

Department of Theology and Religious Studies

The Religious Mapping of Leeds



Harehills 2008

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Introduction and Methodology

Introduction

As a city, Leeds is ethnically varied and multicultural. Harehills, an area that lies northeast of the city centre, is an excellent example of such diversity and thus was a rich and interesting area to study. In recent years, the level three Religious Mapping module has focused on areas such as the University campus and nearby Chapeltown, which is also very diverse in religion and ethnicity. This project may therefore be regarded as a continuation of the work completed last year in Chapeltown, as the two areas are not only geographically linked but share other affinities.



A typical shop in Harehills

Due to its inner city location and the large quantity of rented Victorian terraced housing, Harehills inevitably accommodates a variety of residents. In order to provide a precise report, the area of Harehills to be mapped has been marked out for us. The boundary is drawn from the north at Easterly Road, Amberton Road and Gledhow Valley Road. Oak Tree Drive, Strathmore Drive and Ashley Road mark the eastern border of the area and Spencer Place marks the western border. The Roseville Road area indicates the southern boundary.¹ If one were to walk through Harehills, one would find the quintessence of multicultural Britain. People from many ethnic backgrounds can be observed, with the Asian presence being the most prevalent. The impact of immigration is visible in the many shops and restaurants catering for different styles of dress and dietary habits, or requirements in the case of Muslim Halal meat (specially prepared meat), which many businesses sell even if they are not themselves Muslim.²

This particular area of Harehills also includes many different places of worship, to be outlined in the report directory of religious institutions. Through regular team meetings and eight weeks of

¹ See Appendix 5

² See Appendix 7

fieldwork, we organised visits to these places and discovered how religiously diverse the community is.³

Tasks and appropriate reading were delegated in these meetings and through our research and fieldwork we found that two major themes emerged; Policing, Crime and Drugs and Immigration, due to high levels of crime and immigration in the area. These themes, along with religious diversity in general, are currently very important themes in the UK media and academic discussion.⁴ We chose the theme of immigration due to Harehills being one of the largest communities in Leeds of immigrants and asylum seekers.⁵ The theme of immigration led us to contact various organisations within the Harehills area and a great insight was gained into how immigration affects religion in the area. The theme of policing, crime and drugs arose after forging links with the Neighbourhood Community Policing Unit and Inspector Nik Adams at Steinbeck Police Station.⁶ This led us to gain a police perspective, as well as the opinions of residents who we interviewed, helping us to provide a balanced report. We also thought it was important to investigate how religious communities relate and co-exist alongside one another, and whether any tension between religious groups arose.

Our intention to put forward our findings in a community presentation emphasises one of the main aims of this project. It is not just an academic exercise, but also an investigation with a possible benefit to the community. Due to various limiting factors, such as a restrictive time scale and word count as well as the impossibility of expressing the opinion of every Harehills resident, we have not attempted to provide a definitive guide to the religiosity of the area. We have simply attempted to gain an insight into religion in relation to our themes, not as complete belief systems.

Methodology

In order to carry out our project we used a variety of research methods. We conducted both formal and informal interviews with religious leaders and congregation members, as well as several others, for instance Inspector Nik Adams. We began the fieldwork itself by visiting all the places of worship within the area and most of our key contacts have been formed via these visits.⁷ Some of the places of worship we visited once, others several times, usually depending on the character and varieties of activities of the particular place of worship. We attended not only worship meetings but also other activities in the area in order to gather information for our research.

Most of our data was gathered by using different kinds of qualitative research methods and the study is notably based on ethnographic fieldwork. It is widely acknowledged that when doing this kind of empirical research, researchers are always eminent parts of their study.⁸ Having said that it must be acknowledged that our themes are clearly sensitive topics, especially when

³ See Appendix 4

⁴ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/975302.stm

⁵ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/flash/0,,1690291,00.html>

⁶ <http://www.westyorkshirepolice.uk/npt/area.asp?id=220>

⁷ See Profile Directory

⁸ Davies, C, *Reflective Ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*, (London: Routledge, 1999) 3-26, 67-116.

discussed within a religious context, we have thus done our best to approach the report with great sensitivity. We have discussed methodological questions in our group meetings, but also many important issues concerning the ethics of research: what kinds of questions are appropriate? How do we deal with personal answers provided by groups and people who have helped us so much during our project?

As well as the visits and different interviews, we also carried out two types of questionnaire. The first questionnaire was forwarded to congregation members and it was mostly based on structured questions, leaving some space for extra comments and free elaboration.⁹ The second questionnaire was mainly based on the typical social science survey method called Likert Scaling.¹⁰ These questionnaires were conducted in various locations in Harehills. The street questionnaire proved to be a relatively workable method, as it demanded relatively little time from informants¹¹. Furthermore, these street questionnaires also led to us having some interesting discussions with local people. In short, even though these questionnaires cannot provide data for any statistical generalisations, the questionnaires provided us with some interesting illustrations and comments, and have helped us to gain a better insight into what is happening in the mapping area.

In addition, we have utilised many other techniques; we have observed life in the area and the work of local police during their directed patrol, gathered information from leaflets, had discussions with local shop owners, used the internet, newspapers, academic and non-academic literature, and so on. Consequently, we have managed to gather a significant amount of data; not all of which could be included in the report due to the projects limitations. On the other hand we have only touched the surface.

Our report consists of four main sections and a conclusion: the first section explores the history of the area and it is notably based on both oral historical material and different kinds of textual resources. The second section gives a general overview of the religious life in the area, based on our visits and interviews. The sections entitled Immigration and Policing, Crime and Drugs use similar sources, as well as our important link with the West Yorkshire Police.

9 See Appendix 1

10 Bryman, A. *Social Research Methods*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp. 68, 540

11 See Appendix 2, For results see Appendix 3

The History of Harehills

The Growth of the Area

Maps from the early 19th Century show us that the district we now know as Harehills began life as a wooded area between the city of Leeds and the bustling village of Chapel Allerton. (See figure 1)



(Figure 1¹²)

Within less than a hundred years, however, the face of the area changed dramatically. Harehills and the adjacent neighbourhood of Chapeltown became known as ‘New Leeds’. The growing industrialisation in the town centre increased prosperity, and for those who could afford it, the area became an escape from the overcrowding and pollution then blighting the town centre. The building boom began in 1825, with ambitious plans drawn up for wide streets and spacious detached houses.¹³ By the late 1800’s, however, migration to the area was not limited to the affluent, with maps detailing the hundreds of back-to-back terraces built for workers. Mitchell writes that in the east end of town, ‘Rows of houses looked at each other across unmetalled streets and narrow pavements’ and some streets even remained unfinished, a testament to the rushed nature of this expansion.¹⁴(See figure 2).

¹² 1834, *Map of the borough of Leeds* (Bains of Newsome)

¹³ 1994, *The Chapeltown and Harehills Survey* (Leeds) p. 9. See Appendix 6 for map.

¹⁴ Mitchell, W.R, 2000, *A History of Leeds*, (Chichester:Phillimore) p. 70



(Figure 2¹⁵)

Of paramount importance to the growth of Harehills was its transport links to the city centre and beyond. Mitchell notes that the late 1800's saw an expansion of the tramways, with two of the most popular routes terminating in Roundhay and Chapeltown, areas adjacent to modern day Harehills.¹⁶ The Roundhay route, Mitchell notes, was the first tramway in the country to be powered by overhead electric wires.¹⁷ From 1929 the Roundhay route reached its terminus via Harehills' Roundhay Road, this route continues today with the number 12 and 13 bus routes.¹⁸

Perhaps the biggest factor in the expansion of Harehills has been its industries and the employment that they have provided. Evans book, *Celebrating the Roundhays*, notes that at the beginning of the 20th Century, in 1908, the occupations of the inhabitants of this area of Harehills included "grocers, confectioners, schoolmasters/mistresses, accountants, clerks, cashiers, drapers, railway inspector of claims, poultry salesman, composer, jeweller, registrar, and swimming instructor."¹⁹

The mid-20th century saw the heyday of the entertainment industry in Harehills. The area once provided employment in the many cinemas, a roller rink, dancehall and bar once found in the area, these have all since closed.

The settlement of Harehills during the 19th century led to a need for religious buildings to serve the new community. An early example of this is St Aidans Anglican Church on Roundhay Road. The Romanesque building, designed by Robert James Johnson of Newcastle, was built during the 1890's, and finally unveiled in 1916. This large church, containing grand mosaics by Frank Brangwyn, was funded by donations from the wealthy Anglican community within the area. As expansion continued, St Aidans was followed by a further Anglican parish that of St Wilfrid's on Chatsworth road, build during the 1920's. The area was also once home to a Congregationalist church on Harehills Road. Completed in 1905, the church was never successful, and as English

¹⁵ Author Unknown, *Plan of Leeds* (Kelly's directory's: 1900)

¹⁶ Mitchell, W.R p. 106

¹⁷ Ibid 106

¹⁸ Ibid 138

¹⁹ Evans, L, *Celebrating the Roundhay's* (Leeds: 2002) p. 14

Congregationalism declined, Congregationalism and Presbyterianism merged to form the United Reformed Church. Today the church stands derelict.²⁰

Early Immigration to the Area

Immigration to the area during the 19th and 20th centuries is a key feature of its history, vastly changing the life of the area, both religious and secular. The catalyst for immigration was industry, with Mitchell writing that ‘cheap labour for the burgeoning industries of Leeds was provided by country folk who came to town looking for a better way of life.’²¹ These were followed by overseas immigrants, including the Irish and Jewish in the 19th centuries, and South Asian communities after the Second World War. There have also been many less prolific communities such as Russians, Ukrainians and Italians. The legacy of this first wave of immigration remains visible to this day, for although many of the early immigrants to Harehills moved away from the area, others remained, creating ethnic communities now spanning three or more generations.

Following the native country folk, Irish immigrants arrived during the 1820’s, seeking employment in Leeds’ new industries. By July 1831, there were reputedly 3-4000 people of Irish descent present in the city.²² Those fleeing the potato famine from 1845-1850 added to the small number of Irish immigrants already resident. The Irish in Leeds originally settled on the bank near Holdforth Mill, living in unsanitary and overcrowded conditions.

The Irish presence dramatically swelled the Roman Catholic population in Leeds. Originally the community, including those in Harehills, worshipped in St Patrick’s on York Road, but as Catholics in the area grew in number, it became apparent that Harehills needed a parish of its own, a need fulfilled in 1905. Worship originally took place in the school chapel, but plans were made for a separate church building. The current building, St Augustine’s on Harehills Road, was completed in 1936. Evidence of the remaining Irish population can be observed in one of the few remaining drinking establishments in Harehills, an Irish themed bar, Delaney’s.

Along with the Irish, the 19th century also saw the arrival of Scottish immigrants to Leeds. Mitchell writes that the Scottish migrants were to be found wherever they could find work, and were employed ‘in every branch of occupation’.²³ There is evidence of a Scottish community present in Harehills, with the Chapeltown and Harehills survey noting a Presbyterian Church existing in a stable on Spencer Place, ‘For those with Scottish origins’.²⁴

The late 19th century saw an influx of Jewish refugees escaping persecution in Russia and Poland arrive in Leeds. Originally settling in the poverty-stricken Leylands area of Leeds, as their affluence grew in the 1920’s many migrated northwards, forming a community centred around Spencer Place, on the border of Harehills and Chapeltown.²⁵ This community has since disappeared, and the majority of the Jewish population have migrated further north, settling instead in the Moortown area.

