'Value Added'?

Faith-based Organisations and the delivery of social services to marginalised groups in the UK: a case study of The Salvation Army.

Submitted by Katharine Anne Orchel to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography, June 2016

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Katharine Orchel

Abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which Christian faith ‘adds value’ to the ‘carescape’ and ‘caringscapes’ of statutory hostels for people experiencing homelessness in the United Kingdom. The ways that a distinctively Christian organisational ethos is created and experienced through the material, regulatory and performative dimensions of space, place and subjectivity, are explored through a case study of the Salvation Army’s contemporary statutory accommodation services for single homeless people. Drawing upon Cloke’s notions of ‘theo-ethics’ and Conradson’s concept of ‘therapeutic landscape experience’, the links between spirituality, care and ‘value added’ are examined from the perspective of staff, volunteers and service users. This analysis extends the debate on the potential for faith-based organisations to make a distinctive and valuable contribution to care for people experiencing homelessness, by foregrounding the spiritual and emotional dimensions that texture these organisational landscapes of care. A feminist epistemological approach is taken to illuminate the nuances of care-giving and care-receiving, with particular attention paid to the emotional and spiritual sensitivities underpinning social interactions, and how these dimensions are perceived, narrated and experienced from a variety of perspectives. Using an ethnographic methodology, this study involved the undertaking of 91 semi-structured interviews, a six-week period of participant observation in a specific Salvation Army *Lifehouse*, and attendance at four professional social service and chaplaincy conferences run by the Salvation Army UK. The research findings suggest that Christianity adds value to these institutional spaces of care in a highly nuanced way, dependent on one’s subjectivity. A second observation is that the potential for faith to add value within statutory arenas of care for the homeless is being compromised due to the pressures associated with the incumbent neoliberal contract culture within which Lifehouses are embedded. A third contribution concerns the potential for a faith-based organisation to act as a crucible for the emergence of postsecular rapprochement: it is suggested that an intersectional approach to analysing this socio-spatial process is necessary, due to the strategic role that gender, age, sexuality and race were revealed to play in fostering, or dissipating, the affective relationships that underpinned fragile moments of rapprochement.

Acknowledgements

Many individuals have made this thesis possible....

First, I would like to extend sincere thanks to The Salvation Army UK and Exeter University's Geography department for funding this studentship. Also, thanks to BOMAD for its continued support.

My sincerest gratitude is given to my supervisor, Prof. Paul Cloke, for his long-term support, guidance, encouragement, understanding, responsiveness and patience. I also thank Prof. Nick Gill for his interest and insight at the earlier stages of the writing.

To my PhD champions: Andy Williams, Callum and Terri Sutherland, Kiri Bowman and Jen Hawkins, who have always believed in me and provided guidance and support when necessary. Your steadfast friendship and prayers mean the world to me and have given me strength at the most challenging of times.

Special thanks to the staff and residents of Alpha Lifehouse, who welcomed this research project and shared their lives with me. I would also like to thank all the senior managers at Territorial Headquarters who provided support at the start of this project, especially Majors Ivor Telfer and Julian Watchorn. I also greatly appreciated the contribution of the Lifehouse managers who participated in this study and shared their honest opinions. It was a delight to work with The Salvation Army UK and I hope the findings of this project are thought provoking and useful.

To Debbie, who transcribed hours of audiotape for me – thank you so much!

To colleagues in the Geography department, who were always welcoming and friendly, making those harder office days a little brighter! Especially Sarah, Holly, Jamie, Dom, Rose, Tim, Sue, Kim, Tom, Rich, Keri, Katie, Ley and Becky. If anyone has been missed it is accidental!

To those who read draft copies and provided feedback, especially Colin and Mum.

To Katie Raynor, who provided me with innumerable lifts to campus, and who came house hunting in Glympton when I was arranging my fieldwork. I couldn't have done it without you.

To Rachel, for her support and friendship over the years of sharing a house during the PhD.

Thanks to the Geography CLES team for letting me use their spare office and phone system to conduct my interviews. Special thanks to Helen Pisarska and Kath Buckell for all of their administrative support.

To my friends here in Exeter, who made the transition to somewhere new easy: Charlie, Liz and dear Laura Hamilton RIP. To Lucy Geale and Katie Smith for their genuine friendship and care. To the Walkers and the Osters, and all at City Life Church, who showed love and provided hope, meals and board games when needed.

A special thanks to the University of Exeter's Counselling staff, who provide a vital wellbeing service for students experiencing the highs and lows of postgraduate study. You were there at times of crisis when circumstance left me desperate. I appreciated your support and will champion your cause.

Finally, to my family, who have always believed in me and been an example of compassion and fairness, which shaped the values that led me to take on this research project in the first place. Especially to Dad, Jack Orchel, who gave me a copy of 'Faith in the City' when I was an undergraduate saying, "This might be of importance to you one day." How auspicious!

With love and gratitude, thank you!

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction to the thesis

This thesis addresses the key question of whether FBOs are able to ‘add value’ to services providing care and wellbeing to homeless people. In one important sense, this question was not of my choosing: my PhD studentship arose from collaboration between my Supervisor, Professor Paul Cloke, and members of the central research arm of the Territorial Salvation Army (TSA). This collaboration led to a jointly funded research project with the University of Exeter to explore the regulatory, material and performative aspects of how TSA - as an evangelical Christian organisation - established and ran support services for homeless people, reflecting Paul’s long-term research interests in the practices and ethics underpinning the service provision for the homeless in the United Kingdom. Regarding the particular focus of the study, it was TSA that was particularly fascinated by the question of the specific value that their religious faith brings to such services for homeless individuals, not least because specific claims about the potential for ‘added value’ are helpful in the process of attracting state funding for their activities. The PhD brief was, therefore, a direct result of the melding of an academic interest in exploring the nature and role of FBOs in shaping landscapes of care for individuals who are homeless, with a genuine organisational imperative from TSA to identify and better understand the merits associated with the provision of religious-based care for vulnerable people. Consequently, the scope of the research was imbued with quite different stakeholder interests from the start, with corollary tensions that are not uncommon to projects involving compromise between academic and industry priorities. My role in shaping the direction of the thesis,

therefore, involved a delicate navigation of these differing intents and approaches, whilst inflecting the research with my own academic style and values. Fortunately, and not unsurprisingly, the research question and case study were neatly aligned with my own academic interests, which I had already begun to explore during postgraduate studies, and sought to explore in more depth at doctoral level. These questions regarded the nature of and connection between religious belief, human wellbeing, and the politics of social justice, which were introduced during my Master's degree in Leadership for Sustainable Development, and nurtured during my previous employment at a faith-based international development agency, Tearfund UK. This constellation of themes, which were alluded to in the PhD advert's research brief, was what initially drew my attention to the studentship. Moreover, the "real world" dimensions of the research project - the potential for the research findings to impact on the practical delivery of care for the vulnerable - was also highly appealing. Due to the complementarity between the research brief and my existing personal, professional and academic interests, and a desire to explore the role of emotion in shaping the geographies of faith-based care – a dimension that became a golden thread connecting the disparate elements of the thesis, as a core line enquiry - the PhD slowly grew into a project that became my own.

The novel contribution that this thesis makes is to draw together a set of literatures that have not yet been combined: the geographies of FBOs (with a particular focus on the nascent concept of 'postsecular rapprochement') and the geographies of care and wellbeing (with a particular focus on 'therapeutic landscape experience'). Throughout the thesis I use a feminist analytical lens that foregrounds the significance of marginalised epistemologies, such as

emotion and spiritual sensibilities, which play a seminal role in texturing organisational landscapes. This intellectual trajectory reflects my personal fascination with how gendered geographies of care, emotion and power, are intersected with more nuanced understandings of spirituality and faith. It also allows me to question how these dimensions have the potential to intersect: on the one hand, to create therapeutic landscape experiences that enhance one's sense of personal subjective wellbeing, or, on the contrary, to create landscapes of carelessness, which diminish one's sense of wellbeing. At this very personal, indeed, interpersonal and intrapersonal level, this thesis provides a unique contribution to the literatures on the geographies of FBOs, by examining the value added by a faith-based approach to the provision of care for people experiencing homelessness, emphasising emotions, spirituality, and subjective wellbeing – an analytical cut into the empirical that has yet to be fully exploited.

A secondary line of intellectual enquiry also opened up during my research, which provided a parallel set of research questions regarding postsecularism that I developed post-fieldwork, and which is attended to in empirical chapters of this thesis. This questioning pertains to the social microstructures that underpin the potential for spaces of postsecular rapprochement to emerge within FBOs. As I became drawn into debates around postsecularity, I began to question the ways in which FBOs were open (or not) to subjectivities relating to receptive generosity, postsecular rapprochement and the re-enchantment of neoliberalised welfare wastelands. I also questioned how Christian faith, other faith, and no faith, found common ground within the specific context of care of Salvation Army hostels. This lead on to questions about how a particular brand

of Christian religion is able to “add value’ through participative postsecularity, as well as maintaining a more dogmatic implementation of its own denominational belief-sets and religiously rooted ethics. The thesis thus goes beyond examining just the religious dimensions underpinning the performance of therapeutic landscapes of care for the homeless, to encompass an analytic question of the extent to which individuals with very different worldviews can find sufficient common ground, and deftly navigate points of existential and cultural dissonance, to actively co-create therapeutic landscape experiences.

The broad initial aim of this thesis was, therefore, to examine the nature and role of religious subjectivity and space in shaping landscapes of care and wellbeing, reflected in the primary research question: **How does a faith-basis ‘add value’ to the Lifehouse as a ‘landscape of care’**? The scope of the research was then extended, as new and salient academic material on postsecularity emerged after conducting my fieldwork, to consider the nature of postsecular space and subjectivity, reflected in the secondary research question: **to what extent can a FBO, as illustrated by Alpha Lifehouse, operate as a space for postsecular rapprochement?** In order to address these research questions, I set out three specific objectives:

> **Objective 1:** to identify and describe how faith plays a role in Salvation Army Lifehouses in the United Kingdom, with reference to the following aspects: organisational ethos; service methodology; workplace identities, practices, and performances; religious rituals, objects and interpretations; and ‘senses of place’ and corporate atmospheres.

Objective 2: to understand how the religious dimensions of Lifehouses are performed, interpreted and experienced by those who live and work there, including the perspective of managers, staff, volunteers and residents.

Objective 3: to discern the extent to which Lifehouses are able to operate as a space of postsecular rapprochement, identifying if and how 'crossover narratives' and 'bridging concepts' play a role in this process (in order to better elucidate the mechanisms underpinning postsecular space and subjectivity).

These objectives were approached through an ethnographic methodology and 'landscapes of care' framework that enabled me to experience both the 'micro' and 'macro' elements at play in shaping space, place and subjectivity. With reference to the micro and macro scales of influence that FBOs are embedded within, it is important to anchor the more nuanced dimensions of landscapes of care, religion and wellbeing, within the wider political and social policy contexts ('carescapes') that underpin them. The thesis thus begins with a review of the existing literatures on the nature and role of FBOs that largely emphasise their relationship to neoliberalism (a political-economic reading), and to secularism (a sociological reading). It then considers social and feminist geographies that attend to the giving and receiving of care ('caringscapes'). Here, the focus is on discussing the gendered and spiritual aspects of these landscapes of care, in order to acknowledge the interrelations likely to be found in the context of FBOs. I also develop this context through discussion of the nascent theoretical questions around postsecular rapprochement, in particular, drawing on the

theoretical work of Habermas. In so doing so I provide an in-depth literature review from which key concepts are developed to provide a substantive theoretical framework that guides my fieldwork and critical interpretative analysis.

The research reported in this thesis, then, offers a deep-seated reflection on the role and content of religious belief and practice in shaping and 'adding value' to landscapes of care and wellbeing, and how these landscapes open up a capacity for postsecular rapprochement within the neoliberal welfare landscape of the United Kingdom. This reflection was enabled by and played out through an ethnographic investigation of TSA's state-sponsored hostels called Lifehouses, which provide residential services for individuals and families experiencing homelessness (at the time of the research this comprised of sixty Salvation Army run hostels in the UK, financed through the government's Supporting People programme). The research began with interviews with 36 Lifehouse managers, covering questions on the way religion and spiritualty featured in their hostel in relation to workplace culture, practices and service methodology. I then undertook participant observation as a volunteer in a particular Lifehouse in Southern England, to explore the themes that emerged in the managers' interviews in a practical context. The cumulative ethnographic information that emerged from this research enabled me to piece together how Lifehouses are 'performed' as spaces of care, with a focus on how faith and spirituality surfaced in rituals, regulations and associated paraphernalia, as well as in everyday interactions. This was in response to the empirical research objectives I set out to achieve in the field, which focused upon gaining a broad overview of the ways in which faith manifested and inflected the organisational

landscapes of the Lifehouse, and how these expressions were received and interpreted by those present.

Some previous research has questioned the visibility of 'faith' in FBO services for homeless people. For example, Johnsen (2014) has suggested that, in broad terms, service users are often unaware of the religious and spiritual characteristics of FBOs. However, this thesis takes a different approach by investigating how FBO services become more or less spiritualised by the performative enactment of care, and the added value this creates for the service user. In addressing this question, the thesis breaks new ground and attempts an innovative re-focusing of geographical accounts of FBOs as spaces of therapeutic care and welfare.

Chapter guide

This introductory chapter provides a discussion of the recent literatures on the geographies of faith-based organisations, on which this thesis is built and to which it contributes. I begin by drawing attention to the complexity of the term FBO and raise caution about assuming what it signifies. Drawing upon national reports, I then outline the nature and extent of charitable faith-based welfare activity in the UK, highlighting the key themes contained in the existing geographic scholarship on the matter, paying particular attention to the dubious concept of 'insider/outsider' positioning. The next section analyses the origins of the 'FBO phenomenon' (Beaumont, Cloke and Vranken, 2012) highlighting the various political, socio-cultural and economic contexts that have given rise to an increased public profile for both religious communities and FBOs in the UK. Drilling down into the discursive context that has precipitated this visibility, I

critically evaluate the proposition that FBOs can add value to the delivery of welfare and social care in the United Kingdom, due to 'endogenous qualities'; the discursive construction of FBOs in social policy is explained, and counter arguments to this construction are presented. I then step back to address main theoretical issues prominent in geographical and broader social science scholarship relating to FBOs, which focus on the relationships between the concepts of 'neoliberalism', 'social capital' and 'postsecular rapprochement', before highlighting the gaps in this oeuvre relating to spirituality and wellbeing to inform my study. Finally, I conclude the chapter by restating the research question to which this thesis responds, and draw out the themes of spirituality and wellbeing. These are key empirical avenues I wish to explore in the thesis; they offer a unique insight into the geographies of FBOs, which are critically reviewed in this introductory chapter.

1.1 DEFINING FBOS

> 'FBOs do not all share the same *faith*, are not all oriented by the same *teleos*, they do not speak one *common language,* nor do they exhibit the same *characteristics*' (Pallant, 2012:69, emphasis original)

The term 'FBO' has been defined as 'any organisation that refers directly or indirectly to religion or religious values, and that functions as a welfare provider and/or as a political actor.' (Beaumont, 2008:2020). This is a broad and overarching term that encompasses a range of intensities of expressions of faith relating to the structural, programmatic and cultural aspects of an organisation (Jochum et al, 2007). Various attempts to map-out and construct topologies that capture the nature and extent of the religious faith that resides within an organisation have been made by American and British authors (Jeavons, 2004; Smith and Sosin, 2001; Sider and Unruh, 2004; James, 2003;

Clark, 2008; Johnsen, 2014). These typologies strive to categorise the ways in which faith is 'coupled' to different aspects of an organisation including: origins, affiliation and founding vision; the way the organisation is financed and resourced; governance structures; policies for recruitment and staffing; the content and philosophy of the services provided; working culture and ethos; the organisation's public participation and involvement in wider networks; and its relationship to the State. The most renowned framework of analysis is the meta-typology provided by Sider and Unruh (2004), which amalgamates extant models and suggests six categories a FBO may fall into: faith-permeated; faith-centred; faith-affiliated, faith-background; faith-secular partnership; and secular (a sliding-scale from highly faith-based to devoid of religion). Whilst these labels appear as discrete categories they should be regarded as constructed points on a spectrum of spirituality, as it is inevitable that an organisation will fall into two or more categories depending upon what aspect of the organisation is under analysis (Lambie-Mumford and Jarvis, 2012). Furthermore, although typological analysis can be helpful for getting a broad feel for where an organisation stands in relation to faith, this approach is limited for three important reasons.

The reasons that a typological approach to analysing FBOs should be treated with caution include the following critiques: i) expressions of faith are inflected with the personality, character and values of the individual performing them; moreover, these expressions are performatively modulated in a manner that is contingent upon the contexts of space and time, the complexity of which cannot be fully captured by an abstracted typological framework; ii) ethical decisions are made dynamically and situationally, therefore, they do not follow a predetermined pattern that a 'static' typological approach suggests in relation to

an organisation's ethos; iii) typologies do not account for the affectual, emotional and sensory world of faith, which are vital dimensions to grasp when understanding the lived reality of religious subjectivity and space. Therefore, by using typological analysis to understand where faith resides in a FBO, much of the spatial and temporal textual data of faith is omitted. In light of these shortcomings, classifying a FBO according to a typological framework alone inevitably overlooks of the nuanced expressions of faith that occur on the ground (Cloke et al, 2005; Hackworth, 2010). For this reason, it is imperative that, in any research project engaging with FBOs, the researcher should be prepared to search for the way faith manifests empirically, particular with reference to the spaces, temporalities and subjectivities of the staff under observation within an organisation (Johnsen, 2014). This should involve in-situ and reflective qualitative research that enables the performative, emotional and affective qualities of faith to be captured first-hand. For these reasons, it is apposite to say that the term FBO is too loose and fuzzy to have analytically purchase per se, lest it is nuanced against the specific empirical reality of the organisation that is under investigation.

With this analytical caveat in place, I will now go on to examine the reasons why FBOs have emerged as a topic of interest for geographers in recent years, despite their conceptual ambiguity. I begin with a review of the socio-economic and political contexts that have facilitated this rise of the so-called 'FBO phenomenon' (Beaumont et al, 2012), before critically evaluating the policy discourses that are in circulation regarding the potential for FBOs to make a significant public contribution to the social welfare landscape of the United Kingdom.

1.2 MAPPING THE CONTRIBUTION OF FBOS IN THE UK

The changing nature and role of FBOs in the 'Western' world (USA, Europe, Australia and New Zealand), as providers of welfare and care to the socially excluded and economically marginalised, has become the focus of enquiry for a group of social geographers in the last decade (Beaumont, 2008; Beaumont and Dias 2008; Conradson, 2008; Molendijk et al, 2010; Hackworth, 2010; Beaumont, Cloke and Vranken, 2012; Cloke, Beaumont and Williams, 2013). This work has included an attempt to map-out the nature and extent of FBO contribution to European society through a series of national reports collated under the umbrella scheme known as the EU 7PF FACIT project (2009). The FACIT UK report reveals the myriad arenas that FBOs are contributing to, including: homeless care, youth work, elderly care, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, counselling, debt advice, political lobbying and campaigning, work with those who have no recourse to public funds (NRPF), such as asylum seekers or adult's leaving the care system; and in mainstream and informal education and the criminal justice system, and this list is not exhaustive (for a comprehensive account see Cloke, Williams and Thomas, 2009). When considering the breadth of activity carried out by FBOs in the UK, three types of operational domain can be identified: service provision, campaigning, and capacity building. Whilst some might specialise in one of these domains, performing a niche task or function, others may have a broader remit covering two or more. It is clear that these activities are occurring across a variety of scales, including local, regional, national and international spheres of activity. The scale of a FBO's remit is usually dependent upon the structure, funding and vision of the FBO under examination (Cloke et al, 2009). It is also important to mention that whilst some FBOs may target particular religious populations, such

as Jewish Care, others, such as TSA, have a more inclusive ethos of universal access, assistance and provision (Harris, Hutchinson and Cairns, 2005; Conradson, 2008). Similarly, whereas some are perceived as 'secular' in both operation and mission, others take overtly evangelistic approaches to their organisational methodology and vision, where proselytisation is a key element of their activity (Ebaugh et al, 2003; Sider and Unruh, 2004). The nature and extent of a FBO's religious expression is often directly linked to, and influenced by, its position in relation to statutory funding and the desire to garner political endorsement, which I shall now examine in detail with reference to the 'insider/outsider' debate.

'Insider' and 'Outsider' FBOs

The work of Williams et al (2012) describes how FBOs are frequently framed in relation to the state as either 'insider' or 'outsider' organisations. An 'insider' works within the auspices of the state and may receive funding from national or local governments, or it may be contracted by them to perform a particular welfare service. It is common for FBOs in this position to undergo a process of 'professionalisation', where business processes and operations mimic elements found in the wider public and private sectors. This mimicry is a response to the 'isomorphic pressure' exerted on FBOs from the business environment in which they are embedded (Powell and DiMaggio, 2012; Garland and Darcy, 2009). A good example of an 'insider' organisation would be the Trussell Trust in the UK, which provides emergency food supplies through a voucher system that is endorsed by the government (Lambie-Mumford, 2013). Similarly, TSA UK holds several types of Service Level Agreement, including: contracts for the delivery of state-funded programmes to people who are homeless; status as a 'prime

contractor' for the national Adult Human Trafficking Care and Coordination programme; and a subcontractor for the delivery of the government's Work Programme for the unemployed. As an excellent example of organisational mimicry, TSA has undergone significant professional restructuring in recent years that has enabled the organisation to present itself as 'fit for purpose' and win public service delivery contracts.

On the other hand, FBOs may fall into the category of 'outsider', which refers to an organisation that operates independently and beyond a formal relationship with the state. Such 'outsiders' tend to be more critical of government policy as they have more freedom to vocalise opposing political views, compared to 'insider' organisations that must 'tow the party line' due to their contractual obligations (Cloke et al, 2010). Like 'insider' welfare providers, 'outsiders' do perform services of care, however, these are usually for individuals and NRPF groups. Therefore, 'outsider' FBOs can be seen to undertake work that is 'plugging the gap' in state welfare provision (Darling, 2012). An alternative example of an 'outsider' would be the Christians on the Left network that provides intellectual advice and resources for progressive political reform. Beyond welfare activities, 'outsiders' may also perform critical or adversarial acts such as lobbying and protesting, for example, the SPEAK Network or the Catholic Worker Movement, who play a role that 'insiders' are prevented from playing due to their mainstream public position and dependence on public sector funding.

The binary distinction of insider/outsider is, however, highly questionable. In reality the distinction between the two categories is far blurrier. First, FBOs can

shift position: two good examples of ‘outsider’ FBOs switching loyalties would be the Trussell Trust and Christians against Poverty (CAP). The Trussell Trust has established a state-endorsed network of Food Banks across the nation to provide for individuals and families who are facing ‘food poverty’ (Lambie-Mumford, 2013; Williams et al, 2016), whereas, Christians Against Poverty (CAP) provides counselling services to those in debt and is promoted on government websites (Cloke, Williams and Thomas, 2012). Both FBOs began as small independent organisations, but have now been validated by the government and drawn into a para-state regime for the provision of welfare and support. Second, on a more analytical note, it is important to remember that FBOs are made up of individuals, and an individual’s personal ethics and performance of care may ‘stretch’ the stated political aims and ethos of the organisation for whom they work (Barnes and Prior, 2009) For example, an employee of an ‘insider’ organisation could enact subversive measures that undermine the broader contractual aims or protocol that the organisation is expected to deliver in line with its governmental obligations (Williams et al, 2012). Similarly, there may be ‘outsider’ organisations that are staffed by individuals who have more conservative political values that, on paper, would fail to align with the broader progressive aims of the organisation; yet they choose to volunteer for the ‘outsider’, in spite of this political difference, out of a desire to make a difference. A nuanced and multi-layered approach is required when discerning the political positioning of a FBO, due to the fact that every organisation is an agglomeration of individuals who undoubtedly espouse differing political values and ethics.

It is clear, therefore, from the findings of both the FACIT UK report and other complementary national reports, such as those published by The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (see Jochum et al, 2007; Farnell et al, 2003), that religious actors and FBOs are playing an increasingly present, visible and vocal role in the public sphere, with nuanced positionalities emerging (Beaumont and Dias, 2008). This is typically in the form of 'bottom-up', community-led, grassroots, non-governmental action, as a response to new humanitarian needs as they arise (Bretherton, 2010), or in the form of 'top-down', state-funded arenas where the space for FBOs to act as social service providers has expanded under specific policy manoeuvres (Dinham, et al 2009; Cloke et al, 2012). This emergent 'FBO phenomenon' is drawing theoretical attention from geographers and scholars of contemporary religion, with a caveat that FBO ubiquity must not be seen as 'a return to the Christian philanthropy of former times', but as a recent phenomenon that has distinctive origins in the socio-political and economic context of the 21st century (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013). I now turn to critically appraise the origins of this contemporary FBO Phenomenon in the United Kingdom, as it has been theorised in the geographical and social policy literature, and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of these renditions in order to set up my research questions.

1.3 THE ORIGINS OF THE FBO PHENOMENON

The role of policy in bringing FBOs to the Public Square

In the last two decades there have been significant policy manoeuvres leading to a 'radical recasting of state-society relations' (Kettell, 2012) achieved by a redrawing of the boundary between the 'Third Sector' - or Community and Voluntary Sector ('CVS') - and the national and local governments of the United

Kingdom. As a part of this restructuring, the former Prime Minister, Tony Blair, initiated a series of policies to engage faith communities in an unprecedented way (Dinham, 2008; Dinham and Furbey, 2009). Suggesting that religious groups needed to “play a bigger not a lesser role in the future” and that faith groups had a “critical role to play in meeting individual and community needs” (Blair, 2005), the New Labour government created new platforms and ‘devices’ through which faith communities could partner in delivering the Third Way’s vision for a ‘mixed economy’ of welfare within an expanded sphere of governance (Giddens, 1998; Lambie-Mumford and Jarvis, 2012). This included the creation of various ‘devices’ or ‘arenas’ for FBOs to participate in including: Community Compacts, Local Strategic Partnerships, a Faith Communities Unit in the Home Office, local Faith representatives, and, most controversially, the creation of Faith Schools (Dinham and Lowndes, 2009). Significant monies were released through the ‘Futurebuilders’ and ‘Capacitybuilders’ funds set up to provide the necessary investment in the Third Sector and ‘faith communities’ to enhance their capacity for delivering on this agenda (ibid). These manoeuvres have been theorised by critical geographers as examples of ‘roll out’ neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell 2002; Larner, 2005), where the government extends its control through enrolling the CVS and FBOs in its agenda via ‘technologies of state’ that structure their performance and practice, for example, through the introduction of audits, target setting, and key performance indicators (Ling 2000; Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010). This is deemed a new form of ‘governmentality’ (government-rationality) where new subjectivities are created that self-regulate to maintain the hegemonic power of the state (Foucault, 1991; Legg, 2005). An example, par excellence, would be the striving of TSA UK, who in order to win finances and contracts from the government,

has formalised its internal governance and regulatory processes in order to display an appropriately competent subjectivity and achieve a 'fit for purpose' status, as required by the state. This deft political positioning by TSA has been examined by Conradson (2008) and Garland and Darcy (2009) in relation to its role in providing state-sponsored 'Workfare' employment schemes in New Zealand – a nation that has undergone similar neoliberal reforms to those occurring in the United Kingdom.

This trend of enlisting FBOs into the work of i) welfare delivery and ii) community renewal and regeneration, continues with the Big Society agenda of the current Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition. However, unlike the capacity-building funds released by New Labour, the Coalition government has not provided any significant investment to accompany their agenda. On the contrary, it has stripped back public investment, against the backdrop of austerity, leaving the public and Third Sector strapped for cash in the wake of a diminished and underfunded public sector, and often perplexed at the role it is being asked to assume (Jochum et al, 2007). Despite this divestment and public backlash, Prime Minister Cameron and senior ministers are still issuing a clarion call to the faith sector:

> 'People of faith…are great architects of that new [Big Society] culture' (Cameron, 2010).
>
> 'Tradition, community, family and faith, fill the space between the market and the state - this is the ground where our philosophy is planted.'(Cameron, 2011)
>
> '[FBOs are] integral to creating the Big Society' (Andrew Stunnell, Communities Minister; DCLG, 2010b)
>
> 'This Government wants faiths to play a leading part in the Big Society.…to be part of the solution." (Eric Pickles, 2010a and 2010b)

> "[We will] create policies that will unleash the positive power of faith…[and] help people of faith to do even more to build the Big Society" (Baroness Warsi, 2010),

Such a commissioning has placed demands on an under-funded sector, leaving some FBOs with a lingering ambivalence regarding how they will practically deliver on this agenda, in light of budgetary cuts for social services and increasing social need (McCabe et al, 2016). This reaction from the faith-community deserves more detailed consideration, which is attended to in the following section.

Response to the 'Big Society' from Christian faith communities

The leaders of several Christian groups have shown a mixed response to the aforementioned proclamations from the government regarding the role of faith in social service delivery. Dinham (2008) notes that, following years of waning influence, some denominational leaders have welcomed the Third Way and Big Society agendas as an opportunity for faiths to hold sway in the public sphere once again. For example, Anglican Archbishop, Rowan Williams called the Big Society agenda 'an extraordinary opportunity' for the church to advance a distinctively Christian moral and political agenda, where 'the Christian gospel [will be] motivating a grass-roots politics and activism' (Williams, 2011a). Similarly, the Church of England's Mission and Public Affairs Committee (MPAC) deemed it 'a chance to shift the dominant narrative about the role of religion in public life' (MPAC, 2010; General Synod, 2010). The Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Vincent Nichols, perceived it as 'an opportunity to move away from seeing faith as a problem' towards 'discovering it afresh where a deepened Catholic faith will be expressed through social action in service of the Gospel' (Nichols, 2010). From more Evangelical quarters, such as the Kirby-

Lang Institute, the agenda was seen as a chance for 'Christian renewal' (Chaplin, 2010), envisioning a time in the near future when 'the Biblical values of justice and compassion become, once again, part of the fabric of society' (Evangelical Alliance, 2010a, 2010b). These leaders perceived the Big Society as a chance for a heightened prophetic role for the church in society, an aperture that could usher in a new confessional era with Christians witnessing their faith through serving the poor and providing social action that addresses the 'whole person', with Christians becoming the 'leading advocates for the underprivileged' (The Tablet, 2011). On the other hand, some critics have interpreted this ready welcome of the government's agenda by the major Christian institutions more sceptically; for example, as a 'deft political positioning' adopted by the Church of England due to its dependency of on the State for its political privileges and exclusive national status (Kettell, 2010). This interpretation, however, does not apply when considering the positive reception of the Big Society agenda by the Roman Catholic Church that, unlike the Anglican Church, does not hold a privileged statutory position in the United Kingdom.

