

Religious Mapping of Chapeltown 2007



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Introduction

The religious mapping of Chapeltown was undertaken with certain goals in mind. The group's task was to discover what the nature of the places of worship in Chapeltown was; to locate and study those that we know about, but also to hunt for and discover any religious institutions that we did not know of. During the study of these institutions it was also important for us to consider how these religious institutions interacted with the external and profane society at large, ranging from political activity, to whether the venues of worship are used for non-religious purposes. Another important issue of interaction is that of the relationships between faiths and denominations, and any examples of organisations fostering interfaith activity, as well as investigating the presence of "no faith" or any kind of secularised religiosity. We also discussed the selection of topical approaches, and these themes reflected what we perceived to be the most important issues in the area of Chapeltown that linked religion with the community.

What follows is a report compiled by the ten students that enrolled in the Religious Mapping module at the University of Leeds in the winter semester of 2006. The aim was to record and analyse, in as great a depth as possible, religion in the Chapeltown area of Leeds. As an area, Chapeltown is rich in material for such a study. Not only is the area home to Christian, Sikh and Muslim places of worship, it provides the base to the interfaith group Concorde, all of which contribute to a diverse population of varying British and migrant ethnicities. Preconceptions of the area, as rife with crime – and supposedly one of Leeds' most dangerous areas - made the report more interesting¹, and along with our engagement with religion and community, we also found our assumptions on this matter challenged.

The area can be located within the LS7 postal region, and can be mapped through four points; where Scott Hall Lane runs to north to where it intersects with Potternewton Lane, where Harehills Lane runs east and intersects with Avenue Hill, where Spencer Place runs south and intersects with Roundhay Road, to the very bottom and beginning of Chapeltown Road. The area is residential with primarily terraced Victorian housing situated north of Leeds city centre. The area has received a great deal of funding in recent years, ranging in figures and projects, an example being a £270,000 investment in business by the English heritage². It also contains an array of facilities, including a hospital and a school of dance.

The report is divided into three main sections; the first part dedicated to describing the numerous religious groups in the area, the second thematic, looking at migration/immigration and ethnicity, community and policing crime and public order; and finally the conclusion. The approach of the group was particularly varied in order to gather what is a vast amount of information. The first task was to divide into groups, each with the task of accumulating the necessary information for a particular religion or group. This information was acquired primarily through interviews, observations and general research. Secondly, further specific allocations were made to

¹ British Broadcasting Corporation, (2006) http://www.bbc.co.uk/leeds/content/articles/2005/04/19/civic_life_round_my_way_feature.shtml [date cited: 10th January 2007]

² Leeds Labour Party, (2007) <http://www.leeds.labour.co.uk/viewpage.cfm?Page=6665> [date cited: 10th January 2007]

cover themes various smaller sections, and finally editing. The group's approach will be covered in greater detail in the methodology section.

This piece is a compilation of our findings, specific efforts and tasks, brought together by the group as a whole, and finished with a conclusion based on our experiences and personal conclusions during the researching of this report.

Religious Mapping Methodology

As students studying religion in Chapeltown, we had in front of us the task of making sense of a great number of diverse religious communities and organisations. Martikainen, in his article 'Mapping Religions', states some questions students and scholars face, when confronted with this task. These questions are as follows: How to collect the following material? How to make sense of it? How to present it?³

Getting answers to these questions requires knowledge of religions, of various ways in gathering material and most importantly, first hand contacts with the organisations in question. This task is not easy as Martikainen comments,

The task is not easy and it requires good planning, patience, time and innumerable phone calls. I know of first hand experience that one is confronted with many situations, where field experience, good behaviour, and chance are more important factors than scholarly knowledge.⁴

Religious mapping approach

One way in which this material can be dealt with is through 'religious mapping', which is a combination of methods that aims to present a variety of religious groups in a comparative and comprehensive manner. ⁵Since mapping religions is a comparative method which aims for a horizontal understanding of some specific features among religious groups in a given context and locality,⁶ this was an excellent approach to take in the case of Chapeltown. In mapping religions then, we were able to recognise the lived realities of religion in the context of Chapeltown rather than in the often abstract and idealized world religions.⁷

3 Tuomas Martikainen, 'Mapping Religions', a chapter in Heikki Pesonen, Tuula Sakaranaho, Tom Sjoblom, and Terhi Utriainen, *Styles and Positions: Ethnographic Perspectives in Comparative Religion* (Helsinki: Limes ry, 2002), p. 312.

4 Martikainen, 'Mapping Religions', a chapter in Pesonen, Sakaranaho, Sjoblom, and Utriainen, *Styles and Positions: Ethnographic Perspectives in Comparative Religion*, p. 312.

5 Martikainen, 'Mapping Religions', a chapter in Pesonen, Sakaranaho, Sjoblom, and Utriainen, *Styles and Positions: Ethnographic Perspectives in Comparative Religion*, p. 312.

6 Martikainen, 'Mapping Religions', a chapter in Pesonen, Sakaranaho, Sjoblom, and Utriainen, *Styles and Positions: Ethnographic Perspectives in Comparative Religion*, p. 312.

7 Martikainen, 'Mapping Religions', a chapter in Pesonen, Sakaranaho, Sjoblom, and Utriainen, *Styles and Positions: Ethnographic Perspectives in Comparative Religion*, p. 312. As Kim Knott comments, "Religions are lived, dynamic, and embodied realities that are far more diverse and vivid than general accounts on world religions lead one to think." Knott, 'Issues in the Study of Community and Locality', *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1998) pp. 284-286. Certainly from our team research, the unpredictable array of answers given seem to complement this comment. When we went to the mosque for example, my expectations of it as being very 'traditional' were shattered by the youth and vibrancy of the place.

Research Methods

In our initial research proposal we identified a variety of channels to be used in gathering views on religion in Chapeltown.

- a) Interviews in person with faith representatives
- b) Interviews in person with relevant professionals and representatives of comparable inter-faith bodies
- c) Interviews by phone with faith representatives and/or relevant professionals and representatives of comparable inter-faith bodies
- d) Participant observation
- e) 'Convenience sampling' and 'snowball sampling'

All of these methods were employed. With each case we had to make decisions on *how* we would obtain our information, as we will now explain:

Interviews

It was decided that we would use a 'structured interview' technique when interviewing faith representatives and/or representatives of comparable inter-faith bodies, both when face to face or on the telephone. This is because we wanted each respondent to receive exactly the same interview stimulus as any other, so that when there was variation in the replies, this was down to 'true' or 'real' answers, rather than, the interview context.⁸ However, while we tried to keep to these 'rules' as much as possible it did not 'feel right' in certain situations to employ this strategy. In fact, through experience we sometimes learnt that 'informal' interviews or chats were just as valuable in gaining information (for example, in the mosque we did not wish to come across too formally but wished to give off a friendly vibe to get more feedback). In total then, over 20 interviews were carried out, which spanned across the Christian, Muslim, Sikh and other faith groups as well as secular groups.

Participant observation

On many occasions we went into places of worship or other institutions to observe people's practices, attitudes and beliefs. Many times our actions in these situations were dependent on our own consciences, feelings and attitudes and so it was up to each individual to decide how to conduct him/herself. However, we all fell into two categories when researching, these being the 'observer as participant' and the 'complete observer'. Whereas the first category involved observation and a small amount of participation (as opposed to 'complete participant' or 'participant as observer' roles, which involve the researcher as a fully functioning member of the social setting), the latter involved no direct interaction with people and was unobtrusive in character.⁹ The form of behaviour we chose to adopt very much depended on the place of worship we were observing. When for example we went to Ramgarhia Board for Duvali celebrations, the service was not being spoken in English

⁸ Our knowledge of the value of structured interviewing was taken from Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 107.

⁹ These categorisations and explanations were adapted from Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, p. 300.

so we did not understand fully what was occurring, which made us observe unobtrusively. However, when some of us went into the churches, English was being spoken and some members of the group were Christians so they felt they could participate freely. Likewise, when we went into the mosque, we received a warm welcome and so when everyone moved forward to the front of the mosque to pray we felt obliged to join in (we were initially not going to but felt self conscious and 'conspicuous'. We did not want to offend them so we joined in as well).

'Convenience Sampling' and 'Snowball Sampling'

Often we felt the need to gather information from whatever sources were available to us. Many times people seemed cautious about divulging information or were indifferent to what we were doing, so we were sometimes content to get information from whoever was willing to give it. By listening to local people's concerns and 'hanging around' Chapeltown on several weekday afternoons, sometimes people gave away information in general conversation or gave the names of others who might be relevant for us to contact.¹⁰

People we were able to contact

Through these different means of communication, a variety of faith communities and inter-faith organisations were contacted. Faith groups included the following: Christian, Muslim, Sikh, Jewish, Hindu, Rastafarian, other. Various denominations and groupings within each of these broader groups were also approached. For example the following Christian groups were contacted: Church of England, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Leeds Black majority churches.

In terms of organisations we contacted with an interest in faith issues, these included: Asylum Seeker Support Centre, 'Resourcing the Community', Bangladeshi Community Centre, Pakistani Community Centre (outside of our domain), Black Elders Association, Carnival Centre, West Indian Centre, Connexions Centre and Stainbeck Police Station.

The History of Chapeltown

In the beginning...

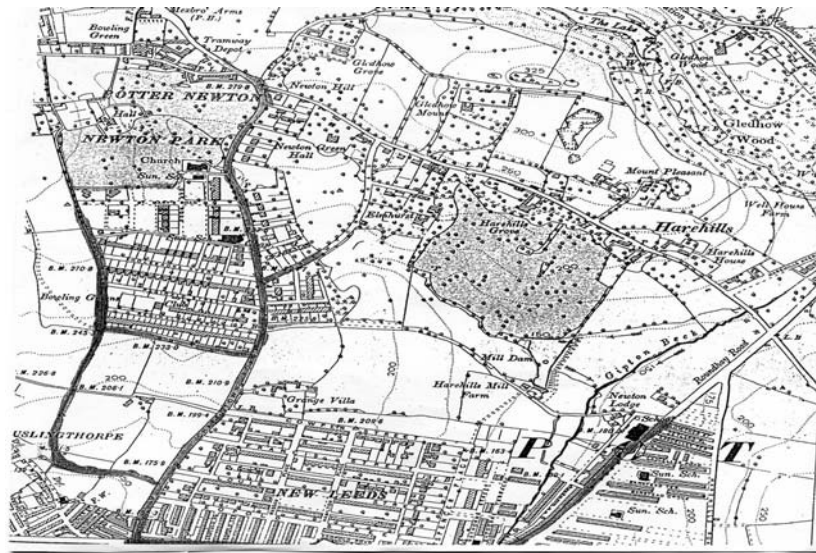
The area which is now known as Chapeltown became an area of note from 1830. This was a consequence of affluent families in Leeds leaving the city for houses with a more exclusive life-style in suburban mansions and villas. The movement of people from the city centre was directed towards Headingley and Clarendon road. However due to the pollution from the many factories in Kirkstall it thus soon became a less attractive area.¹¹

¹⁰ This explanation of 'convenience' or 'snowballing' sampling was adapted from Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, p. 301-302.

