also worked with a community partner who had familiarity with Chapeltown and religious groups working in the area. Our community partner, Revd Mark Harwood, minister at Roscoe Methodist Church since 2006, provided background information about Chapeltown and acted as gatekeeper by introducing us to significant community members and leaders.

Fieldwork Methodology

On completion of our initial research we immersed ourselves in the Chapeltown community by undertaking fieldwork. Three methods of data collection were used: 'being 'present'' (Martikainen, 2002: 319) in the area, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Whilst undertaking fieldwork, we worked to ensure our research

was ethically grounded. Information sheets outlining the nature of our research were distributed to everyone we engaged with in our research. Those participating in interviews were given an extended information sheet to give participants further details of their engagement in the research and how their information would be used. Participants gave informed consent to participate both verbally and through the use of consent forms (see appendix 1), this included the right to withdraw from the research and the right to anonymity (or to be referred to by a specific designation).

‘Being ‘Present’

‘Being ‘present’ (Martikainen, 2002: 319) involved driving and walking around Chapeltown so as to gain a general overview of the area, using the Leeds & Bradford A-Z (Geographers A-Z Map Company, 2009: 78) to ensure we covered the whole area. We also scheduled visits during busy times to locate religious institutions and community groups, and develop a sense of the Chapeltown community. Being ‘present’, alongside data gathered through background information, informed the focus of our research and enabled specific themes and commonalities to be identified.

Participant observation

We undertook visits to services and acts of worship, as well as to community groups and meetings following participant observation methodology (Harvey, 2011: 217). Participant observation is designed to ‘capture social reality’ by enabling those undertaking research to remain in the role of researcher while participating in the event they are observing (May, 2011: 162). By not merely relying on the observations of others, the researcher can question their own experiences as participant (May, 2011:164).

The role of researcher falls along a continuum from 'complete observer' to 'complete participant' (Knott, 2009b: 262). During this project an 'observer-as-participant' approach was used. As such, participants were aware of our presence and understood that research was being conducted, whilst the researcher was able to participate in the activity if appropriate to do so (Bryman, 2008: 410). Due to time constraints and the number of religious groups identified in the research area we were unable to visit all communities to undertake participant observation. Through participant observations we were able to identify individuals to take part in more in-depth, formal interviews.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews use a set of questions as a guide to ensure continuity across researchers and to enable comparison and analysis of the data gathered (Bryman, 2008: 438).

Semi-structured interviews are more dynamic and 'flexible' in nature, and less prescriptive than formal structured interviews or questionnaires (Bryman, 2008: 438).

This allows the interviewer to ask further questions and gain 'clarification' (May, 2011: 134), and enables both the interviewer and interviewee to expand on answers given and allows more in-depth data to be collected.

We devised a mind-map of questions for use in semi-structured interviews related to our initial themes of transnationalism, transmission of tradition, and religious and community dynamics (see figure 1). Interviews were undertaken in pairs and conducted in public places in both formal and informal settings.

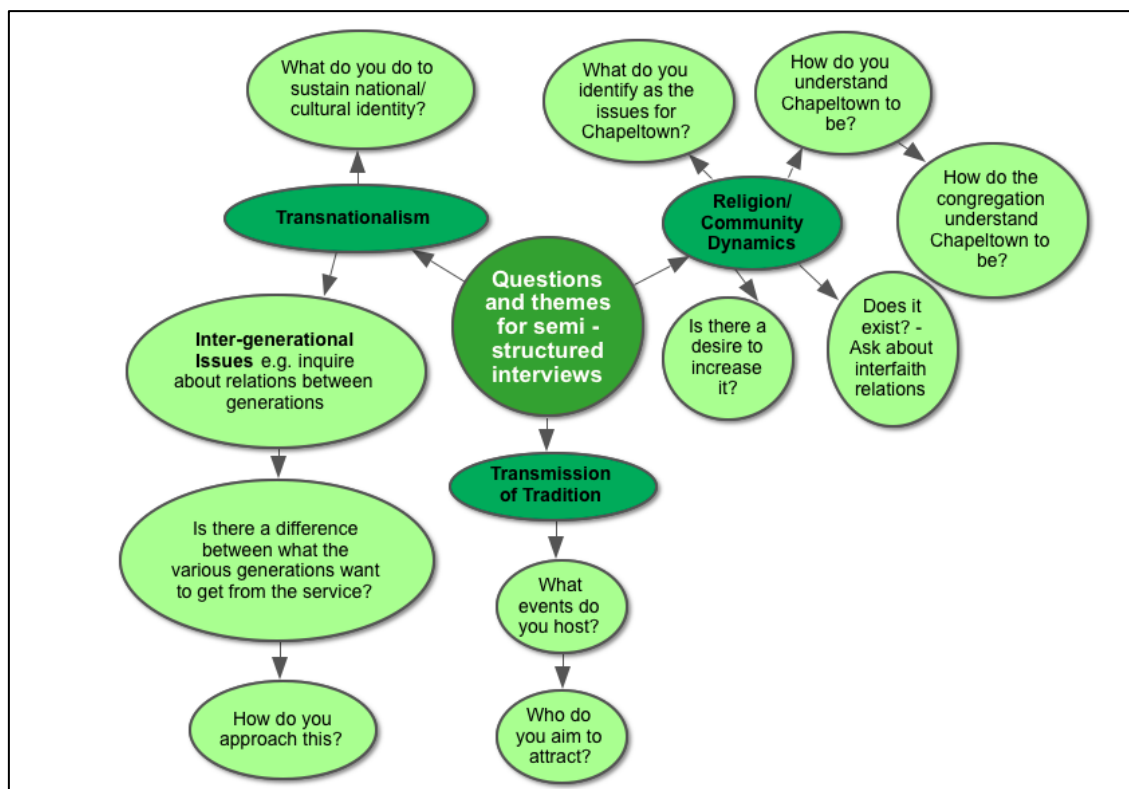


Figure 1: Mind map for semi-structured interviews

Due to the nature of the fieldwork methods, we collected qualitative data which presented an insight into the nuanced and complex nature of religious groups in Chapeltown. The use of multiple research techniques allowed us to triangulate our data in order to verify the information and identify themes and trends.

Methodological considerations

Establishing contact and access to groups

Gatekeepers vouch for the credibility of the researcher, and have a huge impact on the ability of a researcher to gain the access needed for effective data collection (Bryman, 2008: 407-409). Gatekeepers were particularly significant in enabling us to undertake our fieldwork. Our community partner acted as our sponsor and primary gatekeeper, introducing us to other community leaders and possible research participants. This was particularly crucial in establishing contact with groups who were 'closed' rather than

'public' (Bryman, 2008: 405, 407), such as the Romanian Pentecostal Church and the Nation of Islam. Within the religious groups, we relied on those in leadership to act as gatekeepers to allow access to their specific group and introduce us to key members of the community. A limitation of this is that the gatekeeper presented our research from their own perspective, with one indicating we had a single-religion focus rather than our stated aim to identify *all* religious groups in the area.

Due to the nature of our primary gatekeeper's work, our initial contacts were predominantly from Christian and Afro-Caribbean communities. However, through these contacts we were invited to attend events such as Churches Together in Chapeltown and Harehills (public meeting, 20/02/2014), and the West Yorkshire Police Partners and Communities Together (PACT) meetings (public meeting, 11/03/2014). At these meetings we were able to interact with additional gatekeepers from a wider spectrum of communities in Chapeltown.

Interviews with gatekeepers allowed us to gain information about communities where language would otherwise exclude us or limit our understanding. This limited us to only being able to gain an insight into the community from the gatekeeper's perspective. As a gatekeeper, they are also leaders or people with authority within their community or group. They can, therefore, present an account of their religious practice which does not acknowledge any potential disagreement or problem amongst the group. As we only met with gatekeepers, we were unable to assess whether this had a significant impact on the data we collected.

Participant understanding of our research

During visits to religious and community groups we relied on gatekeepers to inform the wider community of our presence and to relay our research intentions. One limitation of this was that in some situations incorrect information was communicated about the project. For example, one group leader informed the congregation that our research was focused on a specific, single religion, which potentially biased the data gathered from that congregation and affecting our observations. Another limitation occurred in non-English speaking congregations where it was unclear what information had been given about our research. For example, at the Eritrean Catholic Festival the whole service was in Tigrinya (visit to act of worship, 21/02/2014) and therefore we can only assume the priest announced our presence as at one point the whole congregation looked in our direction. However we were unable to ascertain what the congregation understood our intentions to be as his introduction was not translated. As such, it was important that we introduced ourselves and provided information sheets to give a clear outline of our research.