In contrast to the examples above, it is important to note that more radical segments of the Church have opposed this policy agenda completely. For example, Simon Barrow of Ekklesia deemed the Big Society little more than a 'rebranding of structural inequality' that forces the poorest to bear the brunt of the recession in spite of them playing no part in its precipitation (Barrow, 2011). Rather than becoming complicit in the Big Society vision, Barrow calls upon FBOs to 'rethink, resist and reframe' the debate about who should be responsible for providing care and support to the most vulnerable in society.

Other critics have pejoratively reduced the Big Society discourse to ‘anaemic rhetoric’ that operates as a ‘convenient mask’ to conceal the ‘same old neoliberal governmental project’ (Kerr et al, 2011). This critique is supported by geographer Jason Hackworth (2010), in his critical analysis of ‘gospel rescue missions’ for the homeless in the USA, following changes in the welfare landscape as a response to the ‘Charitable Choice’ legislation (1996) and the subsequent launch of the Faith-Based Initiative (2001) by President Bush. In his thesis, Hackworth suggests that although FBOs can be perceived to act as the vanguard for neoliberal reforms to social welfare - enabling the deployment of neo-conservative forms of care - it is important to acknowledge that many FBOs exhibited these qualities prior to formal changes to national policy. Furthermore, he suggests that the presence of these more “neoliberally attuned” FBOs that espouse an individualised and spiritualised explanation of the roots of poverty (cf. more systemic causes), have helped to buttress political arguments for the neoliberalisation of public welfare, by demonising collectivist forms of care. In this case, it is suggested that FBOs can act as catalysts for the formation of neoliberal welfare regimes, acting in tandem with governments to reconfigure the national landscape of social care and welfare provision. This account calls for a more critical approach to the role of FBOs in the complex neoliberal welfare landscape.

Whether New Labour or the subsequent Coalition government, have championed faiths and FBOs because of a genuine belief in their innate qualities, and their unique position to deliver more effective public services and care, or whether it is just a smokescreen for implementing swingeing cuts and to deliver the neoliberal vision of a ‘small state’, is a matter of one’s personal

political persuasion and interpretation. It is important, however, to acknowledge the wider contextual factors that *have* directly prompted this renewed visibility of FBOs in the public sphere. Following an analysis of these important contextual factors in the following section, I go on to critically analyse the discursive framing of FBOs in British social policy documents by applying a Foucauldian lens to elucidate the 'rationalities', 'technologies' and 'subjectivities' constructed therein, which have also facilitated this FBO Phenomenon.

Socio-cultural and economic contexts leading to the FBO Phenomenon

The prominence of FBO activity in the United Kingdom may seem somewhat peculiar, considering that the nation is predominantly 'secular', and that an increasing number of people claim to have 'no religion' according to the latest Census: 7.7 million in 2001, increasing to 14.1 million in 2011 (a percentage increase from 10% to 25% of the population in a ten year period). Similarly, statistics on weekly church attendance reveal a haemorrhaging of individuals from congregations in the UK, as pertinently reported by the Religious Affairs correspondent, Jonathan Petre: 'While 1,000 new people are joining a church each week, 2,500 are leaving' (The Telegraph, September 21st, 2006). These contradictory trends beg a significant question: considering their unsustainable numerical decline, what is it about religious institutions, organisations and networks that leads them to contribute (or be invited to contribute), in such a significant and noticeable way, to both formal and informal welfare provision in the UK, in the 21st century? I now outline several responses to this question that have been offered.

First, a clear ‘push’ factor is the desire of the state to curb Islamic extremism following terrorist events that claimed lives in New York on September 11th, 2001, and in the UK on July 7th 2005. This threat has been raised acutely most recently with the murder of British soldier Lee Rigby in May 2013 and threats of radical Islamist agendas are being pushed through in Birmingham primary schools. Such cases have led to closer working between the British government, Muslim communities and the wider public, to monitor, identify, incarcerate or extradite extreme preachers, under the counter-terrorism Preventing Violent Extremism policy of New Labour (Home Office, 2007), and also in alignment with the current ‘Prevent’ strategy (UK Government, 2011). These policies have led to the creation of programmes aimed at vulnerable Muslim youth to ameliorate the opportunity for radicalisation (Gale and O’Toole, 2009), which is considered a consequence of the lack of ‘social capital’ in minority communities.

Second, and linked to the Prevent agenda, is a perception that communities are living increasingly ‘parallel lives’ under the increased flow of immigration to the UK with its fragmentary social impacts (Cantle Report, 2001). Immigration, resulting in the formation of enclave communities, is perceived to provoke volatile feelings amongst the settled ‘white’ population and ignite tensions (ibid). The driver behind ‘ghettoisation’ or ‘balkanisation’ in the UK has, however, shifted as policy discourse has developed: initially positioned as a product of ‘race’ conflict, communal tension is now positioned as a product of ‘faith’ conflict (Dinham, 2009:91). This is wrapped-up with Muslims being positioned as ‘Other’ in both social policy and the broader social imagination – a sentiment redolent of the discursive ‘exoticisation’ of non-whites during the colonial era, who were

deemed as ‘savage’ and in need of ‘civilizing’ along Western European ways (Duncan, 1983). Could this be the ugly head of Orientalism reappearing in the 21st century? (Said, 1978). The discursive shift has led to ‘faith communities’ (particular ethnic minority faiths) being singled-out as targets for governmental intervention, which is why there have been moves towards actively co-working with the leaders of faith groups and FBOs. A good example of this would be the creation of interfaith councils initiated under the Inner Cities Religious Council (ICRC) founded in 1992 (Cheesman and Khanum, 2009), which purportedly exists to ensure that faiths and the government ‘can work together on urban renewal and social exclusion’ (DETR, 2001), duly acknowledging that urban faith communities had previously been excluded from policy conversations on regeneration ‘by default and design’ (Farnell et al, 2003). In reality, however, these councils have often been used as portals for the dissemination of government thinking – for example on matters of security and multicultural citizenship – into ethic minority communities.

Third, several economic factors have played an important role in bringing about the increased visibility of FBOs in the public realm. A significant contextual ‘push’ factor for the current Coalition government was the ‘double dip’ economic recession (2008-2014), inherited from New Labour following the Banking Crisis and the concomitant global financial crash. This pessimistic economic climate was compounded by the accrual of significant national debts due to fighting wars in the Middle East, which led to the most aggressive and pervasive ‘cuts’ to the national welfare budget in history (Kitson, Martin and Tyler, 2011), comprising a dramatic ‘rolling back’ of state provision for the most vulnerable in society (Hamnett, 2013; Brenner & Theodore, 2002). The most unpopular of

welfare reforms included: the removal of Housing Benefit for young people under 25 years old (Shrubsole, 2014); dramatic cuts to the Women's Aid budget leaving the service on the brink of collapse (Laville, 2014); £215-£350m in cuts to the Legal Aid budget (Howard, 2014); and the cutting of the Supporting People housing budget by up to 83% in some boroughs (Butler, 2014). This shortfall in financial support for social service provision for the most vulnerable in society, and the corollary increase in social need, was indicated by an acute increase in incidence of hunger in the UK, with over 900,000 people using the Trussell Trust's food bank in 2013-2014 (Lambie, 2011; Lambie-Mumford, 2013). The gaps left in this denuded welfare state were expected to be plugged by 'active citizens', as laid out in the aforementioned Conservative Party's Big Society vision; and it is well documented that many faith groups in the UK responded positively to this crisis and acted informally to 'plug the gap' left by welfare retrenchment (Beaumont and Cloke, 2012). It is also clear that, as a response to the context, some FBOs started to worked in tandem with the state to provide support, through formal Service Level Agreements, helping to usher in neoliberalised forms of welfare and support (see Williams (2012) for an example of the delivery of welfare-to-work programmes by "Pathways Ltd"). The economic downturn, therefore, prompted FBOs to turn out and act as vehicles of social care, both formally and informally.

In addition to this economic context, it is important to examine the role of political ideology in precipitating this 'shrinkage' of the welfare state during the reign of the New Labour and the Coalition governments. Beyond this inevitable 'push' factor of economic recession, and the consequent need to find alternative means of social support, there is the ideological thrust of neo-conservatism

towards the creation of a small state, initiated by Thatcher, embraced by New Labour, and continued at pace by the Conservatives (Kettell, 2012; Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012). The pressures of this 'lean and mean' economic context dovetail elegantly with the political ideology of the Conservative Party, and have provided the perfect context in which to launch their political vision for the Big Society, characterised by discourses of 'localism', 'empowerment' and 'community responsibility' (Kettell, 2012). The idea that the state should retreat and devolve power has since been driven through the policy process via the Localism Act (2011), and had the recession not occurred at this time, the shift of responsibility from state to civil society might not have occurred so rapidly, however, some have suggested that it is likely to have occurred nevertheless, due to the predisposition of the Conservatives for a small state (Jacobs, 2013). It has been suggested, by opposition Leader Ed Milliband, that this pessimistic economic context provided the perfect conditions for a Conservative-led government to implement a particular ideological vision of neocommunitarianism, as laid-out in the treatise *Red Tory* (Blond, 2010). From this ideological point of view, it could be argued that the national government has been 'pulled' towards FBOs and faith communities as suitable subjects for providing 'services on the cheap', as a form of 'shadow state' (Cloke et al, 2013; Wolch, 1990); earmarked as adept for delivering (and replacing) the social services formerly provided by central government.

In summary, it is clear that the socio-cultural and politico-economic conditions outlined above have precipitated a context in which the national government has been prompted to embrace FBOs as both partners in governance, and as key players in the creation of community regeneration, active citizenship and

localism. These critical contexts included the rise of extremist behaviour that needs cooperation with faith groups to tackle it (Cheesman and Khanum, 2009), the increased ethnic tensions between communities, which has been increasingly cast as a 'faith' issue (Dinham and Lowndes, 2008), and the broader context of economic recession and concomitant imperative to reduce public spending (Hamnett, 2013). There is also the political ideology of conservative neoliberalism that is driving this agenda forward. I now shift my scale of focus to examine the discursive construction of FBOs in social policy, which frames them as repositories of various 'capitals' that can be strategically leveraged for social and political purposes – a form of subjectivisation that can be best understood using the Foucauldian lens of 'governmentality'. I now shift my focus down to analyse the state use of FBOs in a more critical manner.

1.4 FBOS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL - VALUE ADDED?

Government rationales for embracing faiths

Based on the analysis of specific policy documents and political speeches relating to faith communities in the UK from the 1990s onwards, it is clear that discourses have emerged that suggest faith groups and FBOs posses 'value added' qualities (Montemaggi, 2011). Consequently, there has been a sustained governmental move towards engaging faith groups and FBOs in the public realm, in order to strategically take advantage of the endogenous qualities they are perceived to possess. It is evident from these policy documents that religious communities and FBOs are susceptible to being narrated as organisations with integral social, cultural, financial, moral and material 'capital', which positions them as uniquely suitable and desirable partners for the delivery of the twin governmental policy objectives of 'improving public services' and 'community engagement' (Cairns, Harris and Hutchinson

2007). Such policies position FBOs as instrumental to fostering ‘regeneration’, ‘community cohesion’, ‘social inclusion’ and ‘civic renewal’, as vital participants for the creation of ‘sustainable communities’ (CLG, 2008). In the analysis of policy documents such as *Face to Face, Side by Side* (ibid) and *Working Together* (Home Office Faith Communities Unit, 2004), which issue specific guidance to civil servants on how to work with faith groups, there are five clear strands of thinking, or ‘rationalities’, regarding the way the government discursively constructs faith groups and FBOs as embodying the following advantageous qualities: networks of social capital that can to be utilised for public benefit; repositories of financial, material and human resources to be exploited; spatially extensive networks that penetrate the most marginalised groups of society (i.e. acting as ‘gatekeepers’ to ‘hard to reach’ groups); a source of normative values with desirable moral and ethical influence; and experienced practitioners of social care in the community (Farnell et al, 2003). These five perceived endogenous qualities of faith communities and FBOs, as presented in policy papers, sets them up as ideal and ‘uniquely attuned’ delivery agents for achieving the government’s social policy objectives (Williams et al, 2012; Kettell, 2012). There are, however, several mitigating factors that need to be acknowledged regarding the extent to which FBOs actually reflect these idealised subjectivities. Many limitations are evidenced through case studies, which reveal conflicts between the government’s imaginations of FBOs and their empirical reality. Discrepancies in subjectivity are based upon conceptual, resource-based and cultural/normative grounds, which contest the government’s discursive construction of the potential for FBOs to add value to social welfare delivery, which I now explore at a granular level.

Conceptual grounds for contestation

The concept of 'social capital' is a golden thread running through governmental social policy, and explains why FBOs are being 'courted' by the state (Dinham, 2009). The term 'social capital' refers to the networks of trust and reciprocity that exist between individuals and communities, which enable them to function harmoniously (Putnam, 1995). The concept of 'social capital' used in this policy context is drawn from the work of sociologist Robert Putman, who, in his book *Bowling Alone* (1995), charts the decline of American community associations due to the rise of individualism – evidenced by the decreasing membership of community bowling clubs. Putnam's term 'social capital' describes the way individuals are linked by networks of trust and reciprocity, which help them to 'get by' and 'get on' in life. For example, an individual "rich" in 'social capital' has many social connections and is 'tied' into a dense web of social contacts, which provide him/her with access to work, opportunities and promotions ('getting on'). It is this social capital that ultimately provides him/her with access to economic capital (financial security or 'getting by'). The decline of social capital is, therefore, an indicator of, or a proxy for, the growing economic vulnerability of individuals in Western society, as traditional networks of trust and reciprocity weaken, shrink and collapse (Massey, 2005). This is evident in the process of de-institutionalisation that is occurring across the West under the existing regime of advanced capitalist accumulation, reflected in the decline of membership of traditional forms of civic participation including church, trade unions or political parties, and also in the increase of 'risk' and 'insecurity' in society (Beck, 1992). A common belief, or 'scheme of thinking', underpinning this policy positioning of FBOs as essential partners for the delivery of the government's vision of 'strong and prosperous communities' (DCLG, 2008) and

the Big Society, is the belief that faiths represent the 'last vestiges of social capital' in modern society (Cloke, Williams and Thomas, 2009). By identifying FBOs as the lynchpins of social capital creation and extension, they have become central to the government's vision. Although some faith leaders have welcomed this deft positioning of FBOs, and the opportunities created for them through various policy 'devices' and 'platforms', there are, on the other hand, several empirically and theoretically thorny issues regarding social capital, which need acknowledging.

First, on a practical note, it is clear that faith groups do not always demonstrate the 'right type' of social capital desired by policy-makers. Smaller faith communities often demonstrate 'bonding' instead of 'bridging' or 'linking' social capital (Furbey et al, 2006), which serves to reinforce their own community network and fails to extend capital towards "outsiders". A community with strong 'bonding' capital will use its resources and contacts to benefit itself and not the wider community, leading to the reproduction and perpetuation of structural inequality and privilege (Beaumont, 2008). Moreover, if a community is poor in 'linking' capital (ability to cross social and economic divides due to strategic contacts) it is likely to stay 'stuck' in its socio-economic class, preventing 'upward mobility' from occurring. By taking a more nuanced approach to social capital it becomes clear that not all types are desirable, and that some forms, especially exhibited by tight-knit religious communities, may actively exclude and entrench people, thus reproducing asymmetrical socio-economic relations, which actively work against the achievement of the government's more progressive social policy objectives.

Second, on a more ideological note, the term ‘social capital’ has been contested for inappropriately shoehorning the ‘social’ or ‘spiritual’ dimensions of life into an economic paradigm. The term ‘social capital’ operates to normalise the idea of ‘capital’ as lingua franca for all domains of human life: social, human, emotional, spiritual and cultural, which signifies an encroaching ‘economisation’ into domains of life that are not primarily governed by the logic of rational individualism, or the ‘invisible hand’ of the market (Montemaggi, 2010). These domains have alternative rationalities rooted in humanitarian and/or religious values that cannot and, from a feminist perspective, should not, be reduced to the language of economics (Montemaggi, 2011). The prising of religious communities solely for their potential contribution to ‘social capital’ creation can, therefore, be described as a form of pure instrumentalism on behalf of the government. Moreover, due to the government’s naive oversight of the theological trappings and prophetic rationales motivating faith communities to act in the world, it is suggested that there is significant potential for adverse consequences. There is the potential for a ‘clash of cultures’ when faiths operate in the public sphere (Baker, 2009); the ‘encounter of epistemologies’ between secular public reason and theological reason can lead to a fracturing of relationships and break down of trust, due to misunderstanding each other’s needs (ibid). The success of these so-called ‘blurred encounters’ between faiths and policy-makers can be scuppered due to both religious and political ‘illiteracy’ on both sides (Baker and Skinner, 2006), with government showing the willingness to embrace the strategic aspects of FBOs (their resources, networks and moral ambition), but not the theological or spiritual motivations that underpin these. In the worst case scenario, people of faith may suffer ‘burn out’ by aiming to deliver to secularised programmes and objectives (Baker and

Smith, 2010), where they have loosened their theological moorings so much so that they are denuded of any faith-based distinctiveness (Hackworth, 2010).

This tension is examined by Baker and Skinner (2006), who propose the new language of 'religious capital' and 'spiritual capital' as a pragmatic solution to help navigate, or ideally overcome, this tricky cultural issue. By employing these concepts, the relationship between the means and ends of a FBO's work can be made explicit, with 'spiritual capital' referring to the energising spiritual rationale or impulse that prompts one to take social action (akin to Cloke's concept of 'theo-ethics'), and 'religious capital' referring to the material output of this metaphysically-derived energy (i.e. social networks, physical and financial resources, and social action projects). This attempt at brokering a common language has, however, been debunked by critical scholar Montemaggi (2011) for perpetuating the inappropriate metaphor of 'capital' in an attempt for faiths to remain 'policy relevant'. Instead she proposes an abandonment of the 'capitals framework' in favour of a methodology based upon the sociology of George Simmel that captures the ineffable aspects of religion more closely via attention to nonpositivist forms, contents and emotions. This step change in ontology and epistemology is similar to the work of the critical poststructural planner Leonie Sandercock (2006), who calls for the recognition of 'love' and 'secular spirituality' in the public domain, in order to achieve just and sustainable communities. These feminist scholars offer, in different ways, alternative methodologies that are more amenable to the role of the spiritual, and which therefore enable a more welcoming analysis of faith in the public sphere.

Resource-based grounds for contestation

A further critique of the framing of FBOs as appropriate subjectivities for delivering welfare services is related to their capacity. Whilst some FBOs have the practical resources and processes in place to provide high quality social services, many others simply do not. For example, the Church of England and TSA have long histories of providing social welfare to marginalised groups, and meet many of the organisational criteria designated as 'desirable' in policy documents: established leadership, robust and accountable governance structures, extensive geographical reach (local, national and international), access to a network of volunteers and buildings, moreover, financial resources and investments, to draw upon. However, in contrast to the well-resourced, high-profile groups like the Church of England or TSA, take, for example, minority Hindu, Sikh, or Muslim communities, which are typically far more fragmented in terms of governance, leadership and spatial distribution across the UK - predominantly urban enclaves with negligible rural presence (Farnell et al, 2003). The majority membership of these minority religious communities is often non-native to Britain, hence economic migrants or political refugees, and will often face financial and social exclusion. These positionalities may render such communities the focus of policies aimed at tackling social exclusion, not as its delivery agents. Due to their marginalised nature and lack of access to strategic and material resources, they are not well positioned or experienced enough to deliver professional, Service Level Agreements, to tackle exclusion in the wider community (Chapman and Lowndes, 2009). It is clear, therefore, that there is huge divergence between and within faith communities regarding their capacity and capability for effective state partnership in terms of their leadership and governance structures, and financial and material resources. It is not useful

to talk of one ‘faith community’ but communities, with disparate characteristics and capabilities, thus rendering policy discourses that situate ‘faiths’ and FBOs as the ‘bastions of social capital’, somewhat misleading.

Cultural grounds for contestation

Beyond the material, financial and governance-related limitations facing some minority religious communities, there are more controversial cultural barriers that further problematise the role of some FBOs to add value as suitable partners for the delivery of social policy objectives. For example, regarding more conservative religious minorities, there can be significant concerns around the representativeness of their leadershi structures (often male-led with no female authority figures or young people represented), or regarding their limited embrace of human rights (homophobic, sexist) (Gale & O’Toole, 2009), reflecting values that are at odds with the more progressive British social values of liberal humanism (Furbey and Lowndes, 2009). Moreover, such cultural values and practices could contravene the Equalities Act (2010), causing legal problems. Evidently, some religious communities do not embody the right type of ‘subjectivity’ for governmental co-working, as they perpetuate exclusionary practices. Such examples, therefore, question the blanket discursive framing of FBOs within policy documents as subjects that can add value through partnering with the state in the delivery of social policy, as some communities simply fail to meet the requisite criteria.

To summarise, in this critical review of the government’s positioning of FBOs as potential partners for adding value to ‘landscapes of care’, I have drawn attention to the following key points: faith groups and FBOs have been

discursively cast by the state as ideal business partners, ‘fit’ for delivering both professional and community-based social services to vulnerable groups in their localities: purported to be exemplars of ‘community spirit’, bastions of ‘social capital’ and repositories of volunteers and resources, which truly embody the spirit of the Big Society and capable of trailblazing a movement for ‘civic renewal’, which the Coalition is desperate to achieve (Kettell, 2012; Lambie-Mumford and Jarvis, 2012). In practice, this typecasting is limited for the three reasons – conceptual, resource-based and cultural – as outlined above. It is clear that there are many pitfalls in the portrayal of FBOs and faith communities as repositories of resources waiting to be tapped for the public good. In essence, the government’s narratives regarding FBOs are a misinformed and simplified caricature. Such all-encompassing rhetoric essentially homogenises faith groups, underestimating - or just ignoring- their myriad nature, scale and capacity - moreover, overlooking their varied propensities to become active partners in the delivery of social policy. This governmental ‘storying’ of FBOs in this manner lacks criticality and contextual awareness. Where rationales, theologies and capacities diverge so significantly between and within faith groups, it is hard to imagine a public sphere where they can deliver equally. A ‘third way’ where some aspects of faith are welcomed, or some willingly ceded, and a ‘postsecular’ approach to co-working is a possible alternative way forward – a concept explored in depth in the next chapter. In light of this discussion of the socio-cultural context and governmental rationalities that have resulted in a heightened profile of FBOs in the public sphere, I will now examine the way this ‘FBO phenomenon’ has been theorised through critical Geographical scholarship – attending to more nuanced critical, ethical and performative aspects of the care provided, in order to set the scene for this research project.

Figure 1 A summary of the factors triggering the FBO Phenomenon

	Push factor	Pull factor
Government	*i. **Terrorism, multiculturalism** and need to engage with faith communities.* *ii. **Recession/cuts** to public spending; seeking alternative delivery partners.* *iii. **Ideological vision** for a smaller state, or Big Society.*	***Perceived qualities of FBOs**: local knowledge, extensive networks, established governance structures, normative values, volunteers, buildings and money, experience in social care; purveyors of 'social capital'.*
FBO	*i. Increased **social need** following recession and cuts leading to FBO desire to do something practical.* *ii. Shift in **theology** towards faith-praxis*	*i. Offer of **financial resources** to fund new projects and keep old ones afloat.* *ii. **Influence** at policy level* *iii. **Ease of engagement** via creation of new policy 'devices' and discourses.*

1.5 THE RISE OF FBOS: GEOGRAPHICAL REFLECTIONS

The thorny conceptual and empirical issues regarding the 'FBO phenomenon' in the UK have been outlined above. Drawing now upon the work of Cloke, Williams and Beaumont, I will unpack the more theoretically oriented debates concerning the relationship between 'neoliberalism', 'postsecularism' and FBOs, that can be found in the geographical literatures. Similar to the scholarship on 'geographies of homelessness', which is reviewed in the following chapter, the intellectual trajectory regarding the theorisation of the nature and role of FBOs in the public sphere starts with more structuralist accounts (Hackworth), followed by more poststructural or cultural interpretations (Williams), and then to more political and ethical renditions (Cloke). This latter engagement brings out the theological qualities and spiritual landscapes of FBOs as a potential source of added value, which becomes the point of departure for this thesis. I shall now critically review these literatures and draw out key research questions.

Framing FBOs in contemporary western capitalist democracies

The first framing of the FBO Phenomenon in the geographical literatures applies a crude structuralist lens, which positions FBOs in a very weak light (Beaumont and Diaz, 2008) It relies on an oversimplified understanding of neoliberal governmentality that is put to work to frame FBOs as helpless and indefensible agencies drawn into the state's neoliberal project, upon which they are eviscerated of any indigenous character or distinctive ethical basis, devoid of agency and independence to 'speak back' to the State (Yoragson and della Dora, 2009). They are positioned as 'dupes' of a neoliberal state that is seen to be bringing FBOs into line with its rationalities through the deployment of various strategies and technologies that are taken up and unwittingly

reproduced by FBOs - a case of 'institutional isomorphism' (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; 1991). This cynical positioning has been debunked for relying on a reified notion of neoliberalism, as a totalising and top-down force, as if it had its own power to take-over the rationalities and actions of individuals, organisations and their associated spaces (Williams et al, 2012). This rendition is neither theoretically nor empirically sound.

Using poststructural accounts that highlight the agency of staff, volunteers and clients within an organisational context, a second critique is offered that emphasises the agency of individuals, who are cast as having power, autonomy and the ability to 'revise, resist or refuse' the state's rationalities and technologies (Barns and Prior, 2009). Through their front-line performance, staff and volunteers are able to rework neoliberal rationalities by evoking 'alternative philosophies of care' and drawing upon alternative ethical registers, which are played out in the workplace (Williams et al, 2012). This counter-narrative is one that foregrounds the agency of individuals within the organisation, expanding the idea of what a FBO consists of to reflect its nature as a composite of staff, volunteers and service users interacting within a physical environment - an 'organisational assemblage' (Conradson, 2003) that can co-create and reconfigure neoliberal spatial formations, or undermine it from within.

This approach provides a more refined theorisation of the relationship between the higher order concepts of neoliberalism and secularisation, in relation to their interrelated spatial processes. It is suggested that rather than painting this as an outright resistance to neoliberalising processes, the ethical agency of individuals in FBOs can work to co-produce neoliberal forms of space and

place, as well as undermine, resist or mutate them (Williams et al, 2012). This account is used as a critique of extant theories about the nature of neoliberalism and secularisation as unstoppable and tandem forces (Wilson, 2003). It portrays a repositioning of how neoliberalism plays-out in space, revealing that it is enacted through individuals who may, or may not, be of faith, and collectively through the organisation as a site of politics contest. Furthermore, this approach suggests that religion, secularism, and neoliberalism are co-produced forms and should not be theorised in isolation from each other (Hackworth, 2010; Cloke, Thomas and Williams, 2013). Such an account is undergirded by an affective philosophy of power, which is distributed throughout a given context of organisational aims, ethos, contractual requirements and environment, and the interpersonal interactions governed by a variety of habits, norms, expectations, customs and discourses regarding age, class, gender, sexuality, race and religion, which can be reworked and refused (i.e. power is not a zero-sum game) (Butler, 2003; Foucault, 1984). This framing of FBOs is expressed in the geo-philosophical work by Conradson (2003), who presents organisational space as performed, processual and an assemblage of forces, flows, ethics, affects, objects and bodies, clinging together, coming into being, and being (re)produced through space and time, as part of a flexible yet durable ‘actor-network’ (Conradson, 2003; DeLanda, 2006).

Apart from resisting state power from within, there are FBOs that sit outside of contractual frameworks of formal welfare delivery, in antagonism to state policy. The first two accounts focus on contract-bound FBOs who are complicit, to an extent, with government social policy, and theorise their agency; however, there are other FBOs that occupy strategic ‘outsider’ positions within the public

sphere, many embodying a critique of state policy through supporting those who are neglected by the state (e.g. asylum seekers) by directly engaging with the policy process in a an antagonistic way (through mobilising campaigns, protests and lobbying parliament). These FBOs are not co-opted by the state's agenda, but may be resistant and vocal, or just diligently working to support vulnerable people and being present amongst the poor, being a prophetic presence in the public square - or literally in the town square giving out sandwiches and soup to the homeless (Cloke et al, 2013). These examples patently defy the original structuralist account of FBOs, which frames them as being inevitably and coercively co-opted into neoliberal forms of governance.

These accounts provide three frames of interpretation about the nature and role of FBOs in the public realm in western capitalist democracies, revealing the different positionalities they can occupy, foregrounded against broader theoretical debates about their role in the wider processes of neoliberalisation. There are, however, additional critical reflections provided that stretch the analysis further, into more progressive, ethical territory, to which I now turn in order to position my thesis.

Value Added? FBOs as ethically unsound.