¹¹ Author unknown Ordnance Survey County Series: Yorkshire.Sheet CCIII.S.W. 1894, *Leeds: A Hundred Years Ago*, found in folder in Leeds City library entitled Chapeltown, pg14

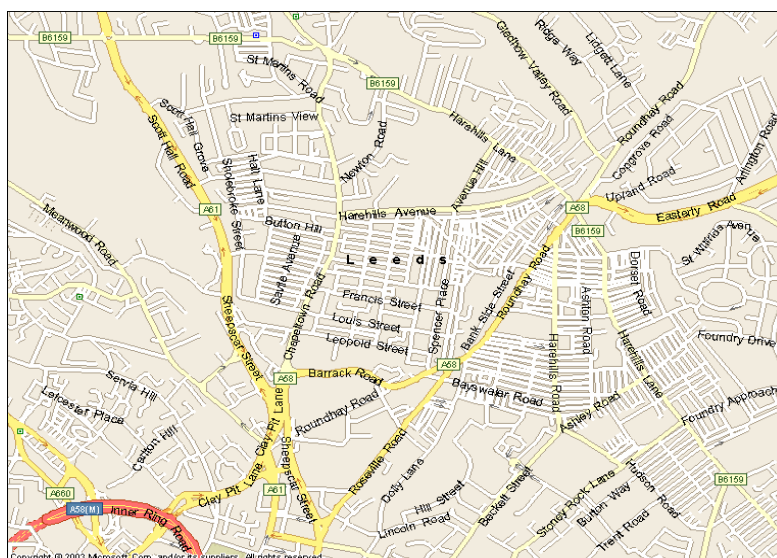
As shown in figure 1, “New Leeds” (now the lower point of Chapeltown) was originally considered an exclusive place to live. At the time of completion in 1890, “New Leeds” had however run into some difficulties, as developments from the south were being built ever closer to it, and grand terrace houses were starting to become unfashionable.¹² Most of the development was from the south of Leopold Street, by working class back-to-back houses, which were later cleared in the slum clearance programmes of the late 1960s and 1970s.¹³

Figure 1



In figure 1 it can be seen that even at this early stage in the history of Chapeltown, Reginald terrace, Reginald Street and Sholebroke Avenue also already existed. This can be compared to figure two below, which is a modern day map of the Chapeltown area.

Figure 2



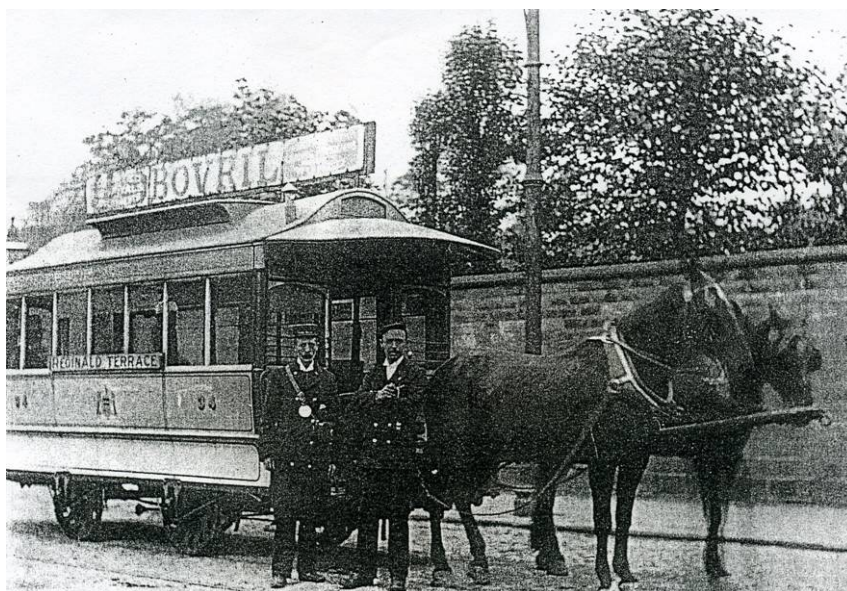
¹² Author unknown, Ordnance Survey County Series: Yorkshire.Sheet CCIII.S.W. 1894, *Leeds: A Hundred Years Ago*, pg 15

¹³Freedman, Murrey, *Chapeltown and its Jews*, Leeds, Freedman, 2003, pg 9

It is not entirely certain just when the name Chapeltown first came into use, as it is not shown on all maps with great consistency. However, the existence of an old chapel in the churchyard at Chapel Allerton, served by monks in the thirteenth century, may suggest the reason for its naming. Likewise Chapeltown moor corresponds to this title, but no longer exists today. This area was used to host horse racing competitions between the wealthy, and also held the first recorded cricket match in Leeds in 1757.¹⁴

The first trams in Leeds were constructed in the late nineteenth century, and were all horse drawn. They were made by George Starbuck & Co of Birkenhead. As can be seen in figure 3 the number 34 tram, which was supplied at the cost of £167, terminated at Reginald Terrace in the centre of Chapeltown.¹⁵ The first electric trams serving this area were not introduced until the August Bank Holiday in 1901, running from Leeds to Chapel Allerton.¹⁶

Figure 3



It is interesting to note that many of the streets in Chapeltown were named after the land owners who sold them for housing. The Earl of Cowper owned land in the Potternewton area hence the name, Cowper Street. Also other streets were named after his family members such as Leopold Street, Louis Street, Francis Street and Spencer Place. To the west of Chapeltown Road lay the land belonging to the Earl of Mexborough which is the reason for the name Mexborough Street.¹⁷

The First Jews

During 1881, the assassination of Alexander the second of Russia created widespread anti-semitism. Subsequently, this led to the exodus of many Russian Jews who,

¹⁴ Churches and Neighbourhood Action Project, *Chapeltown and Harehills Survey*, 1994, pg10

¹⁵ Author unknown, *Images of Leeds- 1850-1960*, found in folder in Leeds City library entitled Chapeltown

¹⁶ Churches and Neighbourhood Action Project, *Chapeltown and Harehills Survey*, pg10

¹⁷ Freedman, Murrey, *Chapeltown and its Jews*, pg 8

arriving in Hull, had the intention of travelling across the country towards Liverpool. Many of them, however, decided to go no further than Leeds, where they were able to establish trade. They started to build small shops and workshops, and supplied labour to the local factories as tailors and clothiers. At the point of Queen Victoria's death in the early twentieth century, approximately 15,000 Jews had settled in Leeds. In terms of their religious practice, the first synagogue to be built in Chapeltown was the Chapeltown Hebrew Congregation (also known as Francis Street Synagogue), which was moved here from the Leylands in 1921 after the First World War.¹⁸ Later, a synagogue was built on Belgrave Street, which was followed with the construction of the Great Synagogue on Chapeltown Road. This area became highly populated by the Jewish community until their gradual relocation into Moortown. In 1928 Dr.J.Abelson, Rabbi of the Belgrave Street synagogue and later the new Synagogue, jokingly referred to Chapeltown as "The city of David".¹⁹ The number of Jews residing in Chapeltown today is minimal as they have gradually moved northwards. As their houses became vacant people of varying ethnicities moved in to take their place.

Chapeltown's first Churches

Although predominantly Jewish in population, due to migrants from Russia and later Poland, there was also a notable presence of Christians in Chapeltown. The earliest denominations in Chapeltown include St Mary Church of England (1881), Presbyterians (1908), Methodists (1902), and Baptists (1906). Shops and a school were also built on Cowper Street in 1907 to serve the local community.²⁰

The formation of Gurdwaras

The first Asian settlers came into Leeds in the 1930's all of whom were male and seeking employment. It was not until the 1950's that their numbers started to increase as more men came in search of work, and in turn brought their families to Leeds.²¹ The city was attractive to these settlers due to its large industrial base, and the need for post war workers. The first Gurdwara was built at 3 Savile Road just off Chapeltown Road. This building, shown in figure 4, was bought with a building society loan of £1,250. During its opening ceremony the Salvation Army Band played music and the first Sikh flag *nisan sahib* was flown.²²

¹⁸ Freedman, Murrey, *Chapeltown and its Jews*, pg 13

¹⁹ Freedman, Murrey, *Chapeltown and its Jews*, pg4

²⁰ Knott. K, Kalsi. S, The Advent of Asian Religions, Mason. A, *Religion in Leeds*, Pg 10

²¹ Knott. K, Kalsi. S, The Advent of Asian Religions, Mason. A, *Religion in Leeds*, pg 161

²² Knott. K, Kalsi. S, The Advent of Asian Religions, Mason. A, *Religion in Leeds*, pg 166

Figure 4



As the Sikh and Hindu communities increased in numbers due to the arrival of women and children, a need was felt for another Gurdwara. The site of 281a Chapeltown Road was a disused Congregational Church which was purchased in 1961 to fulfil that purpose of a large space for congregation. As many of the Indian and East African community were skilled labourers they soon had the building transformed ready to be used by the community.²³

Islam in Chapeltown

As well as an increasing Sikh and most of the Hindu community more and more Muslims were coming to settle in the Chapeltown area. The first Mosque in Leeds was created from the old synagogue at 21 Leopold Street in the late 1950s. Abdul Rahman encouraged Bengali Muslims to raise a sum of money to buy it. Opened in 1961 the Jinnah mosque became the central place of worship for Muslims in Leeds. This was followed in 1981 by the opening of the Islamic Centre in Spencer Place.²⁴ Today the Bengali Muslims now worship at a new purpose- built mosque in Harehills.

Caribbean citizens

In the late 1950s Caribbean workers started to settle in this area, in response to an invitation from the British Government to fill job vacancies.²⁵ Consequently, Chapeltown became a multi-racial town with many job prospects, which enabled immigrants to bring their families over and support them with their new life styles.

²³ Knott. K, Kalsi. S, The Advent of Asian Religions, Mason. A, *Religion in Leeds*, pg 166

²⁴ Knott. K, Kalsi. S, The Advent of Asian Religions, Mason. A, *Religion in Leeds*, pg 168

²⁵ Churches and Neighbourhood Action Project, *Chapeltown and Harehills Survey*, pg 11

European migration

European Christian migrants began to settle in Chapeltown after the Second World War. Among these were the Polish, Greek, Ukrainian and a small amount of Irish. The main place of worship for the Polish in Chapeltown is the Polish Centre, where mass is held in the church building regularly. This was built in 1976 to serve the Polish community, some of which travel into Chapeltown from Harehills, Beeston and even as far as Bradford.