Participant Bias

Our research is also impacted by our interaction with participants, and their perception of us. As an entirely white, predominantly female group of students, we had assumptions made about aspects of our background such as gender, race, class, age and presumed religious identity. These factors meant that we were received as outsiders, particularly as we were deemed to be notably younger and temporary residents of Leeds which highlighted differences from our participants. There was also a difference in reception for the one male researcher, particularly when visiting the same location as his fellow female researchers. The difference in reception by participants highlighted the limitations of the group in gaining data where men and women acquired different information.

A significant factor in data collection was the perception of the religious beliefs of each researcher. There was a common perception that all the researchers were Christian, which led to some participants assuming knowledge, particularly when referring to Christian practice or imagery. Furthermore, perceived religious status influenced interview responses where participants believed there to be a 'right' or desirable answer.

An aspect of potential participant bias emerges from the frequency at which Chapeltown is researched (Interview with Mark Harwood, 2/02/2014 and comments at the West Indian Centre AGM, public meeting, 23/02/2014). Some participants showed reservations about participating in our research, and were keen to understand the purpose of the project before agreeing to take part. As such some participants responded to interview questions by seeking to establish a two-way dialogue. While this did not hinder our data collection, it emphasised the need to engage with the community beyond the confines of our project and to confirm understanding throughout the process.

Challenges of language and nationality

Chapeltown is a diverse area with a variety of nationalities, ethnicities and religions. Consequently one of the challenges was that a significant number of the religious services we observed were not conducted in English and so we had to adapt our research methods due to language barriers. For participant observation and interviews, we were reliant on translators from within the congregation. This meant it was hard to confirm the validity of the data we collected as we were receiving an interpreted rather

than first-hand account. Also only limited anonymity and confidentiality could be offered in the setting as the participant was required to divulge their views to another participant not just the researchers, which may have impacted on the type and quality of data collected.

These were also important considerations of our communication with the participant as we cannot be certain how accurately our questions and explanation of our research were translated to the communities. For example, a member of the Zimbabwean, Shona-speaking congregation translated our introductions and explanation of the project (visit to act of worship, 14/03/2014). It was apparent that there was some difficulty translating the phrase 'Religious Studies Department' although 'The University of Leeds' was understood. It is therefore unclear whether other phrases we used were unclear or translated differently to the congregation.

Boundaries

The boundaries of 'Chapeltown' are contentious and porous, as communities and institutions define the area differently, depending on their relationship to it. There is no parish or electoral ward of Chapeltown, meaning there is no single agreed geographical boundary for the area (cf. Alder et al, 2013: 3). Based on the Chapel Allerton electoral ward boundaries, Leeds City Council and NHS Leeds locate the administrative area of Chapeltown within the south of the ward (see figure 2).

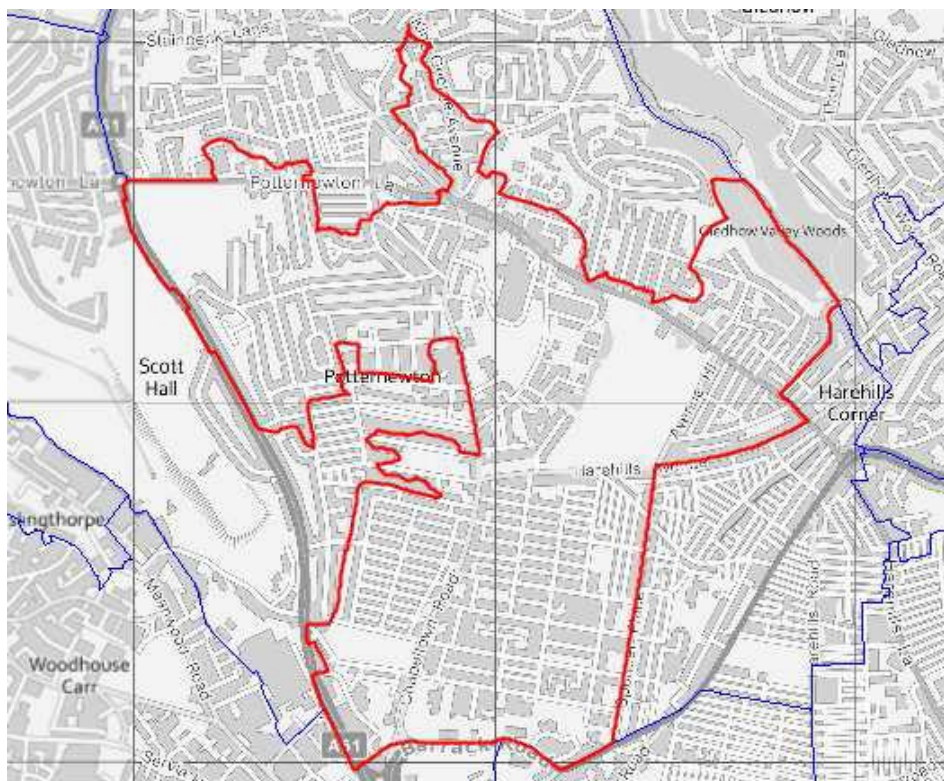


Figure 2: Chapeltown area as used by Leeds City Council and NHS Leeds

(Image source: Leeds City Council 2012)

Many residents describe Chapeltown as having a cultural identity, which is retained even after moving away from the geographic area (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014). Others stated there to be “no such place as Chapeltown” instead suggesting ‘Chapeltown’ was politically constructed in response to the Afro-Caribbean population and the civil unrest in the 1970s and 1980s (interview with a representative

from Nation of Islam, 28/02/2014). This indicates the complex nature of intentionally creating boundaries for Chapeltown and the need to acknowledge the impact of a 'Chapeltown' identity in understanding the geographical area and the communities who use it.

Boundary Justification

In order to specify our area of research we considered geographical features, historical designations and cultural influences of 'Chapeltown'.



Figure 1: Boundaries of Chapeltown

For the purpose of this report we erred on the side of inclusivity, defining our eastern boundary as Roundhay Road (in order to include the area between Spencer Place and Roundhay Road attentive to those who feel culturally part of Chapeltown); our western boundary to include the Scott Hall estate, Caribbean Cricket Club and Chapeltown

Youth Development Centre to the east of Scott Hall Road; southern boundaries is marked by the intersection of Scott Hall Road, Chapeltown Road and Roundhay Road; and our northern boundary comprising Potternewton Lane and Harehills Lane (Figure 3). This means our boundary is drawn wider than the Leeds ward boundaries and that used by the 2007 mapping group. As such we acknowledge that Chapeltown exists as a source of identity beyond the geographical constraints placed upon it. These boundaries enable us to explore the interrelationship between religious identity, and the cultural and geographic associations of Chapeltown.

Exploring Identities within Chapeltown

While Chapeltown does not have a clearly defined geographical boundary, it is an area which carries negative associations following high profile crimes¹ and a history of racial disturbances and riots (Knott, 2009a: 159). It is also associated with high levels of migration throughout its history, the impact and associations of which endure, meaning it is a nebulous area with 'a diverse population of varying British and migrant ethnicities' (Fotiou et al, 2007: 2). Chapeltown² has 'a diverse ethnic and cultural population with 60% of people coming from BME communities (predominantly Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Indian)' (Leeds City Council, 2012). While this presents an account of the ethnicities present in Chapeltown, when considered alongside geographical origin, the complexity of identity emerges. 48.8% of the population described themselves as being of British origin, with sizeable populations from South Asia (18.8%), Middle East (8.7%), Africa (5.2%) and Eastern Europe (4.6%) meaning that Chapeltown has a greater spread of ethnicities and geographic origins than the broader city of Leeds (Leeds City Council and NHS Leeds, 2011: 5). This data indicates the need to consider both ethnicity and geographic origin as different but significant influences on Chapeltown as an area and the lives of its residents. The complexity of these facets of

¹ Recent news stories highlight social disorder, drugs and violent crime (BBC, 2011; Yorkshire Evening Post, 2013, 2014). Several Chapeltown residents suggested that the Yorkshire Evening Post only ever reports Chapeltown negatively (West Yorkshire Police PACT public meeting, 11/03/2014).

² The data is drawn from the MSOA profile of Chapeltown, rather than the whole Chapel Allerton ward, based on the 2001 census. An updated ward profile following the 2011 census has not yet been released. When contrasted with the census figures for the electoral ward, differences emerge particularly in relation to the proportion of Muslim, Sikhs and Christians in the area (cf. Knott 2009a: 157 note 13).

identity coalesce in Chapeltown leading to a reinforced sense of the area as multi-national and multi-ethnic however it is necessary to consider the way in which a Chapeltown identity is understood in light of these factors.