Several papers of late have drilled down into the nexus of religious ethics and the provision of care for vulnerable adults. Although each provides valuable insights into the dynamics of faith-based care, I argue that their work does not go far enough into examining the relationship between faith and wellbeing – how faith adds value on an intimate level. In a paper delivered by Williams (2012) on Workfare programmes run by a Christian group, despite it being a

strong conceptual piece of work on this issue of FBOs and neoliberalism, it relies on the narrative of the staff and volunteers employed at one faith-based welfare-to-work service entirely; there is no voice of the service users present. Futhermore, the comments made by the staff regarding their disposition of positive regard towards the clients, springing from their theo-ethics of universality, sociality, acceptance, and a 'life-first' approach, are taken as uncritically positive by the author, and not unpacked for any politico-ethical fall-out. In contrast to this, more critical accounts of FBO services for the marginalised - in particular an account of the *Talking Shop* for asylum seekers (Darling, 2012) and of international child sponsorship (Rabbits, 2012) – it is clear that within the giving-receiving of services, there can be regressive reproductions of hierarchies of power, and the unwitting transmission of cultural norms through the care-giving act. These typically serve to depoliticise, and render less-powerful, the subjectivity of the client that is receiving the advice, care, or assistance. By unpacking the notions of generosity, compassion, and reciprocity, Darling shows how notions of sovereign control are implicit within gestures of Christian care and welcome. He draws attention to the asymmetrical power dynamics that are running through these interactions of 'help', moreover, bringing into question the very 'ethic of care' itself (Beasley and Bacci, 2007), which casts some as 'care-givers' and some 'in need of care' (again, reproducing hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion). This more critical analysis of a FBO reveals how praxes of care are nested within the power-relations of position, property and privilege (Darling, 2012), and the author urges caution to those studying empirical contexts of care for the vulnerable and marginalised, warning against the tendency to uncritically romanticise these acts of compassion and care as wholly benevolent and empowering.

Similarly, in her account of the ethics of a FBO's child-sponsorship programme, Rabbits (2012) shows how socio-cultural norms may structure acts of seemingly benevolent giving, which unintentionally serve to reproduce relations of inequality, in particular, in relation to heteronormative gender-roles. Through the act of child-sponsorship, which is predominantly taken-up by women, participants recounted achieving some level of redress for their failings in motherhood, and were enabled to fulfil their role as a maternal care-giver through their sponsorship – enabling them perform their heteronormative role and thus fulfil a psychological and emotional need. This account draws attention to the norms around gender and care that are re-produced in acts of giving. On the other hand, this account unfortunately fails to make a critical link with questions regarding the feminisation of charitable participation, or with the intersectional nature of faith, care and giving; broaching these aspects would help to produce a more critical account of the power dynamics and discourses structuring the activities of FBOs, and the more subtle ways they add value.

A further critique of the progressive role that religion plays has been presented in the work of Garmany (2010) in his analysis of the role of FBOs in Brazilian favelas. Using a framework of Foucauldian governmentality, the author shows how religious institutions and beliefs act to govern bodies and populations through the articulation of powerful discourses, under modes of 'pastoral power', which function to monitor, regulate and discipline the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault, 1984). Taking this approach one can begin to question the function that FBOs may play in the maintenance of hegemonic regimes of power, their complicit work acting to regulate and produce 'docile bodies' and instil norms that reproduce particular state-approved subjectivities. There are

two caveats to this framework, however, which require address. First, it must be remembered that governmentality is not a totalising power, and ‘slippage’ may occur as actors choose deviant subjectivities that defy the state’s norms. Second, we must not conflate religious and state governmentality, which can act in tandem but have also been at odds over different times and contexts (e.g. the account of Workfare by Williams, 2012). This framework does not leave space for the ethical, as it assumes political, ethical and spiritual are co-terminus and subsumed under the power that is ‘governmentality’ (Garmany, 2010) all coalescing as forms of power that regulate and transmit normalising impulses.

From these three papers it is clear that there is an urgent need to further disaggregate the internal machinations of FBOs in order to come up with a more refined theory of how such entities ‘add value’. It is vital to map the discourses of faith contained within them, against the subjectivities being re-created by, and in turn recreating, these FBO space-times, and to pay closer attention to the spiritual and therapeutic landscapes underpinning them, important dimensions that are overlooked in these accounts. Similarly, there is a need to foreground the voice of the service users, who are absent in the case of Williams and Rabbits. These ethical and conceptual issues are explored in greater depth throughout the next chapter, which reviews the literatures on homelessness, postsecularism and the geographies of care and caring, as the conceptual framework for my thesis.

Chapter conclusion

This introductory chapter has reviewed the various ways the geographies of FBOs have been approached to date, revealing that there is a clear need to pay more attention to two dimensions. First, there is a need to pay attention to the subtler dimension of spirituality, or 'spiritual landscapes', existing within, and co-creating, the landscapes of care that result from FBO activity, which has been largely overlooked in the exiting studies. There is also particular scope to examine the ways in which faith and spiritually play a role in creating the *therapeutic* dimensions of these spaces of care, regarding how the care that one receives is 'spiritualised' by the performance of carers, and the impact that this performance has on the subjective wellbeing of recipients of care within the context. Second, there is a need to pay more attention to the viewpoint of service users as key participants in the co-creation of these dynamic landscapes of care. Their perspective offers an often overlooked, but nevertheless important, empirical narrative on the nature of faith-based care. This thesis, therefore, contributes to the existing literature that interrogates the 'value added' by FBOs to the provision of care for marginalised groups, providing a case study that will focus upon the emotional geographies of faith-based care for people experiencing homelessness, and by paying specific attention to the connections between the spiritual and therapeutic dimensions of their experience.

The theoretical framework used to explore these elements is outlined in the following chapter, focusing upon the ways in which the geography of homelessness has been approached to date, before introducing the specific

concepts of ‘postsecular rapprochement’ and ‘therapeutic landscape experiences’, which guide my approach to the research.

To recap, the broad aim of this thesis is to examine the role of religious space and subjectivity in shaping landscapes of care and wellbeing, and the research addresses the key empirical question: ***how does a faith-basis ‘add value’ to the Lifehouse as a ‘landscape of care’?*** This work dovetails with current geographical literatures that seek to unpack the distinctive contribution of FBOs to the welfare landscape, and offers a new perspective by investigating the spiritual and therapeutic landscapes of FBOs, from the perspective of staff, volunteers and, most importantly, service users.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Introduction

This chapter is composed of three distinctive literature reviews that set the theoretical context for my thesis. Part I reviews the geographical literatures on homelessness (2.1); Part II reviews the literatures on 'postsecular rapprochement' (2.2); and Part III reviews the geography of care and caring (2.3). At the end of the chapter a conclusion is provided that articulates the key research questions that this thesis seeks to address in light of the literatures reviewed (2.4).

2.1 GEOGRAPHIES OF HOMELESSNESS

Introduction

This section focuses upon the variety of scholarship that has emerged within human geography regarding the subject of homelessness in the USA, UK and Europe, following the homeless crisis of the 1980s and 1990s. It begins by charting the progress of these literatures from their origins in neomarxist approaches to homelessness, which focuses upon structural policy determinants of the spaces and subjects of homelessness, providing a reified and highly pessimistic account of neoliberal 'urban poverty management' (DeVerteuil et al, 2009). The section will then go on to examine the most recent 'corrective' literatures on homelessness that use a critical poststructural and postsecular lens to bring to life the agency of homeless people in creating their own spaces and subjectivities in urban environments (Cloke, May and Johnsen 2008; Cloke et al 2010; Lancione, 2014). These literatures also reveal, through an examination of the performances and practices of those who care for the

homeless, that spaces of care and compassion may also double-up as sites of resistance to the vagaries of neoliberalism (May and Cloke, 2014; Williams et al, 2012). These critical accounts provide a timely and welcome alternative reading of the 'homeless city' that contrasts with the founding neomarxist accounts. By drawing upon poststructural themes and broadening their focus to include spaces of care beyond the street-level – to consider the nature and role of soup runs, hostels and day centres – these renditions bring to the fore an alternative 'grammar' of homelessness that is more lively and 'peopled', foregrounding the views of the clients, volunteers and staff that inhabit these spaces. A critique of these newer theoretical and empirical postsecular literatures is then presented.

The canonical literatures – Marxist accounts of homelessness

The canonical literatures that have laid the foundation for scholarship on the Geography of Homelessness initially focused upon policies of 'urban poverty management,' implemented under the neoliberal governments of the USA and UK in response to the rise in urban homelessness over the 1980s-2000s (May and Cloke, 2014). Keynote studies such as *City of Quartz* (Davis, 1990) and *The New Urban Frontier* (Smith, 1996a) explore what has been termed the 'punitive' or 'revanchist' tendencies of urban social policy (DeVerteuil, 2011). These accounts take as their spatial focus the street spaces of American cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York City, and, as their guiding logic, the framework, or lens, of 'social control' (Cloke et al, 2011). The logic of social control undergirding these contributions suggest that policies and by-laws for urban poverty management function to contain, control and regulate - in effect to 'sweep up' - the urban poor off the streets, placing them in designated

spaces, such as ‘Fortress LA’, ‘skid row’ and homeless hostels that are out of public view (Davis, 1990). As a corollary, such marginalising actions work to deny the homeless subject of the basic citizenship rights to inhabit, traverse and enjoy urban space, and to be free from the fear of ‘criminalisation’ - a right every American and British citizen is entitled to (ibid; Smith, 2001). Doing discursive work that dehumanises people that are homeless, casting them as abject bodies, such punitive policies are posited as evidence for the re-casting of notions of urban citizenship, and for the creation of what Mitchell calls the ‘post-justice’ city under late neoliberal capitalism (Mitchell, 1997; 1998a; 1998b; 2001). An excellent contemporary example from England to illustrate the point would be that of the *City of London Corporation*, which has implemented strategies to ban ‘unsightly’ soup runs and invited the local police force to ‘wet down’ (spray with water using a hose) doorways and alleyways at night-time, where the homeless are known to gather to sleep (Conway, 2009). In order to prevent bedding-down for the night such tactics move rough sleepers on to the adjacent boroughs and deny the homeless citizen the chance of a night’s rest – a basic human right and essential ingredient for maintaining emotional and mental stability (Johnsen and Fitzpatrick, 2007). Policies such as these, according to this revanchist framing, have functioned practically to ‘erase’ or ‘annihilate’ the abject homeless body from 'prime’ urban city space, which is, by doing so, made the preserve of cosmopolitan, gentrifying, urban elites (Mitchell, 2001). Largely written by neomarxist geographers, these revanchist framings of urban homelessness have been focused upon the reorganisation of space, place and subjectivities in the context of advanced capitalist political economy, which has brought a helpful insight to logics of neoliberal capitalism. However, although these accounts are useful in drawing attention to the regressive

political policies at work in the city, which are undoubtedly evidenced through case studies and policy documents, the revanchist thesis is limited for three reasons – *theoretical, empirical* and *political* - which are apparent from a critical reading of the literatures on homelessness.

First, the concept of 'revanchism' provides a generic and non-specific account, creating a blanket-story of neoliberalism that does not take account of the contextual specifics of place (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). This 'strong' rendition of neoliberalism does not account for the nuances of 'roll-out neoliberalism' that expose how neoliberal policy is tactically enacted through subjectivities, spaces and policies in a varied and co-constituted manner (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Williams, Cloke and Thomas, 2012). It is evident, upon closer inspection of homelessness services within and across different countries, that there is geographic variability to the nature and extent of the kinds of people who become homeless and the services and provision made available to them. These variegations are dependent upon local, regional and national differences in economic context, political and legal frameworks, and upon one's personal circumstances and access to resources (Cloke, Johnsen and May, 2007; Cloke et al, 2011). The revanchist thesis is posing as a universal story, despite the embedding of homelessness in personal biographies and situated political and economic geographies, and is, therefore, a misleading account.

Second, punitive accounts of homelessness overlook the spaces of care and compassion in the homeless city, which are frequently characterised by 'love for the poor' (Lancione, 2013). This term refers to the affective and ethical impulses guiding the actions of many staff and volunteers in places such as soup runs,

day centres and hostels for the urban homeless (Cloke, Johnsen and May, 2005). By drawing attention to the 'theo-ethics' that underpin these acts of 'love for the poor' and conceptualising them as manifestations of 'ethical citizenship' and 'spaces of postsecular rapprochements' (Cloke et al, 2011), an alternative reading of the geographies of homelessness is provided. Attention to the spaces of care and compassion for individuals experiencing homelessness is then critically reflected upon later in the chapter (Section 2.2).

On a similar note, the rendering of the system of 'urban poverty management' as wholly punitive ignores any progressive or good intentions that have underpinned social policy designed to tackle homeless over the last 10-15 years. For example, see Murphy's analysis of the 'post-revanchist' turn in San Francisco (Murphy, 2009), and in Britain, it is noted by Cloke et al (2010) that under the New Labour administration £300 million was set aside by central government to provide strategic support to single homeless people via the *Rough Sleepers Initiative* in England and Wales (1997-2005), and £200 million in the *No One Left Out* campaign (2008-2012). Admittedly, such initiatives have been criticised for being short-term 'sticking plasters' for the symptoms of homelessness without tackling its root causes – social deprivation, stagnant local labour markets and inaccessible housing markets. Nevertheless, it would be remiss to ignore that these are significant monies that have been allocated to support homeless individuals in an unprecedented way; these actions cannot be framed as a punitive measure, rather as acts of strategic support fuelled by a sense of social justice and compassion.

Third, on a more conceptual note, a critique offered by Lancione (2013) highlights how the revanchist literatures on homelessness frame the homeless subject in a manner that is problematic on two epistemological levels. First, canonical definitions of the homeless person - such as “tramp”, “vagabond”, “down-and-out” - serve a priori to discursively foreclose analysis and deconstruction of the homeless subject, and hence lead to the reproduction of pejorative and depoliticising categorisations and framings of ‘the homeless’ subject. This leaves little room for manoevure and change, helping to maintain hegemonic views of “the homeless” that are largely negative and stigmatising (see also Takahashi (1996) on the discursive construction of the homeless subject in cultural space). These labels are “sticky” and persist in the social imagination, often leading to the reproduction of a non-emancipatory ‘politics of homelessness’, which is sedimented in taken-for-granted and inaccurate discursive constructs of what it means for someone to be homeless (Gunn et al, 2013). Second - and closely related to the previous point - policy makers often read academic texts and translate research findings into social policy that has real social impact. In the worst-case scenario, clumsily deployed categories such as ‘the homeless’ may be transposed into social policy, culminating in the erasure of the subjectivity of the person who is experiencing homelessness altogether. It is, therefore, essential that scholars of homelessness consider the language they use, and examine the potential downstream consequences that their lexicon may effect, in order to protect the participants of their research from any harm.

To summaries the argument so far, these three critiques provide the basis for the key arguments laid out by the postsecular scholars of homelessness in their

attempts to critique and nuance the simplified accounts contained in the revanchist narrative. Such bleak founding accounts paint a highly dystopic view of urban social policy through applying a 'strong' reading of neoliberalism (Merrifield, 2000), which leaves little space for hope, or for voices of dissent, and is bereft of suggestions for creating a resistance movement or an emancipatory politics of homelessness (Johnsen and Fitzpatrick, 2010; Cloke and Beaumont, 2013). It is, therefore, important to recognise that revanchist accounts function primarily as an ideological critique of neoliberalism, using the subject of homelessness as a pawn to make a Marxist political point. They do this well, however, in doing so, they ironically function to erase the person who is experiencing homelessness from the discourse entirely, effectively erasing the homeless person from view twice-over, in these reified, structural, overly deterministic accounts. These accounts obscure the myriad of voices, subjects and spaces that make up the homeless landscape – thus they are limited in their usefulness for providing an academic analysis of homelessness, and for providing accurate insights for policy-making (Lancione, 2014). The way in which cultural scholars have responded to these reified ideological accounts has been to explore the more nuanced spaces of homelessness, referred to as the 'messy middle ground' by May and Cloke (2014), which I unpack next.

The poststructuralist turn - relational accounts of homelessness

A welcome corrective to this dominant punitive 'grammar' of homelessness deploys poststructural approaches to place the agency of homeless people as central to the construction of the 'homeless city', as 'tactical authors of their own lives' (Cloke et al, 2008). These 'alternative cartographies of homelessness' (Edgar & Doherty, 2001) are somewhat redolent of the postcolonial scholarship

that highlights the 'weapons of the weak' used by African slaves on American plantations to undermine the codes and laws placed upon them by their oppressors, where everyday tactics, strategies, resistances are placed as central to the accounts of the lives of the oppressed (Scott, 1985). The agency of those who are less powerful, in this case the urban homeless in the United Kingdom (Cloke et al, 2010) and Italy (Lancione, 2011), is revealed through innovative hands-on research methodologies such as autoethnography, photo-diary storytelling, semi-structured interviewing and participant observation, both on the streets and in spaces of homeless care, to remap the homeless city in a participatory and empowering manner (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2008). These studies have provided a more productive and empowering account - a rebalancing of perspectives - where the voices and emotions of those who inhabit the spaces of homeless care, containment and coordination, can be heard and understood via the crafting of new maps of the homeless city. Such accounts, reflecting the Humanistic tradition in geography, provide a "peopling" of the stories of homelessness, enabling an emancipatory 'reading for difference' in the empirical contexts of care (Gibson-Graham, 2006; May & Cloke, 2014), and revealing a human face in the geographies of homelessness that is lacking from the revanchist literature. Consequently, as voices are given space, new themes and opinions about the nature of being homeless emerge, which can incisively and productively 'speak back' to the policy discourses regarding the treatment of individuals who are homeless.

Similarly, in a process he terms becoming a 'critical assemblage thinker', Lancione takes, as his primary focus, a deconstruction of the definitional concept of 'homelessness' itself, drawing on actor-network theory to position his

account (Lancione, 2014). As a solution to the somewhat conservative and harmful approach provided by a revanchist analysis of homelessness, Lancione suggests that a shift from the *what* of homelessness (its legal causes and solutions), to the *how* of homelessness (getting back to the 'raw core of the matter') is necessary (ibid). This aim, he argues, can only be achieved by examining the experience of homelessness and homeless subjectivity in a relational way (Lancione, 2013). Three lenses are offered in his account to construct an 'assemblage' reading of the homeless city involving *objects, codes* and *poetry* or 'poesis'. Objects signify the actor-network approach, codes signify a Foucauldian approach, and poesis signifies a non-representational approach. When all tied together, these three dimensions co-produce what he terms a 'relational' or 'more-than-human' account of homelessness. This 'assemblage approach' provides an immediacy and humaneness to the account of homelessness that is also found in Cloke's work, which similarly seeks to map, under the inspiration of scholars of affect:

> 'The intermesh between flesh and stone, human and non-humans, fixtures and flows, emotions and practices.' (Amin and Thrift, 2002)

These affective and more-than-human accounts serve to soften and animate the totalising and despondent accounts of the revanchist homeless city, ultimately debunking the myth of the unstoppable neoliberalisation of urban space. Moreover, this framing opens up space for the discussion of ethics and emergent spaces of hope, and their political potential, through drawing upon the 'landscapes of care' literature, which is concerned with both the structural and performative dimensions of the giving and receiving of care (Milligan and Wiles, 2010). In addition to the institutional and affective dimensions of care, the accounts of both Cloke and Lancione also draw attention to the religious nature

of the providers of welfare and care for individuals who are homeless. Their works bring in to view the ubiquity of religious providers in the homeless city, particularly churches and FBOs like the Salvation Army, who have a long history of running soup kitchens, drop-in centres, night shelters and longer-term programmes of support and accommodation for homeless individuals (May and Cloke, 2014). It is the explicit connection between religion and the homeless city that has become a particular point of interest in the work of May and Cloke (2014), Johnsen (2014) and Lancione (2013); a relationship that is the focus of this thesis. It is important, therefore, to examine the way that religious belief, identity and practice have been conceptualised and applied within the extant literatures on the geographies of homelessness to date, as a vital start-point for my thesis.

Placing religion in the homeless city – ethical accounts of homelessness

There are key studies in human geography which explore the nature and role of faith in the homeless city including Cloke et al's book *Swept Up Lives* (2010) Johnsen's paper '*Where's the Faith in FBOs?*' (2014), and Lancione's thesis, *Entanglements of Faith* (2014). These accounts draw attention to and focus upon the predominantly Christian faith-based providers of care for the homeless in the UK (Cloke, Johnsen, May) and Italy (Lancione), and begin to explore what significance Christianity has in these contexts. It is the study of the nature and role of religious identities, ethics and practices present in the context of the homeless city, which these individuals' studies focus upon, and to which my thesis contributes.

In Sarah Johnsen's account, a high-level ethical or political discussion is eschewed in favour of a more pithy empirical account, which focuses broadly and immediately on how the role of faith in homeless services is perceived by staff and service users (Johnsen, 2014). In her qualitative study of 25 homeless organisations located in London and Manchester, she explores how faith is expressed and experienced by both staff and service users 'on the ground' in the context of faith-based homeless services. The extent of 'distinctiveness' or 'uniqueness' of FBOs in the homeless city is the key line of her enquiry premised upon three questions regarding: 1) the discernment of identifiable differences in structure/ethos/practices of faith-based and secular organisations; 2) the extent to which service users notice the difference; and 3) the extent to which service users care about this difference (i.e. do they feel better served, or do they prefer one type over another?). Drawing upon typologies of FBOs that explore how faith may influence various aspects of an organisation to guide her investigation, Johnsen summarises the opinions of service users, managers, volunteers and homeless policy officials regarding the difference the faith aspect is perceived to make to homeless services in their city. In her conclusions she makes the following important observation: that the nature of the term 'FBO' is highly problematic and somewhat disingenuous due to its oversimplified nature. She suggests it is a misleading and 'ambiguous' concept due to the 'complex' and 'fluid' natures, affiliations, expressions and practices of 'faith' within the organisational contexts assessed.

This corroborates earlier work on the nuanced nature of organisational ethos and identity by Cloke, Johnsen and May (2005), which interrogates the extent and depth to which the Christian ethos of an organisation can be grasped

through a discursive analysis of mission statements. In this study it is concluded that a FBO's proclaimed religious identity does not necessarily reflect anything specifically "Christian" on the ground in the hostel. Instead the authors urge us to look for traces of faith in the performances of care found in the interactions between staff and service user in situ, and draw conclusions from the empirics therein, rather than to take at face value the ethos proclaimed in a mission statement.

To enrich this proposition, drawing upon theoretical work by Coles (1997) on the 'politics of generosity', Cloke et al (2005) reveal how the main ethical 'fault lines' demarcating religious from non-religious organisations do not fall along lines of pertaining to a brand category of 'Christian caritas', 'secular humanism', or 'postsecular charity', but that it depends upon the level of 'interventionism' present. This interventionism refers to the extent to which a service user is required to be complicit in behavioural change in order to access the services on offer (Cloke, Johnsen and May, 2005). This exploration of the ethics of interventionism is then linked back to the type of positionalities or roles FBOs may take on the homeless city – formal/insider or informal/outsider – and how these broader alliances within the neoliberal city influence the level of intervention they are expected to enforce. Johnsen's work corroborates Cloke's original thesis confirming that the key differentiating factor for homeless organisations is not to be found in their level of religious adherence – by name or affiliation – but in the level of strategic interventionism applied in their practice (Cloke et al, 2005; Johnsen, 2014). This refers to the extent to which a service user is expected to change their behaviour in order to receive support

and is informed by the work of Walters (1992) and also referenced in an earlier publication by Johnsen *et al*:

> 'Rooted in Christian philanthropy, the first of these [approaches to care] aims to provide a noninterventionist place of acceptance where service users may just 'be'. Service provision in centres employing the second approach is conditional upon the expression of a desire for rehabilitation and change. The third approach is one of empowerment — where resources and advice to facilitate the transition toward mainstream society is provided, but where service users are free to choose their level of engagement with these services.' (2005:797)

The main distinguishing characteristic of a FBO, according to the existing studies, is whether or not its service methodology is based upon 'noninterventionist', 'conditional' or 'empowerment' principles. In light of this conclusion, to approach the varied expression and experience of 'faith' dimensions within the context of services of homeless individuals, Johnsen warns that adherence to the binary view of a secular/religious divide will only perpetuate a 'false dichotomy', which in reality is found to be a lot more nuanced and 'slippery', as conveyed in her reflection:

> '…. homeless services and other welfare settings reflect the broader society in which they operate, which in the UK is neither totally secular not totally religious, but, complexly, both.' (Johnsen, 2014:227)

Johnsen notes that service users often found it difficult to distinguish between which services were classified as 'faith-based' and which were 'secular'. In this 'complexly, both' postsecular scene, the neat boundaries that separate the idea of faith-based from secular services are ruptured and blurred – a reality that is referred to as 'the messy middle ground' of FBOs by May and Cloke (2014).

Despite the elucidating empirical insights provided by Johnsen's account regarding the - oft-imperceptible - expressions of religious faith in homeless services, the study is devoid of rich ethnographic material that would convey a sense of the qualitative difference faith makes. It also affords little space for the voice of service users to be heard, which could further substantiate and enrich the account. Furthermore, although a nuanced account of the diversity and complexity of the term 'FBO' is evident, the reader is left with little sense of what concrete implications this has for homeless policy, the religious sector, or for the clients who uses these services. On a more conceptual note, the term 'faith' that is used in this account is presented as axiomatic with a clear absence of theological or doctrinal qualification; neither were the interviewees' religious dispositions or worldviews identified, nor to which type of homeless service they belonged. These specifics need to be explored in order to provide a more analytical and conceptual depth to the study. It would have been interesting to see the data processed further to see if any links existed between denomination, service provider, level of programme intervention, and service user experience of religious care. The conclusions were, therefore, theoretically weak compared to other accounts, acting more as a signpost to future areas of exploration on the topic of faith-based care for the homeless. However, despite these shortcomings, there were clear findings emerging in her study that warrant attention, including the following four observations:

1. A trend of progressive 'decoupling' from religious background/heritage as FBOs 'professionalise' their services;

2. Slippage in the 'public face' of the FBO regarding the level of religiosity revealed to the public audience, particularly in context of gaining funds from public sector organisations;

3. Client difficulty in being able to identify the 'religious' elements of organisations (highlighting the highly nuanced and situated nature of both expressing, de-coding and interpreting what constitutes 'faith-based' care);

4. Conceptual difficulty in labelling an organisation as 'faith-based' or not, as this categorisation fails to convey the nuanced expressions of faith, secularism and agnosticism co-existing residing within.

My thesis aims to expand upon and test this these conclusions, through a case study of one of the best-loved charities in the United Kingdom. By examining a FBO 'on the ground' using ethnographic methods to get close to the nuanced reality of the religious dimensions shaping the organisational space of TSA hostels, the issues of professionalisation, the performance of faith and faithful subjectivity, and the relationships between people of religious, other or no specific religious beliefs, will be examined. Furthermore, I will seek out the opinions and experiences of those who have lacked prominence in the extant accounts – the voice of service users and of people of other/no religious belief. In doing so, I will present a more inclusive and analytical account of the nature of FBOs, and also be able to shed new light on the 'blurred encounters' they consist of (Baker and Skinner, 2006). This focus will also enable me to empirically inform the somewhat unsubstantiated theories on the phenomenon

of 'postsecular rapprochement' - a more recent strand of critical and ethical enquiry into FBOs that concerns the 'messy middle ground' of providing care and support for the homeless.

'Messy middle ground'

In light of the diversity and ambiguity surrounding the ethos and praxis of FBOs explored by Johnsen, in their review of the 'messy middle ground' of homeless services, May and Cloke (2014) focus specifically upon the significance of religion, asking the pertinent question:

> '...how should we read the grammars of religion that are such an obvious, but so rarely considered, part of the analytical narratives of homelessness?' (pp.11).

This is posed in a context where the 'suspicion of religion is rife' within social sciences, and there is a need for the 'critical scrutiny' of religious activity in a fair and unprejudiced manner, without jettisoning matters of faith or religion as 'conservative', oppressive or anachronistic to contemporary 21st century society (ibid). These authors suggest that religious disposition and action can be progressive and provide three recommendations for framing faith as a 'hopeful' force on three accounts. First, it is noted that not all religious activity is a form of egoism or 'moral selving', but that it can reflect a desire to do good for humanity and provide care for the 'other' in an impartial way, prompting empowerment. Second, in light of this empowerment, it is suggested that faith motivation be approached through a lens of postsecular charity, not conventional charity (Coles, 1997). Third, it is suggested there is an analytical imperative to seek out 'crossover narratives' between faith-based and secular groups in order to analyse the empirical nature of spaces of postsecular

rapprochement, where ethical alliances between people that are of religious, alternative or no existential belief work together to achieve a common aim. This last suggestion focuses on the role of motivation and ethics, which has been examined in detail by Cloke, Johnsen and May (2007), who explore the motivational role of faith in drawing volunteers to work with the homeless. In their paper the authors propose the concept of 'ethical citizenship' - opposed to 'political' citizenship - as the best means of conveying the nature of the work done by volunteers in informal contexts of support for homeless individuals. This suggestion counters the view portrayed in more cynical studies that interpret the desire to work with the homeless as a form of egotistical 'moral selving' - where the volunteer acts in order to improve their moral self-image, rather than out of genuine compassion or feeling of care for the 'other' (Allahyari, 2000). This account also provides a corrective to the view that religious volunteers engage in homeless work primarily for the sole means of proselytising - a cynical view that does a disservice to those volunteers for whom the driving force behind their acts of care is a genuine and selfless compassion, or a desire to tackle injustices and assist those who are structurally disadvantaged.