²⁰ Author Unknown, Harehills Road Congregational Church Jubilee Pamphlet

²¹ Mitchell, W.R p.107

²² Ibid p.107

²³ Mitchell, W.R. p. 107

²⁴ The Chapeltown and Harehills Survey p. 19

²⁵ Mitchell, W.R p. 107

The Second World War brought a variety of Eastern European immigrants to the area, and various buildings in the area bear testimony to this. The Chapeltown and Harehills survey writes of the 'Solid looking social clubs of the Polish, Latvian, Serbian and Ukrainian communities', and a Lithuanian supermarket, Vilnius, has existed on Roundhay road since the 1970's.²⁶

Those of Greek origin, particularly Greek Cypriots, brought further immigration to Leeds and further change to Harehills during the years following the Second World War, brought about by both economic factors and political unrest in Cyprus during the 20th century. Further waves of immigration came about as relatives joined the existing community, often for marriage.

Religion has been, and continues to be of great importance to the Greek Diaspora. Katherine Kotsoni writes that the Greek Orthodox Church 'operates as the basic carrier of the Greek language, Greek identity and generally of the whole way of life of the community'.²⁷ In Leeds, the first immigrants worshiped monthly at St Matthew's Anglican Church in Chapel Allerton and, as the community expanded, a house on Hilton Place, in Harehills was purchased as a base. In 1985 the Church of the Three Hierarchs on Harehills Avenue was consecrated, establishing Harehills as the spiritual base of the Greek community for many years to come. The building, previously a Methodist church, was bought with the donations of both the community and the city council. This follows a pattern common during 20th century immigration, whereby the arrival of new religions coincided with the decline of Christianity in England, leading to the use of Churches by immigrant religions. Although based in Harehills, Leeds' Greek community is scattered throughout the city.



Screen in the Greek Orthodox Church of The Three Hierarchs

During the 1950's, the demography of Harehills changed further with the arrival of invited workers from the West Indies, many from the island of St Kitts. This community is, in part

²⁶ The Chapeltown and Harehills survey p. 11

²⁷ Kotsoni, K, *The Greek Orthodox Community in Leeds* (Leeds: Department of Theology and Religious Studies, 1990)

responsible for the growth of Pentecostal churches in the area during the second half of the 20th century. The *Chapelton and Harehills Survey* notes that ‘For many, battling with the cold, racial prejudice and some unfriendly churches was an unexpected experience, and for some, a faith shattering event’.²⁸ As a result of this lack of welcome from the mainstream churches, the Black-led Pentecostal movement flourished. Indeed, Tony Parry writes that ‘Many of the new arrivals who had previously belonged to these established churches in their homeland became unchurched, while others joined the new fellowships that were emerging under the Pentecostal tradition’.²⁹ Evidence of this is visible in churches such as the New Testament Church of God, which moved to the old Church of Christ Scientist on Easterly Road, in 1984, from smaller premises in Chapelton. Today, it appears that those of African Caribbean heritage are well-represented both in Pentecostal churches in the area, and mainstream denominations.

Along with the African Caribbean migrants, the 1960’s saw the arrival of economic migrants from the Indian Subcontinent. Following a countrywide pattern, the men arrived first in search of readily available employment, bringing their families to the area later. The religion of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants is widely visible in Harehills, with the Bangladeshi Shah Jilal mosque on Markham Avenue built in 1985, and the Pakistani majority New Jamia Bilal mosque on Harehills Lane built in 1992 on the site of the old Rank Optics factory.

Modern day Harehills

Recent years have seen further dramatic changes to the area, brought about by a second wave of immigration in the late 20th and early 21st Century. Many migrants have arrived since the eastern expansion of the EU in 2004, which incorporated the countries of the former Soviet Union. In Harehills, the Polish are particularly well represented, as the various Polish grocery stores in the area highlights.

Today, as with the Jewish community before them, many members of the community arrive seeking refuge from persecution overseas. These modern day asylum seekers are of many nationalities, ranging those escaping political violence to religious intolerance. Those of Somali and Zimbabwean nationality are noticeably present, with the latter being particularly active in the local churches. The situation in Iraq has brought further refugees to Harehills.

²⁸ The Chapelton and Harehills Survey p. 11

²⁹ Parry, T, *Black-led churches in West Yorkshire* (Leeds: Churches and Neighbourhood action project, 1993) p. 15



A Persian Restaurant, demonstrating the diverse businesses in Harehills

With the decline of manufacturing industries, many of those still working in Harehills itself can be found in the array of small businesses in the area. These shops and restaurants reflect the many nationalities present in the area. Along Roundhay Road alone, one observes South Asian jewellery shops, African Caribbean cafés, Persian restaurants and the aforementioned Lithuanian supermarket. Such businesses also highlight the importance of religion to immigrants, for example, the supermarket ‘Abu Bakar’s’.

Changes to Harehills can also be seen in the decline of entertainment facilities. The closure of pubs, for example, reflects both an increase in drug crime, and a lack of use by the local Muslim population, who do not drink alcohol. Recent times have also seen the closure of the area’s three cinemas, for example the Clock cinema, now an electrical superstore.³⁰ The few open spaces in Harehills are sadly seen as a source of contention. On one hand, they are promoted in order to provide public space for community cohesion, yet at the same time are commonly used by drug users and gangs.



One of the few remaining public houses in Harehills

³⁰ Evans, L. p.45

As with many other inner-city areas of Leeds, and indeed the country, modern day Harehills is not without its problems. In terms of deprivation, government figures place Harehills in the top 5% of all electoral wards in England, and the third most deprived area in the city of Leeds. One must also note the irony that despite employment being one of the biggest influences in the growth of Harehills, today unemployment in the area runs at 9%, more than twice the average for Leeds.³¹ This is reflected in that 41% of households receive council administered benefits, a disproportionately high number.³²

Sadly, statistics also show that Harehills falls far behind the national average for educational achievement. At G.C.S.E level, only 33% of children in the area attain 'good' grades of A*-C, compared to 55% nationally.³³

There is much evidence that housing quality has deteriorated in the area over recent years. With the departure of professional homeowners from the area, houses have been increasingly bought-to-let, and as a consequence less money has been spent on the upkeep of the properties and gardens. It has been claimed that such deterioration has caused the council to lose interest in the area, rendering it a '3rd class district'.³⁴

Despite its problems, Harehills today is a vibrant multicultural area whose residents are proud to live and work there. In the words of a local resident, 'A lot of people have a bad image of Harehills, and it's not a bad area at all'.³⁵

³¹ http://www.yorkshire-forward.com/www/view.asp?content_id=1406&parent_id=1226

³² Area statistics statistics.leeds.gov.uk/PDF_Downloads/Files/W-Harehills.pdf

³³ Area statistics statistics.leeds.gov.uk/PDF_Downloads/Files/W-Harehills.pdf

³⁴ Evans, L, p. 61

³⁵ Farrar, M, 2004, Leeds in the Picture: LS8 – People Building Stories (Leeds) p. 28

Religious life in Harehills

Religious life in Harehills today is very diverse. The area contains eight places of worship, including a Mosque, Greek Orthodox Church, Methodist Church, Catholic Church, two Anglican Churches, Baptist Church and a New Testament Church of God. These places of worship are very different from each other and hold diverse values and ideals. As a consequence of immigration into the area many of the religious leaders have noted a change in their congregations. This is not necessarily in size, but ethnicity. St Augustine's congregation, for instance, is now so diverse that it holds five different masses, each with a different language being used to accommodate those who attend. The spaces of the religious buildings are also being used to provide for the community, when perhaps once they would have only been used for worship on a particular day. Because of the diversity within Harehills, every religion and community can be provided for. But Roger Harington, the local councillor of Harehills notes, that this in turn means that the area has fragments of communities, leaving little overall 'community sense' in the area. During our research however, it has become clear that even though each religious community has its own distinctive identity, there are attempts at interaction.



The Bilal Mosque in Harehills

Places of worship and their identity

The variety of different religious institutions in Harehills makes it imperative for each group to establish its identity, both as a distinct tradition and as a part of the wider community.³⁶ It is immediately evident on attending a service at each of the groups in Harehills that they each have different traditions and styles of worship, and on further investigation that they all present themselves in individual ways. Harehills Lane Baptist Church for example, has a very actively involved congregation who participate in the service with lots of singing. This gives the church a

³⁶ 'identity' [can] refer to either (a) a social category, defined by membership rules and (alleged) characteristic attributes or expected behaviors, or (b) socially distinguishing features that a person takes a special pride in or views as unchangeable (Fearon, J. www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/idenlv2.pdf, April 2008). The type of identity we will be talking about here is the individual identity of each place of worship. Other types of identity will be discussed in this report, such as religious and cultural identity of individuals. As well shall see, however, these identities are often intertwined.

welcoming atmosphere and aids in creating an identity of inclusion and involvement. This is extended by the way the Pastors view the church. They identify themselves as a 'community' who strive for a view of worship that reaches beyond just that of attending a service on a Sunday. They feel that many people attend the church because of locality and community spirit rather than because it is specifically a Baptist Church.

Harehills provides for a variety of faiths but it is easy to go further afield in search of a group more suited to a personal preference, and it is certainly the case that many people come into Harehills to worship for this reason. One can therefore find many different styles of worship as well as many different religions and denominations in the area. For example the New Testament Church of God places emphasis on the power and presence of the Holy Spirit and as such has a very distinctive, active approach to worship. Therefore, their services include a high level of physical involvement and some healing.

Establishing an identity within Harehills is also paramount for immigrant religions. This has been achieved by many groups, some of whom have obtained their own places of worship such as the Bilal Mosque and the Greek Orthodox Church of the Three Hierarchs, and some who use the space of other groups but have still created a solid identity of their own, for example the Zimbabwean fellowship that meet at Trinity United Reformed Church. George Chryssides in Parson's *The Growth of Religious Diversity* states that there are three possible outcomes for immigrant religions – apostasy (abandoning their traditions and taking on new ones), accommodation (adapting to some new approaches but retaining some traditions), or renewed vigour (refusing to take on any new approaches and possibly exaggerating their own traditions).³⁷ It seems that in Harehills most immigrant religions fit the accommodation outcome as most have kept their traditional styles of worship but have in many cases adapted, either by sharing worshipping space or by changing their practices, as is the case for Islam in most of Britain. This is largely due to the ease by which Harehills allows for accommodation. It seems that on the whole the diverse groups that have come to the area have been provided for well. Many immigrants have joined existing congregations, i.e. African Caribbean members at many churches, and where this is not the case due to issues such as language barriers, provision has been made and assisted by established groups, such as the Shona mass at St. Augustine's.