Time for change

By the 1970s it seemed that provisions in Chapeltown were under pressure and the need for better education was called for. A day's strike was held over the dissatisfaction with teaching at Cowper Street School, and the Citizens Advice Bureau was opened in April 1972 at Roscoe Methodist Church. The old Psalms of David Synagogue was also taken over to become a Community Centre and Day Nursery in 1975 to increase provisions for the community.²⁶ In the years that followed an increase in crime was recorded by the police mainly due to youths. New trees were planted in an attempt to brighten up the neighbourhood and other facilities, such as the United Caribbean Association and Church of God of Prophecy, were opened on Chapeltown Road.²⁷

Demography

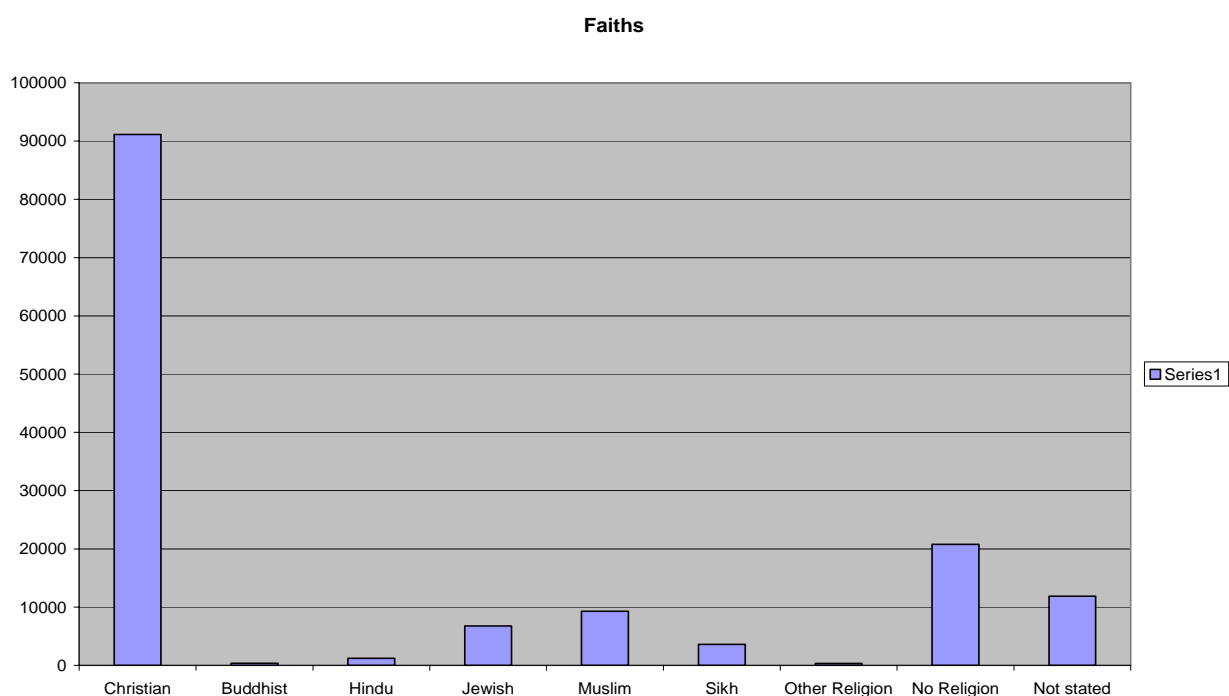
Below is a graph to show the break down of different religions in Leeds recorded by the Leeds Benefits Service in October 2003 for Chapeltown and the surrounding area.²⁸ As can be seen the three main groups are Christian, 'No religion' (or religion not stated) and Muslim. As already shown this has changed throughout time as a result of immigration and migration. What this shows therefore is that many Sikhs, as well as Jews now live outside the area, but the Sikhs still come back to worship in it.

²⁶ Churches and Neighbourhood Action Project, *Chapeltown and Harehills Survey*, pg 11

²⁷ Churches and Neighbourhood Action Project, *Chapeltown and Harehills Survey*, pg 12

²⁸ www.leeds-statistics.org/PDF_Downloads/Files/PD_Chapeltown.pdf

Figure 5



The 2001 Census is also of some interest when studying individual ethnic groups. It does not however specify individual migrant countries of origin. When looking at individuals of white origin in Chapeltown and its surrounding area it only goes as far as to divide them into white British, white Irish and white other.²⁹ Although it does show that white British have the largest population, followed by white other and then white Irish. What is interesting is that the census specifies mixed race groups as well as single race groups. These include mixed white and black Caribbean, mixed white and black African, mixed white and Asian and mixed other. These make up on average around eight percent of the population in and around Chapeltown.³⁰

Religious Groups in Chapeltown

Here we shall examine the different religious groups that coexist alongside one another in Chapeltown. We report back from our observations at visits and interviews with religious specialists and places of worship.

Christianity in Chapeltown

It is impossible to engage with Christianity in Chapeltown without reflecting upon the distinct nature of its collective effervescence. All the churches in the area are enthusiastic in their approach to issues of the community-this however can be manifested in different ways, from the Polish Catholic Centre's sense of self-reliance,

²⁹ www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk

³⁰ www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk

to the St Martin's array of ecumenical schemes. This spirit is often attributed to the migrant communities in the area, who appear to be expressing their identities through their religious backgrounds, whether it be the Poles, or Black Caribbean churches such as Roscoe Methodist Church.

The Methodist Church is unique in its strong sense of community spirit. It was evident that the gatherings we witnessed were not merely for religious purposes but an intrinsic part of the participants' lives. The vast majority of the congregation are Black Caribbean originally from St Kitts and Nevis. It is important to note that the Black Caribbeans were instrumental in the formation of the actual building of the church, in that it grew from being the focal point of the many migrants that came to Chapeltown. This is one aspect that is unique to Roscoe in relation to other churches in the Chapeltown area. Furthermore, unlike many other congregations in the area, the representation in terms of age is broad, which again shows the strong internal community spirit, as age boundaries are crossed by religious common ground. The church is not detached but in fact it is at the centre of their lives.

The Holy Rosary Catholic Church is different to Roscoe Methodist Church in that it does not hold the same significance to the local community in terms of being a focal point. The size of the congregation is quite large and there is a strong internal community spirit, but the church is used solely for mass. Therefore, the congregation worships together but does not interact to the same extent of the Roscoe Church. Father Thornton believes that the factor behind the congregation only coming together for mass is due to the increasingly secularised society that exists today.

Interestingly, both Roscoe Methodist Church and Holy Rosary Catholic Church shared the same view on crime. They believed that crime in the area is organised and underground, and that it only generally affects those involved directly with it.

The presence of Chapel Allerton Hospital in the area provides a notable and different example of Christianity in the shape of its chaplaincy. Whilst providing services commonly associated with Christianity, the chaplaincy is also emphatically open to absolutely everyone-to the extent that a chaplain from another faith can be called in despite its predominantly Anglican nature.

St. Martin's Anglican Church possesses several attributes that mark it out from other Anglican churches across the city. The buildings alone stand out, with the separate St. Martin's Institute that functions in a way comparable to a village hall, and even more notably the Church itself - which is particularly opulent in appearance for an Anglican Church, thanks to the wealth in Chapeltown during the nineteenth century when the Church was built. Many of St. Martin's other areas of interest can be attributed to its location; like other places of worship in the area it possesses an extraordinary community spirit thanks to the West Indian congregation. The area's multiculturalism also lends itself to the Church's notable pluralist and ecumenical schemes, such as regular meetings with the local mosque and a "Churches Together" scheme where local Churches meet every two months.

The Church of the God of Prophecy is a Holiness Pentecostal Christian denomination originally from 'the Church of God' Cleveland, Tennessee. There are Church of the God of Prophecy churches/missions in over 130 countries. 'After 1952, there was the first major wave of Afro-Caribbean immigration to the UK... where the Church of the God of Prophecy's establishment was a clear indicator for Black

migration and settlement'³¹. The mainly afro-Caribbean congregation in Chapeltown consists mostly of women and those in their 20-40s. Their Pentecostal expression is different to other Chapeltown churches. Prayer is simultaneous and vocalised prayer coupled upbeat worship choruses. Bridgette Robins preached with passion on the Holy Spirit during our visit to the church on the 22nd October '06. Mr. Grant a pastor of the church expressed an evangelistic mentality. Recognising need in Chapeltown, the church strives to 'make an impact' by sharing God's love with the community through prayer, the school and the 'Precious Ones' nursery underneath the purpose built church. The Church of the God of Prophecy is represented in Concord Interfaith Fellowship but has no direct links to Muslims and Sikhs in Chapeltown.

A Wesleyan Holiness Church can also be found in Chapeltown, on Saville Mount however, due to its location, was not noticed by the team until later on.³²

The Polish Catholic Church and Centre is a close community of Poles, begun after their initial immigration after WWII. Chair Magdalena Ioner shared that it was established in 1967, with the church being independently built in 1976. She translated for priest Jan Zareba who told us that masses are held most week days, providing traditional Catholic worship for mostly an older generation of Poles. The centre has a bar, restaurant and shop, whose profit supports the school that has a total of 75 children enrolled between the ages of 3 and 16. From anniversaries to harvest dances, everything reinforces Polish heritage and national pride. However, not being an outward-looking community, there is an element of exclusivity. The Polish people that we spoke to communicated with us that they did not feel that they fitted into the Chapeltown community. This could be due to negative experiences— elderly Polish ladies have been mugged on Chapeltown road, generating fear and tension, and an 'easy target' mentality. Religion impacts on every aspect of life for this Polish community.

Christianity in Chapeltown remains extremely diverse in nature, boasting a wide variety of denominations. In spite of this, there are many of common themes shared by all Churches, such as an enthusiastic community spirit. Whilst churches in the area have many things in common, and the community spirit is particularly notable, Chapeltown's expression of Christianity is still unique to each Church and leaving generalisations redundant.

Sikhism in Chapeltown

The Sikh community established itself in Chapeltown in the 1950's, arriving from the districts Jullundar and Hashiarpur in the northern Indian state of Punjab. The migration can mainly be apportioned to the post war shortage of unskilled workers in the United Kingdom. Due to the initial concentration of Sikhs in the area, the first Gurdwara was founded in 1958 at 3 Saville place; the site of a disused Church. The migration to Chapeltown specifically can be explained by cheap affordable housing, as well as its location being close to the city centre and thus being close to places of work. By the 2001 census, the Sikh community in Chapeltown had grown to 3600 which accounted for 2.47% of the Chapeltown's overall population. However, it should be noted that a fraction of the congregation come from outside the

³¹ Gerloff.R, *Mission is Crossing Frontiers: Essays in the honour of the late Bongani A. Mazibuko*, (Pietermaritzburg : Cluster Publications, 2003)

³² Wesleyan Holiness Church, Saville Mount, Chapeltown, LS7 3HZ. 01132 374157

Chapelton area, and whilst it isn't wholly possible to get an accurate number for those who arrive from outside Chapelton, it is plausible to suggest that a relative amount reside outside the Chapelton area.