Furthermore, May and Cloke's analysis is extended to draw broader theoretical conclusions focusing on the emergent ethical and political spaces of postsecular rapprochement arising from some spaces of faith-based homeless care. Their more optimistic reading posits that these spaces are evidence of progressive social and political change despite the broader political backdrop of neoliberalism - a concept explored in the previous section (May and Cloke, 2014). In this case the empirical evidence for faith-based and secular

collaboration in the homeless city is used to make an aspirational, hopeful political point regarding the likelihood of a fairer and more just future. The concept of ‘theo-ethics’ is introduced to reveal how Christian theological concepts are invigorating spaces of progressive political action, as a response to regressive practices, performances and positionalities offered by the technologies of the neoliberal state. Furthermore, to elucidate how theo-ethics may uniquely shape and inflect the ‘landscape of care’ of the homeless city, Cloke draws upon the concept of ‘performance’ to enliven his account. Using concepts from Goffman (1959), Butler (1990, 1993, 1997) and Thrift (1996, 2000, 2004) to enrich his thesis, he draws attention to the ways in which a ‘Christian’ identity and ethos are performed and affectively created in the homeless services environment (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2008). Drawing together these points regarding the ethics, performance and politics of religious identity in the homeless city in the UK, the book Swept-Up Lives? brings to the fore the presence of Christian providers of care for the homeless, which should not be brushed aside and presumed a return to former philanthropic times, but as a phenomenon of socio-political significance that he terms evidence of ‘the postsecular’, which is fully explored in the next section of the chapter (2.2), but introduced briefly now.

The postsecular ‘cannon’ does two main types of conceptual and ideological work. First, it exposes the limits to the ‘strong’ neoliberalism which underpins revanchist accounts, concomitantly creating ‘alternative cartographies of homelessness’, as an empirical lens on to forms of “actually existing neoliberalism”, which have been ‘rolled-out’ since the 1990s in the UK (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Ling 2000, Cloke *et al*, 2010). This work informs the

literatures on neoliberalism and progressive politics. Indeed, it is stated boldly by the poststructural authors that the better starting point for the analysis of homelessness should be the techniques and subjectivities discursively brought into being via neoliberal policy, and an analysis of the associated spatial forms that these neoliberally-inflected FBO constellations produce (Cloke et al, 2010). Such accounts have provided rich empirical data for a reappraisal of hitherto overarching theorising of the spatial outworking of the political economy of neoliberalism, by highlighting the role played by FBOs in the production of neoliberalised spaces of care (Hackworth, 2010; Williams et al, 2012). Second, moving beyond providing an empirically based theoretical corrective to the analysis of neoliberalism, studies inspired by poststructuralism have focused on progressive ethical alliances within homeless services, drawn together under the new concept of 'postsecular rapprochement' (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013). This concept, which posits as its central motif the ethical dimensions of care present within the context of homeless services, draws upon broader debates regarding the relationship between secularism and faith in the contemporary public sphere. The concept of 'postsecular rapprochement' provides an important conceptual focus for my thesis; therefore a critical evaluation of this multidimensional concept is now presented in detail.

2.2. GEOGRAPHIES OF THE POSTSECULAR

Introduction

The spaces and subjectivities of 'postsecular rapprochement' have been presented by geographers of contemporary religion and scholars of urban social justice in a variety of recent publications: *Exploring the Postsecular* (Molendijk, Beaumont and Jedan, 2010), *The Postsecular City* (Beaumont and

Baker, 2011), *Working Faith* (Cloke, Beaumont and Williams, 2013), *Towards Cosmopolis* (Sandercock, 1998) and key articles by Cloke (2010, 2011) and Cloke and Beaumont (2012). These texts explore the ways in which religious values, ideas and actors are re-entering the public realm in Western Europe (Eder 2006) and examine the significant challenges this re-emergence poses to the conceptualisation of a 'secular' public sphere that became predominant following the Secularisation Theory (ST) of the 1960s. ST predicted that the religious trajectories of Western European democracies would take a secular path as they modernised (Wilson 1966; Berger, 1976).

This chapter reviews the concept of 'the postsecular', arguing then, in spite of criticisms regarding its 'relevance', 'newness' and analytical purchase (Kong, 2010; Ley, 2011; Wilford, 2010), that it indicates a fresh, appropriate and cogent term if read as a contemporary phenomenon emerging from the context of the specific socio-spatial practices of late 20th and early 21st centuries in Western Europe. Moreover, it is suggested that the most visible transition towards 'postsecular society' is best exemplified in spaces and subjectivities of "postsecular rapprochement" that are occurring in urban contexts including FBOs working with marginalised individuals and groups in society (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013). Signifying the possibility of a more tolerant and emancipatory formulation of 'postsecular Modernity', according to their theorists, these postsecular spaces are identified by their potential for producing new, transformative, ethical spaces of hope, tolerance and solidarity.

Locating the postsecular

First, it is important to be very clear about the definition of 'postsecular rapprochement' that this thesis is rooted in. The concept of 'postsecular rapprochement' (partnership) is a highly specific term referring to a particular set of empirical spatial practices that occur under exacting self-reflexive social and psychological conditions (Habermas, 2008; Cloke and Beaumont, 2013). It is important to recognise, however, that the concept is situated within a broader and more controversial debate about the nature, meaning and significance of the concept of 'the postsecular' and its variants 'post-secular', 'postsecularism' and/or 'Postsecularity' (terms that are highly contested and often used interchangeably).

The concept of 'the postsecular' has been criticised by some geographers of religion for being a 'seductive idea' that has been adopted in an uncritical manner at haste (Kong, 2010). Kong raises caution against this 'overenthusiastic' adoption stating:

> 'Without denying some European, and more generally, 'Western' experiences of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, secularisation theory [still] needs to be clarified and [the] evidence of secularisation interrogated before accepting the emergence of postsecularisation, and the 're-emergence' and 're-engagement' of the sacred and secular.' (p.11)

Her concern is twofold: first, considering that the intellectual forerunner, Secularisation, is still undertheorised and underapplied, she cautions that the term 'secularisation' should not be jettisoned in favour of a neologism that is predicated upon an underdeveloped theoretical predecessor. In addition to this genealogical concern, Kong contests the idea on substantive grounds suggesting that instead of a 're-emergence' or 're-engagement' with the sacred, it is more likely that there has been a 'continuation' of religion in European

society (ibid). She employs the work of religious sociologist Jose Cassanova to bolster her point (Cassanova, 1994). Cassanova unpacks the process of secularisation as a multidimensional phenomenon that operates at three levels:

> ‘[T]he decline in individual religious belief and practice; the privatisation of religious belief and practice; and the institutional separation of social systems.’ (Kong, 2011).

Cultural geographer Wilford, in his critique of postsecular geographies, also appropriates this three-fold model of secularisation; highlighting the similarity of this triptych with the social theory of sociologist Dobbelaere, who posits a similar three-fold scalar model of the process in terms of:

> ‘‘laicization’ (macro-social differentiation), ‘religious change’ (meso-social organizational change), and ‘religious involvement’ (micro-social transformations in individual religiosity)’ (Dobbelaere, 1981: 11–12 quoted in Wilford, 2009:10).

In these sophisticated models, Cassanova (1994) and Dobbelaere (1981; 2002) show how ‘secularisation’ is a broad label which refers to an aggregated set of differentiated processes operating at a variety of social levels; moreover, that the opportunities and challenges that ‘secularisation’ poses to religious organisation depends upon which level of social action is under analysis. A powerful case is made, therefore, by Kong and Wilford, who remind us that in any application of the term ‘secularisation’ – or in the context of this thesis, postsecularisation – there must be a high level of contextual specificity referenced in order to make a cogent empirical application. This may include an explicit acknowledgement of the specific place, scale and domain of social life that is under scrutiny. They go too far, however, in dismissing the idea of the postsecular completely, as when used in context of the idea of ‘postsecular

rapprochement' – a specific phenomenon that I shall now unpack in detail - it does offer something pertinent, lively and new.

Beyond the geography of religion, there has also been a notable ambivalence towards what the term 'postsecular' signifies. Indeed, according to Habermas there is a lack of clarity about whether the emergence of the postsecular signals a 'return of religion' or a 'turn to religion', or just an increase in salience of questions regarding religion in the public sphere (Habermas, quoted in Beckford, 2012). Such points of contestation could be considered correct if the idea of the postsecular is interpreted as a wholesale shift from one historical phase of secularism towards an age of postsecularism. However, this is not how recent scholars of postsecular geographies, such as Cloke and Beaumont (2012), present the term. Indeed, in their view, it does not signify an 'epochal shift' from an secular age (Cox, 1990), which would present a 'truncated' or 'short-sighted' version of history that ignores the complexity of religious (or non-religious) profession, behaviour and culture nuanced due to the contextual specificities of time and place (Beckford, 2012). Neither does the term signify the wholesale abandonment of ST in its entirety, as strands of the theory still contain explanatory power for understanding some manifestations of the religious and secular, for example, the exceptional case of Eurosecularity (Berger, Davie and Fokas, 2008; Wilford, 2010). Therefore, if we take 'the postsecular' to mean an awareness of the limits of the former theoretical framework, the Secularisation Thesis, for explaining the current relationship between the religious and secular in Western Europe in the late 20th and early 21st century – a phenomenon distinctly rooted in the social, cultural and economic conditions of this period - we can classify this intellectual endeavour

and empirical phenomena as ‘postsecular’. The postsecular denotes new spaces and subjectivities that are arising out of contemporary socio-economic conditions of the 21st century in Western Europe, which could not have been predicted by former frameworks;

> ‘..to put it differently, the post-secular does not represent the end of modernity, nor of the Enlightenment project, but rather ‘a continuation of the englightenment [sic] by other means, the production of a New Enlightenment, one that is enlightened about the limits of the old one’.’ (Caputo 2001, pp.60-61, cited in Camilleri, 2012:1026)

> ‘..the postsecular therefore, might usefully be understood as marking some of the limitations of the Secularisation thesis, rather than intimating its demise.’ (Cloke and Beaumont, 201:29)

In line with Habermas then, it is clear that whilst Western Europe remains committed to secular ideals at the level of the state, on the ground there is a continuing presence of religious culture, organisations and values within society that have ‘sticking power’ (Beckford, 2012). This indicates the ‘postsecular context’ within which religious and secular citizens are visible and participating in modern secularised public sphere, and must now learn how to ‘live well together’ (Habermas, 2010). Recognising this co-existence, it is highlighted that the relationship between religion and Modernity has been reworked and that the boundaries of religious/secular concepts are not rigid and oppositional (binary), but malleable, mobile and negotiable (fluid) – indeed any poststructural scholar will confirm that categorical identities are neither fixed nor predictable, but processual, contextual and performed through a ‘dialectical field of religious and secular knowledge-power relations’ that are historically embedded and contingent (Knott, 2005). Conceptual tools, such as Kim Knott’s spatial diagram of the secular-religious-postsecular ‘force field’ (Knott, 2010a; Knott, 2011b),

elucidate the intersubjective nature of these positions in relation to one another. It is indeed the work of the postsecular geographer to:

> '..trace new interconnections between diverse religious, humanist and secularist positionalities in the dynamic geographies of the city.' (Cloke and Beaumont 2012: 29)

From this premise, regarding the intertwined and dialectical nature of postsecular space and identity, I now wish to unlock the specific concept of 'postsecular rapprochement' in more detail. The concept is used by some geographers as an example par excellence of postsecular space and subjectivity. This work draws heavily on the theoretical concepts offered by public intellectuals Jürgen Habermas and Klaus Eder. By examining the work of Cloke and Beaumont (2012), and the philosophical scholarship incorporated in their accounts, I highlight the questions that remain unanswered regarding the practical evidence of their theoretical formulations regarding such rapprochements, as a conceptual framework for my thesis.

A Habermasian change of tack - towards 'postsecular society'

It is imperative to begin with a careful overview of the origins of the postsecular debate in the social sciences, which takes us to the public intellectual, Jürgen Habermas. The term 'postsecular' became rooted in western academic vocabulary following a series of milestone publications by the philosopher Jürgen Habermas (Habermas, 2002, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010; Habermas and Ratzinger, 2006) that followed a series of high-profile dialogues between Habermas and renowned religious figures including the then Cardinal Josef Ratzinger – in a discussion entitled 'The Dialectics of Secularisation' at the Catholic Academy in Munich in 2004; a podium debate at the Jesuit School of Philosophy in Munich in 2007; and his speech 'Faith and Knowledge' which

was recited upon receiving the Peace Prize at the German Book Trade in 2001. Through these debates Habermas placed the importance of the need for 'faith-secular dialogue' in the public sphere firmly on the public's agenda.

In a series of essays and books that emerged following these events, Habermas offered reflections on the two-fold role that religion could potentially play in the Western public sphere as a 'community of interpretation' and as a 'community of care and service'. Instead of something to be relegated to the private sphere, religion was presented as a valuable repository of 'moral' and 'affective energy', which would be used to infuse the public sphere with a new lease of ethical and political life in the struggle against the pathologies of modernity (Habermas, 2008). Author of the emancipatory 'theory of communicative action' (1981) and concomitant defender of the secular public sphere, Habemas had hitherto stated that religious reasoning was an 'irrational' private affair, therefore, personal, and not to be considered part of the 'rational' processes of deliberative democracy and wider politico-legal structures of the public realm (ibid). This standpoint is much akin to the philosopher John Rawls' theory of 'public reason', which eschews religious opinion in the public sphere as a precondition for sustaining cohesive deliberative democracy in what were rapidly becoming multicultural, pluralist societies of Western Europe (Rawls, 1999). Habermas' shift in standpoint regarding the role of religion in the public sphere could then be seen as reneging on his former standpoint that positioned religion as antagonistic and an anathema to 'rational' debate, and ultimately a hindrance to the processes of deliberative democracy (ibid). As a renowned secularist, this shift in Habermas' disposition poses significant theoretical

challenges to his former belief in the supremacy of a secularised public sphere, garnering much attention from public intellectuals and academics.

For Habermas, this change in intellectual tack came as a result of two broad empirical shifts he identified in contemporary Western European society: the re-emergence of religion in public spheres, and what he perceived to be a litany of social failures in the wake of late-capitalist modernity (Habermas, 2010). These two phenomena contradict the Secularisation theorists' projections that the influence of traditional religion on the public realm would be in decline, and for the better. As a result, these phenomena have lead Habermas, one of Europe's most renowned sociologists and philosophers, to rework his theory regarding the nature, role and significance of religion in 21st century democratic society, which is now unpacked below.

Re-emergence of religion in the public sphere

Habermas' renegotiation with religion has been prompted by the renewed visibility of religion in the Western European public realm since the 1990s, and the intellectual questions this change has posed regarding the desirability and viability of maintaining a 'secular' public sphere. Furthermore, he raises caution about the potential negative impacts religious reasoning could have on processes of political decision-making and 'deliberative democracy' and the maintenance of 'rationality' (Dillon, 2010). This new trajectory was posited as a response in particular, to the rise of 'Euro-Islam' in the West following the waves of immigration and associated identity politics from the 1950s onwards, but heightened in the last twenty years following the Gulf Wars and 'War on Terror' (Habermas, 2008). On the other hand, high profile terrorist events like the

London bombings on July 7th, coupled with the perceived disenfranchisement of Muslim youth and their susceptibility to religious radicalisation, and debates about the presence of parallel courts operating under Sharia Law in the United Kingdom, for example, have raised the need for a public engagement with strands of political Islam (Furbey, 2009). A third compounding factor regards the failure of the policy of 'multiculturalism' in the UK, as evidenced by the increased fracturing of communities along cultural and religious lines, which has raised the role that religious communities can play in governance (Farnell et al, 2003). Indeed, in the United Kingdom, two deliberate policy moves towards working with religious groups on matters of governance and for the delivery of public services have opened up space for public dialogue with faith groups (Dinham, 2009). Therefore, in recent times, the boundary demarcating religious/secular and public/private has been ruptured and simmering tensions revealed through public controversies regarding religion: the fatwa on Salman Rushdie following The Satanic Verses, the wearing of religious jewellery in healthcare settings, the cartoons of Mohammad in Dutch press, and the debates over the introduction of Sharia courts in the UK. These public polemics have placed religion firmly on the public map, raising questions about how we are to co-exist peacefully as religious and secular citizens in a 'post-secular' society.

The failures of secular modernity

On an existential and philosophical note, a second problem that has forced a turn in Habermas' view regards the failure of the project of Secular Modernity to deliver the emancipatory and egalitarian outcomes hoped for by liberal secularist philosophers of the Enlightenment. From a European perspective, it

is clear that the prevailing political economic system – that of advanced neoliberal capitalism - has failed to deliver prosperity for all and instead led to disenchanted and economically bifurcated electorates, who have suffered financially and socially following the 'double dip' recession and its detrimental impact on public spending. Advances in market capitalism have instead facilitated the creation of a disenfranchised, disillusioned and fragmented society of individuals, characterised by increasing consumerism, social isolation and anomie (Durkheim et al, 2010 [1876]). This refers to, what some have termed, a 'post-political' condition, characterised by wide-scale disengagement from, and disillusionment with, democratic structures due to a pervasive lack of hope regarding the difference that political participation can achieve (Swyngedouw, 2007). This social and political situation is characterised by an "awareness of what is missing" (Habermas, 2010), which includes a series of 'lacks' within secular modernity: epistemic, motivational and ceremonial on behalf of secular society, and a lack of justification and legitimisation on behalf of the religious community (Joll, 2011). These lacks are interrelated and are considered inimical to the health of democracy (ibid). According to Habermas, however, it is religious faith and its contribution to public life as a 'community of interpretation', and a 'community of care and service', that is missing from the discourses of secular modernity (Habermas, 2008; Vale, 2012).

These empirical contexts have prompted a revision of Habermas' theories framing the rightful role of religion in the public sphere, instead focusing on how it can be harnessed for the public good in the twenty-first century. Moreover, they have generated curiosity regarding the way in which religion can potentially be incorporated or 'assimilated' to help solve the social ills, outlined above, that

have been precipitated by the contemporary form of late secular modernity, that of a particularly aggressive neoliberal variety. I now turn to explore this surprising gift of religion to the contemporary public sphere.

Faith's gift to Postsecular Modernity

These two broad contexts led to Habermas' re-evaluation of his opinion regarding the role that religious thinking and reasoning can play in the public sphere, and, moreover, what fresh perspectives religion could offer on tackling the failings and vagaries of secular Modernity: social, political and existential/spiritual. It is suggested that religion could operate on two helpful levels within the public sphere: first, as a 'community of interpretation' by which it can "influence public opinion and will formation by making relevant contributions to key issues, irrespective of whether their arguments are convincing or objectionable" (Habermas, 2008:20); and second, as a 'community of care and service', offering alternative sources of inspiration, values, and vision for a shift towards the establishment of a 'postsecular' society (ibid). This 'assimilation' of the religious reasoning within the secular public space must involve, however, the attainment of four particular social preconditions - an antecedent framework within which such postsecular spaces can occur. These four conditions include: a sense of shared citizenship, which in turn fosters mutual tolerance, leading to the potential reflexive transformation of actors through the emergence of crossover narratives. These four elements must be established in order to facilitate the production and emergence of postsecular spaces and subjectivities. They are vital to facilitate a context within which the balance between secular and religious can be recalibrated leading to

a relationship where the religious can rise out of a subservient position to play an influential and legitimate role within the public sphere:

> “Tolerance means that believers of one faith, of a different faith and non-believers must mutually concede to one another the right to choose those convictions, practices and ways of living that they themselves reject. This concession must be supported by a shared basis of mutual recognition from which repugnant dissonances can be overcome. This recognition should not be confused with an appreciation of an alien culture and way of living, or of rejected conviction and practices. We need tolerance only vis-à-vis worldviews that we consider wrong and vis-à-vis habits that we do not like…[which can only be achieved if]…the awareness of the fact that the other is a member of an inclusive community of citizens with equal rights” (pp23).

This quote calls for the establishment of a level playing field, where people of all metaphysical persuasions, or none, are treated with equal respect in the public sphere; a vital prerequisite for fully functioning deliberative democracy.

Preconditions for the postsecular….

This accommodation of religious identity and reasoning in the public sphere could be achieved, according to Habermas, via two transformations: first, of the secular state’s self-understanding, and second, on behalf of the religious spokesperson or community’s acceptance of the progress of modern science. This is a process of complementary learning that can only be fostered, not morally or legally stipulated, as Habermas asserts:

> “…a change in [fundamentalist] mentality cannot be prescribed, nor can it be politically manipulated or pushed through by law; it is at best the result of a learning process.” (Habermas, 2008:28)

On one side, the self-reflexivity of secularist understanding is the shift away from secularist fundamentalism that hitherto policed the borders of the secular public sphere, deriding and decrying any faith disposition or idea as ‘irrational’ or ‘relics of a bygone era’. Within a postsecular space, the secularist must not

be ‘unenlightened about itself’ or remain ‘blinkered’ to religious reasoning, but instead soften its approach and be open to engage with the ‘political semantics and cognitive content’ of faith:

> ‘…the cognitive claims of faith must now be considered to have a value alongside the claims of reasons…’ (Delanty, 2013)

Indeed in order for the secular and sacred to enter into conversation, there must be the opportunity of mutual embrace and openness to listen to and be transformed by the other’s narrative or reason – hence, fundamentalist secularists must shift their position from being closed, dominant and acting as ‘judge’, to being open to listen to the religious voice and take it seriously as an equal partner in the process of deliberation within the public sphere. The secularist citizen must not, according to Habermas:

> ‘…set itself up as the judge concerning truths of faith, even though in the end it can accept as reasonable only what it can turn into its own, in principle universally acceptable, discourses.’ (Habermas, 2010:16)

On the other side of the bargain, it will be important for the religious actor to shift from a fundamentalist position and turn to embrace the rational scientific truths born of the Enlightenment process (N.B. not to be confused with scientisim, which is a material reductionist position that denies any form of metaphysics; a philosophical approach most notably expounded in the writings of Professor Richard Dawkins and the late Christopher Hitchens), which is the stance unaccommodating of faith and resistant to the possibility of the postsecular). Instead, the faithful must:

> ‘..accept the basic principles of universalistic egalitarianism in law and morality.’ (ibid)

These two parameters place necessary constraints on either side of the debate, both religious and secular, as a necessary precondition upon which mutually supportive discussion can occur. Failure to achieve this initial disposition of openness to the ‘Other’ and their respective forms of rationality would scatter any chance of ‘postsecular rapprochement’ on two accounts: if the religious actor rejects the scientific mind-set the secular party is likely to disengage. On the other hand, should the secular dismiss the metaphysical premise of religious knowledge thus foreclosing discussion a fortiori, it is likely the religious party will disengage (Dillon, 2010). As mentioned in the quote above, in the end the secular party will only accept what is reasonable in their terms. Therefore, it maybe be necessary for the religious party to translate their reasoning into secular or ‘public’ reasons, or, it is possible that the secular party could appropriate and assimilate religious concepts into their own lexicon.

This process of translation, however, has received criticism and been decried by Habermas’ interlocutors for the four following reasons concerning the ‘burden of translation’: i) The burden of translation rests heavier upon the religious party, which is unfair and indicative of a continued situation of ‘asymmetrical’ power-relations (Ricken, 2010; Beckford, 2012); ii) It is possible that during the translation process the essence of the religious reason and worldview could be lost by taking it out of context by trying to reduce an irreducible, complex socio-cultural and spiritual phenomenon to an abstracted form of ‘public reason’, denuding religion of its core substance (Reder, 2010); iii) The use of religious inspiration, which welcomes its moral contribution but not its metaphysical premise, is guilty of instrumentalising religion by utilising the palatable bits of religion without embracing its whole (ibid); iv) It is possible that

this expectation of translation could be enough to make religious actors feel unwelcome and 'alienated' leading to a break-down of trust and communication in the public sphere. This 'asymmetric burden' on the religious parties could be a sufficient reason to deter their participation, thus prohibiting the formation of postsecular spaces or rapprochement (Dillon, 2010). These are theoretical objections that are yet unsubstantiated, therefore, investigation into their purchase, and evidence of their empirical manifestation, is required in order to evaluate the merit of these theoretical assertions.

Surprisingly, some more sceptical critics have suggested that this whole process of 'translation' crassly reveals Habermas' desire to maintain a secularist public sphere, an accusation with which I strongly disagree. For example, Rosati suggests that the 'postsecular thesis' is a thinly veiled attempt by Habermas to use religious reasoning to maintain a secularist state of affairs (Rosati, 2011). This assertion plainly misinterprets Habermas' intentions and feelings towards the affective and spiritual possibilities offered by religious faith to secular society in the 21st century:

> '[Religion is] an unexhausted force…[that] can awaken in the minds of secular subjects an awareness of the violations of solidarity throughout the world, an awareness of what is missing, of what cries out to heaven.' (Habermas, 2010:19)

In light of all this, the Habermasian concept of the necessity and desirability for a transition towards a 'postsecular society' and how this might sociologically be achieved depends upon a strong shift in the self-consciousness of individual actors (Dillon, 2010). He does not offer any spatial way this process might be achieved. The concepts are presented - mutual translation mechanisms and crossover narratives - however, the formation of these 'devices' is left unturned.

This provides an exciting avenue to explore, which geographers such as Cloke and Knott are pioneering, offering tools for exploring the renegotiated sacred/secular boundary and its potential for the emergence of 'postsecular subjectivities', to which I now turn.

Geographies of the postsecular

The main proponents of the idea of 'postsecular' space within social geography include Cloke (2010), Cloke and Beaumont (2012), and Williams (2015). Their work centres upon three main appropriations and applications of the term 'postsecular': first, as a description of social phenomena including the persistence of religious attitudes and behaviours in 'modern' nations; second, as an analytical framework; and third, as a liminal space of prefigurative politics or space of 'postsecular rapprochement' that embodies a resistance to the spaces, strategies and subjectivities of neoliberalism (Lancione, 2014). To avoid 'conceptual opacity' regarding these terms (Rosati, 2011) I will now unpack each permutation in turn.

The first application of 'the postsecular' is its use as a purely descriptive term that simply refers to recognition of the continued presence of religious actors, transcendent belief, and the appeal of theological reason in contemporary Western European society (Collins, 2012). There have been key events and trends which have led to the redefining of the West as 'postsecular' including: i) immigration and a burgeoning identity politics of recognition associated with diverse ethnic and faith groups (Dinham et al, 2009); ii) political and material threats of extreme fundamentalism following 9/11 and 7/7 (Chapman and Lowndes, 2009; Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011); iii) the policy shift towards

‘co-governance’ with faith representatives and FBOs becoming involved in the delivery of public services - as part of the ‘roll back’ of the state, coupled with neo-communitarian political visions conveyed through notions such as the ‘Big Society’ (Beaumont, 2008) ; iv) the increase in Pentecostalism in Latin America and the fastest growing denomination in the United Kingdom (Wolffe, 2002; Wier, 2014); v) the re-enchantment of cultural space and imaginary with products such as ‘Harry Potter’, ‘Lord of the Rings’ and ‘The Matrix’ which employ crypto-religious themes (Cloke, 2010); and vi) The increasing interest in ‘spirituality’ including practices such as yoga, crystal healing, and proliferation of self-description as ‘spiritual but not religious’ (SBNR) (Woodhead and Catto, 2012; Mercadante, 2014). According to Beckford (2012) such empirical examples have provided the social “hardware” upon which the theoretical “software” of concept of the postsecular has been developed, providing evidence that contests ST.

The second application positions the ‘postsecular’ as an analytical framework referring to a way of seeing that acknowledges the limits of its theoretical predecessor, Secularisation Theory, which emerged in the 1960s and came to dominate the Sociology of Religion (Berger, 1967). Secularisation Theory suggests that as a society modernises, the relevance of religion and its role in public life will diminish, as the public sphere systematically decouples from any religious authorities, leaving it bereft of religious influence (Martin, 1979). According to Secularisation Theory religious belief and behaviour were expected to become neatly ‘parcelled away’ from the public sphere and into the private sphere via the processes of differentiation and privatisation that occur as part of the process of secularisation (Wilford, 2010). It is clear, however, that

these processes have not occurred in a wholesale fashion. On the contrary, there has been a re-emergence of religious actors and voices in the public sphere in recent decades as outlined above (Beckford, 2012), prompting a re-theorisation, hence the analytic term ‘Postsecular’ as a critical reflection on its forerunner. This re-entrance of religion in the public sphere has been theorised by Eder as evidence that religion never went away or disappeared from Western Europe entirely, but that it became ‘hushed up’ in public and swept-up into the private, and that under contemporary conditions it is being welcomed back into the public sphere (Eder, 2006). This re-entrance of the religious voice into the public sphere challenges the boundaries of public/private and secular/religious that prevailed in the secular social imagination, by their very presence troubling the logic of secularism. Hence, the term ‘postsecular’ is proffered – a going beyond the concept of the secular, which separates life into binary domains of sacred and profane – revealing a mixing-up and blurring of formerly discrete boundaries. This prompts a re-conceptualisation of the role that religion plays in contemporary public and political spheres in the West. Moreover, it changes how they are perceived and welcomed.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, whilst some have chosen to adopt the idea of the ‘postsecular’ in preference to ST, others such as Kong and Wilford have held on to the latter, calling instead for a more refined and nuanced understanding of secularisation that incorporates the recent presence of religious actors in the public sphere as a phase of ‘late Secularism’ (Wilford, 2010). Defendants of the theory state that a wholesale discarding of the theory is premature and misjudged, a case of the proverbial “throwing the baby out with the bathwater”. Wilford insists that specific parts of it are still relevant and

useful for explaining the nature of religion in society in Western Europe today, especially the processes of privatisation and differentiation. Indeed, Habermas still claims that Secularisation is occurring, but that pockets of 'postsecular society' are emerging and can co-exist within the process of secularisation (Habermas, 2010). It is important to note that Wilford is a 'hard' secularist and takes an 'anti-religion' position, lamenting that 'we moderns must learn how to endure and thrive alongside it [religion]' (Wilford, 2013), hence his scepticism regarding 'the postsecular' that so readily accommodates expressions of faith. This position is not shared by Habermas, who actively welcomes aspects of religious life and values it highly.