While the census indicates the multiple ethnicities and geographic origins of the population at a fixed point, it cannot highlight the extent to which the population changes between each collection of data. The fluctuating cultural diversity needs further contextualisation to indicate change within the period of a decade between censuses, particularly where groups come and go without appearing on a census. This is particularly significant for Chapeltown as one interviewee suggested that one third of the population live in the area for less than 2 years (short-term or transitory residents), one third for between 2 and 10 years (long-term residents) and one third of the population are fixed residents of more than 10 years duration (permanent residents)³ (Interview with Mark Harwood, 6/02/2014). This long-established pattern of movement into and out of Chapeltown has been described as 'a flow of migrating bodies, some of whom have settled whilst others have moved out' (Knott 2009a: 158). Whether long- or short-term residents, each incoming group influences others within the area (Knott 2009a: 158), and this is particularly visible in the religious provision in Chapeltown.

Chapeltown has a significantly different religious population than is evident across the city of Leeds. A lower proportion of the Chapeltown population are Christians (46.62%

³ Chapeltown is not an area populated by students (Leeds City Council and NHS Leeds 2011: 4), and therefore other reasons for the short-term residency is needed. This was not investigated further within the research, however opinions indicated this is due to international migration and asylum seeking in the area (Interview with Mark Harwood 6 February 2014).

in Chapeltown cf. 68.87%) or Jews (0.7% cf. 1.15%), a slightly greater proportion are Buddhists (0.68% cf. 0.22%) or Hindus (0.8% cf. 0.59%) and a larger percentage are Sikhs (7.05% cf. 1.06%) or Muslims (16.62% cf. 2.99%) (Leeds City Council, 2012)⁴. No places of worship were found for Buddhists, Hindus or Jews within Chapeltown, suggesting those who reside in the area and choose to participate in corporate acts of worship leave the area to do so; however the Jewish history of the area was discussed in the previous mapping report (Fotiou et al, 2007: 7-8). The numbers of Christian, Muslim and Sikh places of worship reflect the proportions of Chapeltown residents who identify with each religion in the census – 24 distinct Christian groups were identified within the boundaries, with a further 2 outside the area attracting significant numbers of Chapeltown residents, 9 Islamic places of worship were located, 3 of which are linked to a large mosque in Harehills, and 4 Gurdwaras were found. The only additional single-faith group to be identified was an emerging Rastafarian group, which follows the historically influential presence of Rastafari in the area, particularly in the 1970s (Bryant, 2012: 3). Finally, a multi-faith chaplaincy is in operation at Chapel Allerton Hospital. With 39 distinct groups operating in Chapeltown, the area has a higher number of religious organisations than in any area of Leeds previously mapped,⁵ including a significantly larger number than were identified in the previous Chapeltown

⁴ This trend is also evident when Chapeltown is considered against the rest of the Chapel Allerton ward (cf. Knott, 2009a: 157, note 13).

⁵ 26 places were identified in Beeston and Cottingley (Breckell et al, 1995: 39-40). 8 were located in Harehills (Hufton et al, 2008: 34-42), 11 in Meanwood (Alder et al, 2013: 43-48), 12 in Burley (Bradley et al, 2004: 33-46), 13 in Headingley (Allen et al, 2009: 66-78) and 16 in the City Centre (Bangay et al, 2012: 39-55). The Religious Mapping of the University of Leeds (Brown et al, 2002) was not considered as its focus is on the university rather than a residential area of the city.

report, with nine places of worship in their directory, and a further two in the discussion⁶ (Fotiou et al, 2007). Three further places of worship which fall within the current boundary were included in the Harehills Mapping report (Hufton et al, 2008).

The earlier mapping reports appear to focus on distinct places of worship, which therefore does not include groups who share buildings with other religious groups (10 in Chapeltown) or meet in secular settings such as the Association of Ukrainians' Centre (Apostolic Faith Mission and Salem Mission House Foundation Faith Church) or the West Indian Centre (Nation of Islam). The remaining 25 groups have their own fixed building from which to operate. Despite the sizeable increase of recorded religious groups, several existed prior to the previous report such as Chapeltown Community Church which started in the early 1990s, Emmanuel Christian Fellowship formed in 2002, and the approximately 30-year old Mount Zion Pentecostal Apostolic Church (Besford and Lancaster, 2012). Additionally, groups have moved into the area from other parts of Leeds: Apostolic Faith Mission previously met in Harehills, and Igreja de Deus, was previously in Hyde Park. Others have ceased or moved out of the area as no evidence was found of them during our research, notably the Jordan Healing Church (formerly at the Association of Ukrainians' Centre) who have emerged and then disappeared since 2007 (Besford and Lancaster, 2012). These factors do not attest for all the religious groups in the area, with fewer ceasing than emerging, which indicates an overall increase since 2007; as experienced by one interviewee who has worked in the area since 2006 (Interview with Mark Harwood, 6/02/2014).

⁶ Roscoe Methodist Church and Wesleyan Holiness Church were included in the report (Fotiou et al, 2007: 12-13) but omitted from the directory.

The three strands of ethnic and geographical origin, length of residency in Chapeltown, and religion coalesce to form three elements of identity which both unite and divide communities in the area (Knott, 2009a: 158). The increase of religion in Chapeltown must be considered alongside the differing aspects of identity which form around ethnicity and geographical origin as well as how established a community is within Chapeltown, and how the differing strands are privileged and prioritised in individual and group identity.

Community and Identity

When considering the multiple communities which exist within Chapeltown, it is necessary to consider what constitutes 'community'. 'Community' is frequently understood to be a homogenous group into which all residents from a single geographic area can be categorised. The homogeneity of a group of individuals can be problematic in identifying community, as

everyone is an individual with their own rights as well as embedded in a community... communities overlap with each other, [they] are interdependent, and are continually developing and influencing each other. All people in Britain belong to more than one community, and accordingly may experience conflicting loyalties within their own hearts and minds (Richardson, 2001: 53).

While Robin Richardson acknowledges the multifaceted nature of communities, he still implies a consistent idea of 'community', an idea discussed in more detail by Kim Knott. Over time, 'community' has had several meanings applied to it, including as 'a polite term for "ethnic minority"' (Knott, 2004: 69). This, she argues, led many to ignore the significance of religion in developing community identity and cohesion. Community can be a 'deceptively simple theme [which] requires our full critical attention and must be approached with vigilance and sophistication' (Knott, 2004: 67-8). This is particularly important in Chapeltown due to the complexity of factors which form both individual and group identity, and around which communities form.

Communities in Chapeltown also face problems from the categorisation by outsiders who in turn place pressure on the 'communities', in line with the British obsession with community which seeks to be able to categorise these groups of individuals (Knott, 2004: 70). This is particularly important in Chapeltown as the diversity of ethnicities,

nationalities, and durations of residency, along with religion, impact the way in which each individual identifies themselves and relates to others. Religious communities have played important roles within the initial establishment and subsequent development of communities within Chapeltown, particularly as religion provides both a point of entry into existing communities (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014), and a point of unity for other individuals of the same religion, especially when they are new to the area (interview with Asghar Ali, 1/04/2014). Despite these multifaceted aspects of community, a strong sense of a specific Chapeltown identity and community endures (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014). Part of that identity is identification with the diverse communities who are considered part of Chapeltown as a whole. This is evident amongst religious groups, even though there is no formal interfaith group in the area. St Martin's Institute is used to host events organised by both St Martin's Church and by the nearby Sikh Temple, reflecting the personal relationships between members of each community, including by marriage (interview with a Christian minister, 20/02/2014). Within the same religion, the Pastor from the Wesleyan Holiness Church acts as primary point of contact for various churches worshipping at his own church building (Romanian Pentecostal Church) and at Roscoe Methodist Church (Christ Embassy (Cell Group)) as well as home-based emerging churches including a Mauritian group⁷ (interview with Pastor of Wesleyan Holiness Church, 9/03/2014). These collaborations, along with single events such as an interfaith memorial event for Nelson Mandela (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014; interview a representative of the Sikh Temple, 23/02/2014) highlight the way in which the different communities within Chapeltown unite to promote a single, unified Chapeltown community.

⁷ Home-based churches are omitted from the directory as they are not publically accessible.

Despite the instances of collaboration, the complexity of 'community' and the interrelationship of different, distinct groups remain problematic. While links are visible on many occasions this is due to perceived necessity rather than informal links (interview with a Christian minister, 20/02/2014; interview with a representative from the Sikh Temple 23/02/2014). This reflects the way in which 'notions of communal identity are organised symbolically through the construction of boundaries marked by such signifiers as language, custom and/or religion' (McLoughlin, 2010: 535 cf. Knott 2010). This is further evident in the way other contextual boundaries are drawn, such as differentiation between specific congregations even within the same religion. In relation to Christian worship, one interviewee's description of the effect of 'conveyor belt churches' highlights the need for one distinct group to be out of a church building prior to the arrival of the next congregation, thus protecting the boundary around each community (interview with Pastor from Wesleyan Holiness Church, 9/03/2014). Similarly, the links between the gurdwaras were described as negligible due to the separation of the communities associated with each one (interview with a representative of the Sikh Temple, 23/02/2014).