Chapelton's Sikh community consists of six Gurdwaras, of which three we shall primarily focus upon; The Sikh Temple, Ramgharia Board and the Shri Kalgidhar Sahib Ji Gurdwara. As well as being the three main Gurdwaras in Chapelton, they were also the three sites that interviews could be obtained from. The location of the Sikh Temple stands opposite 3 Saville place, and coincidentally is the main focal point of Chapelton's Sikh community today. Aside from the large area of worship upstairs, the temple consists of an eating and socialising area downstairs. Whilst upholding a Sikh principle, this undoubtedly contributes towards the continuing preservation of their identity and history. During the course of our interview with the Temple's treasurer Dr. Jatinder Singh, the fundamental importance of maintaining one's identity was made apparent. Therefore, as well as having "Sikh Camps" during the first week of the summer holidays and regular Friday night "Sikh inspiration" classes for the youth, there are ongoing discussions for the opening of a specific Sikh school in Chapelton. Compared to the other Gurdwaras in the area, the educational emphasis at The Sikh Temple is unique. In the case of the Shri Kalgidhar Sahib Ji Gurdwara, it is not through a lack of motivation that education is mainly the responsibility of the parents, but in fact it is an issue of space that is the hindrance. Consequently, the Kalgidhar Sahib Ji Gurdwara has recently had plans approved to relocate to the site of the old Serbian Centre on Newton Road, thus providing the space necessary for holding classes.

The ever increasing establishment of separate Gurdwaras can be in part attributed to alternative views concerning such issues as the consumption of meat and alcohol. This issue is particularly prevalent at the Ramgharia Board at present, and in turn is affecting the numbers attending the Gurdwara. The economic benefit for the Ramgharia Board is evident when factoring in the use of the Sikh Sports centres usage as a venue for events such as weddings. Meat and alcohol should strictly be prohibited on any Gurdwara premises, however tension has arisen from contradicting ideas of what should be permitted. Mr Seera, our interviewee from the Ramgharia Board, pointed to this issue as a main reason for the recent decline in attendance at the Gurdwara. The decline has occurred particularly amongst the younger generation, who view this in-fighting as an unnecessary distraction. The consumption of meat and alcohol has also become an issue at the Kalgidhar Sahib Ji Gurdwara, and has resulted in the establishment within the last six months of a new Gurdwara adjacent to Potternewton park. This illustrates a good example of how Sikh Gurdwaras can become dispersed across a particular community.

The outside perception of the Sikh community is that they are generally viewed as "a homogenous group, yet there are clear differences among them of caste, class and experience of migration from the Indian sub-continent."³³ Despite these differences, the Sikh community remains strong in terms of togetherness. This is particularly made manifest through festivals such as Vaisakhi and Diwali, thus generating a strong sense of Durkheimian collective effervescence. During Vaisakhi, each Gurdwara offers its hospitality (food and social interaction as well as ceremonies such as sword dancing)

³³ Kalsi, Sewa Singh, *"The Evolution of the Sikh Community in Britain"*, (1992) P.60

en route to the city centre. The continuing popular adherence to this festival confirms that the Sikh community in Chapeltown does not consider itself or want itself to be internally divided, but instead have different administrative views and historical backgrounds.

Islam in Chapeltown

According to the last census in 2001, the population of the Muslim community in Chapeltown was over 1400, making it the second largest faith group (after the Christian community).³⁴

The first mosque in Leeds

With the arrival of Muslims from south Asia, came the need for a place of worship. One of the early Muslim pioneers was Abdul Rahman who encouraged Bengali Muslims to raise enough money in order to buy a building for religious purposes.³⁵ 21 Leopold Street, an ex-synagogue in Chapeltown, was purchased with the support of other local Muslims who helped with the fund-raising.³⁶ The mosque opened in 1961 and was given the name Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan of which Muslim Bengal was a part until the formation of Bangladesh in 1971). This community, which served 500 single men and a few families, remained the central Islamic institution in Leeds for many years.³⁷ However, in 1974, with families arriving and the Muslim population increasing, a larger building was bought at 48 Spencer Place.³⁸ By 1981, the Muslim community had grown further, and so the building next to 48 Spencer Place was also bought.³⁹ This became the main place of worship in Leeds, with its official name given as Leeds Islamic Centre and Central Jamia Mosque.⁴⁰ As well as this, in the early 1980's, the Government and Leeds City Council gave a grant to build a sports hall at 48 Spencer Place.⁴¹ This has been used extensively for youth activities, weddings, meetings and conferences.

Muslims and Leeds Islamic Centre

In 2006 Leeds Islamic Centre is thriving, with at least 200 men present on Friday 18th November (lunchtime) when we visited. What struck us particularly was the sheer variety of people there. We counted at least 10 children who were actively involved with the praying ritual, young to middle aged men wearing 'western' clothes, and older men in more traditional long white robes and white hats. There were also some women on the upper floor, but they were sectioned off from the men. There was a whole range of races present, but they were mostly black African or South Asian,

34 In 2003 the Office for National Statistics published 2001 Census data. The census statistics for Leeds are presented in a Leeds Initiative document 'Census 2001: Leeds, The Big Picture' 13 February 2003 www.leedsinitiative.org/initiativeDocuments/200356_34031313.pdf, Accessed 29 November 2006.

35 Mason, *Religion in Leeds*, p. 164.

36 *ibid.*

37 *ibid.*

38 *ibid.*

39 *ibid.*

40 *ibid.*

41 'Leeds Islamic Centre: About Us', updated May 2006 <http://www.leedsic.com/aboutus/> Accessed 15 November 2006.

chiefly Pakistani. We noticed that many older people were unable to speak English but it was similarly interesting that the imam chose to speak both in Arabic and English.

As well as being used on a Friday, there are also a number of ongoing activities at the site including Radio Azaan, which broadcasts live sermons and religious programmes. There is also a weekly circle open to all 'brothers and sisters' which meets every Sunday, and topics taught here are Aqaaid, Ibadhaak, Manners, Sirah and Fiqh.

Muslims and the wider Chapeltown community

After an interview with the imam, we discovered that in the past the worshipping community had good relations with the Jewish community when they lived in Chapeltown, and that they are currently part of the Concorde inter-faith network, which meets quarterly. The imam also suggested that there were healthy links with Christian leaders in Chapeltown and that the police were in talks with them about the problem of prostitution in the area. When I asked him what 'community' meant to him he seemed adamant that his community offered the model example, and he claimed that Muslims in Chapeltown were doing everything they could to maximise their level of integration. When we asked him about the issue of the veil however, he seemed angry with Jack Straw's comments, suggesting that women in his community wear the veil to protect themselves from the evil desires of men. On this issue he argued that many Muslim men believe western women dress inappropriately, which makes it more tempting for men to carry out their sexual desires. He also insisted that his community are not in support of killing anyone in the name of religion, and stated that terrorists are anti-Islamic.

However, he also stressed concerns about the young people in his community, suggesting that the unprecedented challenge between secularisation and faith is leading people to forget Islam and become involved in crime.

African- Caribbean Community

Chapeltown is an exciting area because of its diverse ethnicities and religions. One group of people with a very visible presence in Chapeltown over the last fifty years has been the Afro-Caribbean community. Like many other migrant communities which settled into Chapeltown in the 1950's, the Afro-Caribbeans have their own forms of custom and tradition which are expressed most powerfully through the Carnival, which takes place every August. By giving details of the various initiatives which promote Afro-Caribbean culture (including the Carnival) and the religious practices and beliefs that people in this community hold, we hope to produce an overall account of the Afro-Caribbeans in Chapeltown.

Promoting Afro- Caribbean Heritage

The legacy of slavery in this community has had a deep impact on the minds and hearts of individuals and so that this recognition of the past continues, much effort has been made to educate the young people about their Afro-Caribbean heritage. One group which tries to promote this memory and encourages Afro-Caribbeans to explore

their identity is the Community Consortium, which is supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Rowntrees Charity Trust. Leeds Bi-Centenary Transformation Project and Leeds Carnival Art and Cultural Centre are two organisations which have also been lobbying hard on a national level for cultural investment to be brought back into Chapeltown. These organisations have already brought about change and improvement in the cultural participation of the community. In terms of leisure and entertainment for example, the consortium offers community activities through the medium of art, music (steel band), trips, talks and carnivals. The community regards such activities as crucial for collective action and the survival of its future generations.

One way in which Afro-Caribbean heritage will be remembered next year is through the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the abolition of slavery. The main aim of these celebrations will be to help younger generations understand the impact of post-slavery. This will be done by reflecting on people such as Olaudah Equiano, who transformed himself from being a slave to a beacon for democracy and social justice.

The Caribbean carnival

The Afro-Caribbean community in Chapeltown celebrates the Carnival every August to honour the spirit of the forefathers who struggled during slavery. Much focus is placed on this event throughout the year and the Leeds Carnival Art and Culture Centre is devoted to the administration of the event as well as providing creative space and costume workshop areas for preparation. The costumes that are made here provide a symbolic expression of particular themes. Some costumes, for example, have been designed to commemorate Nubian and ancient Egyptian queens but reflect a contemporary 'feel' as well. Others have been made to honour someone who has passed away from the community; for example, last years carnival had costumes made especially in memory of two youngsters who died from gang related crime in the area. In addition, the centre also has a 'Caribbean' steel band orchestra (the instruments are made in Jamaica and then imported for the carnival) and provides a training scheme that teaches young people how to play steel pans and how to perform a variety of Caribbean traditional music such as soca and calypso. The steel band drum class consists of 15 to 20 dedicated people of various ages.

Black Afro-Caribbean Elders Community and Church Life

We visited the black Afro-Caribbean community of elders at the Mary Seacole elderly care home which is situated behind the local library on Chapeltown Road. During conversations with them, I asked them about their religious beliefs and practices and quite a few people said they were from the pentecostal church 'The New Testament Church of God.' Most people had been living in the area since the 1960's and were between sixty and ninety years of age. Through conversation, it was discovered that people were able to buy a property for their church by contributing money through a system of 'partners'. They used the word 'partner' because the system was based on faith and trust, whereby each member would contribute a specific amount of money each week to help each other. For them, their Christian faith was the foundation of their unity and understanding, based on reconciliation and trust in Christ, and each other.

Some Chapeltown churches are heavily involved in the care of the elderly and this is not just limited to black people but also older white members. The church involvement includes weekly lunches for senior citizens, Bible study classes, Reminiscence groups, Christmas celebrations, and is a provider of transport.

Interfaith Activity in Chapeltown

In Britain today, people from many different cultures and faiths live together side by side. Interfaith groups have seen an opportunity to bring these different beliefs and practices together and build a society rooted in common values, a society which is built on mutual respect, openness and trust. Interfaith bodies seek to promote knowledge and understanding between the followers of different religions and break down any prejudice towards these religions.