The third strand of 'the postsecular' is something highly specific and refers to the concept of "postsecular rapprochement", which is built upon Habermasian views regarding the characteristics of postsecular social formations. The central concept of 'postsecular rapprochement' offered by Cloke et al refers to contemporary spaces of care and progressive action that emerge when people of different religious beliefs, or none, and of different ideological motivations or none, work together to achieve a specific common ethical goal:

> '[T]hese rapprochements formed around an apparent willingness for secular, faith-based and interfaith interests to enter in to partnerships to work together on key ethical issues, even if it means setting aside some fundamental theological and moral differences in the process – to represent a form of postsecular engagement in contemporary society, and may well also indicate circumstances in which theo-ethics provide a focal point for partnership between the secular and the religious.' (Cloke, 2011:486)

These manoeuvres fulfil some of the criteria laid out by Habermas in his treatise on pre-conditions for achieving a shift to postsecular society: mutual tolerance and crossover ethical narratives. Such points of ethical convergence could

include activities such as helping the homeless on a soup run or at a day centre (Cloke et al, 2011), and lobbying for debt relief (Thomas, 2013; Williams, 2013) or a 'living wage' (Bretherton, 2010; Jamoul and Wills 2008). Movements that exemplify 'postsecular rapprochement' par excellence would include the international *Fair Trade* movement for ethical consumption (Barnett et al, 2015), and the London Citizens' campaign for a *Living Wage* in inner city London (Wills et al 2009; Bretherton, 2010). Cloke et al label these acts of ethical citizenship as opposed to an example of political citizenship, reflecting how the person is motivated by an ethical impulse and duty to their fellow humans, rather than acting due to an overtly party political line or notion of 'good' citizenship (Cloke, Johnsen and May, 2007). According to Cloke, these spaces contain 'expressions of resistance' to prevailing injustices under global neoliberal capitalism and an 'energy and hope' in something that brings justice for all citizens as opposed to a privileged few (Cloke, 2010). These spaces are something progressive and hopeful, full of potential for 'reterritorialisation' in the form of protest, care, tolerance and reconciliation, exhibiting what Habermas hoped postsecular society could achieve – a renewed Enlightenment which champions equality, justice and tolerance.

What geographers have done so far… and what remains.

Two additional shifts towards 'postsecular rapprochement' have been outlined by Cloke and Beaumont in addition to the above, which elegantly demonstrate the 'learning process' outlined by Habermas in his treatise on creating postsecular society: a 'shift in secularist self-understanding' and a shift 'within the religious community away from zealous evangelicalism and towards postsecular forms of religion'. Both shifts illustrate the 'learning processes' and

‘mutual crossover narratives’ that Habermas outlines as key ingredients in the formation of postsecular society. The first is evident in the philosophical sphere where renowned Marxist philosophers – social materialists – are now drawing upon religious tropes and concepts to reinvigorate their political theories (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013). The second shift identified by Cloke is the shift within Christianity from what he calls a religion consisting of ‘faith-as-dogma’ towards one based on ‘faith-as-praxis’ (Cloke 2010). This captures the idea that faith identities are worked-out in practice, not just by believing a set of metaphysical propositions. These two shifts are a promising sign that pockets of postsecular society are coming into being, the latter I will now examine in more depth.

Faith-praxis, theo-ethics, and ‘crossover narratives’

> ‘We recognise in the geography of postsecular rapprochement a radical departure in understanding of the contemporary city that is not blind to the differences involving religious praxis that we might otherwise choose to ignore, or just hope do not exist.’ (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013: 32)

FBOs often play a initiating role in the formation of ‘postsecular rapprochements’, which has been facilitated by what Cloke identifies as a notable shift in the behaviour of some Christians in the UK and USA – a shift from practicing faith as dogma, towards embracing faith as praxis. This captures the idea that faith identities are worked-out in practice - a practice that is beyond just believing a set of metaphysical propositions and going to church, but embraces a way of life that is radically different premised upon theological concepts such as grace (the idea that everything is sustained by a loving God, who provides for all unconditionally), sacrificial love (in both forms, agape – humanitarian love, and philios – brotherly love), otherness (that the holiness of God resides in all living things, as all are created, therefore, through embracing

and welcoming other species and people, we are embracing Christ himself), and mercy and forgiveness. These terms have been gathered together and coined by Cloke as ‘theo-ethics’, referring specifically to the ethics derived from Christian tradition (Cloke 2010). These theo-ethics are best exemplified within three visible manoeuvres occurring within different denominations of the Christian church: the evangelical embrace of social justice where desire to ‘evangelise’ is being replaced by a desire to ‘love’ through the provision of ‘no-string-attached’ acts of care and service to the marginalised (considered a rediscovery of virtue ethics via praxis); the Catholic-inspired movement of Radical Orthodoxy which champions a holistic and creedal engagement with the material world as an ‘enchanted’ order (a distinctively Christian social order); and the poststructuralist embrace of ‘religion without religion’ which equates notions of God with the immanent yet transcendental notions of beauty, kindness, hope, in a ‘hyperreal’ fashion (Caputo, 2013). According to Cloke (2010) these three phenomena exemplify a shift in theological dispositions from dogma towards praxis, forming one arm of the ‘twin pincer movement’ that is leading Christians into partnerships with people of alternative or no religious beliefs, helping to facilitate the formation of postsecular rapprochements. This casting of religious work as ‘post-evangelical’, has been highly criticised by homelessness scholar Lancione, who suggests that it is not possible to achieve “no strings attached” status in religiously inspired work. This assertion needs further empirical investigation, a gap that this thesis seeks to address.

To conclude this portion of the literature review, I argue that there needs to be more empirical investigation into the production of spaces and subjectivities of postsecular society, because there is only preliminary material on this particular

aspect published within geography, which is mostly theoretical and speculative by nature. An investigation into the empirical reality of the production of ‘postsecular rapprochements’ will help elucidate the mechanisms by which these spaces and subjectivities are actually brought into being and maintained, and it will help to sketch out the initial parameters of the spatial extent, temporality and durability of such ‘postsecular moments’ (Delanty, 2013), compared to Habermas’ unverified theorem. Due to the fact that these postsecular rapprochements are occurring in the context of spaces of care, I now critically review the literatures on the geographies of care and caring, as the third strand of literature that my thesis draws upon and to which it responds.

2.3 GEOGRAPHIES OF CARE AND CARING

Introduction

From Marxism through to Poststructuralism, the issues of housing and homelessness have been explored from a variety of critical perspectives within human geography (see 2.1 in this chapter). In this section I aim to situate this study of homelessness within a broader set of geographical literatures: the geography of care and caring. I also draw into discussion the concept of ‘therapeutic landscape experiences’ proffered by Conradson in his work on healing environments as a way of framing careful encounters between those giving and those receiving care (Conradson, 2005; Gesler, 1992). The framing of spaces of care for homeless people as potential sites of ‘therapeutic landscape experience’ has been suggested implicitly by Johnsen et al, whose study shows how day centre environments can be experienced as both spaces of ‘care’ (therapeutic) and spaces of ‘fear’ (anti-therapeutic) dependent upon the nature of social relationships within the space and upon individual needs and

receptivity (Johnsen et al, 2005; Tronto, 1993). My thesis extends this focus to consider the specific role of religious and spiritual belief and practice in the production of spaces of care. The role of spirituality - particularly the spirituality of homeless people and what it is like to live in a religious environment - is foregrounded as an element that has not been addressed directly in the spaces of care literature that focus on issues of homelessness. Attention is paid to the narratives and actions of staff, volunteers and residents in the hostel regarding the perceived role of Christianity in cultivating the wellbeing of hostel users. It is therefore vital to review the literatures on care and caring in order to position the thesis.

Conceptualising care

The phenomenon of 'care' is complex and often contradictory (Bondi, 2008). As a point of departure for many critical geographical studies, care and caring have been analysed from a variety of perspectives that tend to follow the major theoretical trajectories chartered within the discipline. These include spatial science's mapping of the distribution of and access to health care services (Kearns and Moon, 2002; Parr, 2003); feminist critiques focusing on the gendered construction of care work and its socio-spatial reworking in the light of neoliberal policy changes (Massey, 1994; Milligan, 2001, 2005; Staeheli and Brown, 2003); emotional and psychosocial dynamics of caring relationships (Bondi 2008; Evans and Thomas, 2009); post-colonial approaches informed by the desire to create 'moral geographies' where the ethics of care and justice are recast as 'responsibility' to the unseen and 'distant other' (Green and Silk, 2000; Smith, 2000; Popke, 2006; Raghuram et al, 2009); the use of actor-network-theory to explore the role of materiality and affect in the construction of caring environments (Conradson, 2005); and finally, practices of self-care with a focus

on subjective wellbeing, fitness and rejuvenation often drawing on both Foucauldian and non-representational perspectives (Little, 2012; Andrews et al, 2014). From these approaches are derived highly distinctive theoretical and empirical strands emerging within the 'geographies of care and caring' literature, ranging from care at the intimate scale of the body to the global scale of commodity chains flowing across space. The extant literatures, however, focus not just on different scales of care and mapping linkages of caring relationships from local to global, but also question the scope of care (Smith, 1998). This analytical lens on caring opens up more philosophical and normative lines of enquiry about who should care and be cared for, when and where care should happen. Central to this has been a critical debate concerning the often-opposed notions of 'care' and 'justice', the former associated with partiality and the latter with universality, and their presumed spatialities - local and proximate compared to global and distant (Barnett and Land, 2007). Before this debate is unpacked in more detail, and in order to render 'care' visible, it is important to start with a definition of care upon which subsequent analysis can be pinned.

Care, according to Conradson, can be defined as 'the proactive interest of one person in the well-being of another' (2003a), which results in an improved quality of life. This notion can be nuanced by making a distinction between caring for and caring about, and the respective spatialities associated with each categorisation: material and imaginative (Auge, 1998; Milligan and Wiles, 2010). Geographical studies of caring for typically situate care in proximate settings or 'locales' (Giddens, 1990) such as a care home, hospital or another formal institutional context, or in informal contexts such as the non-institutional settings

of the community drop-in centre (Conradson, 2005), or most prolifically, domiciliary care in a person's own home (England, 2010). This framing of care typically involves acts of both physical and emotional labour such as feeding, washing, administering medication, or providing intellectual or emotional support in the form of information, advice or alms (Hochschild, 1983; Johnsen et al, 2005). It is predicated upon an 'ethic of encounter' between two individuals, in an immediate face-to-face context, where a caring relationship is established and personal needs are met (Conradson, 2003; Noddings, 2013). The scope of caring for can be stretched to include studies of caring for non-human actants such as tending to the needs of pets (Miele and Evans, 2010; Bock and Buller, 2013), scientists' ethical responsibilities towards laboratory specimens (Greenhough and Roe, 2011), and biophilic studies of plant care and the cultivation of gardens (Bhatti et al, 2009; Puig de la Bellacasa, 2010). More recent attention has been paid to practises of self-care, which are elaborated upon later in this chapter in relation to therapeutic landscapes. These studies have focused on spaces of rejuvenation like spas, health camps and yoga classes (Kearns and Collins, 2000; Lea, 2009; Little, 2013), treating the body as a central site of analysis that emerges as a product of discursive and affective techniques.

On the other hand, caring about refers to a concern or regard for something or someone that does not necessitate the presence of a direct caring relationship, nor may it result in action taking place (Noddings, 2013). For example, I could say I care about the plight of refugees, however, I may not take action to provide material or financial support to alleviate their suffering, thus my caring is reduced to mere moral or emotional sentiment. On the other hand, I could care

for my pet dog by feeding and walking it daily so its health and wellbeing needs are met. The former example maps on to more utopic universal notions of 'justice', whereas the latter can be seen as an example of taking personal 'responsibility' within a concrete setting. With this preliminary distinction clear, let us move on to the dubious spatialities of these two renditions of what it means to care.

Upon first impression caring for tends to have a specific local geography, often assumed to arise from intimate place-based relationships, therefore it is often viewed as more authentic (Barnett and Land, 2007). Caring about, however, is associated with the more intellectual realm of moral values and judgments that are often symbolic and universal in nature and spatiality (Lawson, 2007). This dichotomy is encapsulated in the postulation that care can be interpreted as 'both a practice and a disposition' (Tronto, 1993); the virtue ethicist Slote offers a similar rendition categorising forms of care into either intimate or humanitarian caring, with partial and impartial natures respectively (2000). Such conceptual and spatial distinctions are, however, problematic, due to the fact that the scales of local and global, proximity and distance, and the rendering of care as either practical or affective, place-based and partial, or universal and impartial, are not discrete categories. Such distinctions often overlap and are, moreover, co-constituted and intersecting, due to the 'nested dependencies' that relationships of care are embedded within (Kittay, 2001; Massey, 2004; Milligan, 2003). Furthermore, the assumption of two distinctive types of 'care' doesn't take into account the didactic nature of moral and ethical precepts that inform personal interpretations of justice and responsibility, which in dialogue rework both personal and collective acts of care, and their spatialities, in a co-

constituted way. Barnett and Land quickly dismantle this set of binary homologies in their review of the 'ethics of care' literature showing how manifestations of care intersect:

> 'The idea that care's value lies only in the intense familiarity of circumscribed personal relationships is not sustainable once we recognise the degree to which any caring practice depends on mediating practices, relations of professional competency, and various institutional and material infrastructures.'

Continuing:

> 'Rather than supposing that caring-about is a secondary, derivative variant of a more genuine set of relationships of caring-for, we might instead start from the observation that any caring practice, in order for it to be caring, has to be attentive and responsive to the needs of the other.' (pp1066)

This observation suggests two important things. First, that caring about is not a secondary superfluity to caring for, but precedes in a vital manner, providing the energising vision and values that galvanise practical acts of care. Second, a normative vision of care is provided in their description, suggesting that caring for is rooted in the 'generous' disposition of being able to recognise the needs of others and respond appropriately, irrespective of locality or scales of imbrication. Put simply, care is something that is evoked through reciprocal relationship and 'called forward by the expression of the needs of others, and that in turn requires attentiveness and responsiveness towards others' (ibid p1067). This conclusion draws upon Fisher and Tronto's (1990) feminist model of caring practice, which states that ethical care depends up the presence of four linked and sequential activities: caring about, taking care of, care giving and care receiving. These are performed in tandem with four corresponding moral values or ethical competencies:

1. the capacity to be attentive to the needs of others;
2. the capacity of taking responsibility for meeting needs for care;
3. the capacity to actually provide care competently ;
4. the capacity to be responsive to the on-going needs of receivers of care.

Regarding the spatiality of this model, these tenets of caring practice are not predicated upon a sense of the local and familiar, therefore, they open up care and caring to a much wider scope of geographical obligations and responsibilities. Superseding the initial 'care' versus 'justice' framework and the attendant spatialities of local versus global, derives a broader moral geography of 'responsibility', which does not rely upon the value of care being born of and enacted within familiar contexts. For example, caring for 'distant others' through technologies such as child sponsorship, consuming Fair Trade products or campaigning for humanitarian rights, reveals how 'care' can be effected on a global scale without any face-to-face interaction. Such devices are forms of 'distanciated interaction' of caring for, inspired and sustained by an 'ethic of care' or sentiment of caring about issues of inequality and international social-economic justice (Silk, 2000). Therefore, we can see how the initial spatial presumption of caring for being local and embedded and caring about being utopic, are rendered crude and misleading, begging a more nuanced approach.

In summary, the geographies of care and caring need to be approached critically and viewed as a set of spatially variegated and complex practices. This is primarily due to the historical embedding of care in place through multiple spheres of influence, and its imbrication within nested scales of political, institutional and cultural activity. By nature, care is a phenomenon that is concurrently ideological and practical, affective and material, and by virtue of this multiplicity, spanning local and global contexts by the linking of people and

places via market practices of consumption and production, or by more ethical acts of generosity. The geographies of care and caring are complex, multi-scalar and multi-faceted. With this nuanced understand of care in place, I will now critically examine the variety of 'spaces of care' attended to within the extant geographical literatures.

Spaces of care

According to Atkinson, the phenomenon of 'care' manifests in a variety of analytical forms including as 'a concept, emotion, practice, politics, moral exhortation' (Atkinson et al, 2011), which are all open to spatial interrogation due to their historically situated and variegated nature. Consequently, care has been explored in a variety of geographical contexts that are considered to be traditional arenas for caring activities, or 'spaces of care', as defined as:

> '...a socio-spatial field disclosed through practices of care that take place between "individuals".' (Conradson, 2003),

This definition includes locales such as hospitals (Smyth, 2005), domestic settings (Milligan, 2000, 2003; England, 2010), supported housing (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010) convalescence centres (Conradson, 2005), and the hospice (Brown 2003). There has also been a focus on more unconventional spaces of care such as drop-in day centres (Conradson, 2003; Parr, 2003), transitory soup runs (Johnsen et al, 2005), the ambulant street pastors in urban night-time economies (Middleton and Yarwood, 2015), and on the role of the public library as a space of inclusion and 'licence' for the homeless (Hodgetts et al, 2008). These studies illuminate the nature of care and caring as shaped by political discourse and performatively brought into being and tempered by an individual's ethics of care and personality. The spaces, practices and performances of care, therefore, require careful and considered geographical

analysis to illuminate the wider and overlapping human geographies they are imbricated within (Conradson, 2003). The key to understanding these dynamics is an appreciation of the 'ethics of care' that underpins the production of such 'spaces of care', which have been introduced above, but to which I return for further nuance.

Ethics of care

Care ethics or an 'ethic of care' is distinct from acts of care and caregiving. It pertains to normative moral theory concerning 'how we should meet and treat one another – how to establish, maintain and enhance caring relations' (Noddings, 2013 pxvi), an analytical lens centred upon personal disposition. This approach has its origin in the feminist interpretation which emphasises the interdependent nature of humanity rooted in a mother's love for the child, referred to as 'feminine' or 'natural' care (Held, 2006). Noddings' framework of care ethics distinguishes between three forms of care: natural, ethical, and moral, which have different spatialities. Each form has a distinctive underpinning that inflects spaces of care with a specific ethos. Natural care, also known as feminine or relational care, is posited as ubiquitous to all humans and framed as a socially conditioned 'inclination' that should be 'cherished and preserved' as an essential social virtue (ibid). When natural care fails to manifest then ethical caring is called upon, which is rooted in a sense of and for the other which prompts a 'going beyond' oneself in acts of benevolence (Coles, 1997). Moral care, on the other hand, is prompted by a sense of duty or obligation, and often linked to maintaining status of one's own character as 'virtuous', also known – perhaps more pejoratively - as the act of 'moral selving' (Allahyari, 2000). This framework has been used to map out the ethical impulses underpinning 'spaces of care' in several studies regarding care for

homeless individuals (see geographies of homelessness section). A notion of ‘care ethics’ is helpful for geographical analysis as it exposes the moral and political landscape underpinning spaces of care. It also allows for critical reflection upon the practiced and embodied nature of care, as ethical ‘slippage’ can be revealed when comparing practical acts of care to statements of organisational ethos and intent (Cloke et al, 2005). Studies have revealed how spaces of care can be co-constituted by seemingly opposed ethical impulses such as neoliberalism and Christianity, where spaces of ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ reveal a blend of both, dependent upon the personal politics and praxis of workers within the space (Williams et al, 2012). This acknowledgement of the role of individual agency in imbuing acts of caring for with a particular ethos that may differ from the broader organisational aims and ethos, prompts a consideration of the geographical studies that have revealed the more sinister ways in which acts of care are imbricated within wider careless phenomena, which is attended to in the next section.

Warning against Romanticisation

Although care usually denotes the ‘proactive interest of one person in the wellbeing of another’ (Conradson, 2003a; Silk, 2000), we are reminded that ‘spaces of care’ may not always produce a therapeutic outcome. This is pointed out by Conradson who describes space of care as a ‘shared accomplishment’ between giver and recipient, meaning that in order for care to be manifest, it needs to be received not just given:

> ‘...care is inextricably relational in nature...the space depends upon individuals’ willingness to move towards each other, be engaged, and be receptive to activities of care.’ (2003:508)

Therefore, should care be offered yet refused, or partially accepted, the full therapeutic potential of a care encounter may fail to materialise. Furthermore, beyond the mutual agreement upon which achieving a care encounter pivots, it is important to acknowledge that relationships of care can be permeated with less than noble characteristics. Geographical studies have analysed the commodification of paid care work in the United Kingdom that serves capitalist interests and reproduces structural inequalities through the exploitation of marginalised subjectivities in a gendered and racialised labour market (Kittay, 2001; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Green and Lawson, 2011). Similarly, it has been noted that paternalistic approaches to care disempower rather than enable those who are being 'helped' (Shakespeare, 2000; Askew, 2009). A pertinent example of this relates to the disability movement, that has criticised the very lexicon used in social policy such as the word 'vulnerable', arguing that the very policies that aim to 'help' in fact compound their marginalisation through their paternalistic and undermining discourse that situate disabled bodies as 'weaker' at the expense of emphasising capabilities, or an asset-based subjectivisation (Wiles, 2011). Another form of carelessness embedded within a space of care is related to the forming of collective 'cared-for' identities that include some but exclude others, be it through discriminatory policies regarding eligibility and access to services, or informally through local cultures and atmospheres of not being welcomed or 'fitting in' to a local 'scene' (Johnsen et al, 2005). Such examples show how practices of care can serve to marginalise and 'oppress both carer and cared for' despite benevolent intentions to 'help' (Bondi, 2008). Therefore, it is clear that acts of caregiving do not always arrive coupled with an 'ethic of care'. As Noddings reminds, 'caring and caregiving are not necessarily synonymous': acts of practical assistance do not depend upon a caring manner

to sustain them; help can be given and received reluctantly and begrudgingly, especially when it is perceived as a source of inconvenience or embarrassment for either person involved in the caring relationship.

Moreover, it is especially important to avoid the romanticisation of the relations of care, in light of the neoliberal reconstruction of services, spaces and subjectivities of care in recent years. These shifts in policy are premised upon a conceptualisation of care that is rooted in classical notions of autonomous ‘economic man’ – a framing of human beings that is an anathema to a relational ‘ethic of care’ rooted in notions of interconnectedness, ubiquity and reciprocity. As aptly described by Bondi, ‘care is double-edged and deeply paradoxical’ and should not be regarded as unequivocally benevolent (Bondi, 2008:250). The recognition of the multiplicity of politico-ethical impulses informing local practices of care, has also been examined in the context of ‘caring at a distance’, through the frame of moral motivation, which can also be applied to more localised contexts of care.

Barnett and Land provide a nuanced account of the motivational impulses that prompt acts of ‘distanced care’, revealing diverse forms of moral reasoning that underpin personal senses of ‘responsibility’ to distant others. Drawing on the work of Iris Marion Young, for example, it is suggested that an individual’s sense of duty to distant strangers may be predicated solely upon an acknowledgement of one’s culpability in the suffering of others through personal consumption practices that sustain unethical commodity chains (Young, 2004). Therefore, in this case ethical action is driven by a desire to ‘avoid their implication in the reproduction of harm to others’ as an act of responsible global

citizenship (Barnett and Land, 2007:1069). On the other hand, more 'monological' forms of reasoning can inform acts of 'caring at a distance', where ethical practice is rooted in the principle that distant strangers are equivalent moral subjects who deserve moral treatment and justice (O'Neill, 2000), irrespective of one's direct implication in their wellbeing through extended spatialities of production practices. These two forms of normative reasoning reveal how the categories of caring for and caring about are two over-simplified categories, abstracted to the point of obfuscating the psychological and ethical complexities that underpin the geographies of care and caring. Most pertinently, they reveal how acts of care, which are often assumed to involve a powerful giver and disempowered recipient, are not as one-sided or unidirectional as oft implied. As in the case of Young's normative reasoning, it is clear that ethical action is prompted by a self-centred need to assuage guilt and culpability, thus acts of care are rendered as prudent expressions of 'moral-selving' that benefit both the giver and the recipient (Allahyari, 2000). In this interpretation, expressions of care are rendered less 'pure' as the motivation behind the action is self-serving (Barnett and Land, 2007), exposing how acts that are supposed to be caring for others, are actually self-reflexive acts of caring about one's own public presentation of self and the upholding of a moral reputation. Similarly, it has been argued that acts of caring for distant others, through 'devices' such as charitable giving or development interventions, can often unwittingly reproduce asymmetrical power relations in favour of the giver (Rabbits, 2015). There is potential in such relations for notions of 'good care' or 'justice' to be imposed by the carer/donor without reference to the opinion or cultural values of what constitutes being cared-for by the recipient/beneficiary (Sesch and Haggis, 2000). In this case, acts of caring for distant others, for example through

imposing Structural Adjustment Plans on a national economy, actually reflect a caring about the institutional donor's desire to uphold neoliberal capitalist practices, assert market dominance and bring other nations under its influence in a direct way (Sen, 2001; Stiglitz, 2002). Thus, the spatial and conceptual boundaries between caring for and caring about are nefariously blurred and often become vectors for asymmetrical power relations, especially when considering their psychological and political underpinnings. To provide clarity to this complex debate on the bona fide nature of care and caring - which has been initially attended to earlier in this chapter via the expounding of Barnett and Land's concept of generosity - a 'third way' of framing care has been proffered by Tronto: caring with.

'Caring with'

A recent addition to Tronto's model of caring practice is a fifth dimension that she calls 'caring with' (2013). This 'caring with' foregrounds the political agency of the 'cared for' as subjects endowed with the power of self-determination and, therefore, as mutual collaborators in acts of caring. Whereas much scholarship has previously focused on the role of the empowered caregiver, this proposition necessarily 'de-centres' the giver and empowers the "recipient", recalibrating relationships of care as reciprocally established, expounded and navigated. Care is thus expressed in its purest form in acts of collaboration and solidarity, characterised by open dialogue that is rooted in a sense of human equivalence, which embody what Barnett and Land would describe as 'generosity' that is interpreted as:

> 'an embodied disposition that subsists in the practices and dispositions of attending to and responding to others....a modality of power akin to forgiving or promising, that is, a practice through which "the living

> together of people" is routinely sustained over time and space.' (Arendt, 1958, p180 quoted in Barnett and Land, 2007).

Acts of generosity are, therefore, necessarily emplaced and, by this virtue, always partial. This rooting of generosity in the 'concrete encounters with others' allows caring for and caring about to be edified as acts that can empower both parties involved on mutual terms, as exemplar acts of political democracy (Tronto, 2013). We can see resonance here with Habermas' vision of postsecular deliberative democracy, where both parties are treated with equal respect and legitimacy, under exacting conditions that demonstrate equivalence. The politics underpinning acts of care and caring, moreover, the sometimes-untoward dynamics experienced during 'care' are best illuminated through examining the emotional geographies of care and caring, to which I now turn for elaboration.

Emotional geographies of care and caring

Emotions saturate our lives and are a vital lens through which we experience, act out, and make sense of the world (Anderson and Smith, 2001; Davidson and Milligan, 2004). The acknowledgement of the unavoidably interpersonal nature of care and caring warrants examination of emotions, not just of the carer's perspective but also regarding the experience of care recipients; the latter regrettably less frequently the focus of enquiry than the former (Milligan and Wiles, 2010). Through examining the emotions prompting and experienced within acts of care, and caring for and about, the power dynamics that underpin the relational geographies of care can be revealed – be it affirmative and empowering, or to the contrary, oppressive and disempowering. Liz Bondi calls for the analytical focus on care to shift entirely to the relationship of care as a

mutually-constituted, in-between entity, reflecting a relational approach to care ethics, which she suggests is best accessed through the lens of emotion:

> 'Perhaps above all, care connects people, whether they desire such connectedness or not, and imbues these connections with a wide range of emotions (Lawson, 2007).' (Bondi, 2008:250).

Bondi advocates the use of psychotherapeutic models based on the work of Carl Rogers to illuminate the inter-subjective 'emotional and power dynamics' of caring relationships. This framework is also employed by Conradson in his endeavour to explain how day centres can become 'therapeutic environments' for the homeless (Conradson, 2003). These studies draw-upon Rogers' 'core conditions' for person-centred counselling to explain the imperative role of individual disposition in the production of caring environments (Rogers, 1957). A carer's ability to achieve techniques such as 'psychological contact', 'unconditional positive regard', and most importantly, 'empathetic understanding', are the preconditions upon which a 'therapeutic encounter' can manifest between care-giver and care-recipient, ultimately a 'space of care' wherein the cared-for actualise their full human potential. Underpinning this approach is an 'ethic of care' rooted in the values of egalitarianism, non-judgementalism and the application of non-violent communication, which enable a relationship of care to be established that ultimately facilitates human flourishing and fosters a sense of subjective wellbeing. This notion is central to Conradson's idea of 'therapeutic landscape experience' whereby the interplay of persons, materialities and landscape converge, within the interpretation of an individual's phenomenology, to produce a salubrious affect. Drawing on psychological concepts such as Rogers' 'core conditions' provides a useful methodological tool for understanding the qualities of interpersonal relations that foster spaces of care, identifying specific behavioural and emotional

characteristics that indicate whether a therapeutic space can potentially be sustained (Conradson, 2003). These core conditions also provide salient guidance for researchers regarding the conducting of their fieldwork, which is elaborated in the next chapter's methodological discussion of research ethics and performing careful research.

The person-centred tradition of psychotherapy, however, is only one approach to counselling that has been drawn upon to enrich the emotional geographies of caring relationships. Following Pile's notable work that purportedly signalled the 'psychoanalytic turn' (Pile, 1991; Callard, 2003) ideas from Freudian psychoanalysis have also been deployed by geographers to explain the emotional contours shaping spaces of care. Central to this work is the concept of the unconscious, the process of transference/countertransference, and 'unheimlich' or the uncanny (Freud,1919), which are worked through in the relationship between analyst and analysand in a clinical context, but that can also play out in everyday social encounters, including relationships of care. Such notions have been used to suggest how spaces of care can be inflected by unconscious drives, for example, Bondi proposes that in the context of intimate care work, when bodily contact occurs, a patient may be subconsciously reminded of a physical contact he/she experienced as a young child, which will affect their present emotional experience of touch and guide how they respond to care in the present (Bondi, 2008). Consequntly, a person may recoil from a carer's touch and appear nervous or distressed if they experienced abuse as a child. Thus despite the benevolent intention of the carer, the cared for may react in an 'surprised, perplexed or disturbed' manner seemingly incongruous for the present moment (Bondi, 2008:256). This reveals

how the emotions experienced in care can be simultaneously pleasurable and painful, supportive yet undermining, and inherently contradictory, structured by unconscious affects that disrupt conscious intentions, reminding us:

> '...the negotiation of care is always more complex and multi-layered than participants can consciously apprehend...' (Bondi, 2008:256-257).

