

Religion as a source of social capital in the regeneration of East London

Greg Smith

The recently published Directories of Religious organisations in Newham and neighbouring boroughs shows the growing significance of faith communities in East London. Greg Smith argues that religion represents a resource for many people in terms of cultural identity and social capital.

At the dawn of a new millennium, the dating of which commemorates in round numbers the birth of one whose teaching has deeply influenced Western culture to this day, religious leaders have been vocal in their lobbying that the event should be marked in 'fitting' spiritual ways. Popular culture may be more interested in the outcome of the National Lottery Double Draw just before the millennium moment, and the government in the symbolism of the Dome and its contents for the technology led enterprise driven renewal of the economy. Nonetheless the bishops have managed to preserve a short 'God Slot' in the programme for Millennium Eve, and a Faith Zone within the Millennium Experience at the Dome itself, in which all the major faith traditions can display their wares. What few of the visitors to North Greenwich are likely to realise as they look across the river, is that a mere mile or so away there exists a scene of lively and diverse religious activity.

The study of religion in society has long been of fundamental importance to sociology. The three great founding fathers of sociology all devoted much energy to the study of religion with long term consequences for the discipline which are summed up by Riis (1999) as follows:

we may broadly distinguish between three major strands of theoretical schools in the sociology of religion, which are associated with three main founders of sociology: ... functionalism (Emile Durkheim 1915), cognitivism (Max Weber) and critical theory (Karl Marx). Functionalism regards religion as an institution constitutive for social integration, cognitivism sees it as a world view providing meaning for both individuals and groups, and critical theory interprets it as an ideology legitimating the power structure of society.

Despite a more recent tendency in British sociology to ignore religion as a field of research, except for a rich vein of studies of relatively marginal, sects, cults and New Religious Movements (Wilson 1982, Barker 1989), and the presumption that mainstream religion will continue quietly to wither away (Bruce 1996) religion remains important for many people. The sociological study of religion may also be making a comeback, both in terms of its residual influence in British society (Davie 1994) but driven by the late modern or post-modern conditions of globalisation, diversity, and consequent plurality of beliefs and identities (Beckford 1992, Beyer 1994, Castells 1997).

The theory of secularisation would make us assume not only that the day of religion as functional for social cohesion (a la Durkheim), socially powerful as institution and ideology (a la Marx) has gone, but that privatised and diverse urban milieux are particularly detrimental to religion's survival as a significant world view for individuals. Rational modernity in Weber's (1978) terms has led to the disenchantment of the world. While policy oriented and statistical research for the Christian churches can be found (ACUPA 1985, Brierley 1998) academic study of urban religion is in short supply despite the example in Rex and Moore's classic community study of Sparkbrook (1967), and local historical work in Newham by Marchant (1986). The collection edited by Badham (1989) contains a number of useful mainly descriptive accounts of the variety of faiths in Britain but there appears to be little to compare to work carried out in other parts of the English speaking world such as Bourma (1996) for Australia.

Analysing social capital

I have argued previously (Smith 1996) that organised religion was alive and well in contemporary East London, and discussed the possible future scenarios for faith communities. Subsequently (Smith 1998) I discussed the concept of social capital (Coleman 1990) and the possibility of using it (following Putnam

1993,1995) as a measurable indicator of the strength of community life and suggested that the religious sector was perhaps the largest bank of social capital in Newham. In this article, my aims are threefold:

- ◆ to provide further evidence of the levels and distribution of social capital found in the religious sector by presenting some up to date and wider statistics which emerge from the 3rd edition of the Directory/Database of Religious groups in Newham published by Aston Charities Trust in the summer of 1999, (Aston CIU 1999) and parallel directories for Hackney and Tower Hamlets compiled by colleagues working for the Barnardos CANDL project. (CANDL 1997, 1999)
- ◆ to consider briefly religion as an indicator of the processes of globalisation, which are affecting metropolitan areas such as ours, and the role of faith communities in maintaining or developing social capital at the global level.
- ◆ to discuss the implications of this diverse religious activity for public policy, especially in the fields of urban regeneration and social welfare in the context of recent government statements and practice about partnership with faith communities

The argument I wish to develop goes as follows. Social capital is a useful metaphor summarising various properties of complex relationships rather than a single measurable commodity. Paxton (1999) for example isolates measurements of Trust and Association in an analysis of US survey data and concludes Americans' participation in associations is not declining, trust in institutions is fairly stable long term, though trust in individuals such as neighbours may be going down. Portes (1998) offers a comprehensive review of the theoretical and empirical literature on social capital and concludes,

Despite these differences (between scholars), the consensus is growing in the literature that *social capital* stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in *social* networks or other *social* structures.

However social capital may not be an unmixed blessing

Recent studies have identified at least four negative consequences of *social capital*: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward levelling norms.

A very useful distinction is made by Xavier de Souza Briggs when talking of the social capital resources available to individuals. He distinguishes:

(a) support capital: which helps people cope with problems posed by their circumstances ('get by'). This type is very often provided by socially similar others;

and

(b) leverage capital - a la Granovetter's (1974) 'getting a job' which helps people change their life chances or create and take advantage of opportunities ('get ahead'). This type calls for having diverse ties, whether weak or strong.¹

Sharp (1999) neatly re-interprets this distinction into the difference between 'getting by' and 'getting ahead'.

Dense, tightly bounded, fragmented, sectarian networks with many multiplex role relationships may be cohesive and supportive (have lots of support social capital at the collective level) but may not be so good at achieving economic or wider social objectives for the individual or the group. So a tight knit community where everyone knows everyone else, where a common culture is likely to be shared, where mutual help and solidarity may thrive can be centres of both network poverty and economic deprivation, where people just 'get by'. However such strong dense networks, whether in traditional working class or ethnic communities, criminal subcultures, sectarian religious groups or in elite groups such as the aristocracy are also mechanisms of exclusion, from specific forms of resources and power. As Portes (1998) states:

First, the same strong ties that bring benefits to members of a group commonly enable it to bar others from access. Ethnic groups are not the only ones that use *social capital* for economic advantage. Two centuries ago, Adam Smith complained that meetings of merchants inevitably ended up as a conspiracy against the public. The public, of course, are all those excluded from the networks and mutual knowledge linking the colluding groups.