The boundaries are more effectively transcended by individuals or small groups, but this is most evident where there is an overlap of identity within another bounded aspect of individual and community identity, such as geographic origin, politics or ethnic background. The annual St. Kitts and Nevis Christian service unites the congregations of St Martins Anglican Church and Roscoe Methodist Church (interview with Mark Harwood, 6/02/2014; interview with a Christian minister, 20/02/2014). The shared political history of the Black Power political movement and common promotion of a black cultural heritage has led to links between members of Roscoe Methodist Church and the Nation of Islam (interview with a representative of Nation of Islam, 28/02/2014; interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014). These examples emphasise the ways in

which overlapping communities function in the area, and the role of religion as one aspect of community identity.

Overlapping strands of identity are further evident in the number of non-English language, Christian groups in Chapeltown. As Seán McLoughlin identified, language and religion can be joined together in the construction of boundaries which inform communal identity (2010: 535). As there is a high number of Churches and Christian groups, language provides an effective way of establishing and identifying each community. Such groups include the Ge'ez Rite Eritrean Roman Catholic Church who worship in Tigrinya, the Portuguese-language Church, Igreja de Deus, the French-speaking congregations International Fire Ministries and Mangembo Church, the Shona-speaking group who worship at St Martin's Institute, and the eponymous The Three Hierarchs Greek Orthodox, Romanian Pentecostal and Polish Catholic Churches. When visiting these groups our outsider status was clearly evident as we were reliant on translators during acts of worship, and conversations with gatekeepers in our interviews in order to gain information about the groups. Our experiences highlighted the effectiveness of the boundaries around the groups which serve to attract members of their own community but also means interaction with other groups is limited unless they intentionally choose to break down the barriers. Such attempts are in evidence at the Three Hierarchs Greek Orthodox Church, who use the adjoining school to offer classes in Greek language, history and culture (Greek Orthodox Community Leeds, 2012).

Whether the religious groups of Chapeltown present themselves as divergent or unified, the area is perceived to be an effective hub for many faith organisations whose congregations are not based in the area. The Sikh Temple, The Three Hierarchs Greek

Orthodox Church and Eritrean (Ge'ez Rite) Congregation attract congregants from across West Yorkshire, with the Chapeltown's Nation of Islam group serving as the single meeting point for Northern England (interview with a representative from Nation of Islam, 28/02/2014). The commitment to travel in order to be part of the desired religious community is not limited to people travelling into Chapeltown, as residents from the area travel to other places of worship. In particular, the Debre Sibhat Medhanialem Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Woodhouse attracts a significant number of Chapeltown residents⁸. The New Testament Church of God in Harehills was previously located in Chapeltown, and retains its resident congregation despite its relocation (interview with Mark Harwood, 13/02/2014).

A representative from Leeds Islamic Centre further argues that the association of Chapeltown as a religious hub leads to a sense of authenticity gained from being the location in which some of the oldest migrant communities in the UK first settled (interview with Asghar Ali, 1/04/2014). He emphasised the interrelationship between religion and becoming an established community through the way in which Chapeltown is so welcoming to each aspect of a community's identity, and they can feel a sense of belonging to the area. This highlights the way in which the themes of religion, national, geographic and ethnic identity come together, as Robin Richardson identified, to form multiple communities of which any individual is a member. However, it is necessary to consider in more detail the effect these co-existing strands of identity.

⁸ Anonymous comments received from Chapeltown residents at the Religious Mapping of Chapeltown Community Presentation, public meeting, 7/05/2014.

Religious, National and Ethnic Identity

It is evident that the national and ethnic heritage of communities has a significant impact on religious identity, and consequently religious practice, in Chapeltown.

Though these forms of identity are frequently set apart in British culture (Knott, 2010: 22-23), their amalgamation in Chapeltown is reflective of the former lifestyle of first generation migrants where 'religion [was] not just a set of beliefs, but [was] rather a total way of life' (Hinnells, 2010: 837). When groups first migrated to Chapeltown, it became essential for the new residents to establish an identity and although many were already bound by 'cultural heritage', newfound religious communities and institutes acted as '[bridges] to reach out beyond' previous forms of connection and to provide a body of believes with whom individuals could practice their faith (McLoughlin, 2010: 542). Consequently, a number of religious institutions were established in order to enable first-generation migrants to retain their national and religious identities. These include institutions such as the Parish of Our Lady of Czestochowa & St Stanislaw Kostka on Newton Hill Road which was built for the Polish community in 1997 in memory of their national prisoners. While the recent development of a church building for the Polish community reflects their establishment and longevity in the area (interview with Asghar Ali, 1/04/2014), newer groups such as the Romanian Pentecostal Church continue to reflect the pattern of worshiping communities which reflect national and religious identity (Interview with David Georgiu, 16/03/2014). Their Romanian-language congregation has grown from 25 people in a single location in Chapeltown to numerous groups gathering across the country, symbolising the development of the church.

Further illustrations of the impact of nationality and ethnicity on religious practice can be found in smaller, less established religious groups in Chapeltown. Religious

communities which are new to the area play a vital role in celebrating national and cultural customs in order to aid members of the congregation's transition between their previous life and residency in Chapeltown. This can be seen through the International Fire Ministries Church which holds its services in the Roscoe Methodist Church hall. The Congolese congregation's worship is influenced by a number of identities by practicing a form of African-inspired Christianity which embodies a number of Congolese customs. The services, for example continue to be led in French with talk of 'back home' and traditional music maintaining a connection between the congregation and their national heritage (visit to act of worship, 16/02/2014).

While national and ethnic identity had an immediate impact on Christian religious practice in Chapeltown, the Muslim community's varying ethnic and geographic origins have influenced religious identity and practice later, through the fragmentation of the community. In the 1960s and early 1970s worship took place at the Jinnah Mosque on Leopold Street; a multi-ethnic, non-sectarian Mosque, established in 1961 due to the need for an Islamic place of worship (Fotiou et al, 2007: 15). Nevertheless, as the Muslim population grew, further buildings were acquired in order to serve the growing population. The Leeds Islamic Centre and Central Jamia Mosque were first to be established in 1974 (Leeds Islamic Centre, [no date]). The Bangladeshi Islamic Society then formed in 1978 and purchased a terrace house at 27 Eilers Road. This building was redeveloped into Shahjalal Jamia Masjid which now predominantly caters for the Bangladeshi Islamic community living in and around Chapeltown (Shahjalal Jamia Masjid, [no date]). Later both the Al Hassan Mosque and Education Centre were established "on the site of an old garage", in 2001 (interview with representative from Al Hassan Education Centre, 7/03/2014). Located at 24 Shepherds Lane, this mosque also specifically attracts attendees of "Kashmiri [and] Pakistani" decent, who feel a

“pull’ towards their own [ethnic] identity” (interview with representative from Al Hassan Education Centre 7/03/2014)

In the Muslim community in Chapeltown fragmentation is quick to develop as religious ‘communities’ mature’ (McLoughlin, 2010: 545). While the fragmentation of Muslim communities frequently occurs due to a difference in sectarian identity, the Chapeltown mosques and madrasas are predominantly of the Sunni, Deobandi tradition. This indicates that Chapeltown’s Muslim communities are established around both sectarian identity *and* ‘[organised] around ethnicity’ (Hamid, 2001: 10). In practice this has resulted in mosques such as Shahjalal Jamia Masjid and Al Hassan catering for people from distinct ethnicities and national origins. At Shahjalal Jamia Masjid, ‘*jum’ah*’ or the main Friday prayer is translated from Arabic into both English and Bengali (interview with Abul Kashem, 11/03/2014). Therefore only Imams who are fluent in Bengali are able to lead prayers at the mosque which reinforces a sense of identity within a community bounded by religion, specifically denomination, and language. Whereas in the Christian groups these themes are significant when migrant groups arrive in the area for the first time, it emerges in the fragmentation of the Muslim community in Chapeltown. Therefore additional differentiators such as national origin and ethnicity are considered, leading to the Al Hassan Mosque, Shahjalal Jamia Masjid and Leeds Islamic Centre serving different sections of the wider Chapeltown community.

The Significance of Religious Identity in Chapeltown

Although it is evident that many religious institutions in Chapeltown maintain, and sometimes promote, a national and ethnic identity, their influence on religious practice is limited due to an emphasis on religious identity as of greater significance.