Drawing on works by Lacan and Kristeva respectively, Sibley (1995) and Wilton (1998) explore the psychological processes through which identities are created and maintained: subjectivisation, 'partitioning', 'othering' and marginalisation. It is evident how individual psyches and physical contexts are inextricably co-constituted through the processes of boundary making and boundary-maintenance:

> "... [as] people internalize social norms as a condition for subjective becoming, their own sense of identity is to some extent dependent upon the maintenance of surrounding social and spatial order." (Wilton, 1998:173)

This approach has been applied in Wilton's study of care 'homes' for the disabled, which he suggests are external spatial manifestations symbolic of internal psychological processes linked to the process of subjectivisation by creating 'others' which are excluded from the 'norm'. This post-structuralist perspective is not only helpful in moving forward the debate about the agency-structure dichotomy (Callard, 2003), it also allows one to see how psychological theories can be readily deployed in understanding the discursive and material spatial formations of caring institutions. It is noted that some theorists have been underexplored within emotional geographies, including the works of Adler and Jung (Philo and Parr, 2003) whose notions of 'life-task' and archetypes, respectively, could provide alternative lenses on the political links between

subjectivity, space and society. These concepts are linked to notions of the self and to the performance of emotion, which are vital frames through which the emotional geographies of care can be understood.

An emotiospatial hermeneutic

The link between emotional expression, self-concept and place is crucial to highlight in the placing of emotions within accounts of care. It is this nexus that is referred to as an 'emotiospatial hermeneutic' by Davidson and Milligan, who define the term in the following way:

> 'Emotions, then, might be seen as a form of connective tissue that links experiential geographies of the human psyche and physique with(in) broader social geographies of place.' (2004:524)

The expression of emotion is thus a cognitive, embodied and highly emplaced (context dependent) experience and practice. Notions of roles and the social construction of what emotion is appropriate to display where, for an individual playing a particular role in society, is a central factor governing the display of emotion. Milligan thus draws a distinction between two aspects of emotion experienced by a carer in the caregiving context:

> 1. The embodied emotional experience: that is, the informal carer's (inner) felt response to caregiving and how this impacts on the carer's own health and wellbeing; and
>
> 2. The affective, or emotional, entity of carework: this involved an understanding of how the informal carer interprets and responds to the needs of the care recipient and may involve working to control the outward expressions of his or her own feelings, performing actions that may be at odds with the inner state. (pp2107)

Although Milligan's study focuses on the emotional experience of informal female carers in a domestic setting, this hermeneutic can be applied to other contexts of care such as formal institutions. This model of emotion reveals that

what is felt inwardly is not always portrayed publically, especially if the carer's subjective feelings are considered 'morally disreputable' rather than 'morally worthy' within an institutional context (the distinction between the two being culturally inscribed and situated) (Hepworth, 1998; 2008). This social ordering of emotive experience resonates with the works of sociologists Goffman and Hoschschild, who draw attention to the 'masks' worn by workers, and their performances of emotion in certain contexts, dependent upon what is expected of them due to their role in a workplace context.

Ideas from performance studies therefore have been deployed to illuminate the power-saturated and emotional dynamics of relationships across space and place. Rooted in the work of the sociologist Goffman, cultural geographers have explored the 'front stage' and 'back stage' presentation of self in different spatial arenas (Goffman,1959). This involves the staged management of emotional display in public and private contexts respectively, to create specific atmospheres and ethos of place, usually relating to commercial customer service contexts where 'high touch' care is integral to the consumer's experience (Crang, 1994; Williams, 2003). In the context of care and public-facing service sectors, these performances are usually highly gendered and require feminised emotional displays – for example, smiles, nodding and 'cooing' - that attend to the emotional needs of the customer. On the other hand, workplaces that are heavily structured by heterosexual masculinity often require the performance of 'alpha male' behaviour, which includes the hiding of emotion and prizing of stoicism (McDowell and Court, 1994; Gregson and Rose, 2000). Both renditions of gendered and sexualised space are reliant upon the process of emotional labour, a concept developed by sociologist Arlie

Hochschild, who defines it as the 'publically observable facial and bodily display' of employees' emotions (Hochschild, 2003:7). In her thesis The Managed Heart, she argues that employees have to suppress their own emotions in order to perform customer-friendly emotions that are conducive to commercial gain. Organisations will provide standardised 'emotion rules' and 'scripts' for employees, who perform their roles through two dramaturgical forms: 'surface' and 'deep' acting (Hochschild, 1983). Whilst surface acting is akin to 'front stage' performance that involves displaying a false self, for example by putting on a friendly face that hides true feelings of resentment or anger one may feel inside, deep acting is more akin to 'method acting' of dramatist Stanislavki, whereby feelings themselves are modified, not just facial expressions. Whereas the former is a form of sympathy the latter is predicated upon empathy, and both are cited as vital embodied dispositions to the development of caring relationships within clinical settings (Frankel,1995). The latter manifestation has, however, been linked to workplace stress and 'burnout', especially in work cultures and practices that are driven by profit (Grandey, 2003). Milligan traces this potential for burnout within the work of formal carers, and depicts a common coping strategy deployed to improve their emotional wellbeing: emotion work. This is undertaken as a tactic to 'exert control over the conditions of their labour' and make the work of emotional labour manageable (2005:2107). This emotion work is, therefore, essentially an extension of emotional labour, the latter at the bidding of the organisation whereas the former is in one's control and deployed as a defensive mechanism. An example of emotion work would be the objectification of care recipients through removal of affection and personal warmth, or focusing on the task at the expense of the person as a feeling subject. This serves to remove the

worker from the affective entity of caring in order to protect against the detrimental impacts of emotional labour in a typically commercial care setting (ibid). This alienation of workers from their emotions has also been analysed in the care contexts where traumatic work is an everyday encounter, for example, in spaces such as the emergency room, in ambulance vehicles or mortuaries (Rowland, 2014). In such spaces it is commonplace for professionals to deploy 'gallows humour' as a psychological defence mechanism for coping with the daily reminder of one's own mortality (Scott, 2007). Overall, these studies have rightly placed the emotional dimensions of care and caring on the geographical agenda, pointing to the context-dependent nature of emotional content and expression. The literatures on care have yet to explore how religious subjectivity plays into the emotional landscapes of care.

Spatial metaphors for the geographies of care and caring

The complex reality of care has been explored through the use of a variety of spatial metaphors to help make sense of the phenomenon including: 'landscape of care' (Milligan and Wiles, 2010), 'carescapes' versus 'caringscapes' (Bowlby 2012), 'spaces of care' (Conradson, 2003), care as a 'flow' and 'nodes' of care (Atkinson et al, 2011), 'bounded' and 'unbounded' models of care (ibid). With each conceptual framing of what it means to care for, care about, caring with and be caring, the rootedness of care in local cultural assumptions, norms and discourses – frequently gendered and aged – about who should care, when care should happen, and where care should take place, is revealed (Fink, 2004). The values and norms about care are enmeshed within and structured by governmental discourses emanating from social policy, which can be framed as a 'technology' through which spaces and subjectivities of care, 'carer' or

‘cared for’, are produced and governed (Green and Lawson, 2011). This amalgamation of inherited cultural values and contemporary social policy discourse, leads to the constellations of care we see in today's social geographies, and, as such, it is vital to situate studies of ‘spaces of care’ within their specific governmental context. I now discuss the two most pertinent models of care and caring that are relevant to this thesis, proffered by Milligan, Wiles and Bowlby.

First, Milligan and Wiles (2010) suggested the idea of ‘landscapes of care’ as an encompassing framework that draws attention to the multidimensional and complex constitution of care. Defined as ‘the complex embodied and organisational spatialities that emerge from and through the relationships of care’, this metaphor draws attention to:

> ‘...the interplay between those socio-economic, structural and temporal processes that shape the experiences and practices of care at various spatial sites and scales, from the personal and private through to the public setting.’ (ibid, emphasis added)

This metaphor requires an account of spaces of care that recognises them as products of ideological and ethical impulses, political and economic policies, rules and structures of governance; but also as performed encounters that are emotionally and cultural mediated, viscerally felt and materially assembled, and charged with affective vitality. This broad brush conceptualisation is mirrored in the rendering of care by Atkinson et al (2011), who apply a critical feminist lens urging us to perceive the ‘nodal characteristics’ of care as both ‘a relation and a flow’ in all its forms: ‘material and emotional, commodity, obligation and pleasure, embodied and virtual, close and distant’ (p569), which converge in a spatially and temporally uneven manner, forming ‘spaces of care’. Both spatial

metaphors are overarching and helpfully position care within the complex and myriad relations of spatial encounter, however, they are so broad that some subsequent refining has been proffered by Bowlby.

A spatial framework that helps to dissect these overlapping dimensions of care is the dual concept of 'carescapes-caringscapes' (Bowlby, 2012). The 'carescape' refers to the broader set of political-economic and institutional sets of relations that produce spaces of care referring to 'the resource and service context shaping the carescape terrain' (p2112). Whereas, the latter, 'caringscapes' refers to the interpersonal and subjective experience of the care encounters occurring as a result of the former. Within this framework Bowlby draws specific analytical attention to the role of time and temporality as a missing dimension in the current geographies of care and caring. She posits that time is on par with space regarding its significance to the social reproduction of place. Notwithstanding a few extant studies that have focused on the 'scheduling' of domestic care work (McDowell et al, 2005), temporality, she suggests, could be made more visible by paying attention to the emotions and affects of nostalgia and anticipation, memory and habituation, and embodied temporalities such as duration of pain, sleeping, waking and rhythms of life. Her thesis is built upon the five dimensions of time specified by Fine (1996) including periodicy, tempo, synchronization, duration and sequence, which can refer to influences from the past, present or future. There is significant scope here to interlink with theories of affect and dialogue with the emotional geographies literatures in a way that is yet to be developed. This conceptual side step from spaces of care to temporalities of care also provides a useful segue into the more nascent geographical literatures on self-care and

wellbeing, which regard time and temporality as a key dimension to subjective wellbeing (cf. practices of mindfulness, meditation, and 'taking time' for oneself). There is also scope to bring notions of time and temporality into the study of FBOs in relation to the temporality of religious rituals (e.g. rhythms of prayer and fasting), and existential beliefs (e.g. reincarnation, the afterlife and nature of prophecy). I now unpack the concepts of therapeutic environment and subjective wellbeing as key concepts that need more consideration in the geographies of care and caring, especially with reference to the lived experience of people who are homeless.

Spaces of wellbeing

I now explore a linked set of literatures that investigate the specifically therapeutic nature of place and the attendant experiences of subjective wellbeing (SWB) that are garnering recent attention within geography. There has been little work done on this to date, in relation to the therapeutic experience of people who are experiencing homelessness, a gap this thesis seeks fill. Due to the conceptual and empirical nature of these topics – self-care and wellbeing - I believe they can justifiably be positioned as a subset within the wider geographies of care and caring literatures, whereas, hitherto, most have been situated under the auspices of 'health' geography. I begin with an exposition on the notion of 'therapeutic environments' as a concept relevant for framing the empirical context of my fieldwork.

The notion of 'therapeutic landscapes' originates with Gesler (1992) who examined the endogenous qualities of locations that were conducive to the recovery of physical health, such as natural hot springs. Since this introduction

of the concept geographers have explored the ways in which the triptych of environment, social and symbolic interplay within a landscape to produce a sense of health and healing (Conradson, 2005). This approach has included examination of landscape 'components' including physical factors (trees, rivers, climate), biological forms (plants, animals, humans) and the presence of objects (buildings, tools, vehicles). Attention has also been paid to the roles of solitude and sociality in one's therapeutic experience of the landscape, comparing the affective natures of private and group-based landscape encounters (Dunkley, 2006). The important role of cultural narratives in structuring one's engagement with the landscape has also been highlighted – for examples, discourses of 'wilderness' and 'pilgrimage' associate the traversing of landscape with experiences of vitality and renewal, have been revealed as central influences upon one's emotional emplacement within landscape (Conradson, 2005). Despite these nuanced examinations of the production of 'landscape', Conradson critiques this approach as misleading as it presents the physical landscapes as possessing integral health-promoting qualities that are presumed to act upon individuals in a unanimous way. Such presentations equate 'physical presence within landscape with the unproblematic receipt of its therapeutic influence' (p338), when it is clear that individuals have contrasting experiences of place (Johnsen et al, 2005). In light of this conceptual and empirical weakness Conradson offers a refined version of Gesler's original rendition, suggesting 'therapeutic landscape experience' as a more pertinent concept:

> '...the therapeutic landscape is best approached as a relational outcome, as something that emerges through a complex set of transactions between a personal and their broader socio-environmental setting...' (p338, emphasis added)

Within this framework the relationally constituted aspects of both place and selfhood are foregrounded as key analytical lenses through which we can interpret one's subjective experience of wellbeing. The 'self-landscape encounter' is thus posited as the key site of therapeutic affect – interactive, emerging and bespoke. Informed by Thrift's concept of 'ecology of place' rooted in actor-network theory, it is suggested that landscapes are assembled through 'components' that influence each other through rhizomatic 'webs of connectivity' in a 'flat ontology' of place (Law, 2000). Similarly, within this approach, the self is posited as an unbounded 'becoming' produced through relationships with other people, places, events and affects (Bondi, 2005), which are inherently temporally transgressive:

> 'The human capacity for forming internal connections to entities and events in other times and places – despite physical embodiment in a particular locality – ensures that a broader set of relations also have bearing upon the individual.' (Conradson, p340, emphasis added)

This suggests that both the past and future, through the structures of memory and desire/anticipation, have a role to play in shaping the present encounter within the landscape, and moreover, one's sense of wellbeing. It is suggested that one's experience of a place always involves 'a pre-reflective embodied response' and 'a subsequent interpretive element', therefore, acknowledging a person's dual encounter within place further highlights the importance of a temporal dimension to the 'self-landscape encounter' (ibid). Therefore, whereas Gesler's notion positions physical environments as independently acting-upon bodies to produce health benefits, Conradson's 'experience' foregrounds the subjective, assembled and precarious nature of wellbeing, which unfolds uniquely for an individual as an highly contextualized, spatio-temporal affect. This rendering of 'therapeutic environments' has since been contextually

redeployed to examine experiences of wellbeing beyond the natural landscape, including spaces of spas, fitness classes and medical clinics where bodily reconstruction is undertaken (e.g. Dunkley, 2006; Lea, 2009; Little, 2012). In these accounts, a Foucauldian approach is taken to interpret the spatial practices of wellbeing, where bodies are rendered as sites of governance upon which disciplinary discourses converge to produce 'healthy' subjectivities and spaces. This approach has also been applied to the study of homeless subjectivities in relation to their governance and disciplining in public space (Cloke et al, 2011; Williams et al, 2012), which has been modified through the application of poststructural readings of space and subjectivity to provide more empowering accounts of the homeless person's agency in spaces of 'rehabilitation' (cf. section 2.1). I wish to extend the debate on therapeutic landscape experiences in the context of homeless hostels by linking it directly to the debates on the 'value added' nature of FBOs, by drawing upon concepts such as 'spiritual landscape', to illuminate the intersection between religious care and spirituality in the production of salubrious affect.

In summary, this critical review of the geographies of care and caring, has rendered 'care' visible as a cultural construct that is performatively enacted, and embedded within space-time contexts (Massey, 2004; Milligan and Wiles, 2011, Atkinson et al, 2011). These contexts are socio-culturally, economically and politically produced, intersecting at a variety of scales from local to global in a set of 'nested dependencies' (Kittay, 1999). At the heart of these debates is the assertion that the concept and practices of care itself are contested and complex, not something to be taken prima facie. Recognising the inherently intricate, fragile and contingent nature of policies, places and practices involving

the giving, receiving and co-creating of care, it is clear that matters of care must be attended to critically and carefully. Therefore, the geography of care for the homeless must be a nuanced empirical endeavour that requires attention to the subtleties of space, place and time, as structures through which a variety of politically rendered contexts and subjectivities emerge.

Chapter conclusions

This chapter has carefully reviewed the three bodies of geographical literature which are pertinent to my case study of the Salvation Army's statutory homeless hostels in the UK: the geographies of homelessness, the geography of the postsecular, and the geographies of care and caring. Tracing the geographies of homelessness, we can see a shift from structuralist accounts that focus on the punitive political underpinnings of homelessness, to more positive accounts, inspired by poststructuralist theory, which focus on the performative, emotional and affective qualities of spaces of care for the homeless. These latter accounts highlight spaces of care for the urban poor and drill-down into the ethical dimensions of these spaces, providing a more hopeful and progressive reading of the context. At this point, the nature and role of FBOs in the homeless city was raised, drawing attention to the nascent theoretical discussions around 'theo-ethics' and 'postsecular rapprochement', which draw on and feed into broader debates about the nature of neoliberalism and postsecularism, and their combined role in the creative process of place-making (in the spatial context of service provision for individuals who are homeless). At this point, questions around the 'distinctiveness' of FBOs in this context were discussed referencing the work of Johnsen (2014), who particularly notes the issue of FBO professionalisation and potential 'mission drift'. However, although there has been much analysis on the origins of the

FBO Phenomenon (Chapter 1), and noteworthy attention paid to the ubiquity of FBOs in providing care for the urban poor (Chapter 2.1), the ways in which the religious and spiritual dimensions of FBOs can "add value" to the experiences of care for service users, has been somewhat underexplored. In this thesis I seek to redress this, by examining the specific impact of FBOs in relation to the wellbeing of service users, with a specific focus on the nature and role of their religious and spiritual activities.

The second section of this chapter then moved on to examine the concept of the postsecular through an in-depth engagement with the work of Habermas, who has proposed a treatise on how 'postsecular rapprochement' can be achieved. The uptake of this theory within geography by Cloke and Beaumont (2012) and Williams (2015) is embryonic and yet to be applied in a more comprehensive and sustained manner. These authors suggested that FBOs might add significant value to the creation of progressive political alliances, if they can adhere to the guidelines provided by Habermas, thus precipitating the opportunity for postsecular rapprochements to arise. This assertion, however, lacks empirical verification, and research is needed to elucidate how postsecular subjectivities are constructed, and how spaces of postsecular rapprochement are initiated and sustained. In this thesis I seek to contribute to this debate through developing a case study of a TSA Lifehouse as a potential arena for postsecular rapprochement.

Finally, in this chapter I reviewed the literatures pertaining to the geographies of care and caring. Starting with a critical interrogation of the concept of 'care', I drew attention to the nuanced politics and imbricated spatialities in which

relationships of care are embedded. I then drew attention to the important role of emotion in constructing care experiences, and noted the absence of attention paid to the intersection of caring practice and religious emotion and subjectivity, suggesting that the ‘landscapes of care’ metaphor could be greatly enriched by exploring the nature and role of spirituality and faith in the context of a FBO. I also discussed the more nascent geographies of self-care, wellbeing and ‘therapeutic landscape experiences’, and highlight that the links between spirituality and wellbeing in a context of a FBO is yet to be examined, which become the focal point of this thesis. In this thesis, I seek to explore the value added by faith and spirituality in creating and sustaining both the ‘carescapes’ and ‘caringscapes’ of a TSA Lifehouse.

To conclude then, it is clear that the literatures regarding the ‘value added’ by FBOs to the provision of social welfare has yet to engage directly with the literatures on the geographies of care and wellbeing. This oeuvre could be enriched by drawing current accounts of FBOs into discussion with feminist inspired literatures on ‘landscapes of care’ and the particular lens of Conradson’s concept of ‘therapeutic landscape experiences’. This concept has been mostly overlooked by the authors researching faith and homelessness to date, but it could provide a helpful framework to understand ‘value added’ at the most subjective level. This is the intersection that I wish to explore in this thesis: the therapeutic ‘value added’ by faith to the care of individuals who are vulnerably housed. This thesis will attempt to bridge this conceptual gap through the use of lenses found in counselling and psychotherapy that have inspired cultural and emotional geographies of late, also drawing them into conversation with the concept of ‘spiritual landscapes’ that is vital for

understanding the worldview of individuals who are religious. In light of the literatures reviewed in this chapter, the following key research questions emerged:

> In what way does a faith-based approach (spiritual beliefs and values) “add value” to the performance of care for service users in a hostel?
>
> What connection is there between wellbeing and faith in the hostel context?
>
> Is this hostel operating as a site of postsecular rapprochement? If so, what is underpinning this manifestation?

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The research questions detailed in the conclusion of Chapter 2 required a project design that enabled investigation of a number of different factors in the performing of a Salvation Army Lifehouse. These included the following aspects: managerial, staff and volunteer motivations and worldviews; the way religion weaves through the landscape of care (e.g. rituals, performances, subjects, objects, atmospheres); the methodology of care implemented in the hostels (e.g. interventionist, conditional or empowering); the performance of care by staff and volunteers, of differing religious beliefs or none; the role of public policy in shaping the material and performative dynamics of the care environment; and the experience of service users in relation to all of the preceding aspects. It follows that my research methodology needed to be able to generate 'thick' rather than 'thin' description (Geertz, 1973) in order to address the multiple layers of reality, as well as the complex performativities of care and spirituality cascading through the 'landscape of care' of the Lifehouse (Miligan and Wiles, 2010). Accordingly, in the thesis I adopted methodological cues from the study of emotional geographies, psychosocial approaches to care, and spiritual landscapes, in order to assemble largely qualitative information that is fit for purpose. My methodological strategy then encompassed three phases of activity: the first was a familiarisation phase in which introductory immersion into TSA culture raised key questions about the maintenance of critical distance in a sponsored studentship. The second phase, required by the sponsors, comprised of an extensive telephone survey of 36 Lifehouse managers, in which a broad overview was gained of the issues facing

service providers in different geographical contexts. Coming as it did at a time when discourses of radical centralised reform were circulating amongst managers, this survey underlined the contextual politics in which everyday regimes of care and wellbeing were embedded. The third phase involved in-depth participant observation in one particular Lifehouse, ‘Alpha Lifehouse’, over a six-week period. Here, both the undertaking of research, and the interpretation of findings, was significantly shaped by the need both for ethical propriety and sensibility, and for critical reflexivity regarding positional issues of personal spirituality and situational issues of anxiety and self-doubt. In what follows, I narrate a broadly feminist approach to fieldwork in which these positional and situational factors are never far from the surface.

This chapter is broken down into seven logical sections: in Part One I introduce the research project in a comprehensive manner beginning with a presentation of the origins, focus and scope of the project. This is followed by a brief recap of the key questions the thesis seeks to answer in light of the literatures reviewed in Chapter 2. Part Two, consists of a reflection on the philosophical paradigm chosen to underpin my methodology, and why I felt a social constructionist and ethnographic approach was best for researching the linkages between the religious and therapeutic landscapes of care. Moving on to consider the practical portion of the research project, Part Three provides an account of my fieldwork broken into three phases: familiarisation, extensive and intensive. Here I provide a detailed account of the methodological decisions I took whilst ‘in the field’, modifying the research in response to contextual factors. Part Four then focuses on the ethical aspects of designing and executing a project that involved working with ‘vulnerable’ and ‘risky’ participants. This section draws out

the differences between the ‘canonical’ and ‘situational’ ethical approaches implemented during this project. Part Five, discusses the method of data analysis that was chosen for this project, thematic coding, which was deployed to make sense of the interview material and field notes. This is accompanied by a reflection on the ethics involved in the process of writing-up my findings into a final account. Part Six involves a higher-order yet intimate reflection upon the concepts of researcher positionality and the process of ‘doing reflexivity’, with specific reference to my fluid religious subjectivity. Finally, Part Seven summarises the chapter and provides a brief overview of what the research project has achieved.

3.1 INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Origins, focus and scope

This PhD project was a co-funded CASE Studentship between The Salvation Army UK and the University of Exeter. The title of the project was set from the outset with a broad aim of exploring the distinctive contribution of The Salvation Army’s faith-based social care programmes for marginalised groups, however, the specific population and project to be studied was not mandated. After an initial period of discussion with TSA’s Head of Social Services about which area of their work the research should focus upon, it was decided that the project would examine their distinctive brand of statutory homeless projects called Lifehouses. Lifehouses are a form of supported accommodation for single men and women, and vulnerable families, experiencing homelessness. They are staffed by key workers who support clients to identify and address the causes of their situation, with the aim of facilitating their return to independent living. TSA is able to run Lifehouse projects with statutory funding from the National

Government's Supporting People strategy, which is obtained by winning Local Government contracts that are put out to tender. The average term for a contract is approximately 3 years, following which the contract is re-advertised and TSA runs the risk of ceding managerial control of the hostel if their bid is unsuccessful. At the time of my research TSA held contracts for approximately 60 sites across the United Kingdom and Ireland. Their Homelessness Team, based at TSA UK's Territorial Headquarters in London where the charity's professional Social Service work is also based, coordinates these projects. It is important to note that TSA is a Christian church that also has a professional trading arm known as the Salvation Army Trading Company (SATCO), and a professional accommodation service called the Salvation Army Housing Association (SAHA), which owns a variety of hostel premises across the UK. The professional work of the charity is managed from the same London offices as its church-focussed teams (known as "corps" or "temple" within the Salvationist lexicon) reflecting the historically close intertwining of its evangelical mission and social work.

The mandate to explore the nature, role and expression of faith in the context of TSA's professional homeless services must be viewed in relation to the wider context of national welfare policy: an era of "roll-out" neoliberalism where care has been shifted from state to community, where private groups are contracted to deliver government-funded programmes to single homeless individuals in the United Kingdom (Larner, 2000; Lawson, 2007). As outlined in the previous introductory chapter, questions regarding the appropriate role and expression of "faiths" within the "secular" public sphere are not uncommon (Dinham 2008). It was explained to me by TSA's Head of Social Services that there been

occasions where the organisation had lost, and in one case pre-emptively declined, service contracts due to differences in opinion regarding the role and significance of faith to their organisational brand and effectiveness. Despite statutory guidelines such as *Working Together* (CLG 2005), which outline how the state can work effectively with faith groups, having a faith-basis is still treated with caution and scepticism by some within the context of public service commissioning. The professionalisation of TSA as a response to this neoliberal policy context is apparent from the thesis title provided for me, and was made clear in my initial meeting with the research lead at the Salvation Army, as per my field notes:

> ‘The central question put to me by TSA’s Head of Social Services in today’s meeting to discuss the direction of research was clear and simple: “Does the fact that we are a Christian organisation make a difference in the way we do things on the ground? Does faith make a difference in our homeless services, in particular, to our clients?” A clear mandate was given to explore how Salvationist ethos, identity and values are filtering through to the way Lifehouse services were run, and whether it is perceptible to clients, moreover, how exactly it impacts on their wellbeing and journey to independent living. “Is it ‘adding value’ to our clients?” he questioned, “We want to know!”’
>
> (Research diary 25/1/2010)

For TSA this research was grounded in a real-world imperative to explore what it meant for them to be a FBO in a secularising public sphere, where the ‘faith’ element is increasingly put under public scrutiny. This imperative reflects an environment in which it has been suggested that there can be significant hostility to Christian identity and values in the professional and legal realm – a context that has prompted faith groups to give account for the role and nature of their faith-basis, as noted in the report Clearing the Ground (Christians in Parliament, 2012). Beyond this initial meeting to discuss the empirical focus of

the research, TSA has had little influence over the methodological approach the research took; the design, execution and analysis were my decision.

This introduction has situated the research in its 'real-world' context (Robson, 2011), however, it is also important to situate the origins of the research in my own biographical journey – a 'pre-history' of the project (Ellis and Bochner, 2000). The values, assumptions, interests and passion I held were key to me taking on the project, in particular a longstanding interest in the nature of Christian belief and practice coupled with a fascination with holistic approaches to human wellbeing and a passion for social-justice. These themes originate in my personal religious subjectivity, which underwent a significant transformation during the research project. I unpack this in detail later on in Part Four of this chapter, which examines the importance of researcher positionality and the ethic of reflexivity. I now turn from the empirical and personal origins of the thesis to recap on the research project's aims and objectives.

Research Aims and Objectives

The empirical aim of the research was to explore the connections between faith and the experience of care – between 'spiritual landscapes' and 'therapeutic landscapes' - in the organisational context of the Salvation Army's government-funded homeless hostels in the UK. The work therefore draws two key bodies of literature in to conversation: geographies of religion, belief and spirituality, and geographies of care and caring. The broad aim of the project was to examine the role of religious subjectivity in shaping landscapes of care and wellbeing, pivoted around finding answers to two main questions: how does a faith-basis 'add value' to the Lifehouse as a 'landscape of care'? And, to what extent can a

FBO, as illustrated by Alpha Lifehouse, operate as a space for postsecular rapprochement? Three research objectives were set out to help me answer these (cf. page xxx). This project therefore responded to gaps in the current geographical literature on the nature and role of FBOs as vehicles for "value added" care, and it also complemented the existing research on homelessness by providing a case study that focused upon the emotional geographies of faith-based care, and tracing the nuances of postsecular rapprochement. This thesis also responded to Lily Kong's exhortation to explore the 'new' geographies of religion, and go beyond the quantitative mapping of religious populations, which had become popular within the 'spatial turn' in human geography, towards mapping the 'unofficially' sacred sites of religion (2001). In her review Kong emphasised the need to investigate the blurred-boundary between 'politics and poetics' of religious identity, community and place, and to map the tensions between 'sacred-secular' space as a socially constructed phenomena. This thesis firmly responds to these appeals through a case study of a religiously inspired organisation working within a statutory framework, composed of a team of individuals with various religious identities, beliefs and levels of adherence.