In 1976 an interfaith group was set up in Chapeltown called Concord. Secretary and co-founder Dr Peter Bell described the formation of the group as “largely a response to an outside initiative taken by the leaders of the Standing conference of Jews, Christians and Muslims in Europe (JCM)”⁴² who were seeking to stimulate development of a JCM group in Leeds. From the early years of establishment Bell believed that Concord should be involved in interfaith dialogue and community social concern, in areas where the members could work together. Three main objectives were formulated during the first constitution; to promote interfaith understanding, reconciliation and cooperation; to further interfaith understanding and concern for a just multicultural society in schools, youth and student groups; to promote the establishment of a just and peaceful multiracial society and to cooperate with other organizations which have this objective. Whilst continuing this interfaith program in the early years of its establishment, Concord members also held joint meetings with Leeds Community Relations Council and Leeds Catholic Justice and Peace Commission.⁴³

Despite a decrease in participation between 1999 and 2001 Concord remains an important part of the Chapeltown community today. This decrease is likely to be because of the death of Secretary Dr Peter Bell who had a large influence and great number of contacts within the community. Additionally, the Leeds Faith Communities Liaison Forum, another interfaith organisation was set up in 1998 and after Peter Bell’s death Concord seemed to some extent to have lost its role within the community. The LFCL (now Leeds Faith Forum) is a representative body the objectives of which objectives complement those of Concord, and with which it now works in partnership on various projects. Concord is open for individuals to join whereas the forum only has group membership. Much of the work is shared between the two groups and there is some overlap in the personnel involved. LFCL provides a forum for faith communities to enter into dialogue with each other and also with relevant government organisations, including the City Council. The forum has a strong focus on issues such as regeneration and faith based social action and it

⁴² “Concord (Leeds Inter-Faith Fellowship)”: 1976-1986- Peter Bell, Discernment 1:3, 1986/7

⁴³ More information about Concord can be found at <http://www.concord-leeds.org.uk/>

presently has Council members serving on the Board of the Local Strategic Partnership and on both its Economy and Neighbourhood Strategy Groups.

After the London bombings on the 7th July many people from the Chapeltown area noticed a change in attitude towards certain groups within the community. In order to try and restore harmony and reduce prejudice the Leeds Faith Forum and Concord released a statement; “.....It is also important that our leaders refrain from associating Islam or any other faith with terrorism..... We resolve to continue to work together, strengthening the trust between us and to work for the peace and well being of all the people of Leeds. These bombs are contrary to the teachings of each of our faith communities.”⁴⁴ The Secretary of Concord Cynthia Dickinson claims that after the London bombings there was an even greater determination within their group to get to know, understand and support each others cultures and beliefs.

Interfaith establishments remain very important in maintaining the social well being in communities such as Chapeltown. They give people from all faiths and backgrounds the chance to interact with each other and try to gain an understanding of different beliefs and practices. These kinds of interactions can also help to resolve any issues of discrimination that may become apparent within the community. Concord now meets regularly at Thomas Danby College at the southern intersection of Chapeltown and Harehills, with about fifty people generally in attendance at the peace services.

Other cultural activities in Chapeltown

The area known as ‘Chapeltown’ is a culturally diverse inner city suburb which suffers from a number of social problems, yet is home to many creative organisations. This has led to a wide variety of secular community activities and support groups. There are a few distinctive and visible activities and groups. These include the procession of Leeds Western Indian Carnival⁴⁵. The Archway support⁴⁶ centre, which “offers support to young people, including single parents, aged 16-25, living in or around the Harehills and Chapeltown areas of Leeds and who are in need of housing or more general support to live independently.”⁴⁷ It is located on Roundhay Road. The HOST media centre⁴⁸ and Northern School of Contemporary dance⁴⁹ both offer locations for young people and students to learn and practice Audio/Visual technology and Dance respectively. Further activities occur in The Mandela centre⁵⁰, such as Kuffdem. There is the West Indian Community Centre⁵¹, in which many music events takes place, such as the monthly ‘SubDub’, which is attended by locals and students.

There was once the Chapeltown Community Centre that was demolished in 2002. A Chapeltown Community Centre Action Group⁵² (CCCAG) was formed by local

⁴⁴ Article from www.bbc.co.uk released on the 07/08/05

⁴⁵ the oldest in the UK and in its 39th year, which culminates in Potternewton Park.

⁴⁶ <http://www.archway-leeds.org.uk/>

⁴⁷ *ibid* (About Us)

⁴⁸ <http://www.hostleeds.com/pages/index.asp>

⁴⁹ <http://www.nscd.ac.uk/index2.htm>

⁵⁰ <http://www.chapeltown.ndo.co.uk/community%20groups.html>

⁵¹ *ibid*

⁵² <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/leedsbradford/2006/09/350803.html>

people in order to replace the centre. Development is still in its formative stage with fundraising and networking ongoing. As of August 2006 the CCCAG was planning to “Carry out the feasibility study and consultation events. Final consultations, architectural drawings, decide elements to include in the centre. Attract capital funding and agree terms with project partners” and “Build the centre and hold a grand opening celebration.”⁵³ In December 2006 this project hit a stumbling block⁵⁴; however, there is still hope it can be built.

There are also general utilities in the area, which Vincent Morton notes on the BBC website, as simply ‘things in my community’. These include “Doctor, hospital, fish and chips, sweetshops, newsagents, barbers, Sikh temple, chemists, schools, library, martial arts gym, social clubs, restaurants, Asian takeaways, housing associations, hotels, cricket clubs, football clubs, taxis and mini supermarket.”⁵⁵

There is an obvious diversity of activities in Chapeltown which can only occur in an area with a real vibrant and diverse group of people. The diversity is due to the migration into the area from a variety of countries around the world.

The Community of Chapeltown.

The notion of ‘community’ is a debated issue in public discussion. Discussion has increased significantly since New Labour raised the importance of community in local politics in the late 1990’s. They used the ideas of Amitai Etzioni⁵⁶ to push for more community initiatives. It has grown even more since the bombings of 9/11 and the supposed re-emergence of cultural boundaries and communities of culture.⁵⁷ The recent understanding of community in public discourse can be what Knott defines as reified⁵⁸ and Farrar as empirical⁵⁹. It can be summed up as something which is an embedded group of people in a certain place which can be defined through territory, values and social relationships. This understanding is challenged by many sociologists. Most significantly by Bauman who suggests communities neither are tightly-structured, local nor regulate their membership. Instead they are formed “by multitude of individual acts of self-identification”⁶⁰ In such a way they cannot be defined empirically nor reified. In reality communities are what Knott calls situational⁶¹ and Farrar as idealist or a conceptual imaginary⁶². Essentially they are negotiated into being, rather than preset, and are more of a “human yearning

⁵³ ibid

⁵⁴ [http://www.leeds.gov.uk/moderngov/Published/C00000177/M00001203/\\$\\$\\$Minutes.doc.pdf](http://www.leeds.gov.uk/moderngov/Published/C00000177/M00001203/$$$Minutes.doc.pdf)

⁵⁵

http://www.bbc.co.uk/leeds/content/articles/2006/06/09/mini_guide_chapeltown_vincent_feature.shtml

⁵⁶ Author of *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda*. Highly influential to Tony Blair and an advocate of communitarianism He shifted the focus of interest toward communities and societies and away from the individual.

⁵⁷ Emphasised in the Huntington thesis ‘Clash of Civilisations’.

⁵⁸ Knott, Kim *‘the sense and nonsense of community’* pp. 11. in Steven Sutcliffe (ed), *Religion: Empirical Studies*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 67-89.

⁵⁹ Farrar, Max (2002) *The Struggle for ‘Community’ in a British Multi-Ethnic City area: paradise in the making*, Lewiston, [N.Y.], Lampeter : Edwin Mellen. pp. 3

⁶⁰ Bauman, Zygmunt, 1992, *Intimations of Postmodernity*, London and New York, Routledge. pp. 136

⁶¹ Knott, Kim *‘the sense and nonsense of community’* pp. 11. in Steven Sutcliffe (ed), *Religion: Empirical Studies*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 67-89.

⁶² Farrar, Max (2002) *The Struggle for ‘Community’ in a British Multi-Ethnic City area: paradise in the making*, Lewiston, [N.Y.], Lampeter : Edwin Mellen. pp. 2

for...relationships of emotional warmth and social solidarity.”⁶³ As such community may be very difficult to pin down. However, this ‘longing’ may motivate certain actions such as creative activities and political organisations. These often manufacture collective effervescence which in turn creates social solidarity.

Within the area known as ‘Chapelton’ there are many different empirically identifiable community activities and groups. These take place at community and religious centres such as the West Indian Centre, Mandela centre, Host Media Centre, Northern School of Contemporary Dance and various support centres for people of different nationalities (i.e. the Sudanese Asylum Seekers Centre) as well as the different religious buildings. The extensive variety is likely to be because Chapelton is the destination for vast numbers of migrants into the UK. This has been the case since the arrival at turn of the century of the first Jews, to the present day influx of a variety of migrants from recent EU member states. For example, in a survey taken in May 2004, the Polish Community Centre informed us that over 800,000 Poles came to the United Kingdom to work, 35,000 of these registered as coming to Leeds.

There is however, notable segregation between these identifiable groups/organisations, which are formed on the basis on nationality, language and religion. Throughout the years of immigration into the area people, arriving in Chapelton immediately seek out those of ‘their kind’ following this criteria. These groups offer a sense of security, safety and familiarity and in turn will draw in and welcome in any newcomers that will fit into the boundaries of the group. The Polish Community for instance is an example of this criterion being put into practice. Magdalena, the Chairman of the Community Centre told us that ‘they keep themselves to themselves’ and have no real interest in what happens concerning others in Chapelton. The Iranian group is similar. It appears that these national and religious groups see only themselves as their own community and are quite insular, which results in segregation.

A distinct lack of integration between these various active groups is a factor contributing to this. The groups all engage in independent, reified community activities, with very little evidence of cross community activity. If they do, there have been as a result, some cases of unrest between them, for example between the Bangladeshi and Pakistani community. Segregation can also be found within religions due to nationality. For example, the Shri Kalgidhar Sahib Ji Gurdwara is frequented mainly by Sikhs whose origin is Pakistani, whereas those at other Gurdwaras are predominantly of Punjabi origin. The segregation and lack of integration is based on what Farrar would call empirical dimensions of community such as territory. This appears to be ingrained on peoples understanding of themselves and their groups. However there are a multitude of activities which are situational that are predominantly secular.

These activities are essentially secular, creative and support organisations. These include music at the West Indian Centre, media at the Host Media Centre, support at the Archway Community Centre, the Carnival, dance at the Northern School of Contemporary Dance, and various other support centres surrounding issues such as asylum seeking. These have various functions. Their aim is to provide support and aid

⁶³ *ibid.* pp 2.

to those unable to support or fend for themselves in the areas of homelessness, teenage pregnancy and family planning, education, and asylum. The vision of some of these institutions is to see young people escape the pull of crime and deviance, and provide them with opportunities and chances to develop skills and talents, for example the Host Media Centre which is equipped with full TV, radio and recording studios.

These group activities are what Knott would call not communities of fate, but personal, chosen communities.⁶⁴ As such they may be the manifestations of Farrar's imaginary community. They often involve young people who do not get involved in the religious practices of their elders but look for alternative meaning in life. Frank Wilkes, Chief Executive of HOST notes on the website, "this is a positive cultural contribution to Leeds and is contrary to the 'traditional' image of Chapeltown as an area of deprivation, crime, drugs and guns."⁶⁵ In a way these cultural activities are what Farrar discusses in 'paradise in the making' as things which initiate wider community spirit and eventually social movements⁶⁶

Something that helps these group activities achieve this social solidarity is collective effervescence, which is the energy that people create when they gather together at an event which requires participation, opinion or competition, for example a sporting event or a carnival. This energy can cause people to engage in different behaviour than they would normally. People experience the element of being 'drawn together' by endorsing social solidarity and a belief in an ideal such as justice. The Chapeltown carnival is a prime example of something that produces collective effervescence. This event clearly knits together the community with a sense of joy, national pride and good will.