The fact that Harehills is so accommodating allows immigrant religions to establish their own identities. Many of the immigrant groups do this with ease, as they are part of the cultural and traditional life of immigrants, not only their religious life. The Greek Orthodox Church for example is central to the lives of Greek immigrants, even second and third generations. All services are spoken in their own language, they run a Greek school, and cook traditional food to help to maintain connections with Greek culture and maintain and retain the traditional identity of the Greek Orthodox Church. In this way they have established their identity well in Harehills and as such have grown over time. Many African and African-Caribbean groups such as the New Testament Church of God and the Zimbabwean groups at Trinity United Reformed and St. Augustine's include singing and dancing in traditional style as part of their services as a way to retain the identity of their homeland in a new community. In these various ways immigrant

³⁷ Parsons, G, *The Growth of Religious Diversity: Britain from 1945*, (London: Routledge, 1994) pp58- 59

religions, as well as traditional groups, establish themselves well in Harehills and keep their own distinct character and cultural identity.

Interaction with the wider community

Part of the process of accommodation is the attempts made by many religious groups at widening their community and interacting with other people in Harehills. This is mostly achieved by organising support groups and events. Events such as coffee mornings and community parties create solidarity within congregations and interaction with the wider community in Harehills. Allowing other groups to use their space is another way that groups create relationships with the wider community. For example, St. Augustine's organises a range of activities such as; the Legion of St. Mary who make social visits to the elderly, youth groups to encourage children and young people to get involved with the church and with community projects such as making mosaics (which can be seen around the Harehills area), and coffee mornings. Their church hall is also used by a Women's Inter-faith Group and a confidence building class. St. Augustine's can thus be seen as an example of the way in which religious groups in Harehills interact both within and outside of their congregation.



A mosaic made by the Women's Inter-faith Group

All places of worship had readily available information, making them more easily accessible to the public. Information about upcoming worship and events for congregation members was readily provided in various forms. Bulletins, newsletters, leaflets and magazines are a method of interaction and inclusion that most places of worship in Harehills employ. They are a way of informing the existing congregations and newcomers about what is going on within their place of worship, which also function as invitations to attend. It is clear then that religion in Harehills is very active and that groups want to interact with the wider community.

It could be thought that this is not the case for immigrant religions who, as noted above, might not want to interact as much. This seems to be the case in that most events and support groups established by immigrant groups are aimed at congregation members rather than the wider community. The Greek Orthodox Church has weekly meals for the congregation and organises many parties which are attended by congregation members. However, they also hold a few

parties throughout the year which are open to any who wish to attend and invitations to their Easter party were extended enthusiastically. The Bilal Mosque also seems to be inactive in community cohesion.

Inter-faith relations

Yet it is not just the wider community that the religious institutions in Harehills want to interact with. Many are also keen to work with and support one another. One of the major religious projects that runs in the area is the 'Chapelton and Harehills Churches Together' group, part of Leeds Churches Together. It is chaired by Mo Elliott, a lay preacher of the New Testament Church of God, and is designed to help, both actively and through prayer, the community of Harehills. Religious leaders from St Aidan's, St Augustine's, St Wilfrid's, Harehills Lane Baptist Church, New Testament Church of God and Trinity United Reformed Church, as well as Christian religious leaders from churches in Chapelton, join together on a regular basis. They inform each other of activities happening in their churches, and invite the other leaders (and their congregations) to events and services being held. Alongside this, they also work with charities in the area, such as 'Joanna'; a group that works with prostitutes. A van serving hot drinks and food drives around the areas where prostitutes are known to work in Harehills and Chapelton. They try to create support through ongoing contact in the hope that a friendship will develop. At Christmas, Joanna delivers body shop gifts to the women, with the idea of promoting self-respect and valuing oneself.

The Churches Together group have also been actively involved in street pastoring. Volunteers perform late-night patrols around the area, letting people know that the Churches care for them, but without preaching to them. The community that the Churches Together initiative creates allows the churches in Harehills to have a 'doors open' approach for anyone in need, and to tackle issues such as crime and drugs, that the area faces.

St Augustine's and St Aidan's have also done a lot of work together, running the St Vincent de Paul Society in Harehills. The priest from St Aidan's noted that it was unusual for an Anglican Church to be working closely with a Catholic Church, and believes they may be one of the first churches to do this.



Interior of St Augustine's

Inter-faith dialogue between all the religions on the other hand, is not as evident in Harehills. The Bilal Mosque, for instance, does not have much communication with other religions in the area. The Churches Together group have attended the mosque and shared meals with the leaders, but have noted that the Mosque is quite passive in participating in inter-faith issues. It seems that the only inter-faith groups that run in Harehills are the Women's Inter-faith Group and the confidence-building group at St Augustine's. They were set up as a result of the London bombings in 2005, and the terrorism fears that followed. They allow women from different ethnic backgrounds and religions to come together and work as a group to participate in the community.

Yet despite the fact that there is no real inter-faith community in Harehills, it is clear that there is an acceptance and respect for other religions. Total inclusion is difficult because the faiths hold such different beliefs, ideals and values. It could be said that this lack of interaction from immigrant religions is related to their lack security and self-confidence. Maybe as their identity as a religion becomes more established over time, more interaction will occur. However, in Harehills, Islam for instance seems to us to be very well established yet interaction is minimal, and we found no signs of this changing. It is important to note, however, that although the mosque is not as active within the community, the migration of Pakistani and Bangladeshi people have made an improvement within the area since they have transformed run down and abandoned shops as can be seen throughout the report. Other groups are keen to improve inter-faith relations though and perhaps with time, this will happen.

Immigration and asylum in Harehills

The theme of immigration and asylum in Harehills seeks to present the main ethnic groups in the area, including a reflection of the issues that concern immigrants and asylum seekers in Britain today, in comparison to the current situation in Harehills for immigrants and asylum seekers.



The Bangladeshi Community Centre

Main groups of immigrants in Harehills today

Originally immigrating in the 1960's, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are at present the largest immigrant groups in Harehills. Most Pakistanis, especially those from the area of Mirpur, attend the Bilal Mosque, while the Bangladeshis attend other Mosques in the area.³⁸ Both the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities have established community centres where they can meet and teach the Koran to young Muslims. While many Asians move on to more affluent nearby areas such as Moortown, many newcomers are still moving in and it is expected that most of the Asian community will remain, since many have family businesses that will be passed on to the next generation.³⁹

There is also a substantial number of African Caribbeans living in Harehills. They form a majority of the congregations in the New Testament Church of God and the Baptist Church. The African Caribbean community has had a much more fixed presence in Harehills than other immigrant groups such as the Jewish community and Greek Cypriots who moved away after having prospered in business.⁴⁰

³⁸ See Appendix 4, Interview 6

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ See Appendix 4, Interview 33



A well established shop selling Eastern European food

More recently, new groups are emerging from Eastern Europe, the Polish community standing out amongst them. There are also many Eritreans from Africa, Kurdish, Iranian and Iraqi immigrants living in Harehills. Some ethnic groups of Harehills were hard to investigate and interact with, among them the Chinese community, who respondents have told us, like to keep themselves to themselves and as a result appear 'hidden'. We found this to be true since, even though the population of the Chinese community in Harehills is well above the average in Britain we were unable to locate them.⁴¹

Religious identity in the process of migration and diasporas

The social dynamics of the ethnic groups living in Harehills represents much recent academic theoretical work on the process of migration; providing a context for research in transnationalism and diaspora religion.⁴² Transnationalism is shown in the existing links and communications with immigrants' families at home, which are present in Harehills in the way of internet cafes, travel agencies and Western Unions.⁴³ Diasporic references are present in the discourses of migrants defining their cultural and religious identities.

⁴¹ See Appendix 4, Interview 23

⁴² Transnationalism refers to the actual existing links individuals or groups have across borders whereas diaspora religion means taking into account the both existing and imagined connections local religion has across borders. Sean McLoughlin; in *Migration, diaspora and transnationalism* p523-525

⁴³ See Appendix 7



A shop providing money transfers

The process of migration contests the previously settled notions of identity; the meaning of a British nation has to a point diminished, and new communities have developed in a multicultural context. Religion is widely acknowledged in academic discussion as an essential factor in the formation of group identity and its significance regarding migration is of a high degree as we have noted in the religious life section.⁴⁴

In Harehills, group identity and its relationship with religiosity is a key topic in the affect of migration and asylum seeking on the wider community. People of different ethnic backgrounds use religion as a way of defining themselves and forming a sense of belonging. It is also notable that the sense of belonging differs within different groups and also within the groups. For example in the case of Pakistanis it does not only include the extended family, but also the kinship group, the centre of which is in Pakistan, and immigration is a way to reunify families.⁴⁵ Establishing new communities, maintaining and reforming traditions as a result of migration also cause inevitable experiences of inclusion or exclusion in certain spheres of life. One Muslim female respondent informed us that the variety of ethnic groups in Harehills actually prevents racial conflict, as everyone is seen as equal because so many of them are immigrants.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Hall S. (1992) *The Question of Cultural Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers,(page?), and McLoughlin S. *Migration, diaspora and transnationalism* p.533-534 in *Key issues in the study of religion* referring to Mol (1979) and Knott (1992) on discussing the significance of religion in the process of migration

⁴⁵ Berthoud R. and Beishon S. (1997) p 48-54, *People, Families and Households* in *Ethnic Minorities in Britain*, London: Policy Studies Institute, Modood et al (1997), *Difference, Cultural Racism and Anti-Racism*, in Webner, P and Modood, T. (ed) p 227 *Debating Cultural Hybridity* in 'Unsettled multiculturalisms'. London: Zed Books

⁴⁶ See Appendix 4, Interview 45



A sari shop in Harehills

Cultural identity of young British Muslims has become a widely discussed topic in the academic field. Theories say the transfer of culture from Asia to the West, particularly the fact that the older generation immigrants combined religion and culture very tightly, means that those Muslims born and brought up in Britain are presented with two identities when growing up, that of their parents or that of general society, causing identification problems for them.⁴⁷ It is not an issue that affects European immigrants in Britain as much, as their culture has a Christian background and practices in Britain are not as dramatically different as for Asian Muslims; the idea of identity within Islam is reflected in the way that many Muslims prefer to identify themselves as ‘Muslim’ rather than in an ethnic category.⁴⁸ Liz New who works with Muslims in Harehills said that there are problems with identity for some young Muslim men, sometimes causing religious extremism.⁴⁹ It was also stated by one male Muslim that, “Islam is the only religion based on reality, a total way of life”.⁵⁰ However, another Muslim male held liberal attitudes concerning faith, and the use of drugs and alcohol.⁵¹ Muhammad Ali from the Bilal Mosque stated that Islam can work in the Western world and that it does in Harehills.⁵² One Christian leader in Harehills disagreed; claiming that their experience with many Muslim youths led them to believe that some do not have a great understanding of their religion.