In order to unpack the role, expression and experience of 'faith' present in the Lifehouse, I decided to use an interpretive and phenomenological research approach – ethnography. This qualitative methodology would allow me to generate a polyvocal narrative about the way faith was entangled in the organisational identity, culture and practice of the Lifehouse, as told and performed by the staff, volunteers, and service users. The project, therefore, sits within the social constructivist tradition: creating meaning through interviews, participant observation, and autoethnographic writing. Drawing on

both my own and the participants' reflective interpretations, I aimed to get to the nature of the experiencing subject in the world of the faith-based Salvation Army hostels. With this philosophical foundation clear, I now examine the methodological challenges associated with researching religious subjectivity and space within a landscape of statutory care for the homeless.

3.2 THEORISING 'THE FIELD'

Conceptualising the relationship between religion and wellbeing

I began my methodological journey with a broad literature review of the ways in which relationship between religious beliefs, practise and subjective wellbeing had been conceptualised and approached within human geography, to discover that it is rather under-researched and under-theorised (with the exception of literatures on religious belief and international development, see Sanderson, 2012). I then turned to a parallel set of disciplines where the nexus is well conceptualised and investigated –social work, nursing studies and counselling psychology. Much of the psychological literature that focuses on the relationship between religion/faith and wellbeing does this through the use of quantifiable measures such as the Likert scales (0-5), Outcomes Stars (St Mungo's), or statistical regression analysis (Koenig 1998), which are often popular in clinical settings. These types of study use numerical measures to analyse the correlation between dimensions of faith and health, and seek to establish links between 'cause' and 'effect' within a controlled experimental environment (i.e. a positivist epistemology). Within this approach faith is framed as a 'principal component' amidst a milieu of factors that can contribute to positive social outcomes; such studies attempt to isolate the 'faith factor' as a control element in order to identify the influence it has on programme outcomes (see

Pargament, 2001; Lewis, 2003, Fisher and Stelter, 2006, Williamson and Hodges, 2006; Hugen and Venema, 2009). From such literatures, my first instinct was therefore to somehow quantify the link between individuals' religious behaviours, beliefs and attitudes, and chart their impact on the emotional wellbeing or mental health of residents in the space of the Lifehouse. However, I was wary of seeking to replicate this type of statistical analysis that reduces the nature of religious belief, culture and practise, and the emotional and affective qualia of mental health, to an inert figure on a scale or a nominal category on a chart. Such abstracted approaches overlook the richness of lived experience and personal interpretation of both these phenomena. Moreover, from a geographical perspective, they fail to account for the dimensions of space, place and power, within which the experiencing subject is embedded. Using a positivistic approach that masquerades under the guise of being ahistorical, aspatial, and apolitical in its methodology and methods left much to be desired. Therefore, I decided to use an emplaced, peopled, qualitative methodology rooted in ethnographic tradition, with the methods of participant observation complemented with interviews. An approach sufficient both for the scope of this project, and within my remit as a human geographer interested in cultural and political issues.

Nevertheless, my foray into psychological methods used to assess this correlation between wellbeing and religion/spirituality, despite its positivistic shortcomings, did reveal something epistemologically useful that steered my methodological choice towards ethnography: it was clear that the direction of correlations were embedded within cultural context (Koenig et al, 1998). For example, studies showed that poor mental health was often linked to an

individual's inability (perceived or real) to achieve social status within their particular cultural context, especially with regards to gender and age norms. Cultural expectations concerning what it meant to be a "successful" man or woman within social discourse was intricately bound up with one's sense of self-esteem and happiness (WHO, 2002). This situatedness of the links between wellbeing and religious identity and practice, in cultural, sociological and interpersonal relationships - constructed, enacted and "dwelt" in space and place – connects with geographical work on subject-formation, subjectivity or selfhood, which are concepts well developed within feminist and poststructural geography (Butler, 1993; Rose, 1998; Bondi, 2002). What I learned from this foray was that in order to better understand the connections between spirituality and wellbeing, a qualitative, interpretive and idiographic approach was valuable. Moreover, to understand the 'value-added' nature of a FBO running a social care programme required both a critical and interpretive approach, which considered multiple layers of reality including: spatial context, socio-cultural discourses and their performative dynamics, individuals' life stories and interpretations, moreover, an appreciation of how these converge in space-time and influence each other in the "doing organisational space" of the Lifehouse (Conradson, 2003). With a social constructivist approach decided upon, an understanding of how to research religion, belief and spirituality from a geographical perspective was required, which is outlined below.

Approaching spiritual Landscapes and religious subjectivity

Capturing the religious dimensions of the hostel required a nuanced approach. I based my approach upon the guidance of Conradson, Cloke and Holloway, who apply poststructural, emotional and affective lenses to illuminate and theorise

spiritual phenomena. I was also influenced by Foucault's work on governmentality and Butler's work on the performativity, to understand how religious identities are constructed and maintained (Foucault, 1991; Butler, 1990). It is noted by Davies and Dwyer that social life is a relational, emotional and an affective experience, requiring methods that recognise and permit 'a shift from comprehension to apprehension' (2007:258), which signifies a move from explanatory frameworks towards more experiential ones such as 'observant listening' and 'participant sensing' when partaking in embodied practices such as musical performance (Wood & Smith, 2004; Morton, 2005), yoga (Lea, 2009) or séances (Holloway, 2006), and with direct relevance to this study, ritual worship events such as corporate prayer and praise meetings (Williams 2016). Such approaches explore the more 'unspeakable geographies' – ones that go beyond language to engage with emotional and affective registers. The focus here is on embodied and emotional repertoires that are 'non-cognitive' yet inherently felt in the body - viscerally experienced - as a performative epistemological lens (Thrift, 2001). This approach lends itself to an immersive ethnographic methodology, where the body of the researcher becomes the instrument through which the research is constructed – where my visceral experiences became a vehicle for interpreting 'the field' (Davies & Dwyer, 2007). This 'close-by' methodology required an engagement with literatures on the geography of emotions, which has been explored in the previous chapter.

In order to construct an emotional geography of Alpha Lifehouse, and to illuminate the interpersonal and affective dimensions of postsecular rapprochement, I was interested in examining the relations, practices,

processes and ethics that underpinned the relationally constituted Salvation Army 'carescape', and how this was experienced by both carer and cared for in an embodied, emotional and affective way as a 'caringscape' (Bowlby, 2012). I did this by drawing upon work by Conradson and Bondi on the relational nature of 'therapeutic landscape experiences', 'psychotherapeutic encounter', and a 'relational theory of the emotions' (Conradson, 2005; Bondi, 2005; Gesler, 1992). Informed by these epistemologies I sought to understand how the Lifehouse existed within a 'relational social ontology' as an affectively-charged space of care, co-constructed and experienced as relational, shared, 'inbetween' and mutually-constituted (Lawson, 2007; Smith, 2007). I also focused on the attributions of value - sentiments of importance or worth - expressed by individuals within the Lifehouse, including both staff and service users, by paying particular attention to their expressed thoughts and feelings, but also the affective qualities elicited in the caring spaces they constructed through my own embodied, sensory experience of place (Bondi, 2005; Sayer, 2011). Pile helpfully distinguishes between emotion and affect in the following way:

> 'Emotional geography emphasises the significance of expressed emotion while non-representational theory emphasises the importance of inexpressible affects.' (2010:7)

Aspiring to understand these relational and ineffable aspects, which could not be captured by quantitative metrics, but only experienced through a performative and embodied methodology, using ethnography was the most reliable approach (Lawson, 2007). Moreover, in seeking to understand how aspects of the care-giving relationship were influenced by and inflected with 'faith', this approach provided an apt epistemology for understanding the production of religious space, place and subjectivity, with scholars like Holloway

(2003; 2015) and Dewsbury & Cloke (2009), constructing accounts of "sacred topologies" and "spiritual landscapes" through affective, embodied methods. This approach directly creates room to encounter the participants' experiences of God, spirits and ineffable forces in 'the field', which were manifest emotionally and affectively, as explained by Cloke:

> 'Spiritual landscapes are not just about religion, but open out spaces that can be inhabited, or dwelt, in different spiritual registers.' (2011:696).

And by the word 'spiritual' he refers to:

> 'That part of the virtual in which faith forms a significant part of the move beyond rationality and of the possibility of other-worldly dispositions.' (2011:696).

Despite this somewhat illusive 'other-worldly' nature of human experience, Cloke goes on to explain how this spiritual register, or "spiritual interiority" of organisations can be accessed and interpreted:

> 'Originally described by Debord in terms of the conscious or subconscious effects of the geographical environment on individual emotions and behaviour, psychogeography has developed into a kind of divining of the unconscious cartographies of places, both through imaginary and literary responses to a place, and through embodied practices of moving through that place'. (Cloke, 2011:488)
>
> "Incarnational approaches will...involve the discernment of how powers are embedded, or fleetingly implicated, in the interiorities of places, as indicated in how places are experienced, narrated, witnessed and testified to. Similar discernment can be applied to organisations and institutions, whose spiritual landscapes will produce affective psychogeographies both of the terrain within the organisation or institutions, and of the relational cartographies established by contact with them, impact from them, or protest against them, which may be geographically more distant but are still very much part of the spiritual interiority under scrutiny." (Cloke, 15th November 2012. 13th David M. Smith annual lecture at Queen Mary University)

According to Cloke, who pinpoints 'affective psychogeographies' as the lens through which spiritual realities can be discerned and made manifest, there are two ways these can be accessed: through "moving through" and "dwelling

incarnationally” in a space leading to narrative accounts. In order to grasp the significance of these embodied, emotional and affective methods it is helpful to use interpretive strategies that help to make sense of human experiences of ‘Being-in-the-world’ and ‘dwelling’ in landscapes (Dreyfus, 1991), and of the ‘existence/landscape, performance/practice and immanence/affect’ of spiritual landscapes (Dewsbury & Cloke 2009), such as performative writing and reflexive narrative. These approaches have their roots in Humanistic Geographies of the 1970s (Tuan, 1976), which used existentialist and phenomenological theories to place emotional experience at the heart of an individual’s subjective experience of place. Although this approach was initially critiqued for being too essentialist, it has since been redeemed by scholars such as Bondi (2005) who have used psychotherapeutic theory to reveal how the individual is constituted relationally and, therefore, revealing that one’s “inner-world” is never essentialist but always composite and dynamic. In light of these theoretical developments regarding subjectivity, it was essential to spend time in ‘the field’ of Alpha Lifehouse in order to grasp the embodied and performative subtleties of its spiritually inflected ‘caringscape’ (Bowlby, 2012) and discuss its ‘organisational interiority’ (Cloke, 2012). I also drew upon Conradon’s thesis on ‘doing organisational space’ to enrich my idea of what constitutes the unit of study that is ‘the organisation’ (Conradson, 2003). Adopting the lens of Actor-Network Theory (ANT), rather than seeing an organisation as a pre-existing fixed space, it is suggested that the organisation should be conceived of as ‘brought in to being’ through an assemblage of things, people, materials and energies – and spiritualties – as a network maintained by ‘regular and specific efforts’ (Conradson 2003). This draws attention to a wider field of actants that performativity make visible ‘spiritual

landscapes' within the 'caringscape' of Alpha Lifehouse, which can be interpreted as a 'sacred topology' (Holloway, 2003). In his thesis, Holloway describes the way in which commonplace 'profane' objects and mundane actions can be come intellectually reconfigured and endowed with spiritual significance – 'reenchanted' - through corporeal practise and ritual action; this postmodern account works to undermine the sacred/profane binary that is endemically re-constructed in Modernist thought.

Therefore, in light of this discussion on 'theorising the field', I outline the specific dimensions of the Lifehouse that I sought to encounter through my ethnographic fieldwork. I paid attention to a variety of social, spatial and temporal aspects that co-produce the Lifehouse's space, subjects and affects including: material environment e.g. objects/artefacts; spaces / spatiality / sense of territoriality; performed identities; expressed emotions; social interactions and rules (formal and informal); daily routines / performances; language, speech, utterances, body language; atmospheres / affective environment; and 'spiritual landscapes' – material and affective.

With these dimensions in mind, I now turn to the practical execution of my fieldwork, examining how these dimension were engaged with in three stages: Phase 1 involved the reconnaissance period of acquainting myself with the Salvation Army as an organisation; Phase 2 refers to the extensive phase of my research involving managerial interviews; and Phase 3 concerns my ethnographic fieldwork at Alpha Lifehouse.

3.3 EXECUTING THE RESEARCH PROJECT

In this section I provide a reflective account of the way in which my fieldwork unfolded across three distinct phases. I begin with a recounting of the 'familiarisation' phase, which involved reconnaissance of the case study organisation and the main players within it through meetings, conference attendance and preliminary site visits. I then discuss the 'extensive' phase of my research that involved a national survey of centre managers, the findings of which formed the basis of chapter 4. I then go on to discuss in depth the 'intensive' phase of research involving a ethnographic fieldwork at a Lifehouse, the findings of which form the basis of chapters 5-7. I reflect upon the ethical dimensions of conducting research 'the field' with participants deemed 'vulnerable' and 'risky' in an integrated way throughout the chapter, but also have a dedicated section on this theme later in the chapter.

Phase I: Familiarisation

My entrée into the world of The Salvation Army was relatively easy due to the nature of the research being a co-funded project, with access to a network of contacts provided. I was invited to meet with senior officials within the first week of my project and participated in two national Salvation Army conferences within the first month. I therefore began my ethnographic fieldwork in the second week of the PhD project as I became quickly connected to The Salvation Army UK's professional network. As mentioned by Cloke et al, it is often the case that research starts early on and it is important to be reflective upon one's experiences from the outset (Cloke et al, 2004).

Introductory meetings

Initial meetings were set up for me at the Territorial Headquarters in Elephant and Castle, South London, in January 2010. At these meetings I was formally introduced to the Director of Social Services, Director of Homelessness, and their respective teams. I had preliminary conversations about the nature of their roles within the wider organisation and the scope of my research project. These early meetings offered a glimpse into the managerial world of TSA and a sense of their values and vision, moreover, it furnished me with helpful documentary material such as annual reviews, strategic reports and promotional material, that become part of my evidence base for discursive analysis. My dual and uncomfortable position as an insider/outsider began at this early stage:

> 'Today I was given a tour of the building and introduced to the R&D Team - who offered me a hot desk and told me that I could work there at any time. I was sent down to IT, set up with a Salvation Army email address and underwent the online induction process - as any normal member of staff would. I've been taken into their world and treated like an employee rather than a 'critical friend' in the research alliance. I feel quite torn as I don't know where my responsibilities and loyalties should lie at this nascent stage of the research – with the department in Exeter or with the team in London? My teaching commitments require me to be in Devon, which also affords me critical space away from 'the field' to craft the research design in its initial stages. But I feel a bit guilty about not being present in London. But then how can I have critical distance if the S.A. fashion the research design closely? And what if the results aren't flattering? I don't want to let them down – they have a reputation to uphold.'
>
> (Research diary 26/1/2010)

The tension of 'mixed' loyalties was acutely felt from the beginning of the project due to the fact that TSA had part-funded the research, which was exacerbated by my quick involvement at the Salvation Army's annual residential Social Services conference a week later, to which I now turn.

Conference participation

I attended four Salvation Army conferences during the research project, one of which occurred within the first fortnight of my studentship. This included three Social Service Conferences (Jan 2010, Jan 2011, Jan 2013) and one Chaplaincy Conference (Feb 2010) where managers and chaplains were invited to share experiences, best practice and receive strategic direction from Territorial Head Quarters for the year ahead. I was invited to these conferences as a guest, with all expenses covered by the Social Services team, and given access to all the seminars and workshops occurring. These conferences were three-day residential events, hosted by Swanick Christian Centre, where I participated in all aspects of the programme including practitioner-oriented workshops and plenaries, and religious portions such as corporate worship and prayers. This enabled me to experience the culture of TSA in its religious and social service guises – and realise that at the highest levels of officialdom, these two aspects of the organisation are indivisible. These strategy-based conferences were also a perfect opportunity to ascertain the political and cultural issues identified by Managers as relevant to Lifehouse operations, which were mostly focused on the strategic decisions TSA were making in response to government funding cuts. Throughout these conferences I made field notes and for the last conference, I also write full ethnographic reflections; in my jottings I paid attention to atmospheres, the content of addresses to the crowd, the tone of speech and nature of conversations that were had over coffee and in formal seminars. Networking was an important part of these ethnographic encounters: during the first two conferences I tried to introduce myself to every attendee present in order raise awareness of my project. I alerted them of the next stage of my research – managerial interviews – asking

whether they'd be happy to discuss their role over the phone with me at a future date. Following on from this I now turn to examine this second stage of research - interviews with Lifehouse managers - reflecting upon the practical and ethical dimensions of conducting interview over the telephone.

Phase II: Extensive Survey of Centre Managers

Between June and August 2011, I conducted an extensive exercise consisting of telephone survey with 36 Lifehouse managers across the UK. The purpose of the survey was to explore in detail the issues that were raised at the Conferences, and to reflect on the interviewee's perception of the role that faith plays in the daily life of their Lifehouse. These conversations helped to identify key themes and issues that would be explored on the ground during my intensive work placement later in the project.

I chose the method of telephone interviewing for pragmatic reasons: to survey the opinion of Centre Manager across the UK - from Plymouth to Glasgow - in a face-to-face manner, would be too expensive regarding travel and accommodation costs. Telephoning was a cheaper and more flexible method that could also accommodate any last minute changes to arrangements as they arose. For example, due to the unpredictable nature of managing a hostel, interruptions were not uncommon mid-interview: on two occasions Centre Managers were called away from the telephone to deal with emergencies and one conversation had to be rescheduled.

To recruit participants for the interview I enlisted the help of the Director of Homeless Services at Territorial Headquarters in London, who sent a blanket

email to all Lifehouse managers across the UK requesting their participation in my study (see fig 2). In this email the research project was pitched as a "collaboration" between me and the managerial tier of The Salvation Army UK, who would use the findings of the project to inform the development of TSA's organisational mission and strategy. Although participants were informed about the nature and purpose of the research via this email, their consent was not explicitly sought but assumed, based on the tone and semantic of the email. This onus of participation reflected the hierarchical culture of the Salvation Army, where I witnessed mandates being given in a top-down, 'chain of command' style, mirroring a militaristic organisational culture that has been the basis of TSA's ethos from its inception. It also reflected the fact that the research was in part funded and commissioned by The Salvation Army, who wanted to ensure buy-in from their hostel managers across the territory.

I was concerned that THQ's email directive may engender a sense of begrudged obligation on behalf of the Managers, or conversely, the possibility of self-censorship with some "opting out" because of internal politics within the organisation. Despite this ethical qualm I felt using the Director of Homeless Services as a gatekeeper was the most effective way to enlist participation as it gave my project status and credibility, due to the executive endorsement by email. I followed up his official communiqué two weeks later with a personalised email to each centre manager, reintroducing myself and the project, and kindly requesting his or her participation. In this email I aimed to diffuse any sense of obligation to participate, or wariness about the nature of the project, by emphasising that all interviews would follow standard ethical protocol: that conversations would be treated as confidential, that participants' identities

would be made anonymous in the reporting of findings, and that at any point in the interview process they had the right to withdraw (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Some managers responded enthusiastically via email providing dates when they were free to speak on the phone, whereas others simply didn't reply. For the non-responders I followed up with a second email a week later, followed by a phone call to try and engage them in the project, with partial success. Overall, a self-selecting sample of approximately 50% of managers responded to my email and phone call requests, and I began the process of arranging, and conducting the interviews by telephone. These took place in a private office at Exeter University, with the telephone on loudspeaker so that the conversation could be captured on a Dictaphone. I made jottings throughout each conversation of key words or comments, or questions I need to follow up with later on in the conversation.

Interview schedules, which I prepared, provided a skeleton framework for topics to be discussed using a semi-structured interview approach (Kitchin & Tate, 2000) Questions focused on the role of faith in the daily life of the hostel and on the challenges associated with maintaining a religious ethos in a neoliberal care context. Conversations always began with the obtaining of consent for tape recording the interview and a reminder that everything said would be treated as confidential and anonymised in the final writing up of the research, as per standard codes for conducting ethical research (Silverman, 2014). I then gathered biographical and professional data from the respondents and began the interviews proper. Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes on average (for a list of interviewees and the schedule see Appendix). Following each conversation I sent a "thank-you" email to the respondent and offered the

chance for them to receive a copy of their transcription if they so desired. Some respondents sent additional material on their Lifehouse to me via email and others invited me to visit them. Overall, the dynamics of the phone conversations were friendly, candid and supportive of the research. I felt that honest responses were given, with some managers unreservedly criticising the structural changes that had recently occurred within TSA in response to the recession. The interviews were transcribed verbatim by a contracted third party and then analysed by myself using nVivo software to identify both in vivo and deductive codes or 'nodes' (subthemes), which I then gathered under 'parent nodes' (broader categorical headings or key themes) identified by their prevalence across the data set or by their relevance to the research question.

The disadvantages of interviewing over the telephone included a lack of embodied and visual information that would have been picked up in a face-to-face encounter (Skinner, 2013). I also experienced technical problems with poor phone reception on a couple of calls, which disrupted the initial flow of the conversations. However, these communication 'blips' facilitated rapport through a shared awkwardness and a desire to 'get on with the job' once connection has been re-established. Overall, the benefits far outweighed the cons of using this distanciated form of communication, which proved a useful method for obtaining a broad overview of the issues facing managers across the Territory, and how faith and spirituality were manifest 'on the ground' in their Lifehouses (laid out in Chapter 4). With this extensive survey of themes common to Lifehouses in the UK, I then set about arranging two placements at Lifehouses in order to explore what life is like on the ground in such a place, which I now present in detail.

Phase III: Intensive ethnographic fieldwork at 'Alpha Lifehouse'

In this section I explore the ethnographic fieldwork I undertook in the summer of 2012, which involved the use of participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, and reflexive writing at a hostel called Alpha Lifehouse.

Case study selection

I spent the months of July and August 2012 at Alpha Lifehouse in the south of England. This particular Lifehouse was selected as the site of fieldwork because of a personal connection with the Centre Manager that was established at one of TSA's Social Services conferences I had attended in 2010. The friendship had been struck-up during a three-hour car journey we shared from on the drive home from the conference. The role of networking and cultivating relationships in shaping the research process and, therefore, the final research product, is illustrated by this point and is important to acknowledge (Pile, 1991; Cook and Crang, 2007). Due to the embeddeness of research relationships in place, the story told in this thesis must be seen a partial and non-transferable - had I visited an alternative field site my observations and findings would have been different. Althought a second Lifehouse was visited in London as part of a preliminary reconnaissance, my rapport with the manager and staff felt tenuous due to the restructuring the centre was going through at the time of my visit, so I decided against pursing a placement at that location. Due to time constraints and the heavily interrupted nature of this PhD project - due to ill health and extenuating circumstances - I was able to carry out only one in depth study of a Lifehouse . I now introduce the case study in order to

provide the context for the ensuing methodological discussion, and set the scene for the empirical chapters that follow.

Introducing Alpha Lifehouse

Alpha Lifehouse was an exclusively male residential unit with 60 beds, situated in the poorest district of Glympton , a large town of 261,000 inhabitants in England (Census 2011). It was classified a ‘Second Stage’ hostel according to Supporting People strategy , which meant residents could live there from 6-12 months at a time with support of a key worker. The hostel was staffed by a team of 17 service delivery staff (5 management, 7 client support, 2 administration and 3 reception/front of house), 6 domestic workers (2 cleaners, 2 cooks, 2 handymen), 3 part-time volunteers (providing extra curricular support activities), and one Salvation Army chaplain that made weekly visits. I could not stay on-site at the hostel so I rented a private room in a local family’s house at my own expense just ten minutes walk from the Lifehouse. To conduct my fieldwork I visited the hostel on a daily basis, often arriving at 8am and leaving at 9pm. In total I spent approximately 300 contact hours on site.

Negotiating access upon arrival

Access within ‘the field’ often requires on-going negotiation (Cook and Crang, 2007). Although I had been invited by the Centre Manager and given permission to conduct research over the summer period, providing me with access to a location, upon my arrival at the Lifehouse, engaging participants in the project – both staff and residents – proved to be a challenge that required layers of negotiation. On the day of my arrival in the centre I got some confused looks from staff, and it came as a surprise to learn that the staff team

had not been notified about my visit. After an introductory meeting with my designated line manger, and a safety briefing from the Centre manager, I was left to begin my research independently and in isolation from the daily routine of staff. With minimal supervision, no pre-ordained volunteering tasks or a schedule to adhere to, I faced the challenge of negotiating access to the staff and volunteer teams. I quickly got to work creating my own schedule and attempting to ingratiate myself. I sent an email around introducing myself to the staff, which explained my purpose at the Lifehouse and expressed that I would like to 'get stuck in' through volunteering, work shadowing, and interviewing staff about their role as a support worker. Only two people responded to my email and I felt very disheartened - perhaps email wasn't the best way to communicate in this context, perhaps I was asking too much from a busy team, I pondered. I felt slightly panic-stricken, yet decided to be resilient, resourceful and courageous, determined that I wasn't going to be defeated by such as early setback. I therefore approached staff members individually for their support with my project, which achieved a more positive response: all staff consented to a personal interview with me, which I carried out in the first two weeks of the fieldwork. These personal interviews initiated an individual rapport with the staff members, which became the bedrock for the observational fieldwork that occurred over the ensuing weeks.

A second unanticipated challenge, however, presented itself at the start of my fieldwork: observing staff members' key working sessions with residents – that made up the bulk of the support staff's working day – was not made accessible to me. The management of Alpha Lifehouse made an ethical decision on my first day, that I could not sit-in on key working sessions between support staff

and service users. It was felt to be too intrusive a strategy that would breech client privacy, at best making clients feel uncomfortable and at worst jeopardising the effectiveness of their key working session. This was an understandable decision, however, it was disappointing nevertheless and precluded me from observing the intimate resident-staff encounters that, I imagined, would be the crucible where the nexus of faith and care could be witnessed. On one occasion I was fortunate enough to become privy to the intimate world of the key worker–resident relationship, by happenstance, when a resident burst through the door of a key-working office where I was shadowing a manager. Requesting to discuss something urgently, the resident sat down immediately; I quickly interjected and asked if I should leave them to talk, was permitted to stay by both parties. The resident spent 15 minutes disclosing a personal issue and I was privy to it all - an invaluable observation to behold:

> ‘Today I was sitting in with Julie when a resident burst through her office door interrupting us: “Oh Julie, I need to see you now” he proclaimed as he fell over his feet into the room, looking agitated and rushed. Taking his place on a chair opposite Julie, she responded, “Hi Biscuits, darling, of course. How are you? You look upset. What’s going on, honey?” Conversations with Julie were usually terse and hurried, so I was astonished by the performance that followed... as Biscuits came in her demeanour changed: she took a deep breath in, swung away from her computer to face him, leaned back in her chair and smiled – the usual furrows in her forehead smoothed out and her face softened, brightened. “Right. Calm down, count to 10...[modelling slow breathing for him]... It’s okay, take your time... now tell me what’s bothering you...”. Biscuits relaxed into the chair and recounted his predicament; all the while Julie leaned forward with her elbows on her knees and face cupped in her hands, listening attentively to him, her eyes fixed on him, and full of concern and care. She cooed and sighed with his plight, empathising with his worries and reassured him. After the issue had been aired and a resolution found, the conversation ended and Biscuits bounced out the room with a fresh energy in his step, his burden lifted. Julie then confessed to me, “He is one of my faves...I’m not his key worker any more but he still comes to me and he is such a sweetie, I’d do anything for him! You do have you’re faves, I know I shouldn’t...”. I remembered seeing her turn others away from her door when she was busy in her

> office, but not Biscuits, she was different with him. And his transformation in her presence was evident too.'
>
> (Ethnographic fieldnotes, 5/7/2012)

Within this encounter I witnessed the key worker's comportment transform as she performed a role catered to tending to the emotional needs of that specific resident. I realised these intimate encounters could be a rich seam of ethnographic material where the emotional labour of performing care was situated. I felt very frustrated that I could not observe more of them. Consequently, I decided to get involved with anything and everything I could to capture alternative ethnographic moments between staff and residents. I therefore approached a member of staff from every team in the Lifehouse – management, reception, administration, kitchen and support work - 'cold calling' on them to include me in their daily work, and I began my ethnographic shadowing.

Ethnographic shadowing

The varieties of activity I participated in included: joining the support staff on their morning patrols of the local area to seek-out street drinkers and moving them on. I also partook in 'corridor checks' each morning, where staff ensured that residents were out of their bedrooms, and inspected their bedrooms for the presence of illicit substances or associated paraphernalia. I laboured in the hostel kitchen alongside other residents, preparing, cooking and serving breakfast and dinner to residents in the canteen. I sorted through items in the on-site charity shop where residents could buy second-hand clothing at low cost. I also attended coffee mornings run at the Lifehouse for residents twice a week, and visited one external coffee morning hosted by a local church that a

few former Lifehouse residents attended. These activities helped me to become familiar with the quotidian life of staff and residents of the hostel in an embodied and affective way; moreover, it also provided a point of contact for them to get to know me, helping to develop relationships of trust within the field.

In order to develop a 'thick description' of the workplace, my fieldwork also involved more convivial aspects such as getting to know the staff better through sharing tea breaks and lunchtimes with them on a daily basis (Geertz, 1973). As friendships with staff began to develop and trust was gained, the 'field' of the ethnography stretched to encompass the personal and private lives of staff beyond the workplace (Cloke et al, 2004): I was invited for dinner at one keyworker's house; to Sunday lunch at the Chaplain's; to church with one keyworker; for a night out to see a partner's band play in a pub; and most notably, to the wedding of another keyworker. The relationships made in the field also persisted beyond the official timeframe of research project, with one support worker calling me a year later to check how I was doing and to notify me of the birth of their first child. These spatially and temporally protracted connections left me feeling somewhat ambivalent about how to maintain a professional boundary, which I had tried to maintain between researcher/researched when at the hostel. Over time this boundary naturally became blurred as I got to know my participants better and developed positive relationships with them. This transgression provoked nuanced ethical decision-making: for example, regarding the aforementioned social invitations I received from various participants, although I accepted the first few invites I decided to decline the wedding invite. This was because I felt it was inappropriate in my role as researcher and much beyond the scope of the ethnography.