Generally speaking though it is weak ties within a diverse personal network that seem to be more productive in terms of 'getting ahead'. Current policy concerns around social exclusion seem to refer mainly, despite some communitarian rhetoric, to enhancing the life chances of individuals, through education, education and education, through entry into the labour market, more healthy lifestyles and diversion from crime. It could be argued therefore that one major strand in social exclusion as generally understood by the New Labour state is a presumed deficit of individuals and groups in leverage social

capital. The solution to this is therefore seen as a greater participation in civic or civil society activities by individuals, and in partnership by faith communities and the voluntary sector in regeneration and welfare activities. These strategies (in tandem with others) should allow more individuals, deprived communities, and the nation as a whole to get ahead in a competitive global economy. This theory inevitably rules out a more structural notion of social exclusion, let alone implicit or explicit elite conspiracy theories suggested by Adam Smith.

These various elements of social capital and social exclusion could be measured neatly and formally (if we could overcome problems of collecting data) using social network analysis (Scott 1992). It would be possible to locate both individuals and organisations in terms of network centrality, betweenness centrality, and reachability. Those with little by way of leverage social capital would be found (possibly in tight clusters reflecting dense networks of high support social capital) at the margins or periphery of the most important economic and community power networks.

Religion and social capital in a global setting

Religion can operate at a number of levels, as a personal source of comfort, strength, ethics and motivation, but also as an identity (Modood et al (1992,1997),. Jacobsen (1998)) and as a contested cultural resource (Beckford 1992, 1999). Participation in or contact with organised religious groups can also offer a dimension of social support and provide networks of relationships which can be described as social capital resources. These may in some cases have political or economic potential and be important in the context of volunteering and community service (Greeley (1997).

The evidence (and the process of gathering it) from the 1999 religious directories suggests that there are numerous and varied faith communities which have extensive memberships who interact in regular religious activities. Through this they form internal social networks which can be seen as accumulations of support social capital. The extent of leverage social capital in these faith communities is however, more variable. Linkages of religious networks to the networks of power elites in British society are varied and can be approached by the methods of social network analysis (Smith 1997). This relates most obviously to the stage of religious settlement (a term used in the Australian context by Bourma (1996)) and institution building which each group has reached in the years following migration, although other factors such as social class, minority language status, and theology of political involvement might also play a part.

The network centrality of religious people ranges from that of the Church of England, where weak ties may ensure the humblest Anglican African refugee can reach a member of the house of Lords in three steps, to the almost total social exclusion pattern of the Bangladeshi Muslim woman.

Significantly many of the religious networks have global as well as local linkages.. The study of globalisation and religion is in its early days and rests theoretically largely on the contribution of Peter Beyer (1994) although Castells (1997) also has many useful insights. More recently Beyer (1998a, 1998b) has used the term 'glocalisation' as coined by Robertson (1995) to describe the effects of an interaction of global and local factors on religious life. Beyer's (1998b) article is particularly significant in its discussion of the processes of religious identity and institution formation in contemporary contexts of migration where global communication channels ensure that migrant communities can remain in touch with religious, cultural and political developments 'back home'. Glocalisation processes have also been taken up in a case study by Lyon (1998) of the Toronto blessing movement and most recently by Spickard (1999) and Riis (1999) in papers about the politics of religious pluralism in the current global world order, where human rights is claimed as an ultimate universal value.

Both the social capital and the glocalisation aspects of the discussion above clearly have implications for policy and practice of statutory and other agencies who recognise the potential contribution of the religious sector for the common good, and in combating social exclusion when they seek to work in partnership with religious groups in urban regeneration, community health, education or social welfare programmes. (Skelcher et al 1996)

Religious groups In East London: gathering the data

The process of research about religious organisation in the inner city provides us with some initial evidence about the exclusion of certain faith communities from mainstream community networks.

The research on which the Aston Charities' Newham directory is based was carried out over a year long period up to 31 December 1998. An extensive questionnaire was devised and circulated by post, to organisations listed on our existing databases, then followed up by intensive phone calls and personal visits by a team of students and volunteers. The fieldwork in Hackney and Tower Hamlets was carried out by the Barnardos CANDL project in close collaboration with our own work in Newham and on broadly similar lines. However, relative lack of resources in the projects in these boroughs meant

that a much shorter questionnaire was used with less personal field interviewing and the ability to trace organisations outside the Christian networks and persuade them to divulge information for inclusion in the directory was more limited than in Newham.

Tracing, documenting and securing a response from all the religious groups which exist in the boroughs of East London was the most challenging part of the whole enterprise. The scene is so diverse, so rapidly changing, so undocumented in the official world, and sometimes so full of suspicion that the skills of a detective rather than of a conventional social researcher are called for. These skills are best combined with the knowledge of people with long established participation in local community and religious networks.

For example only a local networker could disentangle the fact that the 'Glorious Resurrection Tabernacle' appearing in 1994 should be entered as the 'Pentecostal Assembly of the Divine Compassion' in 1998. This came about by a route which involves the retirement of Pastor Macintosh to Jamaica and the merger of his congregation with Pastor Brown's (formerly Pentecostal Bible Healing Church Of God) and which now meet at the Methodist Church Hall E15 (rather than at St Gabriels E7). The source of this information was an evangelistic leaflet through our door and a conversation with the grand mother of my daughter's school friend Grace. (All names fictitious but only a little poetic licence here!)

Other leads came by serendipity or persistent 'leg work'. The chances increase if the researcher lives locally and picks up leaflets from evangelists in the street market, and regularly cycles round the back streets, notebook in pocket, looking for religious and community buildings, or for large numbers of evidently religious people entering or leaving buildings which are not evidently religious. On more than one occasion I have been seen pedalling furiously after a minibus which, from a glimpse at the last traffic lights, comes under suspicion as bearing important phone numbers on its wing panel!

Even making use of fieldworkers who are ethnically matched insiders to some of the faith communities in question is no guarantee of success. Most of the fieldwork in Islamic groups was carried out by a Muslim student, who wore the Islamic dress, often prayed in the mosque he was visiting, and spoke when appropriate in Punjabi/Urdu. However, when he eventually met the person who had authority to represent the organisation in public, our fieldworker had to convince the respondents that he was not from the Council, nor working covertly for a Christian Missionary group, or for the CIA. Even when he was accepted as a genuine Muslim he was often questioned about his own views and location within the spectrum of Islamic organisations.