McLoughlin claims that religion is unique as it is ‘backed by ‘sacred’ authority’ and

holds the 'potential for articulating distinctiveness in its own right' (2010: 542). In this way, religion is able to provide individuals in Chapeltown with a distinguishing identity which, as previously mentioned, is essential for the migrant communities. Moreover, religion itself is able to incorporate national and cultural customs while still being able to adapt and be relevant for the subsequent migrant communities who reside in Chapeltown today.

Later generations of migrants who reside in Chapeltown, quite 'literally do not have the same starting point as those who originally migrated' (Stock, 2010: 26). This is reflected through religious adherence as well as cultural identity. As a result religion is prioritised over national identity as only certain elements of national heritage are relevant for the third, fourth and fifth generations of migrants who are residing or worshipping in Chapeltown today. This understanding is particularly evident at the Leeds Islamic Centre where they aim to cater for a British form of Islam. English text books are used during Qur'anic study and teachers have to be fluent in English in order to teach at the madrasa (interview with Asghar Ali, 1/04/2014). There is also a call for a more "Western style of education", which complements the secular education they receive at school, and is thought to be better suited to the children's needs (interview with Asghar Ali, 1/04/2014). Moreover, some Islamic institutions perceive transnational links to bear little relevance for the religious communities today. Shahjalal Jama Masjid no longer places emphasis on links with mosques in Bangladesh despite maintenance of Bengali language for translation of worship (Interview with Abul Kashem, 11/03/2014). These links are thought to have naturally died out with the birth of fourth and fifth generation migrants who consider Britain to be their only home (Interview with Abul Kashem, 11/03/2014).

As fourth, fifth and subsequent generation migrants increasingly emerge within Chapeltown, there is a need to respond to their identities as both British and with family origins in different parts of the world (cf. MSOA data, as discussed above). Local radio stations such as Asian Fever FM respond to this issue by providing the “richness of culture” from areas such as South Asia with a “platform”, so that the culture of first generation migrants can remain prevalent for subsequent generations (Interview with Asian Fever FM staff member, 28/02/2014). Moreover this promotion of South Asian culture also embodies an attempt to “improve community relations” by “bringing [various] cultures into the mainstream” and consequently “building bridges between communities” (Interview with Asian Fever FM staff member, 28/02/2014).

Asian Fever FM also provides an opportunity for religion to be combined with national and ethnic identity in order to promote a sense of community in Chapeltown, and across Leeds. While South Asian culture is given a specific platform the station holds no single religious affiliation, broadcasting religious shows for Sikh, Muslim and Christian⁹ communities (Interview with Asian Fever FM staff member, 28/02/2014). This further demonstrates the dual celebration of ethnic and national identity with religious identity in Chapeltown. While it is apparent in this example that no particular religion is connected to ethnic and national identity, it provides evidence for the fact that national and cultural identity can also impact religious identity indirectly, by providing a platform for its practice and transmission. Although it is arguable that religious identity is more significant, it is evident that the national and ethnic identities of migrant communities have a profound effect on religious practice and identity in Chapeltown.

⁹ Particular Christian content is broadcast at Christmas, while Sikh and Muslim content is included more frequently (Interview with Asian Fever FM staff member, 28/02/2014)

Transmission of Community Identity

Attempts to transmit religion, particularly when combined with an ethnic and national heritage, can be seen as endeavours to recreate 'chains of memory in order to secure the future of the religion' as a response to secularism (Hervieu Léger, 2000: 130).

While there are numerous secularisation theories, Danielle Hervieu Léger's emphasis is on secularisation which occurs when chains of (religious) memory break down (2000: 124).¹⁰ Religion, when understood as a chain of memory, is a shared experience which has the ability to shape an individual as well as their communities. This is particularly relevant in Chapeltown as the communities themselves are nuanced, and the chains of memory associated with religion can impact the way in which the community understands itself. The concept of memory is linked to religion in terms of a shared tradition which the faithful continue to add to; based on their understandings of social experiences: past, present and future (Hervieu Léger, 2000:125). In this way the chains of memory can 'change and develop' but the emphasis remains on the significance of the associations the collective memories invoke (Hervieu Léger, 2000:124).

While chains of memory are breaking amongst some indigenous communities, they are intentionally recreated at a community level in migrant populations (Hervieu Léger, 2000: 157), as is evident in Chapeltown. In most cases this is enacted by the first or second generation migrants within the more established groups in the community, as was demonstrated above in the development of the Islamic community in Chapeltown. This is an effort to respond to and combat the concern of decreasing religious belief and practice. This concern has been reflected by the older generations within

¹⁰ For further discussion on secularisation, see Davie, 2007.

Chapeltown and by those who have a strong and sustained commitment to the passing on of their identities.

The rise of groups which focus on transmitting such multifaceted and nuanced identities, such as ethno-religious groups which emerge as result of international migration into the area, have also led to greater plurality and choice. This complements the maturation of religion, discussed above, but extends beyond migrant or incoming communities. However the increased choice of places and communities of worship fragments each religion further, making the groups more disparate and promoting a greater sense of choice. This impacts the way in which chains are reproduced as they develop in new directions as offshoots from the initial religious chain of identity. This complexity and choice of religious groups may, in turn, be part of the reason why Chapeltown is considered such a hub of religion¹¹, ethnicity and nationality.

We have noted two different forms of transmission in the area. First of all, transmission to the outsider. This is the transmission of a key strand of identity to those outside the community. This form of transmission of religion can be seen through the work of the Street Pastors who describe themselves as the Church within the community and commit to be a Christian presence visible to outsiders of their religion. The majority of members live within the Chapeltown area and use their street mission to 'show God is real' to the people by 'helping, caring and listening', offering mediation, administering first aid, helping in emergencies and diffusing tense situations (interview with Rod Levene, 25/03/2014). In this way, the mission of the Street Pastors is community-

¹¹ The links between the number of religious groups in Chapeltown and pluralism as a response to secularisation would benefit from further study.

oriented but while their work is evangelical they reject the label of evangelisation¹² (interview with Rod Levene, 25/03/2014).

By contrast representatives of Teen Challenge Leeds, an organisation based in Harrogate, and the international Christian missionary organisation Youth With A Mission (YWAM) come as outsiders into Chapeltown with an intention to proselytise (Teen Challenge Leeds [no date], YWAM [no date]a). YWAM note the number of nationalities and ethnicities in the area as part of its attraction (YWAM [no date]b), which emphasises the way in which the area is considered as in need of religious transmission. Each group presents Christianity differently to the Chapeltown residents and seeks to transmit different aspects of their religion to those they deem as outside. While the work of the Street Pastors acknowledges the complementary community identities present in Chapeltown, as discussed above, they still wish to share their Christian faith. Teen Challenge and YWAM, however, have a more distanced relationship with the Chapeltown residents, seeing Christianity as the most significant aspect of identity in the Chapeltown area. These two groups highlight the complexity to transmission to the outsider and the need to understand the nuanced relationships between intersecting community identifications.

The complexity of transmission of religion to the outsider is further evident in the annual Vaisakhi parade by members of the Sikh Temple into Leeds City Centre (interview with

¹² Evangelism, as a form of Christian mission, is work which shares the 'love of Jesus' with those outside the Christian community as demonstrated through community development, prayer, listening, mediation, community development. This may include, but is not limited to, evangelisation or proselytism where there is an overt intention to convert outsiders to Christian belief rather than demonstrate broader Christian practice.

representative from The Sikh Temple, 23/03/2014). In contrast with the earlier groups who come into Chapeltown, the parade takes representatives from the Sikh community in Chapeltown out of the area and into the city centre. The parade along Chapeltown Road is both a celebration of the Sikh New Year for members of the Sikh community, as well as a high-profile event which attracts people from across Chapeltown and the wider city of Leeds to share in the event (Leeds Inspired, 2014). An interviewee discussed the way the event raises awareness about Sikh life in Leeds through the parade into and out of the city centre, and sharing food in Millennium Square (Interview with representative from The Sikh Temple, 23/02/2014). While the emphasis remains on undertaking religious practice, the high profile event involves good levels of participation from within the Sikh Community and attracts significant non-Sikh participation. It is, therefore, effective in transmitting a religious identity which is clearly from Chapeltown but reflects the area's history as a site of Sikh migration.