While observing the processes of immigration and asylum in relation to religion it is worth noting how gender as a cultural construct operates in these contexts, offering opportunities but also drawing boundaries. Muslim women for example do not pray at the Mosque unless there is a special occasion such as a funeral. Women’s role is in the home according to many Muslim men and the fact that we did not have the opportunity to talk to many Muslim women reflects this.⁵³ In contrast, Christian groups find a higher percentage of female attendees than male. Especially in

⁴⁷ Jacobson, J, *Islam In Transition: Religion and Identity Among British Pakistani Youth*. (London: Routledge 1998) pg. 64-65

⁴⁸ Modood, T. ‘Culture and Identity’ in Modood et al. (eds.) *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: diversity and disadvantage*, (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1997)

⁴⁹ See Appendix 4, Interview 18

⁵⁰ See Appendix 4, Interview 25

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² See Appendix 4, Interview 6

⁵³ See Appendix 4, Interview 25

the context of Muslim immigrants, making relationships is easier for men as they are those accessing services. Men in certain communities, the Kurdish for example, are reluctant to let women participate in activities where other men are present.⁵⁴ According to Liz New the Muslims she works with (particularly Pakistani women), search for ways to build friendships and gain confidence with her help, in order to manage everyday situations. Liz told us that there are problems with loneliness in the Muslim communities; women and children are isolated as their life is traditionally kept within the domestic sphere.

Asylum seekers in Harehills

Until asylum seekers can be legally accepted into Britain, they cannot work or be educated. The National Asylum Support Service (NASS) administers a number of services for asylum seekers. Destitute asylum seekers are in theory eligible for support, but they cannot always access it because of fear of deportation and detention. An increasing number of asylum seekers therefore rely on charities, networks of friends and relatives, as well as illegal work for income.⁵⁵ Destitution can cause great frustration and mental health problems, and there is no real way out of this vicious circle. As a result, some asylum seekers feel a hostile attitude towards those that believe them to be an underclass. We found that some asylum seekers were far from happy with the British immigration and asylum policy.⁵⁶

Positive Action for Refugees and Asylum Seekers (PAFRAS) is one of the main secular organisations supporting asylum seekers in Harehills. St Aidan's provides a venue for meetings, where hot meals are served once a week and friendly advice is given but the church itself is not part of PAFRAS. As well as those from Harehills, many users of PAFRAS travel from as far as Sheffield. PAFRAS have seen a sharp increase in the number of attendants recently and indicated that in 2007 the main users of their service were Eritrean, Iraqi, and Iranian.⁵⁷ PAFRAS stated that asylum seekers had a high level of religiosity, some of them will still fast in Ramadan, even though they are destitute.

There are other secular organisations that give assistance to asylum seekers and immigrants in Harehills. Among them is Touchstone, a mental health charity, funded by the NHS. A team of community development officers; are each allocated to a certain ethnic community. Taking a holistic approach to mental health, they use techniques from many different cultural backgrounds; which interestingly are not just used by the communities from which they originated. Thomas Danby, the local higher education college, provides classes in English and other applicable skills for immigrants. Archways is a service specifically for young people, but which also provides support for immigrants and asylum seekers. There are also several housing and legal advice agencies, such as Connect and Connexions that can offer assistance on a variety of problems.⁵⁸ Although the religious institutions in Harehills are not directly involved in organizations helping asylum seekers, members of many congregations collect food for PAFRAS drop-in.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ See Appendix 4, Interview 18 and Interview 24

⁵⁵ Burnett, J. PAFRAS briefing paper, 2007

⁵⁶ See Appendix 4, Interview 29 and Interview 35

⁵⁷ See Appendix 4, Interview 22

⁵⁸ See Appendix 7

⁵⁹ See Appendix 4, Interviews 22, 23, 26 and 46

Attitudes of other residents towards immigrants and asylum seekers

The majority of residents in Harehills are immigrants. However, many, such as the Irish, do not consider themselves as immigrants anymore and new immigrants and asylum seekers in Harehills have evoked differing opinions amongst the older settlers who are now third or fourth generation. In our research we found that those who consider themselves non-immigrants, viewed immigration quite negatively, 'Too many immigrants now, causing resentment in the area. People think they are going to take over'.⁶⁰ The response was similar concerning asylum seekers, 'they don't seem to want to integrate... they should speak English and put money back into society.'⁶¹ Generally speaking, many people do not make the distinction between the two groups and tend to apply their views to immigrants and asylum seekers together, perhaps not knowing the difference. Our findings do not represent everyone, but integration and social cohesion seemed to be a concern for many people in Harehills.

Regarding specific groups, people perceive the Muslim community in Harehills to be inward looking, making little effort to integrate into the wider community. A councillor of Harehills and one Christian leader criticised the Mosque for not taking part with any inter-faith activity. Having said that, regular meetings are held with Churches Together and the Mosque in which, Rev. Andy Myers says, Muslim women are quite influential. Many Muslim women also attend an inter-faith confidence building group, held at St. Augustine's.⁶² Integration is a problem for asylum seekers especially as their opportunities are very limited, but Liz New said that religion provides a way for socializing.⁶³ Some of the more conservative Christians at St. Aidan's however, are not happy about the support their church gives to asylum seekers.⁶⁴ One African Caribbean woman at St. Augustine's said that people need educating on immigrants and asylum seekers, because they are not just here to 'milk the economy'.⁶⁵

There are also some integrative problems within ethnic groups. It is felt that there are tensions between the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities who live on different sides of Harehills and tend to attend different Mosques. Also within the Polish community, some of the older Poles do not get on with the younger generation. This is an issue some asylum seeker organisations have failed to recognise.⁶⁶

Despite the problems that immigrants and asylum seekers have integrating, many Muslims especially, expressed a fondness for the area, saying the community was welcoming and accommodating.⁶⁷ Also, asylum seekers appear to opt to live in Harehills rather than other areas in Leeds and from our research; it seems that the community as a whole think good support services are provided for them.⁶⁸ One has to question how representative this is of the community though. Andy Myers believes that there are tensions between Asian, African Caribbean and white

⁶⁰ See Appendix 4, Interview 28, See Appendix 2 for questions

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² See Appendix 4, Interview 12, 13, 20, and 33

⁶³ See Appendix 4, Interview 18

⁶⁴ See Appendix 4, Interview 33

⁶⁵ See Appendix 4, Interview 47 (St Augustine's), See Appendix 1 for questions

⁶⁶ See Appendix 4, Interview 24

⁶⁷ See Appendix 4, Interview 25

⁶⁸ See Appendix 4, Interview 24

people and that immigrants and asylum seekers probably do not feel comfortable living in Harehills because of it.⁶⁹

Regardless of the problems, there is recognition that immigrants and asylum seekers play a large role in the religious groups. Congregations have flourished, bringing the places of worship alive. St. Augustine's is a good example of this, as mentioned in the religious life section. The Baptist Church has become twinned with a church in the Congo, helping rebuild it due to just one male immigrant that attends the Church. Immigration and asylum seeking has given religious groups opportunity for action which at times has flowed into the community; the Banstead Park festival that has run since 2005 for example, celebrates multiculturalism in the area. The general view of Harehills amongst many residents is however, that it has 'communities within a community' but great efforts to target this are in place and have been, to some degree, successful and likely to improve.

⁶⁹ See Appendix 4, Interview 33

Policing, Crime and Drugs

Police Strategy for Dealing with Drugs in Harehills

This section of our report will deal with the issue of drugs in Harehills, as we found this to be of huge concern, among both residents and outsiders. A brief overview of the nature of the problem, and how police have dealt with this criminal activity, is relevant for understanding policing strategy today and public perceptions of the police. It also allows for an exploration of the role that religious places of worship play in dealing with drugs.

We were informed by Graham Archer, ex-inspector for Harehills, that prior to 1990 the style of policing used in Harehills was very relaxed; a hands off approach, where stop and search was limited. However, problems with misuse and dealing of drugs, accompanied by violence, spiralled out of control. This was obvious with large numbers of needles on the streets together with a high concentration of prostitution on Spencer Place; Harehills reputation was worsening rapidly. In response, zero tolerance policing was introduced and improved intelligence, together with teams of specialist officers, brought in to deal with crime in the area.

Since the 1970's, drugs have grown to be a particularly challenging problem for the police. Mainly consisting of cannabis and heroine dealing, the drugs market operating in Harehills had to be controlled at local and international level. The 'Yardies' (a term that applies to gangs of Jamaican drug dealers operating in the UK) on arrival created fear amongst the public, and among established drug dealers in the area. Sophisticated networks used couriers bringing drugs from Jamaica on flights to the UK, with fast cash exchange through money transfer companies. 'Jamaican Crime gangs have targeted Yorkshire, sparking a surge in street shootings as they battle it out for the lucrative drug trade with local gangsters', made the headlines.⁷⁰ Harehills amongst other areas (including Chapeltown) was an attractive area for this kind of trade to operate. Drug dealers (arriving in the late 1970's influx of immigrants) found support in already established African-Caribbean communities. In low-income areas, with high unemployment, fast cash criminal activity of this kind is often highly attractive.⁷¹

Police described combating the drugs problem in Harehills as a 'relentless battle'.⁷² Zero tolerance came in the form of constant police presence, with stop and search as an everyday occurrence. Graham Archer feels that the drugs problem is now under control. We found contrasting views, with some believing that drugs are a huge problem and the police are in denial about how big the issue is.⁷³

Zero tolerance policing is not just about dealing with major drugs issues. This strategy of policing aims to keep on top of small incidents that may spiral out of control and lead to an area becoming run down. If fear of crime amongst locals of an area grows, with no reassurance of police control, this can result in people desperate to move away; with a lack of pride in where they live and/or sense of safety. First introduced by New York Police Department in 1993, zero tolerance policing

⁷⁰ Steele. J The Daily Telegraph, One in 10 fliers from Jamaica 'is drug mule' [Online] [Accessed 3rd April] 2008 Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/core/Content/displayPrintable.jhtml;jsessionid>

⁷¹ BBC News [online] [7th April 2008] 2000 Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/371671604.stm>

⁷² See Appendix 4, Interview 35

⁷³ See Appendix 4

has been widely commended for reducing crime by 39%. However, in areas where there may be racial tension, this strategy of policing can leave people feeling victimised.

Public Perceptions of the Police and Community Policing Today

Through talking with religious communities in Harehills we found varying degrees of trust in the police at present. When talking to the police about this there was recognition that mistakes in the past have left fragile relationships. Many viewed one stop and search incident where an Asian man was sprayed in the eyes with CS spray, with his children in the car observing, as brutal and unprovoked.⁷⁴ This allegedly sparked the criminal activity of the June 2001 riots, where cars were stolen and set alight by large groups of youths. However this was not considered to be racially motivated violence, but a response to over-policing.⁷⁵

In a BBC Documentary *Round My Way*, presented by two teenage residents of Harehills, there is suggestion of ‘bully boy tactics’ being used in the area. But this description is accompanied by recognition of the fact that police have a difficult job to do.⁷⁶ We found this understanding to be common amongst residents in Harehills, especially active members of the community.

Neighbourhood policing is used today in Harehills. A 2004 White Paper entitled *Building communities, Beating crime* proposed the need to deliver policing at a local level, in order to respond to the needs of individual areas. This strategy of policing is preventive; stopping the need to rescue a community after it has already reached an undesirable state.⁷⁷

As part of our research, we went with the Neighbourhood Police Unit into Harehills, enabling us to observe policing for ourselves. We observed three drugs raids and noted how quickly such intervention can be brought about. We saw, in less urgent situations, how police interacted in a friendly manner with members of the public; there was an obvious building of a rapport between officers and young people. Many officers knew first names as well as nicknames. A large proportion of the time was spent surveying the streets from police vans. When asked about the use of vans, officers said they would prefer to use cars, recognising that vans can be intimidating. However this decision was out of their hands, due to control of resources at a national level. This appears in contradiction to government aims to make police more approachable.