Similar questions were also asked by leaders of some of the African

Pentecostal and Independent congregations. Many of these groups serve significant numbers of refugees and asylum seekers and it is therefore likely that leaders need to be sure that official concerns about immigration, employment and benefit status of their members (and maybe of themselves) are not the subject of enquiry before they are willing to participate.

Significantly then it was marginalised groups, the congregations and worship groups which serve recently settled ethnic minority communities, who lacked a permanent building of their own, who were hardest to trace and in some cases most reluctant to participate in our surveys. This clearly indicates a degree of social exclusion from the official mainstream, and a lack of trust in researchers who seem to represent the 'authorities'. Indeed one of the indicators of social capital in the thinking of Putnam (1993) and Fukuyama (1995) is trust, although one is entitled to ask 'trust in whom?' (Paxton 1999). It seems obvious that there may be high degrees of solidarity and trust in fellow church or mosque members co-existing with high degrees of suspicion about outsiders.

Organised religion in East London: the latest trends

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BACKGROUND STATISTICS

The growing political significance of religion is illustrated by the current debate over the government's proposal to introduce a religious question in the 2001 Census. In the absence of a Census Question on religious affiliation and with no extensive local survey data to turn to it is extremely difficult to estimate the strength of local faith communities. The only statistics of religious affiliation in East London that have been published are found in the annual report on educational statistics compiled by Newham LEA. They refer only to children in the borough's schools and rely on teachers to ascertain the language, ethnicity and religion of each child.

In 1998, 43 per cent of the 42,254 children attending Newham's primary schools were from Christian households and 46 per cent were from households where a religion other than Christianity was practised. The largest proportion of the latter (30 per cent) were Muslim with only 7 per cent recorded as Hindu and 5 per cent Sikh. It is very difficult to interpret the significance of the label 'Christian' as this has traditionally been the default option for the white community who often say 'I'm CofE but I never go to church'. For black people in Newham 'Christian' as a term of affiliation may well represent much higher levels of commitment and religious practice.

The data for children cannot be extrapolated to give percentages for the whole community since it is evident from the 1991 Census data that is

predominantly Muslim ethnic minority groups such as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis which have a very young age profile. One would predict from this that the proportions of minority faiths in the adult population would be somewhat lower than in schools and that of 'Christians' correspondingly higher.

NUMBER AND TYPOLOGY OF ORGANISED RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In the course of the Newham fieldwork we identified and tried to contact some 420 organisations which we had good reason to believe were operating in the borough and could be defined as religious groups. By the end of our fieldwork, eliminating duplicates and groups which had definitely closed, we had reduced our list to 367. Of these around 70 groups proved impossible to contact or couldn't supply any reliable information and we concluded that about half of them most probably no longer existed or operated locally. Consequently the 3rd Edition of the Newham directory lists in all 294 organisations for whom sufficient information is available to make an entry in the directory. Taking into account groups that we failed to trace, our best estimate therefore is that in Newham at the end of 1998 there are between 300 and 350 groups and organisations whose foundations or purpose is predominantly religious. The 294 listed organisations therefore represent around 85 per cent of the total and the 205 who completed the questionnaire just under 60 per cent.

The Hackney directory published in September 1999 lists 240 groups of which 227 are Christian, while the Tower Hamlets Directory of Churches and Christian groups published in 1997 listed 90 churches and 75 other Christian Organisations. The most common type of group listed in all the boroughs was the Christian Congregation, of which a total of 422 are documented, as can be seen from Table 2. (NB the categories used in Hackney and Tower Hamlets vary slightly from those used in Newham and Tower Hamlets figures only cover Christian groups)

A breakdown of all the organisations in Newham by Faith Community clearly shows the numerical dominance of Christianity with over 225 groups with the nearest rival Islam only amounting to 25 organisations, Hinduism 15 and Sikhism half a dozen. This is quite surprising given the numbers of Newham residents affiliated to the different faith communities as suggested by statistics gathered by the Education Department. The discrepancy suggests that the faith communities other than Christianity which have settled in Newham in more recent years have struggled to establish religious institutions, and/or see a more limited role (possibly for a small number of relatively large) religious organisations and centres. In contrast in a recent piece of research for the Newham Council for Racial Equality (MPCS / NCRE 1999)

Table 1: Religious Groupings in Hackney Tower Hamlets and Newham

Count of Type of Group	Newham 1999	Hackney 1999	Tower Hamlets 1997
Christian Congregation	181	151	90
Welfare Agency	20	-	-
Mosque	20	3	-
Other Worship Group	20	1	-
Religious Order	11	6	1
Community Centre	10	-	-
Denominational HQ	7	5	-
Network/Umbrella	5	7	7
temple/Mandir	5	0	-
Chaplaincy	4	4	4
Gurudwara	4	0	-
Hostel	2	-	-
shop	2	3	-
centre (drop in)	1	-	-
school	1	17	28
Synagogue	1	3	-
(serving the community)*	-	29	27
Serving the church	-	13	7
Grand Total	294	240	165

we found a large number of Asian social welfare and community organisations which do not present as having religious roots, in contrast with a relatively small number of secular Caribbean and African voluntary groups.

Among the Christian congregations Pentecostalism is numerically dominant with around twice as many (three times as many in Newham) congregations as the established Church of England. Independent Evangelicals, Baptists and Roman Catholics, and Methodists are also well represented in line with their status as ‘major denominations’ at the national level. The other denominations (including the Non-Trinitarian groups which many would label as ‘sects’ or ‘cults’) each have no more than two or three congregations in Newham but were not contacted in the other boroughs.

This suggests that Newham/East London, because of its ethnic and religious diversity, has patterns of social capital investment through religion which may be very different from those found elsewhere in the UK. There is a lot of organised religion in Newham and it is particularly important to ethnic minority communities. It is, in a sense, a crude measure of social capital invested in one particular sector ... the religious.