"Up and down the country people gave their support, shared their energy and gave the easiest form of charity, 'a smile', to celebrate the emancipation from slavery. Regardless of background colour or culture they by-passed all the negative association that's tagged to Chapeltown and had an inspirational Carnival."⁶⁷

Similarly the West Indian Centre puts on a regular club night called 'Subdub' which is well attended by local Afro-Caribbeans and students from the university. These unlikely groups mix amiably and a member of the Religious Mapping team reported friendliness and a feeling of immediately fitting into a 'subdub' community, with everyone there sharing a common aim – to party hard and have fun all night.

In summary we have discovered that there is segregation and a lack of integration between various deep-rooted, older religious and national groups in Chapeltown. This

⁶⁴ Knott, Kim 'the sense and nonsense of community' pp. 12. in Steven Sutcliffe (ed), Religion: Empirical Studies, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 67-89.

⁶⁵ <http://www.hostleeds.com/pages/index.asp>

⁶⁶ Farrar, Max (2002) *The Struggle for 'Community' in a British Multi-Ethnic City area: paradise in the making*, Lewiston, [N.Y.], Lampeter : Edwin Mellen. pp. 356-357

⁶⁷ http://www.bbc.co.uk/leeds/content/articles/2005/08/30/get_togethers_leeds_carnival_2005_feature.shtml, (C) BBC Leeds, Date accessed 28:11:06

is likely to be because of an empirical and reified understanding of community. It may be seen that you are only part of a group because of nationality, territory, beliefs or social relationships. Therefore divisions inevitably occur. However, there are also secular creative organisations and institutions, which involve the youth, which are generated by spontaneous meetings of individuals. Perhaps they are the manifestations of the illusive situational and conceptual imaginary of community. If they are it can be argued that even in areas with extreme multiculturalism and plurality there can still be the sense of community.

Religion, Migrant Communities and Ethnicity

Knott refers to religion's role in shaping migrant communities, and comments,

*...there are times when religion plays a more active role in the definition of an ethnic group's identity and behaviour than many...suggest.*⁶⁸

Across the UK the presence of migrant communities can be traced back to the post-war period which saw the arrival of pioneer male immigrants from the British colonies.⁶⁹ The migration of Asian Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus migrated from the Indian sub-continent, notably the Punjab, Gujarat and Sylhet regions (now Bangladesh).⁷⁰ Meanwhile, the migrants from the Caribbean mainly came from Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis. In each case reasons for coming to Britain included pressure for land and jobs in the home cultures and a labour shortage in Britain which made employment in industries easier for migrants to find.⁷¹ This migration was then followed by the arrival of migrants' families, which subsequently led to the development of second and third generations. Over the last fifty years these communities have become well established and the need for them to retain tradition and meaning in a different context has grown. As we will now demonstrate, religion is particularly useful in achieving this, and can play an active role in defining ethnic identities. As Mol comments,

*Religion seems to be always bound up with the clearer delineation of a culture...it also provides...an island of meaning, tradition and belonging in the sea of anomie of modern industrial societies.*⁷²

68 Kim Knott, *The Role of Religious Studies in Understanding the Ethnic Experience*, (Community Religions Project Research Papers No. 7, Leeds: Department of Theology and Religious Studies, The University of Leeds, 1992), p. 12. Cited in a chapter by Sean McLoughlin, 'Migration, diaspora and transnationalism: Transformations of religion and culture in a globalising age', a chapter in John R. Hinnells, *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005) p. 538.

69 In a chapter by Kim Knott and Sewa Singh Kalsi 'The Advent of Asian Religions' in Alistair Mason, *Religion in Leeds* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1994), p. 162.

70 Knott and Kalsi 'The Advent of Asian Religions', in Mason, *Religion in Leeds*, p. 163.

71 Knott and Kalsi 'The Advent of Asian Religions', in Mason, *Religion in Leeds*, p. 163.

72 Knott, *The Role of Religious Studies in Understanding the Ethnic Experience*, p. 13. Quoted in McLoughlin, 'Migration, diaspora and transnationalism: Transformations of religion and culture in a globalising age', Hinnells, *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, p. 538.

In comparing this, we shall focus on three communities in Chapeltown: the Afro-Caribbean, Muslim and Sikh communities,⁷³ which are all, in some way, defined by religion.

The Afro-Caribbean Community

An examination of Afro-Caribbean's 'home traditions' reveals the significance of religion in shaping ethnic identity. This is because when the Caribbean region emerged from slavery, there were "no widely accepted native feast days, no traditional common languages and no established cultural or political forms."⁷⁴ Instead, what became the unifying feature was their form of education, which had been the evangelism and conversion offered by missionaries. Afro-Caribbean's were therefore obliged to adapt to the forms available: Christmas, Easter and hymn singing became an essential part of their cultural identity.⁷⁵

Therefore, when first generation people with these traditions settled into the UK, they could use their Christian practices to maintain meaning and belonging in a new British context (traditions which were then passed down to their children who were born in the UK).⁷⁶ This religious 'marking' of identity is certainly evident in Chapeltown with the establishment of black churches (for example the Church of God of Prophecy and the New Testament Church of God) and in the large presence of black people in the mainstream churches (such as Roscoe Methodist Church and St. Martin's Church). That these churches are all black suggests that 'black Christianity' is a powerful expression of black cultural identity. For although these 'black churches' would declare themselves open to all cultures, many, particularly the Pentecostal ones, are a 'milieu for the development and expression of creativity, artistry and leadership in the black liturgical tradition'⁷⁷ which makes their worship alien to many other cultures.

The sense that black churches are established for 'ethnic' reasons as well as 'spiritual' reasons is also evident when considering the racism Afro-Caribbean's have faced in Chapeltown. An elder at the Black Elders Association, for example, stated that when he came to England the white churches simply refused to know him. Such racism has therefore acted as a catalyst in the formation and retention of black identity within the churches.⁷⁸

73 There are many other ethnic groups in Chapeltown which I could have selected to study, including the Vietnamese, Serb or Polish groups. This is not to mention groups such as the Iranians, Iraqis and Eritreans who have come to Leeds as a result of the government's dispersal strategy of 1999.

74 Philips, Mike. 'Origins: the Creation of Caribbean Identity', June 2005, 'Moving Here' website, December 2006. www.movinghere.org.uk/galleries/histories/caribbean/origins/origins.htm#identity

75 Philips, Mike. 'Origins: the Creation of Caribbean Identity', June 2005, 'Moving Here' website, December 2006. www.movinghere.org.uk/galleries/histories/caribbean/origins/origins.htm#identity

76 The 'home traditions' are more visibly influential in the lives of first generation people living in Chapeltown. This can be seen by the Christian attitudes of old people in a care home we visited and in the large presence of elderly people in the church congregations.

77 Iain MacRobert, 'The New Black-Led Pentecostal Churches in Britain', a chapter in Paul Badham, *Religion, State and Society in Modern Britain* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), p. 129.

78 This argument has been adapted from Hylton who suggests that racism encourages Afro-Caribbeans to formulate concepts concerned with separate communities, Carl Hylton, *African-*

Muslims and Ethnicity in Chapeltown

Turning our attention now to the Muslim community in Chapeltown, it is clear that Sunni Islamic practices help define people's ethnic identities. Unlike the Caribbean community which consists of people from one specific area of the world, membership is more varied with South Asians, Africans, and Europeans present. However, second and third generations seem more concerned with the 'universals' of their faith, rather than the localised customs of their parents' homelands.⁷⁹ This is because when we visited the mosque the topic of the sermon was on the 'fundamental teachings' of the Prophet and every Sunday there are discussions on the universal knowledge requirements of the faith; on both occasions a large group (about 50 people) under the age of 40 were present of east European and south Asian origin, chiefly Pakistani. This seems to imply that the 'universal' and so 'less negotiable' teachings and practices of Islam provide a sense of identity, whilst other 'cultural stuffs', can not.⁸⁰ In the prayer service for example, cultural forms such as dress and language were varied, implying a community in change (many old men wore long white robes and white hats, while young men wore western, designer label clothes; similarly the imam spoke in both Arabic and English); yet the religious teachings, ritual of prayer and chanting were the unifying features. Moreover, when the imam prayed, he prayed for Muslim brothers and sisters across the world rather than praying for a particular set of people. It would therefore appear as though Islam is able to replace other 'markers' of ethnicity which have become less relevant in the particular Chapeltown context. As McLoughlin writes, in reference to Mol's conception of religion as the 'sacralizer of identity',

Because religion, backed by sacred authority, has such great potential for articulating distinctiveness in its own right, this can open the way for other potential markers of 'ethnic' identity to become more negotiable as time passes.⁸¹

Sikhs in Chapeltown

In the Sikh community too, it is the religious practices and beliefs which help define ethnic identity.

So, to take the congregation at Ramgarhia Board as an example, its outward Sikh symbols and worship style distinguish *Ramgarhia* Sikhs from the Hindu *Tarkhans* who are known to have similarities.⁸² Indeed it is the distinctive Sikh religious beliefs

Caribbean Community Organisations: The Search for Individual and Group Identity, (Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books, 1999), p. xvii.

79 This view is put forward by McLoughlin and I am adopting this approach when referring to Muslims in Chapeltown. See McLoughlin, 'Migration, diaspora and transnationalism', in Hinnells, *The Routledge Companion to The Study of Religion*, p. 541

80 The expressions in inverted commas have been taken from McLoughlin, who is referring to Mol's conception of religion as the 'harnesser of change' and the 'sacralizer of identity' (see above) McLoughlin 'Migration, diaspora and transnationalism', in Hinnells, *The Routledge Companion to The Study of Religion*, p. 538.

81 McLoughlin 'Migration, diaspora and transnationalism', Hinnells, *The Routledge Companion to The Study of Religion*, p. 542.

82 Sewa Singh Kalsi, *The Evolution of a Sikh Community in Britain*, Community Religions Project: Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Leeds), p.115.

and practices which play a pivotal role in forming social solidarity at the Ramgarhia Board. As the President of the Board, referring to its aims, once said,

*The main aim of the society has been to promote Sikh religion and provide means of religious, social, cultural and educational teachings of the Sikh community through religious services and various other social functions.*⁸³

The Sikh religious practices also seem to be the defining feature of ethnicity despite differences between castes. Certainly caste identity is important to Sikhs, as the multiplicity of castes in Chapeltown may indicate (there are six Sikh places of worship in Chapeltown which are represented by four different castes: Ramgarhia, Jat, Nandhan and Kalgidhar (the latter represents two congregations); yet, as Harbans Singh Sago, the Sikh representative for Yorkshire and Humber Faiths Forum, told me, 'Sikhs of different castes can enter one another's place of worship... religion defines ethnicity not caste.'