Interviews with religious leaders, detailed questionnaire responses from congregation members and the street survey enabled us to grasp current perceptions of crime. We found the majority of respondents felt safe in Harehills. All respondents named drugs as the biggest cause of crime and many were very aware of the presence of drug dealers on street corners, working from cars and taxis.

Those who did not feel safe were intimidated by the younger generation. When asked how they felt about policing in Harehills there were mixed responses. Many felt that good police presence

⁷⁴ BBC News [online] [5th April, 2008] 2001 Available from: <http://newsbbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1372301.stm>

⁷⁵ Farrar, M. [online] [7th April 2008] 2004 Available from: <http://www.maxfarrar.org.uk/>

⁷⁶ BBC Radio 1Extra [online] [10th April, 2008] 2005 Available from:
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/1extra/tx/documentaries/round_my_way.shtml>

⁷⁷ Home Office [online] [10th April, 2008] 2004 Available from:
http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/wp04_complete.pdf

was a positive thing; others saw that police 'try but are not always effective'.⁷⁸ Two religious leaders felt that constant presence of police vans was threatening and created a sense of fear amongst residents and it was suggested that more police on the beat or on bicycles would be better for the community. Those in favour of police vans, felt they made police presence known, creating a feeling of safety. Roger Harington expressed preference for a balance, as did many religious leaders.⁷⁹

In talking to the police we found that those involved in drug dealing were very often young people, and we gained varying response in terms of which ethnic community they were likely to belong to. Some police said all, whereas another officer talked about concentration of problems in the African Caribbean community. Our street survey found that some locals felt that drug related crime was a result of tension between the Asian and African Caribbean communities.

A Muslim Special Officer, told us about how he joined the police, in order to build bridges between the Asian community and the police. He said this was hard at times, with people from his community disillusioned by him arresting another Asian man. He commented on a lack of respect for police in many Asian countries, where people pay officers in order to avoid punishment.

Religious Places of Worship; dealing with crime and drugs

During a Churches Together meeting we attended, crime and police was the subject of discussion and prayer. There was recognition of the fact that justice in police terms, often differs from a religious perspective of what justice means. Memories of 'unfair treatment of innocent people' caused difficulty in trusting the police sometimes.⁸⁰ There were strong views concerning the idea that people in Harehills are vulnerable and becoming involved in crime does not deem them a bad person. Those present placed great importance on the role that religion can play in protecting against crime; both falling victim and becoming perpetrator.

Street Pastors previously described in this report, focus on steering people away from crime through building friendship and providing support. Religious leaders and congregation members appear on a monthly basis, on the streets of Harehills. They aim to come across as friendly, approachable, and non-judgemental. They recognise the need for this kind of interaction in the area, and see themselves as the right people, to carryout such a task.⁸¹ This scheme does not preach religious values per se, but is clearly motivated by the religious beliefs of volunteers.

We found that the Trinity United Reformed Church (TURC) and the New Testament Church of God, both majority Black congregations, were particularly open about the issue of drugs. Worship included praying for relatives involved in drug abuse. Group prayer involved asking God to protect young people, against becoming involved in crime. Members of the NTCG view their lives as a battle against the temptation of the devil, seen as an external force that motivates an individual to sin. The majority of congregation members attend church services at least twice a week; religion for them is a way of life.

⁷⁸ See Appendix 1 for questions

⁷⁹ See Appendix 4, Interview 20

⁸⁰ See Appendix 4, Interview 19

⁸¹ See Appendix 4, Interview 21

NTCG works closely with Teen Challenge a Christian organisation that works with victims of drug addiction and also trains congregation members as counsellors (a National Program held at Head Office), so they can actively help in their own communities. A NTCG congregation member shared his own experience of his past as a drug dealer; after serving a lengthy prison sentence, he started attending NTCG. His faith, the friendships he has formed with other members, and the support provided at NTCG has given him the strength to turn his life around for the better.⁸² He now preaches to others who remain involved in criminal activity. He also runs youth clubs within the Church and openly talks with youngsters about his experiences.

Reverend Harwood of TURC reported that, to his knowledge, there had been no cases of vandalism of religious buildings in Harehills and he felt this reflected the way religion is a respected part of people's lives, despite difference in religious beliefs.⁸³ In an interview with a member of the Zimbabwean Fellowship, constant vandalism done to an old school building currently being converted into flats was reported. It was suggested to have been the same group of young people each time.⁸⁴

It seems that individual religious communities run successful group activities for their own young people. This perhaps resonates with the common feeling amongst residents that Harehills is made of many communities rather than one. A youth group was set up at St Aidan's for the wider youth population, but was unsuccessful.⁸⁵ We have found that there is much more for young people as a whole in neighbouring Chapeltown; police we spoke to agreed. We observed that police spend quite a bit of time dealing with youngsters with Anti-Social Behaviour Orders.

The Muslim community at the Bilal Mosque showed concern with regards to drugs in the wider community. Within the Mosque itself, if a problem arises, the head of the family (in this case the father) is expected to seek advice from Muslim authority figures. Muslims here prefer to deal with the issues of drug abuse within the religious community itself. They have found seeking help externally has been unsuccessful. As a branch of a larger Muslim community, the Bilal Mosque, is attempting to create a larger Muslim youth group in affiliation with Mosques in Bradford, to deal on a larger scale with issues experienced by young people. In a similar way, active congregation members were aware of the issues faced by Muslim women and to deal with this they believe that a strong network of fellow Muslim women should be developed where experiences can be shared. A prudent approach is adopted in the Muslim Community, where it is expected that a clear understanding of the Koran should instil strong resistance to drug abuse and other criminal activity. Younger generations take classes as an extension to the standard school day where they learn to translate the Koran; identifying with it in a controlled environment. With regard to Shariah law, in the case of the Muslim people we spoke with, they were aware of the topical discourse taking place in British society, but were not keen to share their own views on the matter.⁸⁶

⁸² See Appendix 4, Interview 4

⁸³ See Appendix 4, Interview 16

⁸⁴ See Appendix 4, Interview 38

⁸⁵ See Appendix 4, Interview 33

⁸⁶ See Appendix 4, Interview 25

We have found that religious communities provide people with ways of dealing with personal issues through faith, support and guidance. Friendship for many people is a very important element of religious life. Many of the difficulties people bring with them to religious places of worship are a consequence of living in an area with high crime rates and deprivation. The Government's ten year strategy for tackling drugs recognises that disadvantaged communities have their capacity to act as members of a community damaged through poverty, isolation and lack of investment, joblessness, crime and poverty, all of which are apparent in Harehills.⁸⁷ There is recognition that unattached individuals are more vulnerable to drug abuse. National aims to tackle drugs in deprived areas focus on the participation of local people; to encourage them to become active members acting upon their own initiative in providing mutual help in the community.⁸⁸ We have found that many places of worship in Harehills are active in this process and provide support, that as a consequence of fragile police relations brought about through periods of intense policing, the police themselves may be unable to provide directly.

⁸⁷ The Home Office [online] [8th April, 2008] 2005 Available From: <http://drugs.homeoffice.gov.uk/drug-interventions-programme/>

⁸⁸ The Home Office [online] [8th April, 2008] 2007 Available From: <http://drugs.homeoffice.gov.uk/publication-search/dip/DIP-impact-evidence-round-up>

Conclusion

Religion, Identity and Community in Harehills

Researching Harehills gave us an insight into an area split up into different communities which in several ways are constantly working to keep their places of worship alive, maintaining their identities in a changing, multicultural context. The impact of transnationalism is clearly visible within the relatively geographically small area that we have mapped. There are a large amount of people in Harehills living in situations where they are sustaining both cultural and actual connections with their countries of origin. The history of the area has processes of migration at its base; it is thus not surprising that this process infiltrates community, identity and every day life, on many different levels. There is no indigenous group in Harehills, since each group living there has been a migrant at some point.

As Stuart Hall has argued, communities are hugely variable in nature. There are often strong internal ties and members constantly define the boundaries of their community. This may be a reaction to being defined as 'other' by the mainstream population, or through a desire to distance themselves from the majority. On an individual as well as group level, people become active in the process of identity construction. Identities are never fixed, changing depending upon the social context in which an individual interacts. An identity may be based on allegiance to an 'imagined community' as a result of diaspora; identity is brought alive through memories of the country of origin, which then binds people in a current place of residence.⁸⁹ In Harehills, we have observed religious identities transcending ethnic boundaries. In many places of worship, a variety of ethnic groups share one religious identity; which seemed to us to be bringing people together through worship.

We have also observed, at the Bilal Mosque, the Greek Orthodox Church and at the Zimbabwean Fellowship at Trinity United Reformed Church, that religious identity is tightly bound to ethnic identity in Harehills. Observing allegiance to this identity solely within a religious context, perhaps overlooks the more complex issue of forming and maintaining cultural identity in other aspects of life.

At the moment, it seems that the diversity of Harehills and its constantly changing population has resulted in little interaction between differing cultures and religions. As mentioned before, the more established religions in the area, such as Christianity are now attempting to encourage interaction. With recent immigrants attending these churches, a more cohesive community may well become a reality. Furthermore, as second and third generation migrants begin to live their own lives in Harehills, the culture that their parents and grandparents maintain so passionately may well be adapted or neglected, meaning future generations may further interact with their wider community. It seems from our questionnaires that at present, many people are unaware of their neighbour's religion and culture, which consequently means individuals are often frightened, distancing themselves from the perceived 'other'. This too can be experienced by the police when encountering individuals from cultures that largely differ from their own, such as when communicating with Muslim women.

⁸⁹ Hall S, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in Williams, P and Chrisman, L (eds.) *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: a reader* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993)

In Britain, the contradiction between the cultural and religious values of our seemingly secular society is seen to be causing problems. There is a suggestion that dealing and perhaps struggling with multiple identities can manifest itself in various forms of ‘youth culture.’ Young people in Harehills are often discussed when linked with the issue of drugs, and generalisations based on stereotypes can create further identity struggles for young people themselves. We have seen in our research that attending religious places of worship can help to maintain and develop the more positive aspects of young people’s identities. Time did not allow us to investigate the point at which the two are in contradiction though we would have liked to. It would also be interesting to talk to young people in Harehills with no sense of religious identity and see what effect this has when living in an area of such high religiosity.

The fact that alternative secular social space available for people to interact is sparse in Harehills, due to closure of many recreational facilities, may mean that places of worship are providing opportunity to share a sense of community that is absent elsewhere. Where open space is available for people to interact, cases of regeneration of deprived areas have shown that people who would otherwise remain strangers come together, which may break down stereotypes.

We view this to be a significant point, as West Yorkshire Police Neighbourhood Policing Unit state that they are a ‘team of officers working within the heart of the community’. This ‘heart’ may not be applicable to Harehills, where there are many communities within one. Chief Inspector Nik Adams has shown great enthusiasm for deepening his awareness of religion in Harehills and we agree that where religion is providing community in Harehills, the implication of this for community policing, is worth exploring further, based on our findings.