Geography of religion

The religious groups are well spread across the borough with some degree of concentration in the north and centre of the borough (E7 has 46 groups, E6

Table 2: Christian congregations in Hackney, Newham and Tower Hamlets

Christian Congregations by Denomination	Newham 1999	Hackney 1999	Tower Hamlets 1997	Total 3 Boroughs
Pentecostal	72	51	18	141
Church of England	26	31	20	77
Independent Evangelical	15	19	7	41
Baptist	13	7	8	28
Roman Catholic	12	8	15	35
Methodist	7	9	6	22
Unknown	7	-	6	13
African (Aladura)	4	-	2	6
Spiritualist	4	-	-	4
Seventh Day Adventist	3	4	-	7
United Reformed Church	3	5	4	12
Ecumenical	2	2	2	6
Jehovah's Witnesses	2	-	-	2
Orthodox	2	1	-	3
Salvation Army	2	4	2	8
Christadelphians	1	-	-	1
Iglisio Ni Christo	1	-	-	1
Unification (Moonie)	1	-	-	1
Moravian	1	-	-	1
Mormon	1	-	-	1
Unitarian	1	-	-	1
Quaker	0	1	-	1
Spiritual Baptist	0	4	-	4
Grand Total	180	146	90	416

37, E12 28 and E15 36) and somewhat more thin on the ground in Docklands where there is in any case a less dense residential population and far more vacant land (E16 has only 16). The maps generated from our data by Martin Ralphs of UEL's surveying Department make the patterns even clearer. The groups from the World Faiths other than Christianity are heavily clustered in central Newham (East Ham, Upton Park and Forest Gate) while the mainline denominations and Pentecostal Christians are widely distributed throughout the borough

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Our data analysis makes it clear that the two major periods for the foundation of (surviving) religious groups in Newham have been the late nineteenth century (see Marchant 1986) and the last two decades of the twentieth century. It is remarkable that 50 religious groups have started since 1990, and another 44 in the previous two decades.

Comparison with the 1994 directory allows us to document the high rate of change in Newham's religious sector. In less than five years 54 groups have ceased to meet, moved on or vanished while 74 new ones have emerged, a net gain of 20. The largest number of losses (18) and gains (39) are in the

Pentecostal category.

A repeated identical question about membership allows us to document 'congregations' where reported attendance declined or grew between 1994 and 1998. Only groups where there is data in both editions of the directory are included. An increase or loss in attendance of ten people or less is regarded as 'constant'. Over all the Christian congregations 40 reported increased attendance, 28 constant attendance and 21 a decline. Pentecostal, Evangelical and Baptist churches are more likely to report an increase in attendance. The overall pattern is of increased attendance, especially for evangelicals, Baptists and Pentecostals with a reported decline for the Roman Catholics. However given the high number of missing cases and the problems with collecting this kind of data it is difficult to be confident that these figures represent a real trend. However they do follow general patterns of growth and decline in English Churches and are therefore not counter intuitive (see Brierley 1998).

These findings (more churches mosques and temples, more people participating in many of them) indicate the rapidly growing significance of religion in building new structures for social capital within the ethnic minorities who have settled in large numbers in recent decades. The rapid rate of change indicates a high level of mobility in these communities and the likelihood of transience and marginalisation or organisations rather than incorporation of well established institutions into the mainstream.

How many and what kind of people involved?

Statistics on religious participation are notoriously difficult to collect in a reliable manner for a variety of reasons. In the case of the directory the weaknesses and uncertainties are all too apparent. In the first place we are relying almost exclusively on the reporting of church leaders, who may be working from guesstimates, hazy memory or wishful thinking as much as from accurate monitoring and documentation. On top of this we have far too many cases of missing data, both of whole questionnaires and of particular items on the questionnaire. It is likely too that this missing data is distributed in a far from random way. Bearing in mind these 'health warnings' we discovered that the 152 organisations which gave an attendance figures reported that a total of just over 25,000 people attended their main religious activities in any given week; an average of around 165 per group. Mosques and temples tended to report higher attendance rates (average well over 200), than Christian congregations (average 140). Denominational averages

varied from 581 for the Roman Catholics, through around 100 to 120 for evangelical groups such as Pentecostals, Baptists, Independent Evangelical and African Independent churches, to 80 or 90 for Church of England and URC down to 65 or under for the remaining free churches (Methodist, Moravian and Salvation Army)

Formal membership is somewhat lower averaging 134 (over 166 groups who gave figures). But many groups attempt to serve a wider constituency, for example the whole population of a parish, or the whole Muslim community in a neighbourhood so the average reach of 104 groups who answered this question was 1,271 people.

MINORITY TARGET GROUPS

30 groups (about one in six of those replying) specified that they served or targeted particular groups within Newham's population. The specified groups are generally ethnic or linguistic categories such as, 'Asians, Bengalis, Blacks, Filipinos, Mauritians, Sri Lankans, Tamil Speakers, with a few religious labels such as 'Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs' and one group specifically for 'deaf people'.

LANGUAGE

Nearly 60 groups specified that they used at least one language other than English at least for part of their activities. The most common of around 25 languages mentioned were the South Asian languages commonly spoken in Newham although a wide range of African and European languages (e.g. French for some African groups and Spanish and Portuguese for Latin Americans) were also mentioned as well as sign language and 'Tongues'. Arabic was mentioned by most Muslim groups as the original and untranslatable language of Quranic revelation.

GENDER OF WORSHIPPERS

About half of the congregations have roughly equal proportions of men and women attending but 38 per cent have a significant majority of females. Only three Christian churches represented a significant male majority although the RCs seem somewhat more likely to be balanced in terms of gender. Mosque attendance on the other hand is significantly dominated by males.

ETHNICITY OF WORSHIPPERS

Only 17 per cent of all the groups giving information about ethnic breakdown of their congregation have a majority of white members and a further 15 per cent roughly balanced white/non-white. As Newham's population is still almost 50 per cent white one might have expected a higher proportion of white majority

groups. This probably reflects the fact that white people tend to be less religiously involved than ethnic minorities. The denominational breakdown shows clearly that whites are uncommon in Pentecostal and non-Christian groups and that the large majority of congregations even in the mainline denominations are now thoroughly multiracial or majority non-white. Only 10 congregations with a four fifths or greater white majority appear in our data.

Non-Christian faiths are more likely to have memberships predominantly Asian, although there are a small number of Christian congregations (2 independent evangelical and 1 Anglican) attracting only Asians and a larger number who have around a third to a quarter of Asian members.

AGE PROFILE OF WORSHIPPERS

Our data suggests that religious groups in Newham are far from being overwhelmingly 'geriatric'. Indeed only a small handful of Christian congregations (all Anglican or Free Church) are numerically dominated by the over 50s. This pattern reflects the youthful demography of Newham and contrasts somewhat with the age profile of Christian churches at the national level.