Similarly, the West Indian carnival transmits a cultural identity albeit with a less overtly religious focus. Established in 1967, the Chapeltown carnival is the oldest in Europe and reflects the West Indian traditions of an annual carnival (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014). Originally carnival was linked to the decadence prior to the start of Lent, however the Caribbean islands spread their events through the year (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014). When the carnival started in Leeds, a date was picked for practical rather than religious reason, as the event required the highest chance of good weather. While the carnival itself has become separated from overt religious themes, Arthur France emphasised the inextricable links between his West Indian and Methodist identity. His self-declared Chapeltown, religious and national identities inspired him to work to create and promote the carnival which, in turn, transmits those combined identities through a high-profile public event which attracts thousands of people from across the country. This highlights the way in which even where religion is

not at the forefront of the attempt to transmit identity, it is inseparable from other aspects of identity and as such remains integral to the process of transmission in this context. The complexity of community identities, particularly informed by the diverse national and ethnic groups in Chapeltown, is further reflected by the way the area has become a hub for religious groups who focus on transmission to the insider.

We have noted the far more common approach to religious transmission to insiders, however particular focus is on multifaceted identities where religion is combined with ethnic or national identities. This is demonstrated by the significant number of established and emerging religious institutions which focus on specific interlinked cultural and religious identities, as discussed above. The use of common language, such as French, Portuguese, Bengali, Tigrinya or Shona, in acts of worship is significant to the transmission of identity. This factor allows the transmission of religious and cultural identity to be irrevocably intertwined. Furthermore, specific patterns of behaviour associated with cultural religious practice were reflected in worship. In the Shona-speaking congregation everyone had to wear identical attire throughout the service so that they all looked the same in the eyes of God – something we also adhered to during our visit. This indicates that they are not attempting to transmit to the outsider, we had to, in a sense, become an insider through our dress to participate in the service. These groups highlight the way in which religious practice is inseparable from other aspects of culture and identity, such as national origin and ethnicity. The emphasis on preservation of these aspects of identity in conjunction with one another confirms the links between the two.

Transmission, as undertaken in Chapeltown, responds to the challenge of complex personal and community identities. The identity associated with Chapeltown itself

reflects this by promoting a sense of communal and individual identification with the flowing communities who have made it their home (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014). The communities of the area rely on a sense of individual identity but identity which allows the person to be a member of various specific communities. With the competing identities and the numerous but intersecting national, ethnic and religious groups in the area, a perceived need to transmit identity is evident. It applies across all groups, whether to insiders or outsiders, and is in great evidence in Chapeltown. While not unique to transnational groups, it is undertaken in different ways depending on the competing identities. Regardless of this, religion remains of great importance across communities in the area, and is evident in the numerous and diverse religious groups increasing across Chapeltown.

Conclusion

During the research project we identified a high number of religious groups in Chapeltown, with a significant increase in the number of Christian and Muslim organisations since 2007 (cf. Fotiou et al, 2007). The 39 distinct groups reflect the complex patterns of community in the area, which form around ethnicity, and national and geographic origin as well as religion. While the increase in religious groups is evident from our research, and from observations of those working in the area (interview with Mark Harwood, 8 May 2014), we have been unable to assess whether there is an increase in personal religion in Chapeltown. Due to the time constraints of the project we were not able to gain information on numbers of members or participants, nor whether they were residents of Chapeltown.

The complexity of the area was initially identified in the production of the boundaries for this particular project. Individuals and groups identify with Chapeltown due to the multiple communities which make up the area (such as YWAM [no date]b), an aspect of community they wish to be identified with. The significance of self-identification was evident throughout our research, as participants were keen to know where we were from and our religious background. While we were unable to tell whether it impacted on our data collection, it highlighted the significance of allegiance with or difference from the communities in Chapeltown. As we explored identity through the themes of community, transnationalism and transmission, we were able to identify trends across the different groups we encountered.

Communities in Chapeltown reflect the history of the area, as one which has seen communities settle along, and leave Chapeltown Road which functions as an artery for

the whole area (Knott, 2009a: 157). These groups have left reminders of their presence, even where they have left, which influences the idea of a Chapeltown identity with which subsequent groups can associate themselves. However, those who have stayed have formalised and established their communities in different ways. The change and fluctuation of groups in the area has led to Chapeltown being considered as a hub for different communities. However in such a diverse area it is notable that the groups establish a particular identity in order to remain distinctive from other groups and develop a form of '[solidarity]' which then 'helps groups to advocate their own interests' in the wider community (McLoughlin 2010: 535)

While the boundaries around communities mark out a distinct identity, the stages at which the groups appear differ between religions, in part due to their establishment in the area. The fragmentation reflected in the Muslim community is a new addition to the area, but reflects their initial development in 1961. Subsequent groups have fractured around sectarian and ethnic identification, which attests to the establishment of the religion in the area. The Christian community, by contrast, are the most established in the area, with the Methodist Church launching a preaching room in the area in 1852 (Roscoe Methodist Church, 2011: 3). As people have moved into the area, they initially sought to find shared identity through the existing places of worship, but as the communities have grown new churches have formed to respond to their chosen worship style (interview with Arthur France, 10 March 2014). The effect in the area today is that when new Christian communities arrive in Chapeltown, the emphasis is on the creation of their own worshipping group rather than joining with an existing one.

These factors reflect the desire to transmit a nuanced and complex form of identity which privileges both religion and ethnic or geographical/national heritage. These

groups transmit a specific form of identity in an overt attempt to recreate, and sometimes reimagine, a chain of memory to ensure the future of their community. These chains of memory in turn reinforce the complex nature of community in the area, as they represent a pluralistic cultural and religious environment in Chapeltown.

Due to the pluralism present in the diverse groups based in Chapeltown, it would be beneficial to consider the extent to which their emergence is a response to secularism. It would have also been of value to gain more in-depth data about group membership and identification with different facets of identity. This would have allowed further consideration of the way in which Chapeltown communities overlap and interrelate with one another.

The research undertaken highlighted the significance of Chapeltown in researching contemporary trends in religious and community development. The area has similarities with its neighbours in Leeds, such as Harehills, and has parallels with other inner city areas of the UK such as Handsworth in Birmingham and Moss Side in Manchester (interview with Arthur France, 10/03/2014), however our analysis suggests that as a location of religion it is unique. It would be beneficial to undertake further research into comparable areas to assess whether this claim is justified.

The diverse opportunities for practice and worship demonstrate the way in which ethnicity, national heritage and other aspects of identity inform, and are informed by, religious identification. The groups are testament to both the changing nature of Chapeltown's communities, and the longevity and establishment of others. The area is a focus for transmission of these identities because of the significance they have for

their participants and adherents. It leads us to conclude that religion is a significant factor in the lives and identities of the residents of Chapeltown.

Religious Directory for Chapeltown

The directory contains the religious groups identified in Chapeltown who have a public presence in the area, either by meeting at publically accessible venues, or through street ministry. Photographs have been provided for groups who meet in their own religious building inside the Chapeltown boundary.

Italic text is used to identify groups whose name we cannot confirm, but have observed during our fieldwork. Bold text in the information section identifies religious organisations who are linked to (generally by hosting or being hosted by) other groups and whose details can be found in the directory.

Christianity

Apostolic Faith Mission

Denomination: Apostolic Faith Mission

Contact: Pastor Mudada

Tel: 07868 342559

Information: Meet at the Association of Ukrainians Centre, 5 Newton Grove, Chapeltown, Leeds, LS7 4HW, Sunday morning

Chapeltown Community Church

Denomination: Independent

Address: Reconciliation Centre,
Avenue Hill,
Leeds, LS8 4EX

Tel: 07847 240110; 0113 239 2893

Website: www.thekpmwebsite.com

Email: dg@kingdomperformanceministries.com

Information: Sunday worship: 10.30am



Christ Embassy (cell group)

Denomination: Christ Embassy

Information: Meet at **Roscoe Methodist Church**, Saturday 12.30pm

Church of God of Prophecy

Denomination: Church of God of Prophecy

Address: 196 Chapeltown Road,
Leeds, LS7 4HZ

Contact: Bishop Delroy W. Hall

Tel: 07729 377860

Website: <http://www.cogop.org/>

Information: Services: Sunday, 10.00am & 6.00pm; Wednesday, 7.45pm



Church of God 7th Day

Denomination: Church of God 7th Day

Contact: Geraldine Lynch

Tel: 0113 269 7664

Email: Leeds@cog7thday.org.uk

Website: www.cog7thday.org.uk

Information: Meet at **Harehills Lane Baptist Church**, Sunday 9.00am

City of Mission Pentecostal Group

Contact: Pastor Legister

Tel: 07952 554492

Information: Meet at **Roscoe Methodist Church**, Sunday 5.30pm – 7.00pm

Daughters of Mary Mother of Mercy Convent

Denomination: Roman Catholic (Nigerian)
Address: Holy Rosary Presbytery,
3 Cross Francis Street,
Leeds, LS7 4BZ
Tel: 0113 262 2466
Information: Linked to **Holy Rosary Church**



Debre Sibhat Medhanialem Ethiopian Orthodox Church

Denomination: Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Information: Meet at All Souls Church, Blackman Lane, Leeds, LS2 9EY,
Sunday 2.00pm
Note: Located outside our boundaries, however many Chapeltown residents attend the Church.