One aspect of the project that has impressed upon us all was the way in which all of the themes are related and linked in Harehills. The history of the area, particularly its patterns of migration, has affected the religiosity and diversity that we have been looking at. Religion, as the main concentration of the report, has had evident effects on the face of Harehills and its inhabitants, whether new migrants or established communities; with the idea of communities within communities possibly stemming from the focus of social interaction around different religious groups. However it is clear from our research on inter-faith activity and the attitudes of the police that Harehills is making steps toward being more of a whole community and interaction is being approached. It is also clear that religion is very important in establishing the various identities that we have noted throughout and is at the heart of life for many living in Harehills

Methodological Lessons

Our research methods have had their advantages and disadvantages. Visiting places of worship gave us a first hand experience of the religions in Harehills, initiating an understanding of the area as well as acting as our main point of contact for interviews and questionnaires. The informal interviews were very useful but only gave the views of individuals. The congregational questionnaires were not as successful as we had hoped but those that were returned were very insightful, though no quantitative data could be yielded. The order of questions may have been slightly confusing, as some seemed to assume we were insinuating that immigration was a cause

of crime; something we did not intend to suggest. The street questionnaires were more beneficial, as we were able to present our findings in graph form.

As first time partners of the Religious Mapping module, the police provided an interesting new angle to previous reports. Our main contact with the police came during our observational shifts. It showed us how the police work in Harehills and provided an opportunity to discuss this work, but a more formal interview may have been useful.

Whilst the report is representative of the research we have accumulated, there are still significant gaps in our findings and one must be aware of this when reading, so as not to make generalisations. We were limited by time, and pressure of other academic work. It is also important to note that our group contained ten females and one male, all from a white, European and mostly Christian background and this may have influenced not only the opportunities open to us, but also the amount and quality of information people revealed during interviews. The Muslim community has an obvious presence in Harehills but this may not be portrayed in the report. The fact that we did not have any Muslim members may have hindered our attempts to access the Muslim community. If this had not been the case, then we may have been able to obtain a deeper understanding of the community's social dynamics, and thus including more about the Muslim community in our report. An eye opener for many of us on has been the presence of two Finnish girls on a study abroad scheme on the module. They have been a great addition to the group, encouraging the rest of the group to think in different ways and question British norms, which may otherwise, have taken for granted.

In summary the group have found this project exciting and rewarding, it has been very different to our usual form of study, allowing us to apply what we have learnt throughout our courses to a real life situation and theorise about religion and society for ourselves. The group have worked hard and with success, though not without difficulties. Working in a large group is challenging but overall we think we have maintained good communication and overcome many of the trials presented to us. We feel we have learnt a lot from this experience, acquiring valuable skills not obtainable through merely reading books. Harehills has been an exciting yet challenging place to map, and we hope that we have done it some justice through our report.

Profiles of Religious Buildings

St. Aidan's Church of England

Place of Worship: St. Aidan's

Religion: Christian

Denomination: Church of England

Leader: Rev. Alan Taylor

Contact Details: Roundhay Road, Harehills, LS8 5QD
01132 48699



Profile: St. Aidan's is a very active Church. The congregation see it as a traditional 'High Church', yet the present Reverends see it more as a liberal branch of a High Church. The Church congregation mainly derive from Harehills, and typically amounts to as many as 110 people on a Sunday. It is estimated that 70% of the congregation are African in ethnic background, the remainder being predominantly white British with a handful of asylum seekers. The female presence is notable with approximately 65% of the congregation being woman. Quite a lot of children are present and attend Sunday school or communion and confirmation class. Many children are brought along by their Grandparents, so the age range at St. Aidan's varies from very young to elderly with a distinct lack of middle aged Parishioners.

Description: The large Church building was completed in 1894 and was designed by Frank Brangwyn. It is rare in its design, but built in the traditional Basilica style. The building contains famous beautiful mosaics, telling the story of St. Aidan's life. Apart from the Church space the building also holds within it a large hall used for various activities.

Services:

Sunday: 8am Morning Prayer, 9am Holy Communion
10am Parish Mass, 6pm Evening Prayer

Weekdays: 9am Morning Prayer, 6pm Evening Prayer

Daily Mass: 9.30am – Wed., Thurs., Sat. 6.30pm - Mon., Tue., Fri.

Events: St. Aidan's is involved with various congregational and community groups and organisations. The Mother's Union 'Christian care for families worldwide' holds a group at St. Aidan's. There is also PAFRAS, a charity for asylum seekers who uses Church facilities. There has been a youth club, but this was unsuccessful. The church is also involved with inter-faith activity. St. Aidan's has links with the R.C. Church of St. Augustine in its charity work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which involves community work for example, making visits to the elderly, helping people learn to read etc. The Church also part of the Churches Together group and street pastoring, going out one night a month to talk to people.

St Augustine of Canterbury Catholic Church



Place of Worship: St Augustine of Canterbury
Religion: Christian
Denomination: Roman Catholic

Leader: Father Michael A. Kelly
Contact Details: Harehills Road, Leeds, LS8 5HR
01132 490762

Profile: St Augustine's is a Catholic church with a very mixed congregation from various ethnic backgrounds, representing the cultural diversity of Harehills and the impact of immigration in the area. Church attendants of the Sunday mass are of many different ages and ethnicities, which make the service lively and colourful. At present, the congregation mainly comes from the local area. The number attending the main Sunday mass is approximately 200 people, a contrast to the morning mass, which mainly attracts older people and a congregation of approximately 20-30. The church is twinned with St Augustine's Primary School, and pupils attend mass on holy days.

Description: The Church began in the form of a temporary tin church, built in 1905 to accommodate the increasing number of Catholics in the area, many of whom had immigrated from Ireland. As the parish expanded however, the original building was replaced by the current church, built in 1936. The school; the first of the parish buildings to get erected, was originally located right next to the church but soon became too small and was relocated further away.

The multiculturalism of Harehills and the variations of Catholic Christianity in the area are very visible in St Augustine's, as the church also serves as a religious venue for different ethnic Catholic groups, such as Ukrainians, Indians and Zimbabweans. Mass is said in their own language, and takes place every month/ fortnight.

However, the church does not restrict the use of its space for only Catholics. It also has a welcoming attitude towards other Christian groups. Currently a Coptic congregation is the only non-Catholic group holding their services at St Augustine's premises but constant requests to use the building as a religious venue are received from other Christian groups, mainly Pentecostal. According to Father Kelly, the requests of these groups have unfortunately been turned down due to the overlapping schedules with parish activities.

Services: Saturday: 6.30 pm
Sunday: 10.00 am and 6.30 pm
Morning Mass at 9 am, Holy Days at 9.45 am

Ukrainian Mass every 2nd and 4th Sunday of the month at 2.00 pm

Shona (Zimbabwean) Mass every 2nd Saturday of the month at 2.00 pm

Indian Mass every 4th Sunday of the month at 4.00 pm

Coptic Mass every 1st and 3rd Saturday of the month at 10.00 am

Events: The Church has a St Vincent de Paul society that provides community outreach, mainly by helping people in need. Voluntary members of the society at St Augustine's consists not only Catholics, but also members of Church of England, which is unusual within the organisation. The Church also has Legion of St Mary, which is more devotional in character and provides help by visiting elderly people.

On Sundays many parishioners gather together to do activities for the Parish, such as building a mosaic sign for the Church. The Parish also provides Monday afternoon tea for elderly people, hosts Brownies and a Youth Group. There is a charity shop at the back of the church which raises money for the Tanzanian church twined with St Augustine's.

Food and essentials are collected by the congregation members at the back of the church for asylum seekers to be taken to St Aidan's for PAFRAS.

The Church also takes part in local ecumenical projects such as Street Pastoring and monthly Interfaith Prayer and is active in the inter faith dialogue in the local area. The Lower Hall of the Church building is used by the Harehill's Women's Interfaith Group and Women Together Confidence Building Group which both gather once a week aiming to help women from different ethnic backgrounds to get together and participate in the community. This project is run and funded by SureStart.

Harehills Lane Baptist Church

Place of Worship: Harehills Lane Baptist Church

Religion: Christian
Denomination: Baptist

Leader: Pastor Graeme Dodds
Contact Details: 13 Hilton Place, Leeds, LS8 4HF
01132 628080



Profile: This friendly and lively church welcomes everyone. 80% of the congregation live within a five-minute walk of the church, and the leader believes they attend more because they feel part of the community rather than the fact that it is a Baptist church. The church has not seen a change in the size of the congregation over the past 20 years, but they are getting older! The people who attend this church are mainly between the ages of 40-60. The Sunday school attracts up to around 20 children some weeks, but there is a noticeable lack of teenagers, students and younger adults. There are an even number of males and females. There is a mix of races within the parishioners. A lot of different denominations worship and 43 nationalities have been recorded in the last year. The majority are British African Caribbean. The church is also twinned with a church in the Congo which they helped raise money to rebuild.

Description: The Church has been around for over 100 years, originally built to serve the traditional needs of a Sunday service of worship. Features such as the sloping floor directed towards the altar still remain. However, the modernising of the church's message to 'community', has led the leaders to feel the space is not used effectively enough. Attached to the church is a large hall and offices that are used by many of the leaders of the church as well as a gym/hall for certain groups.

Services: Main service – Sunday 10.00am (Prayer and Worship)
Other services – Sunday 6.30pm (Prayer and worship)
Tuesday 7.30/9.15am, 12:15pm & 7.30pm (Prayer)

Communion worship is held on the first Sunday of every month

Events: A community café runs every Monday in the church hall to provide to those in the community. A clothes shop runs alongside this where people can buy second hand clothes. The hall is also used for a multitude of purposes by other groups such as; a circus club, sure start, a women's help group, an after school club, Zimbabwean refugees, an Asian women's exercise club and for community parties such as weddings and birthdays. Some of the other Christian churches have also used the hall and church, including Chapeltown community church and the Catholic Church for baptisms.

Jamia Masjid Bilal Mosque

Place of worship:	Jamia Masjid Bilal Mosque
Religion:	Muslim
Denomination:	Sunni
Leader:	At present, the mosque does not have an Imam, instead borrowing one from a mosque in Bradford.
Contact details:	Harehills Place, Leeds, LS8 5JL (0113) 2480711



Profile: The mosque has a large congregation of mostly Pakistani residents of Harehills, and some African Caribbeans. Recent immigration to the area has made the mosque truly international, bringing people of Kurdish, Iraqi and Somali origin to worship. The majority of regular attendees are men, but there is a small area for women when they attend things such as funerals. Although all ages are represented, there were mostly teenage boys and elderly men, many of whom sit on chairs provided by the mosque as they were unable to perform the prostrations fully.

At weekday evening prayers it appears that approximately 60-70 men attend. This number increases dramatically at compulsory Friday lunchtime prayers, when it is not uncommon for 2000 men to attend.

Description: The mosque is relatively new, having been specially built only twelve years ago, in order to replace a converted warehouse opposite the premises. Since then, the number of people attending has increased dramatically. The mosque itself is actually only the central room within the building, where trading and excessive talking is forbidden, and shoes must be removed before entering. The mosque is a square carpeted room, decorated with depictions of the Kaba at Mecca, and inscriptions from the Koran. Beads are provided for making supplications. Facilities for performing *wudu* (ritual cleansing before prayer) are found just outside the mosque, along with racks for shoes. There are several small side rooms in the building, which are used for the various educational activities run by the mosque.