Our data suggest that many people (over 10 per cent of the whole population of Newham) are involved with religious organisations on a weekly basis and they are overwhelmingly ethnic minority and young. Simply by meeting other people in this context militates against a purely privatised lifestyle and opens routes towards public participation. For individuals the social and cultural capital acquired in the religious sector might give an advantage in terms of economic opportunity and educational and political capital. Acquiring such leverage of social capital through weak ties will depend on the mixture of people attending particular places of worship. But even in the most homogeneous and sectarian groups there should be survival and support forms of social capital and a sense of community and solidarity particularly for members of newly settling groups

Religion in Newham as an economic resource

BUILDINGS

Our data shows that the 294 religious organisations in Newham own between them at least 104 buildings. Three quarters of these are owned by Christian groups, although there are also a large number of Christian congregations who rent rather than own the building where they meet. (At least 40 in all

probability - a large proportion of those groups for which we have no information on this question). The largest other property portfolio is that of the Muslims, while our database records 4 Hindu, 2 Sikh and one Buddhist owned building. There is no information about this in the data but local knowledge points to the fact that a substantial number of Anglican buildings have been completely rebuilt or substantially refurbished over the last twenty years while most of the property owned by other denominations and faith is either Victorian churches with some minor modernisation, or not purpose built at all. Many of the mosques and Pentecostal worship centres are converted residential or shop front premises. (See author's web site for some photos: <http://www.newtel.org.uk/orgs/credo/credo.htm>)

EMPLOYEES AND CLERGY

Based on 136 cases where data was given, the total number of staff employed was 457 with a mean of 3.6 and median figure of 1. The figures are somewhat distorted by one large organisation (not a congregation) which reported 105 full time people on its payroll. Nonetheless it is apparent that (without this outlying case) the religious sector in Newham provides employment for the equivalent of over 350 full time posts. Ninety seven Christian congregations who gave details of staff had an average of just under 2 employees, and ten mosques an average of just under 3, while ten welfare type agencies averaged 18 and three community centres 8.

Less than half the staff documented in our survey appeared to be religious leaders or functionaries (clergy). Just over a quarter of the groups reported they had a full time paid religious leader while 20 per cent specified that their leader was unpaid. It is plausible that the majority of groups who did not answer this question also rely on unpaid leaders. This faith and denominational breakdown of paid leaders suggest an uneven distribution of resources with a far higher proportion of the historic mainline churches maintaining a full time leader than the Pentecostal or non-Christian groups. However the 87 paid leaders accounted for do include 8 working for Muslim organisations.

Ministers and Leaders of religious groups who gave the information remain predominantly male. There were 149 male to 13 female who were all in Christian (or in one case Multi-Faith) groups

The ethnicity of religious leaders in Newham is mixed with the largest proportion (77 out of 138 for whom we have details) being described as white. Undoubtedly the figure for black (43) and Asian (26) leaders would be higher if more of the non-Christians groups and of the large number of Caribbean and African Majority Pentecostal Churches which are found in

the directory had provided an answer to this question. A breakdown of this data by faith and denomination clearly shows Asian dominance in the non-Christian Faiths, white dominance in most of the mainline Christian denominations and black dominance in Pentecostalism. For the mainline denominations where a large number of black majority congregations now exist this pattern of continued white leadership appears incongruent and potentially problematic.

There are clearly economic resources in the religious sector in Newham. The buildings represent both a capital and a community asset while the staffing levels suggest that considerable revenue funds are available at least for some religious groups. In addition many of these staff will be highly skilled and qualified, although in fields which are often overlooked by economists, such as theology. The unpaid labour of the religious sector is also a considerable community resource, as running a church or other religious organisation on an unpaid basis is clear evidence of leadership and organisational skill, while the (unrecorded in our data) voluntary service in the various activities associated with such groups represents a huge investment of labour.

Religion and social action

From the aims and mission statements provided by many of the religious organisations we were able to code the emphases in their objectives into a small number of categories. The less transparent distinctions in this coding system are between

- ◆ ‘propagation of faith’ where a group responded purely in terms of evangelism, soul saving or promulgating religious truth;
- ◆ ‘holistic mission’ where a group expressed compassionate service alongside evangelistic motives;
- ◆ ‘discipleship’ where the focus was mainly on teaching and building up a faith community to follow a particular path of faith;
- ◆ ‘place of worship’ on the other hand suggests an approach where ‘we are here to serve and people can come to us if they wish’.

The largest number of Christian groups were placed in the category of holistic mission. A denominational breakdown suggests that Pentecostal groups are most likely to see their function as purely evangelistic 19 ‘propagation of faith’ to 16 ‘holistic evangelism’ and 2 ‘place of worship’. A small majority of

Table 3: Aims of religious groups

Count of Aims	Christian groups	Total
all groups		
place of worship	37	51
propagation of faith	32	51
holistic mission	43	46
welfare	14	17
discipleship	15	15
community development	7	10
management of denomination	9	9
network umbrella body	5	5
chaplaincy	2	4
inter faith	1	4
school	3	3
peace group	0	1
Grand Total	168	216

Baptists and African churches followed the Pentecostal pattern. Anglican and Catholic groups are more likely to express their function as ‘place of worship’; 19 and 6 respectively, against 3 and 1 as ‘propagation’. The other denominations such as Free churches and independent evangelicals tended to express their aims in terms of holistic mission, while non congregational bodies were more likely to be concerned with welfare or community development. .

INVOLVEMENT OF FAITH COMMUNITIES IN COMMUNITY WORK AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The directory lists in total 620 activities and groups additional to public worship provided by the groups in Newham’s religious sector. Over two thirds of these (437) were defined as religious activities and less than a third (183) as secular groups open to the wider community.

More detailed analysis shows that the vast majority (over 80 per cent) of activities offered (at least as documented by the directory) are associated with Christian congregations. However the non response patterns in this section of the questionnaire would make us suspect that a disproportionate number of activities provided in other settings may have been missed. It is worth noting the denominations and faith communities which appear to provide more non-religious than religious activities and groups. These are Buddhists (2), CoFE (101/77), Ecumenical (19/7), Methodist (25/16), Salvation Army (3/2), United Reformed Church (13/7), Sree Narayana (4/3) and Sikh (7/4). For Pentecostals on the other hand the ratio is 12/95 and for Independent Evangelicals 13/48. This gives some indication as to which groups are more likely to be outward looking in terms of community service as opposed to focused mainly on the spiritual needs of their own membership or faith community.

**RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN NEWHAM:
TYPES OF SERVICE PROVIDED**

By far the most common additional religious activities offered in Newham fall in the category 'religious education'; 167 activities which include Sunday Schools, Bible Studies, Quran classes and other learning activities for children, young people and adults. 'Fellowship' (84 cases) includes home groups, care cells and church/temple/mosque based special interest groups in which people offer mutual friendship and support in the context of their life of faith. The category 'Prayer' (34 cases) here only includes meetings or activities in which prayer is described as the primary purpose; undoubtedly prayer takes place in all faith communities in the context of many activities.

The additional religious activities listed in the directory are generally aimed at specific age or gender groupings. Nearly a third are for adults in general, over a quarter are for children, while youth and women are each the target groups for about one group in every seven.

**'SECULAR' ACTIVITIES ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN NEWHAM:
TYPES OF SERVICE PROVIDED.**

The most common type of 'secular' activities, usually open to people from outside the membership of the faith community, offered by religious organisations in Newham fall into the category of 'social support' (35 cases). This includes activities such as pensioners and parent/toddler clubs whose aim might be to provide a space and time to meet other people in similar situations of isolation. Uniformed organisations (28 cases) include Scouts, Guides, Cubs and Brownies. Sport (26 cases) and community language classes (17 cases) are also well represented. Housing (13 cases) includes services for homeless people. Child care (10 cases) includes play groups, nurseries and childminders groups. Other secular activities included music (10), food (9), dance (8), diet/fitness (8), education (6), English language class (6), counselling (5), fun (5), employment training (5), welfare (5), advice (4), arts (4), health (4), immigration support (4), campaigning (3), family support (3), youth work (3), charity shop (2), centre (1), day centre (1), play (1).

A large number of the targeted activities are aimed at children and young people, although elders, homeless people, women, and parents/families are also served by a good number of activities. The most common target groups were, children under 14 (32 cases), children and young people (12 cases), children under 5 (10 cases), anyone (28 cases), parents/carers with under 5s (20 cases), adults in general (18 cases), young people (17 cases),

elders (12 cases), homeless people (10 cases).

The data in this section shows religion has a considerable social thrust and that many groups (but by no means all) are already involved in what could be loosely defined as community work. For these groups their concerns are neither purely other worldly, nor narrowly sectarian. Their activities can be seen as a conscious attempt to develop and enhance support social capital in and for the wider community. It is significant however, that the majority of such groups are found in mainline Christianity, rather than among the newer more marginal part of the religious sector. It is also significant that radical empowering community development and politically controversial forms of community action or campaigning are relatively rare.

UMBRELLA AFFILIATIONS, NETWORKS AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER GROUPS

The organisations in the directory listed affiliations to over 75 different bodies. Clearly the mainline Christian churches have reported a much more developed structure of umbrella bodies than the Pentecostal or other faith groups among whom only Muslims seem to have any umbrella organisations. The most frequently mentioned ones are listed below:

Newham Community Renewal Programme (community development agency of the churches) (37 cases), Newham Christian Fellowships (Evangelical Charismatic) (34 cases), Evangelical Alliance (UK) (29 cases), Diocese of Chelmsford (CofE) (26 cases), CofE Deanery Synod (Newham) (22 cases), RC Diocese of Brentwood (17 cases), Council of Churches Together in Britain and Ireland (17 cases), London Baptist Association (15 cases), Newham Association of Faiths (12 cases), Churches together in various local Neighbourhoods (11 cases), Inter Faith Network (UK) (10 cases), Team or group parish of (various local areas) (10 cases), Methodist Church (UK) (9 cases), Methodist Circuit (Newham) (9 cases), TELCO (Community Organising) (8 cases), Muslim Council of Britain (4), Alliance of Newham Muslim Associations (3).

LOCAL LINKS WITH SAME FAITH ORGANISATIONS

The 205 groups reported just under 200 significant one to one relationships with other local religious groups within their own faith community, an average of around one each. Taking into account the relationships through denominations and umbrella bodies and the probable under-reporting of actual and important linkages it would appear that religious groups in Newham, especially the mainline Christian churches are well networked into ecumenical Christian common activity.

LINKS WITH OTHER FAITH COMMUNITIES

In contrast, reported local links across the boundaries of other faith communities were extremely rare in the data. None were reported by any Muslim or Sikh groups. One Bahai group and one Hindu origin group reported some non-specific inter faith relationships. One inter-faith organisation listed relationships with all the major world faith traditions.

Seven mainline Christian organisations reported significant direct links with other faith organisations but even these only offered specific names of two mosques and the one Hindu group mentioned above. Even if we add the dozen or so groups who claimed affiliation to the UK Inter-Faith network or Newham Association of Faiths it seems there is little evidence that religious organisations in the borough are interested in developing inter-faith relationships, activities or dialogue. Some in fact would be hostile to the very idea on the basis of their own exclusive theological understandings.

The evidence about inter organisational networking once again underlines the advantageous position of mainstream Christian groups in what may be the crucial area for leverage social capital. For it is through mobilisation through umbrella bodies, and the weak ties of occasional partnership activities that group leaders get to know the ‘movers and shakers’ in a community, exchange valuable information, build coalitions and acquire specific forms of political power. In contrast the newer faith communities appear to be more fragmented and less well connected in the locality, therefore at a disadvantage in terms of mobilising power and resources.

Faith communities and globalisation

GLOBAL LINKS IN NEWHAM

The biggest impact of globalisation for the mainline Christian churches in East London has been congregational growth and renewal resulting from the settlement of migrants from the Caribbean, Africa and more recently from Asia and Latin America. A post colonial global economic system which impoverishes millions of people in the countries of the South (and more recently the East), and a global political military system which fosters oppression and armed conflict in many of those countries ensures a flow of settlers and refugees to developed countries like the UK. Here the global and local economic systems ensure that most of them find housing in declining inner city regions like ours, and work (if they can find it) in struggling, marginal and low paid sectors of the economy.

The world faiths and Christianity in particular also have a well established global system and structure, dating back to the colonial era of foreign missions, modified now by transport and telecommunications systems which allow for unprecedented levels of two way traffic. Forty one groups gave an email address and fifteen said they had a web site, including a number of African and Pentecostal groups.