Emmanuel Christian Fellowship

Denomination: Emmanuel Christian Fellowship
Contact: Pastor Remy Mosanda
Tel: 0113 216 6816; 07984 149324
Email: evremyosanda@yahoo.co.uk
Website: www.fellowshipcc.co.uk
Information: Meet at **Scott Hall Church**

Eritrean (Ge'ez Rite) Catholic Church

Denomination: Roman Catholic (Eritrean – Ge'ez Rite)

Contact: Revd Fr Ghebreyesus Ghebrezghi

Tel: 07506 994513; 0113 3450017

Email: frgyesus@yahoo.co.uk

Information: Meet at **Holy Rosary Church**, first and third Sundays, 1.00pm
Services conducted in Tigrinya.

Harehills Lane Baptist Church

Denomination: The Baptist Union of Great Britain

Address: 13 Hilton Place,
Leeds, LS8 4HE

Tel: 0113 262 8080

Email: office@hlbc.org.uk

Website: www.hlbc.org.uk

Information: Sunday, 10.00am and 6.30pm; Monday Café, 11.00am-1.30pm
Hosts: **Church of God 7th Day** and **Mangembo Church**.

**Holy Rosary Catholic Church**

Denomination: Roman Catholic

Address: Chapeltown Road,
Leeds, LS7 4BZ

Tel: 0113 245 4545

Information: Services: Sunday, 10.30am;
Tuesday and Friday, 9.15am. Holy Rosary is served by the
Cathedral Church of St. Anne. Linked to **Daughters of Mary
Mother of Mercy Convent** and hosts **Eritrean (Ge'ez Rite)
Catholic Church**



Igreja de Deus

Denomination: Assembly of God Church
Contact: Pastor Andre Luiz
Tel: 07540 889379
Email: andre-r-s@hotmail.com
Website: www.iadleeds.com
Information: Portuguese-speaking congregation. Meet at **Roscoe Methodist Church** Sunday, 5.00pm

International Fire Ministries

Denomination: Unknown – Pentecostal
Contact: Pastor Remy Mosanda
Tel: 07944 221878
Information: French-speaking Congolese congregation. Meets at **Roscoe Methodist Church** Sunday, 1.00pm-3.00pm

Mangembo Church

Denomination: Pentecostal-charismatic
Contact: Patrick.King2@yahoo.co.uk
Website: www.mangembo.org
Information: Meet at **Harehills Lane Baptist Church** Sunday: 2.00pm
Services in French

Mount Zion Pentecostal Apostolic Church

Denomination: Pentecostal Apostolic
Address: Pasture Road,
Leeds, LS8 4LW
Contact: Irma Williams
Tel: 0113 237 4402; 07886 394386



New Testament Church of God

Denomination: New Testament Church of God
Address: 3 Easterly Road,
Leeds, LS8 2TN
Contact: Revd Canon Tony Parry
Tel: 0113 240 6561
Email: pastorparry@googlemail.com
Note: Located outside our boundaries, however many Chapeltown residents attend the Church.

Polish Catholic Church and Polish Centre

Denomination: Roman Catholic (Polish)
Address: Newton Hill Rd,
Leeds, LS7 4JE
Tel: 0113 262 8019
Information: Times of Mass: Saturday: 6.30pm;
Sunday: 9.30am; 11.00am,
Benediction, Rosary Devotions: Weekend: 6.00pm;
Weekdays: 6.30pm. Services in Polish



Romanian Pentecostal Church

Denomination: Unknown, Pentecostal
Contact: Pastor Legister
Tel: 07952 554492
Information: Meet at **Wesleyan Holiness Church** Sunday: 3.00pm
Services conducted in Romanian

Roscoe Methodist Church

Denomination: Methodist
Address: Francis Street,
Leeds, LS7 4BY
Contact: Revd Mark Harwood
Tel: 0113 262 2332
Information: Sunday: 10.30am and 6.30pm



Hosts **Christ Embassy (cell group), City of Mission Pentecostal Group, Igreja de Deus and International Fire Ministries.**

Salem Mission House Foundation Faith Church

Denomination: Salem International
Contact: Revd Andy Mboma
Tel: 07589 561110
Information: Meet at the Association of Ukrainians Centre, 5 Newton Grove, Chapeltown, Leeds, LS7 4HW, Sunday morning

Scott Hall Church

Denomination: Independent

Address: Scott Hall Christian Fellowship,
Scott Hall Grove,
Leeds, LS7 3JL

Email: mailus@scotthall.org.uk

Website: www.scotthall.org.uk

Information: Sunday Worship: 10.00am
Hosts **Emmanuel Christian Fellowship**



St Martins Church

Denomination: Church of England

Address: St Martin's View,
Leeds, LS7 3LB

Contact: Revd David Stevens

Tel: 0113 262 4271

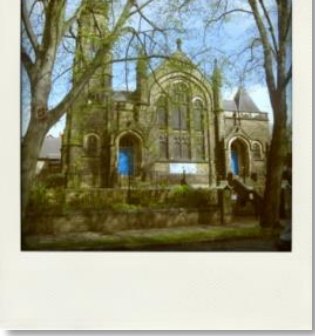
Email: revdstevens@stmartinleeds.org

Website: www.stmartinleeds.org.uk

Information: Eucharist: Sunday 10.00am, Wednesday 9.30am
Hosts **Zimbabwean/Shona-language Congregation** at St. Martin's Institute.



The Three Hierarchs Church

Denomination:	Greek Orthodox	
Address:	57 Harehills Avenue, Leeds, LS8 4EU	
Contact:	Revd Samuel Kouspoyenis Savva	
Tel:	0113 249 0814	
Email:	papasamuelk@fsmail.net	
Website:	www.greekorthodoxcommunityleeds.org.uk	
Information:	Divine Liturgy in Greek: Monday-Saturday: 8am; Sunday: 10am; Divine Liturgy in English: 8am every 2 nd Saturday; Catechism: 2pm Saturday; Greek School: 10am Saturday	

Wesleyan Holiness Church

Denomination:	Wesleyan Holiness	
Address:	Laycock Place, Leeds, LS7 3JA	
Contact:	Pastor Legister	
Tel:	07952 554492	
Website:	www.wesleyan.net/churches/uk	
Information:	Sunday Service, 12pm	
	Hosts Romanian Pentecostal Church	

Zimbabwean/Shona-language Congregation

Information:	Meet at St Martin's Church Institute on Thursday 10am
Note:	We were unable to confirm the name of the congregation, their denomination or contact details

Other Christian Organisations:

Street Pastors

Contact: Rod Levene
Tel: 07582 414661
Email: leeds@streetpastors.org.uk
Website: leeds.streetpastors.org.uk
Information: Street Pastors are a local organisation who conduct night-time street patrols of Chapeltown and Harehills on the first and last Saturday a month with a small network of 'Prayer Pastors'

Teen Challenge

Address: Kennel Hall Farm,
Ripon Road,
Killinghall,
Harrogate, HG3 2AY
Tel: 01423 560841
Email: leedsteenchallenge@yahoo.co.uk
Website www.teenchallengeleeds.com
Information: Teen Challenge undertake street ministry on Wednesday evenings from approximately 7.30 -10.00pm.

Youth With a Mission – YWAM

Tel: 0113 240 8415
Email: info@ywamleeds.com
Website: www.ywamleeds.com
Information: YWAM is an international evangelical group with an outreach project in Chapeltown.