In conclusion, it seems clear that within the Sikh, Muslim and Afro-Caribbean communities of Chapeltown, religion shapes ethnic identity. Given this, we agree with Knott, who, argues for the distinctiveness and particularity of religion in shaping migrant religions,

*...they also have their own dynamics which, though related to social, political and economic contexts, are explained from within rather than from without (with recourse to their historical development, texts, value systems, ritual practices, socio-religious organisation etc).*⁸⁴

Bearing in mind the plethora of other migrant communities in existence in Chapeltown, including Hindus and the more recent arrival of refugees from Iraq, Iran, Eritrea, it would be useful to study the role of religion in defining these too. As McLoughlin stresses, religions' ability to articulate meaningful identity in a context of migration must not be underestimated,

*...the prioritisation of religion over custom can facilitate adaptation and acculturation, while all the time retaining a sense of pride in 'distinctiveness' and rejecting outright 'assimilation'.*⁸⁵

83 Kalsi, *The Evolution of a Sikh Community in Britain*, p. 114.

84 Knott, *The Role of Religious Studies in Understanding the Ethnic Experience*, p. 13, McLoughlin, 'Migration, diaspora and transnationalism' in Hinnells, *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, p. 537

85 McLoughlin, 'Migration, diaspora and transnationalism' in *The Routledge Companion to Religion*, Hinnells, *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, p. 542

Crime, Racism and Community Relations in Chapeltown

In the past, Chapeltown has often been associated in the public imagination with crime, including violence, drug dealing, prostitution and the riots of 1981. In light of this we considered it important to consider looking at crime, particularly in relation to race, religion and community relations. As well as asking inhabitants of the area for their views, we interviewed Chief Inspector Graham Archer of Stainbeck Police Station.

Crime figures show that Chapeltown has a higher number of racially aggravated offences than the average of 'Most Similar' BCU's which stands at 0.18 crimes per thousand residents.⁸⁶ There are many possible reasons for this statistic.

The first reason for this figure is because of the diversity of cultures in the area, Chapeltown itself is a suburban area with an extremely high level of migrants. This diversity leads to a distinct lack of social integration into the wider community. Many people are keen to keep their own cultural identity, notably their religion and faith and because of this avoid mixing with people of other cultures. This lack of social integration is particularly common amongst older migrants of Chapeltown; it is not uncommon for people who have lived in the community for up to sixty years to speak very little English. Polish Catholics who arrived in the area around the 1950's appeared to be fearful of the whole community when asked about their relationship with other groups, an obvious reason for them not to get involved in other cultures and traditions. This fear seems justified when we consider that they are frequently the victims of mugging offences in Chapeltown; they almost appear to be forced into avoiding social integration. The mainly Afro-Caribbean members of the Roscoe Methodist church are another group who seem to have an extremely strong sense of community within their congregation, making integration into the wider community difficult. However the apparent lack of integration between the different communities in Chapeltown is not just down to taking part in independent activities, but is also because of a lack of acceptance from other people. The vast array of cultures situated in the area means that racial discrimination is not uncommon.

Social deprivation is something that is common within many areas of Leeds including Chapeltown. Despite Leeds City Centre being known for its shopping and leisure facilities, many people are unable to access these facilities because of poverty. The fact that these facilities are so inaccessible to some people may be a reason for committing crimes. The Leeds Initiative⁸⁷ is an organization concerned with these problems. Its aim is to narrow the gap between the most disadvantaged people and communities and the rest of the city. Chapeltown is one of the seven areas that has been targeted because of its high ethnic minority population.

Since the London terrorist attacks on the 7th July tension has been more noticeable within the Chapeltown community than ever. Although the racially aggravated offences didn't rise a great deal after the events, the sense of paranoia certainly did.

⁸⁶ Crimes per 1000 residents- racially aggravated offences- 01 Apr 2006- 30 Jun 2006

⁸⁷ More information on The Leeds Initiative can be found at:
http://www.leeds.gov.uk/files/2006/week13/inter_615d783b-a10e-4050-b8d5-21c4d4c103b8_fba76f0b-739f-4b0c-b63b-66406a156606.pdf

This fear can often lead to ignorance and judgement, something that the Jewish community in particular were worried about. This apparent fear was highlighted when the Jews setup a private security force to protect themselves from a perceived threat. Further confusion led people of other ethnic origins to phone police stations to express their fears of being mistaken for Pakistanis and therefore associated with terrorism.

The radicalisation of Muslims in Chapeltown is an important issue to look at when considering criminality. The distinct lack of central leadership in Mosques in the United Kingdom often means that the Koran is interpreted in different ways, as there is no head to address the issues. The authority is received primarily from Madrasas in Pakistan. Mosques are often twinned with those in Pakistan and the talking points within the community are often associated with issues regarding their native country and not the current events in England. This strong cultural relationship with their native countries can often lead to poor understanding about norms and traditions in the British community. For example Chief Inspector Archer revealed that it is not uncommon for domestic violence to take place in Muslim families, particularly fathers beating their children. This is because the Imams believe this to be acceptable behaviour. An example of this apparent aggression was displayed when the last London bomber was buried in a Chapeltown Mosque and reporters and photographers at burial were threatened with physical violence.

A lack of participation in wider community events is also apparent within the Sikh community in Chapeltown, as they appear to be rooted in a tight knit family network. Although there is little criminality amongst Sikhs the issue of arranged marriages has caused problems. This cultural tradition is something that Sikhs feel very strongly about, and disagreements can often lead to domestic violence. In certain cases family members have run away from home to avoid the marriages, this can sometimes lead to death threats in more extreme cases.

From looking at crime, racism and community relations in Chapeltown we have found that crime is not uncommon. We believe that reasons behind this statistic are mainly to do with a lack of integration into the community, distinct social deprivation and racial discrimination, all of which we found visible in Chapeltown.

Conclusion

The group's personal experience of Chapeltown was an enjoyable one, as we often met with religious spokespersons that were keen to help, even in the face of language barriers. The experience challenged some initial perceptions (as will be covered later) as well as our skills in interview situations and the organisation of such a task. Occasionally the effort met individuals who were less than helpful, but largely the residents of Chapeltown went out of their way to be helpful, and to them we owe our gratitude.

In our study of Chapeltown we have discovered that it is a place of transition, in that many nationalities and ethnicities pass through the area, have passed through the area and will arguably continue to do so in the future. This is due to the history and continuance of migration to Leeds, as well as the tendency of migrant populations to

pass through, leaving Chapeltown characterised as a place of temporary residence-despite the settlement of some groups. This has had an effect on the nature of our fieldwork study. Due to the transitory nature of Chapeltown in this regard, it makes generalisations and conclusions difficult and short-lived.

Despite this, the many different migrant groups arriving in Chapeltown creates a form of multiculturalism distinct to this area. This raises certain questions; is there sufficient dialogue between different faith groups and denominations? Will it increase or decrease with time? Will different communities and faiths migrate out of the area? For example; the Jewish community's complete migration and resettlement outside of Chapeltown, and the Sikh population's partial migration (i.e. residential as opposed to religious).

This brings us to an issue raised in the introduction; the interaction of religion with society and the secular world at large. It is important to consider the relationship between religion and localities, as in Chapeltown, the two inform one another heavily. For example, religion is apparent in commerce and business. Chapeltown Road is host to a diversity of services and supplies catering to the range of ethnicities and religions present. A grocers shop boasts the name 'Medina' providing foods and catering for international tastes and requirements. This is evidence of religion informing institutions through ownership, employment and custom. Religious groups were also often involved in the loan of facilities to other community groupings, such as Brownies in the St. Martin's Institute building.

Another issue raised in the introduction was that of the nature and extent of inter-faith dialogue. The team discovered a strong community spirit in Chapeltown. The various religious groups however, remain insular due to segregation caused by language and cultural barriers. There are many creative secular organisations in Chapeltown, and these play an extremely significant part in the community. These groups can fill a gap between the religious groups (that which exists in the shapes of ideological and ethical differences) to transgress the boundaries, so that the secular organisations draw people together, on the grounds of universal shared values.

The presence of dialogue is hampered further by the sheer diversity of Chapeltown; a less colourful backdrop would arguably provide a simpler context to understand the nature of the area's pluralism, but in Chapeltown the issue is complex if not simply due to the number of differing approaches on inter-faith dialogue and tolerance; let alone the difficulty of weaving these varied ideals together into a singular vision. Regardless, dialogue does exist due to efforts on the parts of religious people and the secular organisations, and the growth will doubtless rest on these people in the future. This does not mean, however, that dialogue is entirely universal or all-encompassing as it might be-although, to expect universal dialogue in an area so diverse would be unrealistic.

It was also stated in the introduction that the group entered the project with a hesitancy and arguably even a prejudice regarding the nature of the area; this could probably be largely attributed to media representations⁸⁸ and word-of-mouth accounts of the area that are either sensationalist or partial in truth. The reality of Chapeltown as an area afflicted by crime, in our experience, was far removed from what we had come to expect-crime was often reported by interviewees, as in it's worst forms, existing primarily under the surface of Chapeltown-suggesting the well chronicled

⁸⁸ British Broadcasting Corporation, (2006)
http://www.bbc.co.uk/leeds/content/articles/2005/04/19/civic_life_round_my_way_feature.shtml [date cited: 12h January 2007]

stories of gang warfare and rampant drug abuse do not extend into day to day life in quite the way that immediate perceptions would suggest. Whilst crime in the area remains an issue, Chapeltown is unfairly portrayed as a hostile region of Leeds to be avoided at all costs; on the contrary, the group never felt any heightened sense of danger during our time working there.

The overall experience of Chapeltown has been one of diversity; Chapeltown is defined by diversity and regardless of the tendency of populations to move out, the area will almost certainly be marked by multiculturalism and an abundance of religious variation for the foreseeable future. This diversity is what makes Chapeltown unique, in that so small an area can exhibit so many varying religious traditions, as well as a community that possesses a truly remarkable spirit, from the overriding West-Indian spirit to that of more isolated communities like that of the Polish Catholic. In this sense Chapeltown not only covers a notably vast range of traditional faiths in practice in Britain today, it is also an example of secularised religiosity, argued by religious theorists, in the shape of a complex construct of collective effervescence. Chapeltown is, as a consequence, a truly unique concentration of British and migrant religious movements into one space.

Places of Worship Directory

Church of the God of Prophecy



Place of Worship: Church of the God of Prophecy

Religion: Christian

Denomination: Holiness Pentecostal Christian Denomination

Leader: Bornel Grant

Contact Details: Tel: 01132 374287, E-mail: headway@beeb.net

Profile: We visited in the evening, so the service was a lot smaller in terms of attendance. There were about 35 people there, the majority being Afro-Caribbean people. No students attend; there were younger people there though, in their 20's and some youth too. The majority were middle aged people and some one or two elderly folk. It is also mainly women that attend. The morning 10 am services are often very full with an average of 120 people attending. There are often baby dedications, funerals and communion services which also attract a big congregation. There is a room for 'overflow' with a video link for occasions like this.