As a result each Christian denomination in East London has a distinctive mix of membership depending on particular mission history. For example Baptist and Methodists churches have recruited from Jamaicans, Ghanaians and Nigerians, (the home group from our Baptist church to which our family is host has included people originating from Kenya, China, Nigeria, Jamaica, Switzerland, Guyana, Surrey and Yorkshire.). Anglicans additionally have Pakistanis, Ugandans and Barbadians in their congregations, Moravians are exclusively from Caribbean backgrounds while Catholic churches have concentrations of people from the Catholic Islands of the Caribbean (e.g. Trinidad, Dominica) as well as Francophone Africans Filipinos, Goans and Vietnamese mixed with older established Irish and Polish members. The local United Reformed Church has more limited impact from historic mission ties, yet as a result of outreach and welfare work among refugees has planted new congregations of Iranian and Colombian Christians. In some cases such as these in the URC, and in Anglican and Catholic parishes linguistic groups sometimes meet for worship in their mother tongue

The Black Majority Churches have even more interesting global linkages often reflecting the notorious triangle of the slave trade between Europe, West Africa and the Americas. Individuals and pastors have family, personal and church fellowship links in all three continents and journeys between them are often undertaken. The proliferation of global phone booth shops in East London allow frequent conversations, and the Internet is also used.

Altogether the groups responding to our survey mentioned 142 international links which they felt to be significant (about two thirds of the number of local links reported). Twenty three mentions of missionary societies, individual missionaries or international relief agencies, such as Christian Aid, were made. Thirty two groups mentioned a direct link with some specific Christian group or work in Africa, 11 with some place in Asia, 7 with the Caribbean, 11 with Europe, 3 in Israel and one with Australia. Fifteen had significant linkages with ministries in North America, and one in Latin America. The remainder were unspecific or generic world-wide relationships.

Apart from one Muslim relationship to a group in Pakistan and half a dozen links to Hindu temples in India and Malaysia the majority of the linkages were through and with Christian churches and missions. Anecdotal

evidence suggests other important links for the other world faiths, such as the recruitment of or visits by, imams and pandits from the sub-continent, and local responses to communal crises in South Asia, such as the Kashmir conflict, the storming of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, or the destruction of the mosque at Ayodya, which was followed within a week by an arson attempt on a Hindu Temple in Newham.

Global social capital clearly exists at high levels in the faith communities of Newham. It can be important for information sharing, for tapping into resources such as religious education, ministerial training and overseas funds. It may be a vital resource for social solidarity and identity support as a religious minority, and for individuals who are strangers visiting or settling, or in many cases struggling to be allowed to settle, in a foreign land.

Discussion of religion and social capital in Newham

In East London organised religion is relatively strong and increasingly significant and provides many people with large amounts of support social capital. Christian organisations appear in much greater numbers than other faith groups, despite an approximate parity of numbers of affiliated persons in the population at large. They also appear to have better resources in terms of buildings and paid staff, better networked, and more involved and committed in terms of providing activities and services for the wider community.

This dominance could be explained as a cultural factor in that Christianity as propagated by Western missions and then re-exported back to Britain (with modifications) may have an intrinsic ability to form and support congregational and voluntary organisation forms of life. We might also want to look at the claim that Christianity in its basic theology has a greater emphasis on social involvement and charitable outreach than most of the other major faiths. In modern English Christianity this was summed up in William Temple's (1940) influential dictum that 'the Church is the only organisation that exists for the benefit of those outside its own membership'. Certainly the mission ethos of Christianity, and the sense that Churches have had for a century and a half that the East End is a materially, socially and spiritually needy area also contribute to this culture.

Alternatively we might see the continued Christian dominance as evidence of religious discrimination and an extra layer of social exclusion for the more recently settled communities of the other World Faiths. They were

after all very unlikely, when they settled, to have access to networks who controlled resources such as buildings, finance and local political influence. This was also the case for Black Christians when they arrived in Britain, and the evidence of the racism they faced in church and society is well documented (McRobert 1989). However it might be argued that once this barrier of hostility had been crossed they were then operating within a broad cultural consensus in which Christianity was the established religion and could, to an extent, draw on its social capital and other resources, for example to access buildings and representation through umbrella bodies.

In contrast Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were much more left on their own, and though Muslims might tap into some Middle Eastern networks for financial support they had little by way of social capital (leverage) resources. Indeed they would have perceived British society and politics as hostile to religion in general and to their religions in particular. While the right who were dominant at national level for over 35 of the last 50 years might have some sympathies for white British establishment Christianity, the left who were dominant locally, tended to be rigidly secular in their approach. Either way, the people from these faith communities who were concerned for community development and building institutions for social welfare had only two choices. They might establish themselves as secular voluntary organisations in the hope of receiving public funds and the expectation of delivering services on an equal opportunities basis, or they could confine their work to low key social welfare and mutual help within the boundaries of their own faith communities and religious organisations. Recent Research (NCRE / MPCS 1999) identified numerous examples of both types of groups.

RELIGION AND REGENERATION POLICY

From about 1992 onwards there has been a sea change in Central Government Policy in relation to the role of faith communities in partnership with the state. This change began with the establishment of the Inner Cities Religious Council as a consultative group within the Department of Environment (now DETR) and the development of its role under the New Labour regime. The DETR has issued guidance to local authorities and regeneration partnerships advising how to encourage the participation of faith communities in urban regeneration work (DETR 1997) and has recently through the Christian Shaftesbury Society commissioned research and good practice materials for faith based community development work (in which I have been involved), and through the Church Urban Fund on potential involvement of faith communities in the New Deal for Communities programme. There is much discussion as to how faith groups can be involved in the newly created Regional

Development Agencies.

The work of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) has also touched on faith communities and the Active Community Unit of the Home Office has recently published a consultation paper for the SEU on self help (Home Office 1999). In this it is clearly stated:

Funders should recognise that faith groups may well be the most suitable voluntary and community organisations to deliver general community objectives, and should be prepared to provide sustained financial support for this. learn with and from one another.

Strong community based organisations are a key starting point for any disadvantaged community. In many cases faith groups, of all denominations, will be the strongest around and yet their potential may be overlooked by funders and others engaged in programmes of community development. There can be a tendency not to see beyond the 'faith' label to the community role of these groups. There is also a tendency not to recognise the diversity of faith groups, many of which also have a distinct ethnic and cultural identity.