Islam

Al Amin Islamic Education Centre

Denomination: Sunni (Deobandi)
Address: 71 Mexborough Drive,
Leeds, LS7 3EL
Tel: 0113 262 4329



Al-Hassan Education Centre

Denomination: Sunni (Deobandi)
Address: 24 Shepherds Lane,
Leeds, LS8 4LH
Tel: 0113 307 0500
Website: al hassan.org.uk
Information: Open for daily prayers.
Qur'an School (boy and girls): Monday-Friday: 5.00pm-7.00pm;
Saturday-Sunday: 10.00am-12.00pm
Al-Hassan Funeral Service.
Apna Centre: includes a unisex gymnasium, Senior Day Centre,
Infant Maths and English classes and karate classes



Al Towbah Masjid

Denomination: Wahabi

Address: Whitfield Street,
Leeds, LS8 5AJ

Tel: 0113 240 3901

Website: www.al-towbahislamiccentre.com/

Information: Open for daily prayers. Qur'an School (boy and girls): Saturday-Sunday, 4.00pm-7.00pm; Monday-Thursday, 5.00pm-7.00pm



Hazrat Sultan Bahu Centre

Denomination: Sunni (Barelvi)

Address: 31 Hilton Road,
Leeds, LS8 4HA

Information: Linked to Markazi Jamia Masjid Bilal,
Conway Rd, Harehills, LS8 5JH



Jamia Tul Batool (Islamic Institute)

Denomination: Sunni (Barelvi)

Address: 7 Beck Road,
Leeds, LS8 4EJ

Tel: 0113 248 5067

Information: Linked to Markazi Jamia Masjid Bilal,
Conway Rd, Harehills, LS8 5JH



Leeds Islamic Centre and Central Jamia Mosque

Denomination: Sunni (Deobandi)
Address: 48 Spencer Place,
Leeds, LS7 4BR
Tel: 0113 262 1300
Website: www.leedsic.com
Information: Open for daily prayers



Leeds Muslim College

Denomination: Sunni (Barelvi)
Address: 5 Mexborough Drive,
Leeds, LS7 3EL
Information: Linked to Markazi Jamia Masjid Bilal,
Conway Rd, Harehills, LS8 5JH



Nation of Islam – Northern Region Study Centre

Denomination: Nation of Islam
Contact: Urban Muhammed
Website: nrsgg@yahoo.co.uk
Information: Meet at the West Indian Centre, 10 Laycock Place, Chapeltown,
LS7 3AJ, Sunday, 3pm

Shahjalal Jamia Masjid (Bangladeshi Islamic Society)

Address: 27 Eilers Rd,
Leeds, LS8 4JH

Tel: 0113 240 6558

Website: shahjalal-masjid.com

Information: Open for daily prayers



Sikhism

Gurdwara Namdhari Sangat

Addressed: 61 Louis St,
Leeds, LS7 4BP

Tel: 0113 262 5095



Guru Kalgidhar Gurdwara

Address: Cowper Street,
Leeds, LS7 4EE

Tel: 0113 219 3370

Website: www.gurukalgidharleeds.com



The Sikh Temple

Address: 192 Chapeltown Rd,
Leeds, LS7 4HZ

Tel: 0113 262 9073

Website: www.thesikh temple.org



Gurdwara Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji

Address: Harehills Lane
Leeds, LS7 4HB

Tel: 0113 237 4877



Rastafarianism

Rastafarian Community

Contact: David Francis
Tel: 07936 452463
Information: Residency to be re-established soon

Multi-Faith

Chapel Allerton Hospital Chaplaincy

Address: Chapeltown Rd,
Leeds, LS7 4SA
Tel: 0113 262 3404



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Appendix

Appendix 1: Information Sheets and Consent Forms

Theology and Religious Studies

Module Information Sheet for Fieldwork in Leeds



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Hopewell House,
Leeds
LS2 9JT

January 2014

Dear Sir/Madam,

The student who has handed you this letter is following a course of study at the University of Leeds which requires them to undertake fieldwork.

Please ask the students for their University ID to verify this. The module being studied is called 'The Religious Mapping of Leeds'. The students are researching the religious groups, people and other expressions of religion in Chapeltown. To help them they will visit places of worship and other buildings of religious significance, observe some acts of worship, informally speak to participants, and on some occasions carry out formal interviews. These experiences help the students to build up a picture, or 'map' of religion in Chapeltown, which we hope will be a useful resource.

If students invite you to be interviewed more formally they will ask you to complete a brief questionnaire to demonstrate you have understood why they are interviewing you, and give consent for the information to be used. You are, of course, able to withdraw from the research at any time. Students will remove the names of individuals from all information unless you give permission for your name to be used. Except for the final report, which will be made available on the Community Religions Project website (<https://arts.leeds.ac.uk/crp>), the research notes will not be stored beyond the end of the student's time at the University.

Students will write an extended report, and give a presentation on their findings, as part of their assessed work. If you would like to be invited to this presentation, please let the student know.

If you have any concerns about this research please make the students aware, and please contact me, as the module leader. Thank you for your time and for your assistance in what I am sure you will agree is a very valuable learning opportunity for our students.

Yours,

Dr Mel Prideaux

m.j.prideaux@leeds.ac.uk
0113 343 0461



Title of Module: THEO3360 Religious Mapping of Leeds: Chapeltown Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research project undertaken final year students as part of the 'Religious Mapping of Leeds: Chapeltown' module, supervised by Dr Mel Prideaux. Please ask the students for their University ID to verify their identity. Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear of if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of the project?

The 'Religious Mapping of Leeds' project seeks to identify the location and context of religious spaces and communities in Chapeltown. The students will build up a picture, or 'map' of religion in the context of Chapeltown (local society), which we hope will be a useful resource.

This research complements an earlier project undertaken in 2007 in Chapeltown as part of the Community Religions Project. The project will run from February to May 2014.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen as an employee or representative of an organisation working within Chapeltown, or due to your residency in the area.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to participate you will be given this information sheet to keep. You will be asked to complete and sign a consent form. You can still withdraw at any time and you do not have to give a reason.

What do I have to do?

You will be asked to agree to the students making a record of data related the work of religious and community groups in Chapeltown, or your experiences of being a resident or religious practitioner in this area. You may also be asked to either:

- 1 Respond to a questionnaire
- 2 Be photographed (or have premises photographed)
- 3 Take part in a more detailed interview
- 4 Allow student(s) undertaking research to attend a meeting or act of worship
- 5 All of the above.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

Your identity as a participant in the research will be kept anonymous and you will not be identifiable. There is a small risk that your location may be identifiable, however attempts will be made to protect the anonymity of the location. Where full anonymity is requested, the data will

not be stored or referenced with any link to the location. Where the location is identifiable, all participants from the same location are granted the same, and highest, level of anonymity requested.

There are no further risks or disadvantages of participation but if you identify any risks please alert one of the researchers.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no personal benefits to taking part, you will be contributing to a piece of research which will be presented to the community of Chapeltown which seeks to establish a deeper understanding of the different religious groups the area comprises of, as well as how these groups relate to each other and the community at large.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential? What will happen to the results of the research project?

Your name, or that of your premises or organisation, will only be used with your permission. Your name, or that of your premises or organisation, will be removed from all published and stored information provided unless you give permission. You may be asked how you would like to be identified e.g. by name, by sector, etc. Recordings and research notes will be stored anonymously on a secure university computer system and will be destroyed on completion of the project in May 2014.

For photographs, please take note of specific guidance on the consent form relating to use and storage of the images.

The research outcomes will be made available through a community presentation and an extended report, which form part of their assessed work. If you would like to be invited to the presentation, please let one of the students know. The report will also be available from the Community Religions Project website (<http://arts.leeds.ac.uk/crp>) and may appear in academic publications.

Who is organising this research?

This research is part of a module run by the University of Leeds Theology & Religious Studies department, which aims to create a complex picture of where particular religious groups and activities are located within the Chapeltown area, how they interact with each other and the local community, as well as what services they offer. The final report will be added to the archive of the Community Religions Project and can be accessed by the public through the Community Religions Project's website.

If you have any concerns about this research please make the student aware, or please feel free to contact the research supervisor. Thank you for your time and for your assistance.

Contact Details:

Module Leader: Dr Mel Prideaux
Email: m.j.prideaux@leeds.ac.uk
Telephone: 0113 343 0461

Address: Community Religions Project, School of Philosophy, Religion and the History of Science, University of Leeds, Hopewell House, Leeds, LS2 9JT

Website: <http://arts.leeds.ac.uk/crp>

Twitter: @CRPLeeds

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School of Philosophy, Religion and the History of Science



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

**Title of Module: THEO3360 Religious Mapping of Leeds: Chapeltown
Consent form**

Name of Module Leader: Dr Mel Prideaux m.j.prideaux@leeds.ac.uk

Location _____

Please indicate how you would like to be identified? E.g. by name, location, type of premises. _____

Or: I wish my responses to be used anonymously (*initial the box to the right*)

Initial the box if you agree with the statement to the left

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. 2 I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. If you change your mind please notify us by 9 May 2014, after this date it will be very difficult to withdraw your information from the report 3 I understand that my responses will be anonymised and used only through the identifier given above. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. 4 I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research 5 I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the module leader should my contact details change. 6 I agree that my interview can be recorded (if applicable)
Note: The audio recordings of your activities made during this research will be used only for analysis and for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings. | <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 300px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="height: 40px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="height: 40px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="height: 40px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="height: 40px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="height: 40px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="height: 40px;"></td></tr> </table> | | | | | | |
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<i>Name of participant</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Signature</i>
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<i>Name of student taking consent</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Signature</i>
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To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant

<i>Name of Module leader</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Signature</i>
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A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be given to the module leader for signature, and should be kept in a secure location.