Services: The call to prayer is made five times a day, and religious law requires all males in the area to attend. The key weekly service takes place on Friday lunchtimes, which includes a sermon, both in Arabic, and recently, in English.

Events: The Mosque is also used as an educational space, in which both male and female young Muslims are taught basic Arabic in order to learn to read the Koran.

The New Testament Church of God

Place of Worship: The New Testament Church of God

Religion: Christian

Denomination: Pentecostal

Leader: Pastor L. A. Bailey

Contact Details: 3 Easterly Road, Leeds LS8 2TN
01132 406561



Profile: This church is a part of the largest Black Majority Pentecostal denominations in the UK. Its members come from several different ethnic backgrounds, but many of them are of African or African Caribbean origin. The Church has a vivid style of worship which includes gospel music, singing and charismatic preachers. Moreover, the theological importance given to Holy Spirit cannot be underestimated. The congregation is made up not only elder people, but also young adults and children participate in worship meetings on a regular basis. Furthermore, the number of congregation members seems to be constantly growing and many of them attend church meetings several times a week. Approximately 70 to 80 children attend Sunday school every weekend. A substantial number of people who attend the church live outside the Harehills area. A clear majority of the church attendees are women.

Description: The Church was founded in the year 1975 and was originally located on Chapeltown Road. However, with the expanding congregation, the church soon needed bigger facilities. Thus in 1988 the church moved to its current address. Now 20 years later, the Church is again facing the same problem. The church services are held in an old school building, but it is becoming too small for the congregation. There are nearly 350 seats in the church hall, but during Sunday Morning Worship barely any of them are vacant.

Services:

Main Services:	Sunday Morning Worship at 11 – 14 am Sunday Evening Worship at 6 – 9 pm
Other Services:	Sunday: Morning Prayer at 9-10 am
Monday:	Prayer & Fasting: 11am, Revival Meeting: 7.30 pm
Tuesday	Men's Ministry at 7.30, Women Ministry at 7.30 pm.
Thursday:	Evangelism Meeting at 7.30 pm.
Saturday:	Prayer meeting at 7.30 pm

Events: A youth group is held every Friday at 7.00pm. Lots of other changing events: for example; Christian youth education days, young ministry training days, senior citizens luncheon club and training for national New Testament Church of God sports day.

The Three Hierarchs, Greek Orthodox Church

Place of worship: The Three Hierarchs

Religion: Christian

Denomination: Greek Orthodox

Leader: Fr. Samuel Kouspoyenis

Contact Details: Greek Orthodox Church, Harehills
Avenue, Leeds, LS8 4EU
01132 490814



Profile: The church attracts approximately 100 people for a Sunday service but there are 380 families on their register with 2500 members in the whole of Yorkshire. Those in attendance are of mixed ages as the congregation is mostly made up of families as well as students from the surrounding Universities. Important feast days such as Christmas and Easter attract a significantly larger crowd with approximately 200 people at Christmas and 2000 at Easter.

Those who attend the Sunday service travel not only from within Harehills but all over Yorkshire, as this is the only Greek Orthodox Church in the area.

Description: The church building is of an average size and the style is typical of Northern church architecture. Previous to being used by the Greek Orthodox community this church was a Methodist church. When the Greek Orthodox Church bought the building in 1966 they had to renovate the upstairs of the church to turn it into a social and schooling area for the Church congregation. This area holds a dining room, kitchen and bar.

Services: Sunday matins and the Divine Liturgy: 9:30am – 1.00pm.
Sometimes the church holds services during the week.

Events: The Church holds a lot of social events for its congregation. Every Sunday after the service they eat together in the upstairs social room and on the first Monday of every month they have a large function with a meal, where approximately 100 people attend.

Now and again they will hold gatherings such as fancy dress parties, particularly around large feast days. At Easter the Church always has a large celebration where everyone, even those who are not Greek Orthodox, can attend.

Greek school takes place on Saturdays for children, ages 5/6-15 years of age, giving them the chance of a GCSE in Greek.

Outside of the church the Greek Orthodox community tend not to be involved in the local community although they have participated at community days in the nearby suburb of Potternewton, selling kebabs.

Trinity United Reformed Church

Place of Worship: Trinity United Reformed Church
Religion: Christian
Denomination: Ecumenical/Methodist

Leader: Rev. Mark Harwood
Contact Details: Banstead Terrace, Roundhay Road,
LS8 5PX , 01132 62233



Profile: This Methodist Church was built to house three former Churches in the area; Trinity Methodist Church, Harehills United Reform Church and the Gledhow Road United Reform Church. They came together due to declining numbers and an increasingly mobile population. The Trinity United Church now serves mainly local people of Harehills. In their previous locations, the three churches had a predominantly white congregation, however now it is 90/95% black.

The average Sunday morning congregation size is 50 – 60 people, mainly aged 50 and over, with approximately 12-15 children in attendance. Services are led in a traditional manner but the atmosphere is quite informal.

The Trinity United Church is also home to a Zimbabwean Fellowship which serves approximately 80 members on a weekly basis including around 30 children. Youth activities are incorporated into the service and there is a strong desire to preserve the Zimbabwean heritage (language, traditional dress and music); with many travelling into Harehills from surrounding areas. There is a strong family atmosphere in this service and the congregation is equally made up of male to female members, which is a contrast to the predominantly female congregation at the main Sunday morning service. A small minority of around 8 to 10 people attend both Sunday services. Another minority community that wishes to use the Methodist premises for worship is an Indian Orthodox group who plan to meet on Saturdays in the near future.

Description: The current church building sits on the site of what was once a much larger building, demolished and rebuilt to accommodate the new situation of the congregation in 1983. An agreement was made with the *Anchor Housing Trust* and the rest of the site now houses the Montague Burton day care centre and sheltered accommodation for the elderly.

Services: Main service: Sunday at 10.45am (with all age worship on the first Sunday and Holy Communion on the second Sunday)
Zimbabwean Methodist Fellowship: Sunday 3.00pm

Events: Monday afternoon hosts 'Oasis', similar to a women's fellowship which approximately a dozen women attend although it is open to all. This session consists of activities, sometimes a guest speaker, Bible study or leisure activities, although it is seen more as a sociable activity and an opportunity to meet others in the community. There is currently a Lent service running on a Thursday evening, although the theme of this particular service is altered according to the time of year. Coffee mornings take place on the second Saturday of the month and a small hall is on the second story of the church building, available for community hire.

St Wilfrid's Anglican Church

Place of Worship: St Wilfrid's

Religion: Christian
Denomination: Anglican

Leader: Rev. John Hilton
Contact details: Chatsworth Road, Harehills
Leeds LS8 3QJ
0113 249 7724

Profile: The congregation of St Wilfrid's is small and declining. The majority of the thirty or so attendees of the main Sunday service are single older women, and a few elderly couples. Only a couple of young families attend. The main ethnicity represented is white, with a few African or African Caribbean families. The Priest has also mentioned that he has had a few asylum seekers in his parish over the years, although these tend to be transient members. Although the congregation of St Wilfrid's is small, it is clearly close knit and exceptionally welcoming. Everybody we spoke to lived in Harehills, within walking distance of the Church.

Description: St Wilfrid's is very much a traditional Church, both in appearance and practice. The building is set on a leafy side street of Harehills, within a churchyard which also contains the vicarage. The old stone building is far larger than the small congregation requires, and so has been divided by a partition wall in order to utilise the back of the church as a church hall. The church had previously owned a separate church hall which was sold recently. St Wilfrid's belongs to the 'Forward in Faith' movement, described by its website as a 'worldwide association of Anglicans who are unable in conscience to accept the ordination of women as priest or bishops'. It is one of four Forward in Faith churches in Leeds, and maintains good relationships with the other parishes. The style of the services is also very traditional.

Services: Sunday: 8.00am & 10.00am (Sung Mass)
Mass is also said everyday during the week, either early in the morning or in the evening.

Events: St Wilfrid's provides Sunday school classes during Sunday mass, although when we attended there were too few children to make this worthwhile. The church has also held Lenten bible study classes, although these have not taken place this year. An important part of St Wilfrid's calendar is its social events, including pilgrimages to Walsingham, and parties at Christmas time.

Appendix 1 – Congregation Questionnaires

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS: HAREHILLS ‘RELIGIOUS MAPPING OF LEEDS’ RESEARCH PROJECT

We are students from the University of Leeds currently doing a project on Harehills. The two themes we are focusing on are Policing, Crime and Drugs and Immigration and how religion relates to them. We would be grateful if you could answer these as honestly as possible. **Please note we do not ask that you provide us with any contact details- you will remain anonymous.**

- 1) Do you live in Harehills? Yes/No If not, how many miles do you travel to come here?

- 2) In what way are you and your place of worship involved in the community of Harehills?

- 3) How do you feel about crime in the Harehills area? Are there any incidents that stick in your mind?

- 4) How effective do you think the police are in dealing with problems in the area? Are they the first people you turn to when there is a problem?

- 5) Are there certain areas in Harehills that you feel safer in than others, and why? Is there any thing you do for your own personal safety?

- 6) How do you feel immigration has affected your neighbourhood?
- 7) Do you feel that your place of worship is accepting of immigrants within the congregation, if any?
- 8) To your knowledge, does your place of worship provide any services for asylum seekers?
- 9) Is there anything you feel could be improved in Harehills
- a. To make people feel safer?
 - b. Concerning immigration and asylum seekers?
- 10) Do you feel that there is community spirit/cohesion in:
- a. Your place of worship
 - b. The area of Harehills

Feel free to add any other comments:

If you would like any further details about the nature of our research please feel free to contact Professor Kim Knott on k.knott@leeds.ac.uk.

We will be holding a presentation about our project later on in the year, which you are welcome to attend. Details will be sent to your place of worship in the near future.

Appendix 2- Street Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS **HAREHILLS STREET SURVEY- 8 March 2008**

1:Strongly agree 2:Agree 3:Neutral 4:Disagree 5:Strongly disagree

Part 1- Policing, Crime and Drugs

- 1) Would you consider yourself to be 'religious'? Do you attend a place of worship in Harehills?**

- 2) Do you think there is a good community spirit in Harehills?**

- 3) Do you feel safe in Harehills? Are there any parts of Harehills that you do not?**

- 4) Are the police effective in dealing with crime in the area?**

- 5) Do the police help to prevent crime from occurring in the Harehills community?**

- 6) What do you see as the main cause of crime in Harehills?**

Part 2- Immigration

- 7) Do you think Harehills is welcoming towards immigrants and asylum seekers?**

- 8) Do you think that immigrants integrate well in Harehills?**

- 9) Has Immigration had a positive effect on the Harehills area?**

- 10) Do you think there is good provision for asylum seekers in Harehills?**

- 11) Have you noticed any changes in the area since you have lived here?**

Interviewer observation-

Male/female

Ethnicity-

Age-

Appendix 3 – Street Survey Results

Delaney’s Response – 08/03/08

	Not answered	Strongly agreed 1	Agreed 2	Neutral 3	Disagreed 4	Strongly disagreed 5
Q1			1	4		4
Q2	3	1			2	3
Q3		1	3	4		1 (+1 child)
Q4		3	1	2	2	1
Q5			1	1	1	6
Q6		1	2	2		4
Q7	1	1			2	5
Q8	6		1	1		1
Q9	2			1	1	5
Q10	6		1			2
Q11	2	4	1	1		1

- 12) Would you consider yourself to be ‘religious’? Do you attend a place of worship in Harehills?
- 13) Do you think there is a good community spirit in Harehills?
- 14) Do you feel safe in Harehills? Are there any parts of Harehills that you do not?
- 15) Are the police effective in dealing with crime in the area?
- 16) Do the police help to prevent crime from occurring in the Harehills community?
- 17) What do you see as the main cause of crime in Harehills?
- 18) Do you think Harehills is welcoming towards immigrants and asylum seekers?
- 19) Do you think that immigrants integrate well in Harehills?
- 20) Has Immigration had a positive effect on the Harehills area?
- 21) Do you think there is good provision for asylum seekers in Harehills?
- 22) Have you noticed any changes in the area since you have lived here?