Faith groups exist in all areas and at different levels across Britain. Many poor communities in particular have seen a rise in the number of residents of different faiths and cultures as the ethnic composition of these areas has changed. Many faith organisations are highly responsive to the needs of local communities and have over time expanded their role to include community action programmes. This is not to say, of course, that faith organisations are invariably able to reach some of the more intractably excluded groups. Some parts of communities are as disaffected from faith communities as they are from mainstream society, and they may be at odds with the ethical and cultural, as well as religious, principles of such communities. But none of this is to minimise the enormous potential contribution which faith organisations can make to community self-help. (Home Office Policy Action Team on Community Self-Help Report September 1999.)

The evidence from our research in East London does suggest that Government policy is broadly congruent with the reality of our region's community life. There certainly are a lot of faith communities in existence, who are in contact with very large numbers of local people, including some sections of the population which are very difficult for mainline agencies to reach and serve. However our findings and research in progress (Shaftesbury/Smith

forthcoming, CUF 1999) would lead to the conclusion that there are many practical barriers to full involvement of religious groups. These include:

- ◆ The reluctance of local Councils to take faith groups seriously. In Newham for example it is only in the last twelve months that the Social Services Department has sought to become aware of faith communities by commissioning some small scale research about the possibilities of religious agencies tendering for contracts for community care. Other departments remain silent, sometimes even embarrassed to deal with the religious sector, with the exception of Planning who occasionally have needed to react to planning applications by mosques, temples or churches, and possibly education who need to consult with faith groups over the syllabus for Religious Education..
- ◆ The sense of exclusion that many faith groups feel from the concerns and power structures of local government and regeneration agencies For example one Sikh leader working with a range of gurdwaras across East London told us,

There is a widespread feeling in the Sikh community that institutional racism and religious discrimination ensure that the policy of statutory authorities places them at a disadvantage in many areas. In particular it tends to ensure that Sikhs as faith communities are excluded from partnership working in regeneration and other fields. There is little recognition of the value of voluntary services carried out by gurdwaras. A community such as the one in Ilford by offering support to elders might be saving the local social services department something in the order of a quarter of a million pounds per year. At the very least this could be used as notional match funding for new partnership ventures, but in general such contributions are ignored.

In regeneration partnerships Sikhs small businesses do not in practice get the support that mainline ones do. We feel that partnership boards and local authorities as fund givers have strict guidelines which Sikh organisations currently find impossible to fulfil. For example the concern of funders for outputs and evaluation measures is totally unknown territory to most Sikh organisations. They are rarely given adequate capacity building help and advice to enable them to “change their kit”. The local networks charged with representing minorities such as the borough CRE’s and the CVS’s find it hard to involve and represent Sikh communities and much consultation feels like a paper exercise.

- ◆ The dominance of mainline long established and well resourced and networked Christian organisations in providing meeting places, activities and services in the local community.
- ◆ The lack of resources, skills and capacity of most of the newer religious groups, the very groups that are best placed to reach socially excluded minorities, to enter into partnership or contract relationships with the state.
- ◆ The mismatch of primary aims between statutory regeneration and social welfare agencies and the faith communities, many of whom are almost exclusively concerned with 'spiritual' agendas or where they are keen to provide welfare services are only familiar with informal and voluntary mechanisms to do so.
- ◆ Problems of equal opportunities in staffing and service delivery, as faith groups are likely to wish to employ only believers, and in practice will tend to discourage or exclude service users who are uncomfortable with their specific faith ethos.
- ◆ The huge difficulties that statutory agencies are likely to encounter as they seek to contact and win trust in faith communities, as they attempt to seek out 'representative' leaders with whom they can do business.

In order to overcome some of these difficulties new long term strategies need to be devised. These will need to include:

1. A major educational and awareness raising programme for the decision makers and officers of statutory agencies, including appreciation of the valuable existing contribution made by religious groups to community life, social capital and preventative approaches to social welfare.
2. Proactive community development and consultation work by staff (or arms length agencies) who are well funded and trained, in networking and outreach. This needs to proceed by 'leg work' and consultation visits to 'home grounds' of faith communities of East London and areas like it.
3. Allocation of substantial resources towards capacity building, mentoring and training for religious organisations who may wish to get involved in partnerships for local regeneration or community care.
4. A lightening up of some of the bureaucratic regulations over such issues as equal opportunities, funding applications and project monitoring which are alienating for many of our local faith communities.
5. Intensive work to build networks and partnerships for the common

good which may bridge some of the chasms that currently exist between competing faiths, and organisations within the different major faith communities.

If these policy steps are taken it may be possible to build effectively on the social capital resources of faith communities in a partnership approach to combating social exclusion. Success would indicate that the theory that socially excluded groups and individuals suffer from a deficit of leverage social capital is valid and that this lack can be remedied by education and a consensus of goodwill. Failure in an honest attempt to implement such policies and practices would show that social exclusion is more deeply structural and intractable, and could result in forcing communities to rely more on their internal stock of support social capital as a way of 'getting by'. But a refusal to make the attempt, despite the urgings of central government policy makers would suggest that Adam Smith and others who like to construct conspiracy theories of social exclusion may in fact be correct.

NOTES

1. Xavier da Sousa Briggs. In a contribution to SOcNET in June 1997 (socnet@nervm.nerdc.ufl.edu) is a discussion list associated with INSNA, the International Network for social Network Analysis, and details of how to subscribe can be found on their web site. <http://www.heinz.cmu.edu/project/INSNA/>.
2. I wish to thank Aston Charities Trust who pay my salary and have allowed me time to carry out this research and writing and colleagues and volunteers at Aston Community Involvement Unit who have contributed to the research programme on which this paper is based, in particular Sagheer Mohammed, Colin Marchant, Geoff Thorington Hassell, Penny Long Marler and a group of her students from Samford University, Birmingham Alabama. Other pieces of research which have contributed to this paper include the contract with Shaftesbury, and the one in which I assisted Mark Patchett (MPCS) carry out work for NCRE. I would also thank Tim Butler and an anonymous referee who read and made comments on an early draft of the paper
3. The third edition of the Newham Directory / Database of Religious Groups and a paper giving detailed statistical breakdowns of the data are available from Aston CIU, Durning Hall, Earlham Grove, London E7 9AB. Please ring Srinder Kalsey on 0208 519 2244 or email her on Srinder.Kalsey@astoncharities.org.uk to check on prices which vary according to the type of purchaser. The Hackney and Tower Hamlets Directories are available from Barnardos CANDL project, 472 Hackney Road, E2 9EG tel. 0207 729 9701 .

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