Description: As a Pentecostal church it believes in the relevance of the Holy Spirit, so there was a lot of talk of him. It was a lively service and the members expressed themselves loudly and passionately through singing and simultaneous prayer. The building is purpose built and roomy and modern, with a PA system and modern instruments and musicians for the worship, which consisted of singing modern Christian choruses.

Services: Main services – Sundays at 10.00 and 6.00 pm.

Events: Sunday is the main day for worship with the two services.

Mondays there is prayer and fasting for the church members. They believe in prayer to be a powerful way in which to have an impact of the community of Chapeltown.

The Church also runs a school and nursery downstairs called Precious Ones Nursery for the whole community, not just church children.

Polish Catholic Church



Place of Worship: Polish Catholic Church and Polish Centre

Religion: Christian

Denomination: Polish Roman Catholic

Leader: the Priest Mr. Janzareba and Ioner Janzareba

Contact Details: Tel: 01132

Profile: A friendly, bustling hub of a community.

Description: a structured, formal and traditional mass.

Services: Main masses are on Sundays 9.30 am, 11.00 am, 7.00 pm, Saturdays 6.30 pm. and daily at 10.am

Events: The church provides religious masses for the Polish Catholic Community and the Polish Catholic Centre

The Polish Social Club has a bar and restaurant for the Polish community to support one another and develop a strong cultural heritage. There are Polish anniversaries celebrated, harvest dances and other cultural events.

There is also a Polish school which runs on Saturday. There are lessons on culture, history, geography as well as maths and English. There are up to 73 kids attending. Any children are welcome and they can take their GCSE's through it

St Martins Church

Religion: Christian
Denomination: Church of England

Leader: The Revd Canon J.R.W. Siller
Contact Details: St. Martins View
Potternewton
Leeds
West Yorkshire
LS7 3LB
0113 262 4271
Email via internet can be found at:
<http://www.achurchnearyou.com/venue.php?V=3275#>
(15/12/06)

Profile/Description: St. Martins draws an average of 100 people to its Sunday Service, filling a near fifth of its sizeable approximate capacity of 550. It also holds a service on a Wednesday, drawing an attendance of roughly 13, the attendees often stalwarts of the local Anglican community. Turnout, however, can vary greatly in certain circumstances, reaching the 500-600 mark for occasional services such as baptisms, weddings and funerals. Worshippers are also mainly local, and will almost certainly be walking, suggesting that a winter dip can be expected. 60% of the congregation is female-described by the Reverend as probably slightly less dramatic a gender split than the national average. The regular congregation is mainly West Indian, making up roughly 80% of the attendance. The Reverend suggested that community spirit is particularly strong in the St. Martins congregation, a claim not uncommon with West Indian-dominated attendances.

Events & Services: St Martins is a particularly active Church in both religious and non religious events and services, and is one of its most notable characteristics. Multi-faith projects are frequently undertaken by the Church (as discussed earlier in the report) ranging from planned events with the local Mosque to a gospel concert featuring multi-denominational participation. The Church also holds services in residential homes across the community. Less religious activities include the renting out of the St. Martin's Institute (an additional building that is essentially a village hall in function) to groups such as the Brownies and Mothers Union.

Chapel Allerton Hospital Chaplaincy

Religion: Multi-Faith

Leader: Reverend Ben Turner

Contact Details: Chapel Allerton Hospital
Chapelton Rd
Leeds
West Yorkshire
LS7 4SA
Direct line: 0113 392 3527
Hospital Switchboard: 0113 243 2799

Profile/Description: Chapel Allerton Hospital Chaplaincy is not an independent chaplaincy, but covered primarily by Reverend Ben Turner of Leeds General Infirmary Chaplaincy. This is because the hospital is simply too small to support a full-time chaplain. Whilst Fr. Turner is fully ordained in the Anglican tradition, the Chaplaincy has no specific faith, and is funded and supported by the NHS as opposed to any specific religious group. Naturally the chaplaincy's function is more so than a place of worship, with the chaplain's primary task is to be a comfort to people regardless of faith. However, the chaplaincy is fully equipped to deal with multi-faith/denominational problems, and can draft in part-time Chaplains to meet the patient's requirements. The comfort provided by the Chaplains is obviously relating to illness and death a great deal more than a religious leader in the traditional sense, and as consequence a potentially emotionally draining job.

Services: Due to the chaplaincy's aforementioned limitations on account of its size, it cannot provide any midweek or additional services to its Sunday service. The service attendance was suggested to be around the 12 people mark, but the very nature of a chaplaincy sees the congregation as passing through as opposed to being particularly regular, and as result numbers and congregation demographics will vary dramatically based on the patients residing at the hospital at the time.

Holy Rosary Catholic Church

Place of worship: Holy Rosary Catholic Church

Religion: Christian

Denomination: Catholic

Leader: Father Thornton

Contact Details: Chapel Town Rd, Leeds, 0113 262 3624

Profile: The church has a good mix of ages ranging from as young as 5 years old up to and over 80 years of age. Similarly, there is an equal spread in terms of gender. The vast majority of the congregation are from Chapel Town, not many people travel from a great distance to attend. There are no students who attend from any of the universities in Leeds. On average the combined Sunday congregation is about 300 people.

Description: The church is a purpose built building; it was built in the early 1900's. It is a large traditional church with a capacity capable of holding 450 people.

Services: Every morning- mass at 9:10 am. Main services: Sunday morning at 9am and 11am.

Events: The church is unable to offer many activities due to the lack of available facilities. Therefore, the congregation merely come together for mass only.

Leeds Islamic Centre and Central Jamia Mosque

Place of Worship: Leeds Islamic Centre and Central Jamia Mosque

Religion: Islam

Denomination : Sunni

Leader: Hafiz Rayid Sahib

Contact details: 48 Spencer Place, Chapeltown, Leeds, LS7 4BR.

Tel: 0113 246 8640

e-mail: info_lic@leedsic.com or secretary_lic@leedsic.com

Profile: A big congregation of about 200 which spans all age groups. Language spoken in English and Arabic. Very few women. Racially diverse, with people from South Asia, Africa and south east Europe.

Description: Outside of the building magnificently decorated with different beige shaded walls, and green/blue minarets. Inside the worship hall people were expected to sit down and listen to the imam who sat on a golden chair on the stage. The building was centrally heated. There was a balcony (which was where we sat) and above this was a chandelier style light.

Services: Friday lunchtime from 11.30 to 1, although no rigid time structure. On a Friday evening, the imam gives more teaching and, every Sunday lunch time there is a weekly knowledge circle on Aqaaid, Ibadhaat, Manners, Sirah and Fiqh.

Events: The building is used extensively for weddings, celebratory festivals and funerals. A radio station also runs here, called Radio Azaan.

The Sikh Temple

Religion: Sikh

Leader: Dr Singh

**Contact: 181 Chapeltown Road
Leeds
West Yorkshire
Ls7**

Profile: Congregation of about 1000 persons of all ages, both men and women. Punjab spoken.

Description: Largest Sikh Temple in Leeds. Catering available on the ground floor, worship hall on the first floor, with capacity of 300. Sikh Library adjacent to the temple building. In addition, they run Sikh enlightenment course for the young, and hold 'Sikh camps' in the summer. The Temple itself didn't just have the feeling of a place of worship, it also had a friendly atmosphere and the vibe of a community centre.

Services: No specific times for congregating to worship. However Sunday is the day that the majority come to worship.

Ramgarhia Board Gurdwara

Religion: Sikh

Leader: Mr. Seera

Contact:

282 Chapeltown Road

Leeds

LS7 3AP

(0113) 2625 427

Profile: Modern Complex slit into two part; the Gurdwara and the sports centre. Ample parking facilities. Congregation estimated at 300 by Mr. Seera.

Description: Much smaller than the Sikh temple half a mile up the road. The sport centre is rented out from 9-5 Monday through Friday to Thomas Danby College, and is available for functions such as weddings etc. The Sikh-Hindu Diwali festival is also hosted at the sports centre which we attended.

Services: No specific times for congregating to worship. However Sunday is the day that the majority come to worship.

Shri Kalgidhar Sahib Ji Gurdwara

Religion: Sikh

Leader: Mr. Patel

Contact: 138 Chapeltown Road
Leeds
West Yorkshire
Ls7

Profile: Small house that has been adapted for use as a Gurdwara. Large Kitchen for service of food. Congregation of 150.

Description: Significantly smaller than the other Gurdwaras that we visited. It is for this reason that they are moving their premises and have just been granted planning permission by the council, to build on the site of the old Serbian centre.

Services: No specific times for congregating to worship. However Sunday is the day that the majority come to worship.

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Appendix

- 12 October 2006 – Interview with Concord Chairwoman, Cynthia Dickinson.
- 17 October 2006 – Interview with Rev. Mark Harwood of Roscoe Methodist Church
- 22 October 2006 – Interview with Bernel Grant an Elder at The Church of the God of Prophecy
- 23 October 2006- Interviewed 'Diana', a worker at Leeds Black Elders Association
- 26 October 2006- Spoke to Community Police Support Officers about religion in Chapeltown
- 26 October 2006 – Interview with Mr. Janzareba, Priest at The Polish Catholic Chapel and Centre
- 26 October 2006 – Interview, Rev. Ben Turner, Chaplaincy at the Chapel Allerton Hospital
- 31 October – Interview with Max Farrer at Leeds Met
- 1 November 2006- Conversation with librarians in Chapeltown library about religion in area
- 3 November 2006- Went for an informal coffee with Miss Sirriyeh, a PhD student of social policy investigating Chapeltown
- 4 November- Phone interview with Jill Gibbons, Manager of Asylum Seeker Centre on Roundhay Road
- 6 November 2006- Went into Rastafarian shop on Chapeltown Rd. We arranged a meeting with the shop owner for the following Monday but he failed to turn up.
- 6 November 2006- Chatted to workers in Connexions centre on Chapeltown Road and sparked a discussion with a group of afro Caribbean teenagers
- 7 November 2006 – Interview with Dr. Jatinder Singh of the Sikh Temple
- 8 November 2006 – Shown around Carnival Centre by the Chairman, Mr. Francis
- 8 November 2006 – performed participant observation in Leeds Islamic Centre. Interviewed the imam, Hafiz Rayid Sahib
- 14 November 2006 – Interview with Rev. David Stevens St. Martins Church of England Parish Church
- 14 November 2006 – Interview at the Holy Rosary Catholic Church
- 19 November 2006 – Interview with Cynthia Dixon Chairwoman of Concord interfaith group
- 20 November 2006 – Interview with Jill Gibbons, Asylum Seeker Centre, Roundhay Road
- 20 November 2006- Interview with a worker at 'Resourcing the Community', Roundhay Road
- 20 November 2006 – Went into Bangladeshi Community Centre and had an interview with secretary
- 21 November 2006 – Interview with Chief inspector Archer of the West Yorkshire Police
- 22 November – Interview with Mr. Patel, Manager of the Ramgarhia Sports centre
- 23 November 2006 – Phone interview with Pakistani Community Centre
- 24 November 2006 – Phone interview with minister of Harehills Lane Baptist Church (out of our area but he had some useful things to say on Chapeltown)