	Not answered	Strongly agreed 1	Agreed 2	Neutral 3	Disagreed 4	Strongly disagreed 5
Q1		1	3		2	2
Q2			6	1	1	
Q3	1	1	2	1	2	1
Q4		2	4	1		1
Q5	1		3	2	3	
Q6	2	1	5			
Q7	2		2	2	1	1
Q8	4	1	1		1	1
Q9	2	4			1	1
Q10	5	2				1
Q11	2	1			1	1

Survey response from around the Harehills area, takeaway owners, their customers, and general members of the public on Roundhay Road – 08/03/08

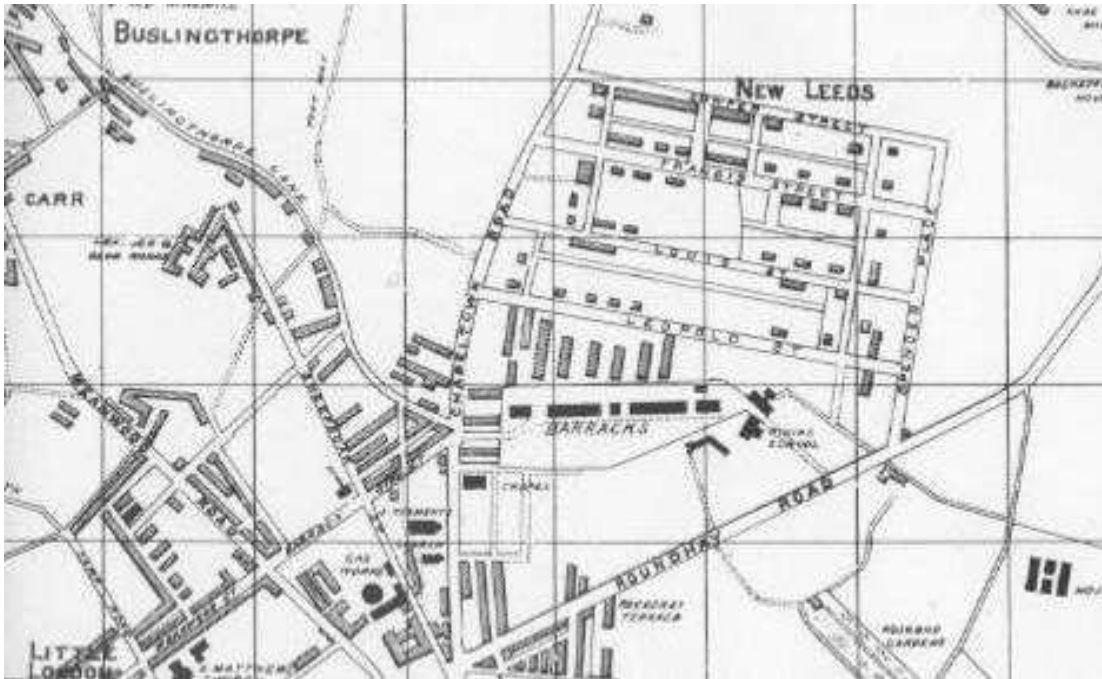
- 1) Would you consider yourself to be 'religious'? Do you attend a place of worship in Harehills?
- 2) Do you think there is a good community spirit in Harehills?
- 3) Do you feel safe in Harehills? Are there any parts of Harehills that you do not?
- 4) Are the police effective in dealing with crime in the area?
- 5) Do the police help to prevent crime from occurring in the Harehills community?
- 6) What do you see as the main cause of crime in Harehills?
- 7) Do you think Harehills is welcoming towards immigrants and asylum seekers?
- 8) Do you think that immigrants integrate well in Harehills?
- 9) Has Immigration had a positive effect on the Harehills area?
- 10) Do you think there is good provision for asylum seekers in Harehills?
- 11) Have you noticed any changes in the area since you have lived here?

Appendix 4- Interviews

1. 5th February 2008- Attended a tour of the Bilal Mosque
2. 6th February 2008- Informal chat with Father Michael Kelly at St Augustine's Church
3. 6th February 2008- Informal chat with the Women's Inter-Faith Group at St Augustine's Church
4. 10th February 2008- Informal chat with congregation members at New Testament Church of God
5. 15th February 2008- Interview with the manager of Solace, Counselling and Psychotherapy for Refugees and Asylum Seekers, Roundhay Road
6. 15th February 2008- Interview with Muhammad Ali and Nassir Sharil at the Bilal Mosque.
7. 17th February 2008- Interview with Youth Group Leader at the New Testament Church of God
8. 18th February 2008- Informal interview with support staff at Housing Connect on Roundhay Road.
9. 18th of February 2008- Interview with Graeme Dodds and Paul Rockley at Harehills Lane Baptist Church
10. 18th February 2008- Informal chat with people at the Bangladeshi Centre
11. 20th February 2008- Informal chat with people at the Pakistani Centre
12. 20th February 2008- Interview with Father Michael Kelly at St Augustine's Church
13. 20th February 2008- Interview with Claire McLaughlin and Women's Inter-Faith group at St Augustine's Church
14. 20th February 2008- Informal chat with Western Union worker
15. 20th February 2008- Informal chat with Anthony Marshall at A & T Autos
16. 21st February 2008- Interview with Reverend Mark Harwood at Trinity United Reformed Church
17. 22 February 2008- Interview with Father Samuel Kouspoyenis at Greek Orthodox Church
18. 25th February 2008- Interview with Liz New at Harehills Lane Baptist Church
19. 27th February 2008- Informal chat with Christian religious leaders and active congregation members at a Churches Together Meeting held at the New Testament Church of God
20. 28th February 2008- Interview with Councillor Roger Harington, at his office on Spencer Place.
21. 28th February 2008- Interview with Mo Elliot, leader of Street Pastors at the New Testament Church of God. Also an active member of Churches together
22. 3rd March 2008- Interview with Emma Powell at Positive Action for Refugees and Asylum Seekers (PAFRAS), on Roundhay Road
23. 3rd March 2008- Interview with Community Development Officers at Touchstone Support Centre, Harehills Avenue.
24. 3rd March 2008- Interview with Ala Sirreyah, a PhD student in Social Policy at the University of Leeds, researching immigration

25. 3rd March 2008- Interview with congregation members outside the Bilal Mosque
26. 4th March 2008 - Informal chat with workers at Archways
27. 4th March 2008 - Informal chat with workers at Job Shop; Jobs and Skills service, set up by Leeds City Council
28. 8th March 2008- We interviewed people using the Street Survey; in Delaney's Irish bar, takeaway owners and customers and general members of the public on Roundhay Road.
29. 8th March 2008- Interview with destitute asylum seeker
30. 8th March 2008- Interview with a congregation member at Shona Mass at St. Augustines
31. 11th March 2008- Interview with David at Leeds New Muslims, at his residence in Harehills.
32. 11th March 2008- Informal talk with admin staff at Resourcing the Community, on Roundhay Road.
33. 11th of March 2008- Interview with Reverend Andrew Myers at St Aidan's Church
34. 11th March 2008- Went out with Neighbourhood Policing Unit; informal chat with officers throughout the shift
35. 12th March 2008- Interview with Chief Inspector Graham Archer, Theology and Religious Studies Dept.
36. 12th March 2008- Went out with Gipton and Harehills Neighbourhood Policing Unit; informal chat with officers throughout the shift
37. 13th March 2008- Went out with Gipton and Harehills Neighbourhood Policing Unit; informal chat with officers throughout the shift and special constable Al McFadyen
38. 14th March 2008- Interview with member of the Zimbabwean Fellowship, held at Leeds Metropolitan University
39. 16th March 2008- Interview with congregation member at Harehills Lane Baptist Church.
40. 18th March 2008- Went out with Gipton and Harehills Neighbourhood Policing Unit; informal chat with officers throughout the shift and special constable Al McFadyen
41. 20th March 2008- Informal chat with women at interfaith meeting at St Augustines
42. 20th March 2008- Interview with Father Michael Kelly at St Augustines
43. 24th March 2008- Interview with Parishioner's husband; has lived in Harehills for a long time, at St Augustine's Church
44. 26th March 2008- Interview with Alison Smith, an active member of Harehills Lane Baptist Church, at her house in Harehills
45. 24th April 2008- Interview with Marya Yasin, a young Muslim woman living in Harehills.
46. 24th April 2008- Interview with teachers at Thomas Danby College
47. March 2008-April 2008, congregation questionnaires handed out to all religious institutions in Harehills. Received completed ones from St Augustine's, Harehills Lane Baptist Church, Greek Orthodox Church, Trinity United Reformed Church, New Testament Church of God.

Appendix 6 – Historical Map



Appendix 7 – List of Shops and Amenities

Ethnic speciality shops

African Caribbean Shop

Adonai Food

Karahi Restaurant

Taj Curry House

Al-Hayay-Halal meat

Jade Swallow - cantonese takeaway

Soul Food - African and Carribean cuisine

Somali Cafe shop

A Muzic - Asian music store

Havali restaurant

Italian gents barbers

Meganha Sari Shar

Sharon Boutique - saris

Sona Chandi jewellery

CC textiles - sari shop

Globe-African hair and beauty

Vilnius and Co-Lithunian shop

Darvish-traditional Persian tea house and restaurant

Arti restaurant

Continental Supermarket

Shine - sari shop

Organic eastern foods - halal

Tasty Fillings - serves halal meat despite being run by non-Muslim, British owners

Shops showing how immigration has affected the area; active 'transnational' links

Chardhary - money transfer

Lang travel place

Ramadan Radio 87.7FM

Sylet Links - travel services

e PLANET - internet cafe

Connect@hamza

Rashid Brothers - money transfer, halal

Other forms of provision for Immigrants/Asylum Seekers

Community Links

Archways/Connexions

Shantona Womens centre

Assist-advice and consultancy services

Bangladeshi Community centre

Connect Housing

Job centre plus

Roundhay rescoure centre

Harehills job shop

Places for people - housing agency

Harehills and Chapel Town law centre

North East Leeds - Harehills and Chapel Town housing office-Leeds city council

Advocacy Support - advice centre

Rafiq partnership solicitors - immigration

Leeds enviromental health service

Harehills housing aid

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