Furthermore, my rapport with the invitee was also not as rich – from my perspective - as I'd imagined would be necessary to warrant a wedding invitation, so I doubted the veracity of the invite and wondered if they were humouring me so I didn't feel left out when verbal invites were given to the rest of the staff team. Consequently, I erred on the side of caution and declined the invite. However, beyond invitations of a highly personal nature, I chose to participate in this 'extended field' of research in aspiration of embodying the feminist ethics of reciprocity and care within my research relationships as best as I could. I felt the only true ethical choice was to receive the majority of extensions of hospitality from my participants towards me, and accept the more social invitations with gratitude. Furthermore, it is important to state that my research participants were very aware of the role I was playing in the hostel, and the position I was in as a researcher; moreover, my participants-cum-colleagues their own reflexive agency, so they were not inviting me under false or coercive pretences. Moving from social relationships within the Lifehouse team, I now move on to consider my participation in the religious aspects of the hostel.

Within the Lifehouse I attended all public meetings including, most importantly, the Spiritual Programme. This included daily staff prayers for staff in the key workers' office, weekly meetings for prayers and Bible study open to staff and residents, and a monthly worship celebration on a Sunday evening. I also attended the monthly residents' meeting where "house business" was discussed and residents could voice concerns or suggest ideas about improving the Lifehouse experience. In addition to these regular meetings, my visit was coincidental with the consultation period of a major programme of

organisational restructuring within TSA's Social Services called 'Embrace4Change' (E4C) – a highly sensitive and controversial programme that was being rolled-out across the Territory at the time of the research. In response to this process the staff at Alpha Lifehouse convened several 'action-meetings', which I attended. These meetings provided a lens onto the way Alpha Lifehouse was imbricated within a broader set of institutional relations, and elicited a rich account of the way in which organisational changes were impacting on the emotional geographies of staff and the 'spiritual interiority' of the organisation (Cloke, 2012). Furthermore, due to my 'insider' position at the hostel as a volunteer, I was invited to attend mandatory staff training sessions on Food Safety, Safeguarding, and Professional Boundaries. These training days - apart from being practically useful - provided a lens onto various ethical dilemmas relating to performing "Christian care" within an increasingly secular statutory framework.

It is important to acknowledge how the ethnographic 'field' stretched beyond the immediate context of Alpha Lifehouse into the professional networks of support for the homeless in the local area. I joined a manager as she visited partner agencies' residences in Glympton, which enabled me to see how Alpha was connected to a broader organisational network of statutory and informal support teams. This also introduced me to local hostel managers and enabled me to nuance my findings by soliciting 'outsider' opinions on the work of the Salvation Army through informal conversations (Bryman, 2012; Baxter & Eyles, 1997). I also attended a briefing run by Glympton City Council for social housing providers informing them of forthcoming policy changes to the benefits system, which helped me to appreciate the governmental influences shaping the current

and future 'carescape' of the Lifehouse. These visits were vital in positioning Alpha within its local and national institutional contexts, creating the opportunity for a multi-site ethnography. Being 'in the field' from 8am-9pm daily was an exhausting immersive experience, shot-through with undulating emotions of fear, joy, worry, confidence, concern, sometimes guilt, and sometimes a sense of affection for my participants, which I captured in the following ways.

Capturing the field

This section presents the different ways that I recorded my ethnographic encounters when in 'the field'. In ethnographic fieldwork phenomena happen in situ and require prompt recording lest they be forgotten (Herbert 2000); delaying the writing of ethnographic experience can reduce vibrant encounters to the confines of fallible human memory, with details dulled, at best, or at worst, lost entirely (Cook & Crang, 2007). To prevent distortion through poor recall, I captured my 'in the moment' experiences by writing ethnographic 'jottings' on a small notepad that I kept on me at all times (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). I filled-up seven notebooks during my time in the Lifehouse, and often scribbled details on the back of items to hand, such as meeting agendas and scrap paper. I aimed to capture specific details in accordance with the following 'prompts' suggested by Wolfinger:

> '1. Space: the physical place or places; 2. Actor: the people involved; 3. Activity: a set of related acts people do; 4. Object: the physical things that are present; 5. Act: single action that people do; 6. Event: a set of related activities that people carry out; 7.Time: the sequencing that takes place over time; 8. Goal: the things that people are trying to accomplish; 9. Feeling: The emotions felt and expressed.' (2002: 91).

These nine categories structured my field notes and my ethnographic reflections. The awkwardness often felt by the researcher when making field

observation is well acknowledged (Punch, 2012). To avoid making participants feel self-conscious about their words and actions during ‘acts’ and ‘events’, moreover, to ameliorate the ambivalence I felt about being an intruding ‘outsider’ in the field, on occasion, I tactically visited the ladies toilets to write down essential reflections when significant and sensitive events occurred that required discretion; I didn’t want to be seen to be “reporting” on what I was observing and risk putting a strain on my relationships in the field. I would, however, make visible jottings when it was more admissible to do so, such as in formal meetings when others were also writing memoranda. This situation of wanting to hide my recording of the fieldwork, as I made jottings on-the-go, reflected an internal tension within me: at times I felt like I was spying on my colleagues in the Lifehouse, as captured in my research diary:

> ‘I feel riddled with duplicity – like I’m betraying them. They’ve included me, shared their lives, hopes, feelings yet this feels like I’m stabbing them in the back. Some of my jottings seem so pejorative; some of the comments I’ve captured are raw with anger, sarcasm and resentment. I’d be mortified if they read what I’d noted down.’
> (Research diary, 15/7/2012)

I was careful to keep my notebook close by at all times, moreover, I was discrete about what was written up in the final rendition of the thesis in order to ensure privacy and anonymity. In addition to jottings I kept a daily audio diary, which I recorded on a Dictaphone each morning and evening, on my walk to and from the Lifehouse. I chose this method due to time constrains and low energy levels at the end of the day – it was the most immediate and simple way to capture my thoughts and feelings, anxieties and triumphs of each day. These jottings were collated in to a single Word document after the placement and analysed for themes that were cross-referenced against my interview transcripts. When I had sufficient energy in the evenings, I would turn my field

notes into longer ethnographic reflections in my research dairy, which provide the fieldwork accounts in my empirical chapters. I now turn to the specific role that interviewing played during my fieldwork.

Interviewing in "the field"

Despite a lack of access to the key working meetings, I managed to participate in a variety of elements of the Lifehouse, observing many opportune moments of unplanned interaction between staff and residents. The key spaces were in corridors, the canteen, the outside garden and smoking areas – the 'back regions' of the hostel (Crang, 1994; Goffman, 1959). Although this allowed me to witness fleeting interactions between individuals and to sense the affective atmospheres of the organisational space in an immersive way, I felt I wasn't getting sufficiently close to the personal and emotional geographies of staff and residents. Moreover, I wasn't hearing the voice of the residents sufficiently through these methods, which was an important objective for my research. The lack of opportunity for personal contact with residents was due to the fact that there were very few hostel-based activities for service users that I could directly participate in, which could create the opportunity for meaningful conversation. The Lifehouse operated as a "hub" – or, more pejoratively, a "holding pen", as one volunteer described it - where clients slept, ate and had 1:1 meetings with key workers, but spent most of their time elsewhere (e.g. visiting specialist support services, attending college courses, meeting drug and alcohol workers, or frequenting the free gym in the centre of the town). Alpha Lifehouse tended to feel very empty and quiet during the day. Indeed loitering with intent in public spaces provided some contact with residents, however, it was not conducive to confidential and in depth conversation or amenable to gaining an insightful

understanding of the residents' social relationships with staff, volunteers, or each other, nor their reflections on the religious side of the hostel. Therefore, after a fortnight in the Lifehouse I decided I would deploy a strategy of interviewing residents in order to get closer to the 'raw core of the matter' (Lancione, 2014) and understand their lives more intimately. With permission of the Centre Manager I went about recruiting participants for interview, which I then conducted over the remaining four weeks of my placement.

Interview recruitment strategies

To solicit the residents' participation I deployed a multi-channel recruitment strategy that included: (i) advertising my project on the chalkboard in the lobby of the hostel; (ii) placing a poster on the notice board in the reception; (iii) creating a flier to slip under each resident's door with a tear-off return form to hand to their key worker should they want to participate; (iv) consulting key workers about which residents they felt would be useful for me to approach based on their rapport with residents; (v) asking staff to act as gatekeepers by notifying residents of the project during their key working meetings; (vi) and after raising awareness of the research project through the public posters and 'mail shot' device, I followed up by "catching" residents in the corridor and asking for their participation in person. My pitch to residents went something along the lines of: "Hi Tim! Have you seen my slip? Fancy helping me out? It's for my uni project and won't take long" to paraphrase. I felt quite self-conscious doing this last tactic but felt this personal touch was the only way I'd realistically make a meaningful connection with the residents and be able to get them to commit to an interview. This strategy was mostly successful, only a handful of residents declined. I didn't push my agenda if individuals seemed wary,

resistant or disinterested. On the contrary, I tried to be as approachable and non-imposing as possible; after all, this was their home. Snowballing occurred on two occasions after residents had participated in an interview and found it to be a positive experience: acting as self-appointed gatekeepers they suggested the names of friends in the Lifehouse that they felt I could approach for an interview (Skinner, 2011). For a record of the individual interviews I conducted with Service Users, see Appendix.

Interview tactics

I now examine the nuances of performing the interviews in their full complement – staff, volunteers and service users - examining the methodological approach I took and some of the ethical decisions taken in the moment that could not be pre-empted. In total I conducted face-to-face interviews with 24 staff, 3 volunteers, and 30 service users (including two group interviews). In total 57 individuals contributed to this phase of the research (93 if including the telephone interviews with centre managers). All interviews started with establishing basic biographical facts of the interviewee, then an elaboration of their 'story' of how they came to be involved with TSA's homeless programme as an employee, volunteer or resident. The interviews then went along either one of two guided schedules that I had prepared in advance, one for residents and one for staff/volunteers. I used a variety of question types including factual, comparative, hypothetical, preference-oriented and reflective (Smith et al, 2009). Aspiring to the feminist goal of shifting the power-dynamic within the interview context towards one of mutuality, rather than a one-way flow from researcher to researched, I used semi-structured interviewing to conduct the encounter in a more sensitive and balanced way (Bondi, 2005). This approach

provided flexibility to explore topics as they arose and enabled participants to guide the interview process by focussing upon what was important to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). This approach created a more empowering interview context, which enabled the voice of the respondent to come across with more clarity and candour, with 'open' questions providing an opportunity for in-depth exploration of personal experiences, opinions, interpretations, feelings, and the possibility of raising new pertinent questions as they arose in context (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). Whilst some interviews consisted more of biographical storytelling, others were more exploratory and interactive.

According to Thomas (2010) interviewing is a dialogical event where 'lives become entangled together' during the interview encounter. In light of this dynamic it is imperative to reflect on the extent to which the dialogue is interviewer-led, and therefore largely reflective of the researcher's agenda, rather than creating a space for the interviewee to be able to co-script the encounter. I tried to mitigate the extent to which I suggested ideas or induced particular responses from the participant by avoiding 'leading' questions and instead introduced 'open' ones (Day, 2009). For example, instead of asking, "That sounds terrible, I imagine that made you feel very angry – how did you feel?" I would ask: "Could you tell me a bit more about how that made you feel?'". I drew upon Carl Roger's client-centred psychotheraphy practice of the 'core conditions' required to facilitate rapport: empathy and unconditional positive regard (Rogers, 1957) in aim of creating a "therapeutic interview experience" (cf. Conradson's notion of 'therapeutic landscape experience'), to prompt a more balanced and empowering interview encounter. This was especially important to achieve in the context of working with 'vulnerable'

participants, who required ‘extra ethical’ consideration due to the ‘exceptional challenges’ - relating to issues of informed consent, appropriate remuneration and personal safety – that arose due to their more precarious socioeconomic positionality (Runnels et al, 1999) (I explore research ethics in depths later on in this chapter). Moving from subject-specific dynamics shaping interview encounters, I now turn to examine the intra and intersubjective layers of interview performances, and to the wider contextual factors that influenced the unfolding of my interviews.

The multi-spatial contexts of interviews

Various spatial contexts coalesce to shape interview-based relationships, two of which I’d like to expand upon here: the subconscious layer and locational factors. First, regarding the subconscious, I begin with the notion of ‘rapport’, which is explored by Bondi, Pile and Thomas, who combine their professional knowledge of Freudian psychoanalysis and Rogerian psychotherapy with their methodologies for geographical research, to highlight the importance of intra-psychic forces that are crucially at play within an interview context (Bondi, 2003a; Pile, 2010, 2012; Thomas 2010). Interpsychic forces such as the unconscious, transference, and counter-transference, fundamentally shape the building of trust and rapport within the encounter (or failure thereof), which essentially shapes the depth at which is interviewee is prepared to engage and respond to the questions of the interviewer (Pile, 1991). Much is made of these intra-psychic forces that, although invisible, manifest themselves in physical gestures, body language, silences, facial expressions, vocal intonation and timbre, and the affect of the encounter (Kingsbury, 2010). Hence, it was important to be highly sensitive to these bodily and affective aspects of

interviews in order to capture the non-verbal cues of communication (Bondi, 2005). Furthermore, as interviewing is a two-way encounter it was important to note my own feelings that arose during the encounters (Thomas, 2010). These are as much a vital source of information to capture about the encounter, which can provide insights for analysis at a later stage. I captured these non-verbal clues and feelings by making discrete 'jottings' on a small notepad during my interview encounters and also reflected on the 'feel' of the interview afterwards (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). I now discuss the contextual factors shaping the dynamics and unfolding of the interview encounters.

The significance of location in shaping the dynamics of the interview relationship is important to acknowledge. My interviews were conducted in a variety of spaces – staff offices, client interview rooms, common rooms (the pool room, canteen and chapel), the reception office, a cafe in a nearby park, a staff member's home, service users' flats, and a restaurant by the river. I also visited a local church-run coffee morning where I interviewed three ex-residents of the Lifehouse on an impromptu basis. The ability to be flexible with interview location was two-sided. The benefits included creating a more collaborative dynamic by letting the resident select a location of their choosing, which equalised the power relationship and, I hope, put them at ease as it was their preference – many liked to get away from the Lifehouse, so a walk to the park and chat in the café was welcome. On the other hand, a negative corollary of this flexibility pertained to noise intrusions from being outdoors, and interruptions from bumping into other residents who made small talk, which broke the focus of the interview by impeding the flow of conversation. The 'micro-dynamics' of location settings are important to acknowledge as they can

shape the nature of information disclosed (Evans and Jones, 2011). In some spaces the affective atmosphere was informal and the dynamic more reciprocal and candid:

> 'When sitting together on a couch in the privacy of an a empty conference room the interview felt like a pleasant conversation between two friends just 'hanging out'.' (Research diary, 20/7/12)

However, in other contexts, I felt the power balance tip in my favour and the interview unfolded in a more formal manner:

> 'I felt it was an error to interview in the administrative offices – a site where rent was paid and disciplinary warnings issued by the management – it set a formal tone and the conversation was stilted.' (Research diary, 20/7/12)

In the latter case the interview had unfolded along a more traditional register with the respondent waiting on my questioning to prompt a reply and it felt artificial. This inequality in spatial context and its variable impact upon the performance of the interview is explicit yet unquantifiable (Evans & Jones, 2011), however, it was a case of using what space was available – or preferred by the resident - at the time of the interview and a concession I had to make. It is evident that the context of the interview impacts on the information elicited and disclosed, therefore, impacting on the knowledge constructed from the analysis of findings gleaned from the partiality of the interview data (Elwood & Martin, 2000). I now consider the ethical dimensions of performing fieldwork, beginning with my engagement with dilemmas and decisions around managing risk and vulnerability, then moving on to consider the more 'canonical' ethical approaches employed to frame the project's design and execution.

3.4 ETHICS

Consideration of risk and vulnerability

The concept of 'vulnerability' is highly contested. It can operate stealthily to obscure the strengths and capabilities of those to whom the label pertains, compounding their marginalisation in a counterintuitive manner (Brown, 2011). With this caveat in place I proceed with a definition that I feel is applicable to the subjectivity of someone who is experiencing homelessness:

> 'A 'vulnerable' person is an individual who experiences 'diminished autonomy due to physiological/psychological factors or status inequalities'' (Silva, 1995:15 in Liamputong, 2006).

By virtue of being homeless one has a diminished socio-economic status, moreover, in the context of the Lifehouse a resident's life is constrained by the rules of the house, therefore, a diminished freedom. It is noted that 'status inequality' could refer to someone that is simply 'othered' in a social context; therefore, a researcher can be considered vulnerable too, for example, when entering a 'field' in which they are not 'native' or a natural participant (Davison, 2004; Webster et al, 2014). I had to risk assess my own vulnerability as well as that of my participants in an on-going manner during the recruitment for and execution of my fieldwork observations and interviews. Some residents were classified as more vulnerable or 'at risk' or 'riskier' than others in accordance with official risk assessments undertaken by support workers in the hostel. As a result of this, I didn't pursue setting up a private interview with every resident present. For example, two residents had alcohol-induced brain damage and in light of this I chose not to interview them as it was simply too difficult to ascertain consent. I also made an ethical decision to refrain from interviewing

new residents who had been admitted to the hostel within the last week of my placement, as there was not enough tacit or experiential knowledge of them to know whether they could be a threat to me or vice versa. I made these nuanced ethical assessments based on my interaction with clients in the first two fortnights in the field, and with instruction from staff with whom the residents were better acquainted.

Not only in the selection of participants for interview was I judicious, I also had to be responsive to safeguarding concerns during interviews. It is noted that ethics are ‘occasioned practices’ that are worked out in situ (Calvey, 2008). For example, mid interview one resident expressed suicidal intention and self-harm, at which point I told him that I was concerned for his safety and that I’d like to let his keyworker know, which he assented to. I followed this up immediately after the interview in line with my duty of care to my research participants and in my role as a Lifehouse volunteer. Fortunately, during a Lifehouse induction seminar entitled ‘Safeguarding Vulnerable Adults’, it was made clear on the procedures I needed to follow should such a circumstance arise: to never promise confidentiality and report safeguarding concerns to the duty manager immediately.

Despite attempts to safeguard residents, and myself, I still felt vulnerable at times during the fieldwork – a common phenomenon for researchers working with vulnerable populations (Dickson-Swift et al, 2007). This sense of physical vulnerability was acutely brought to my attention in the very first week of my placement when one resident fled from the centre after being arrested for rape and let out on bail. This incident had occurred in the park that I walked through

to get to Alpha Lifehouse every day. At that point I began to take a route along the main road instead. Making judgments and adjustments to keep safe had to be on-going within this research context. This vigilance also extended to reviewing my interview strategy as new knowledge came to light:

> 'I learned today that the office I've been using for client interviews has a dodgy lock and handle – it seemed fine to me but apparently Max once got stuck in there for half an hour with an angry client who physically assaulted him! Why hadn't I been told about this sooner? I won't use that room again.' (Research diary, 28/7/12)

The vulnerability of the researcher in the field is keenly apparent through this troubling circumstance. Although I had done my best to keep myself safe by keeping a radio and panic alarm on me at all times when in the hostel, as this example shows, some risk factors are simply invisible until made explicit (Dickson-Swift et al, 2007). In other cases, however, it is very clear on how to enact safeguarding measures during fieldwork, which leads me to the topic of performing ethical fieldwork in a more institutionalised manner.

Interviewing 'vulnerable' participants: ethical considerations

There can be a formality to the context of an interview that creates artificial boundaries within which an anticipated register and rapport are presumed by both parties (Skinner, 2012). This preconception of the interview as a 'professional conversation' between two or more individuals is beneficial as it can help to foster a space of confidentiality within which disclosures can be made and topics broached, which wouldn't usually arise in normal, casual, conversation (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2012). However, in the case of interviewing the residents at Alpha Lifehouse, I was mindful that participants would have been interviewed many times previously as part of the formal rehousing processes; such interviews routinely involve intrusive questioning on

sensitive topics such as personal and family circumstances, addictions, mental health, legal status, criminal background, finances, education and skills, and employment history. I was concerned that such prior experience of 'interviews' would generate some form of 'interview fatigue' or hostility that would dissuade residents from participating in my project. Therefore, I decided to approach the recruitment of participants by framing the interview in terms of a " relaxed chat to help with my uni project". Despite an awareness of the ethical importance of informed consent in accordance with more deontological approaches to research ethics, such as written-down codes of conduct, as mentioned by Ritchie et al (2014) it is sometimes the case that deviation from standard protocol is necessary as part of performing 'situational' or 'relational' ethics in the field. In light of wanting to avoid imposing yet another formal 'interview' upon residents, I decided to dumb-down the academic status of the project and couched it as a '"relaxed chat to get your opinion for my uni project"', as I didn't want to appear to be either lofty or formal to the residents. I offered refreshments in the form of tea and biscuits when they were in the interview room, as an expression of hospitality and as a token of appreciation for participating and to put them at ease, not as a bribe.

The issue of what constitutes appropriate remuneration for people who are experiencing homelessness when participating in a research study has been discussed by various practitioners (Gunn et al, 2013, Cloke et al, 2000). It has been common in the past to remunerate people who are experiencing homelessness in the form of cigarettes or a nominal financial incentive; however, I didn't feel this was appropriate for the participants in my study. This is because they were not 'rough sleepers' but living in supported

accommodation, in receipt of government benefits such as Housing Benefit and Job Seekers Allowance, and provided with three meals a day as part of their tenancy agreement. Offering a token remuneration, such as cigarettes, in this setting seemed potentially belittling and contrived. Mindful of maintaining the dignity of my participants I heeded the words of Runnels et al who advise researchers to see individuals who are experiencing homelessness as a 'human being first in a temporary situation of lacking shelter' and not as part of an undifferentiated cohort of 'homeless people' first, as if solely defined by their current circumstance (Runnels et al, 2009). Further to this, I didn't assume my participants were destitute and without means, as in some cases their income was greater than mine once benefits were secured. However, despite this approach it was important to remember that the men were 'vulnerable' due to the situation they were in and could therefore be at potential risk of exploitation – especially if they perceived their participation in my project as conditionally tied to the service they would get from the Lifehouse. This potential for misunderstanding was avoided through clearly communicating that my research was part of a university project and separate from the Lifehouse's official programme of support work. As outlined by Gunn et al (2013), when working with those without secure accommodation it is possible that participants may be 'willing to exchange personal dignity for shelter or benefits' and this is another reason why I didn't offer a nominal remuneration for participation – I didn't' want to encourage people to participate with a ulterior motive. Furthermore, although I appreciate this sentiment of Gunn et al's concern, it does overlook the important fact that the residents also had a right to participate in my study and have their voice heard and included – an ethical precept that is often ignored in favour of codes of conduct that emphasise protection and nonmalfesance over

the potential for an individual's empowerment through virtue of their participation in a research project (Ritchie et al, 2014). It is noted that interviewing can be an empowering experience, especially for group who are marginalised in a society, with interviews acting as a tool that equalises the power relations within 'the field' (Winchester 1996). Indeed, this research project aimed to elicit the voices of services users as an element of paramount importance, conferring much dignity and value on them.

I was keenly aware of my privilege as a funded research student, and at times I felt a sense of anxiety and shame about my securely housed and relatively affluent position that afforded me the luxury of working in the 'knowledge economy', whilst my participants were sheltered at the mercy of the state. This sense of dis-ease was compounded by knowledge of the fact that I was receiving a stipend from TSA for the research, whilst colleagues at Alpha were at risk of redundancy and pay cuts as part of the Embrace 4 Change process. It was a difficult emotional terrain to navigate, but as rapport and genuine camaraderie were developed with staff and residents over the placement, my sense of imposing in a world that was not my own faded. Contrary to my concern that I might be perceived as taking advantage of the residents – as an invader of their home – many expressed how much they had enjoyed sharing their opinions and experiences with me. One resident even invited me back to repeat the interview with him in two weeks time to in order to reflect upon his progress within the Lifehouse system, which I took him up on. Upon the completion of my research project, as an acknowledgement of their help in my research, I sent each resident a personalised 'thank you' card, which I slipped under their doors on the last day of my placement.

The ethical 'canon': procedural ethics

In the previous section I drew attention to the way in which my fieldwork involved negotiation of various ethical dilemmas regarding the management of risk and vulnerability, both on the part of my participants and myself. I also explained the ways in which I made nuanced ethical decisions concerning the way in which the project was presented to residents and how their participation was remunerated. These were examples of how I met the 'exceptional' challenges of working with marginalised populations who have 'enhanced vulnerability' that required consideration regarding issues of competency, consent, protection, compensation and safety (Runnels et al, 2009). It is also important to refer to the more abstracted and standardised protocol for performing ethical research, which are navigated prior to entering the field and vetted by Research Ethics Boards. Ethically, I designed my research in line with the University of Exeter's Code of Good Practice in the Conduct of Research, and I also submitted my project proposal to the Salvation Army's Theological and Ethical Advisor Committee (THEAC) that consequently approved of the research. Following this I obtained a full disclosure from the Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) in order to undertake my fieldwork placement. I also consulted various professional guidelines about the normative standards for conducting qualitative research in the field including that of the Social Research Association. Not only were my ethical rites of passage bureaucratic, I also went on specific training courses to help me understand the nuanced challenges of working with 'vulnerable' adults in 'the field'. This distinction recognises the problematisation of a deontological approach to ethical fieldwork, which is code-based and doesn't account for the situated complexities of 'ethical turbulence'

that can occur in the field when faced with researching 'others' (Cloke et al, 2000). To prepared myself for a more situated approach I attended the Against Domestic Violence and Abuse (ADVA) Level 1 Training run by Exeter Council, which gave me insight into the psychology and behaviour of violent perpetrators, and gave me awareness of how to interact with violent individuals should that circumstance arise. I attended a Mental Health First Aid course in London to improve my awareness of how to support individuals with acute mental health issues like anxiety, depression and suicidal thought. These were relevant training courses considering that the residents of Lifehouses – according to the Salvation Army's own report The Seeds of Exclusion – are more likely to have experienced more abuse, neglect, addictions, and poor mental health than the average person (Bonner and Luscombe, 2008). This training was consolidated and nuanced at an early stage in my fieldwork when I attended two training courses run by TSA for staff, 'Professional Boundaries' and 'Safeguarding Vulnerable Adults' at the Lifehouse. These involved becoming acquainted with the organisation's ethical codes of conduct for working in the hostel, which serendipitously doubled up as sites of participant observation when lively debates occurred regarding where the ethical boundaries for a Christian hostel operating within a professional service arena should fall. These discussions were vital in preparing me to enter the somewhat edgy environment of the Lifehouse, where residents were termed 'vulnerable' due to their status as homeless, but more so because of the 'complex needs' – emotional and medical - many experienced. I safeguarded myself by withholding personal information regarding my relationships, telephone number, home and work addresses, and my online social networking identity. I also placed a boundary around the information I shared with staff and volunteers,

two of whom wanted to be Facebook “friends”, which I declined as I felt too much personal information could be gleaned.

In summary, I took a feminist approach to fieldwork characterised by empathy, empowerment, reciprocity and the right to participate (Moss et al, 2002; Sharp, 2005). Ensuring that the interview process was non-exploitative required me to develop genuine rapport, which was negotiated through the language I used, tone I employed, and most of all, through my attentiveness and active listening to identify with the respondent (Massey, 1994; Bondi, 2003). It has been noted that interviews can become sites of empowerment for the respondents through creating a space to be listened to, tell their story, or exchange valuable information (Oakley, 1986). Aspiring to be true to the voice of the respondents in my empirical chapters I use verbatim quotes, as not to misconstrue their meaning. Moreover, as part of my ethical responsibility to the funders an executive summary of the research findings will be produced, which will contain the voices of residents; in this way their voices will be extended to a corporate audience and their opinions potentially shape the future trajectory of Lifehouses services and the experience of future residents.

At all times I aimed to treat my research participants with dignity, honesty and integrity. I was transparent about the purpose, nature and outcome of the interviews during the recruitment process for residents and staff. I re-briefed all respondents on the nature and purpose of the study at the start of the interviews and checked they were still happy to participate. Moreover, I informed interviewees that they had the right to refuse to answer questions, and to withdraw from the interview at any point. Verbal consent was always sought

as I felt written consent would set too formal a tone, which I wanted to avoid; this is an example of a deviation from following standard 'procedural' ethical protocol in light of contextual considerations of the 'vulnerable' population I was working with and the desire to keep the interview feeling informal in hope of 'flattening the power gradient' (Swartz, 2011). I requested permission to tape all interviews on a Dictaphone, and in two cases this was declined due to the participants' shyness, in which case I made written notes during the interview that I wrote up in to a full account afterwards. I emphasised that conversations would be treated in confidence and made anonymous in the final write-up of the thesis. All digital data was securely backed up on my personal computer. At the end of my questioning I provided the chance for participants to ask questions and responded honestly. Whilst all these caveats and promises were put in place to safeguard the respondents at the start, it is worth noting that these do not necessarily guard the wellbeing of participants during the course of the interview or diffuse the nefarious power dynamics that are endemic to semi-structured interviewing (Winchester, 1996) – doing this required application of emotional intelligence and ethical attenuation in the field that are examples of 'situation' and 'relational' ethics, underpinned by empathy for participants (Swartz, 2011). I now move on to consider the way my interview data was analysed and written up into a final account.

3.5 ANALYSING AND WRITING 'THE FIELD'

I now review the methods I used to analyse my ethnographic material, and the ethical considerations regarding the representation of my research participants in the final writing up of the thesis.

First, turning interview material into ethnographic material was informed by a psychoanalytical framing of the research encounter influenced by the work of Bondi and Pile. I treated each interview as a co-creation - a powerful discursive procedure between two or more bodies - requiring critical evaluation of both the initial context and proceeding content of the encounter to make sense of the information constructed therein. According to Strathern (2012), the beauty of the interview is that it allows for 'evolution of subject matter, interpretation and cross-reference so that the interchange builds up its own context', emphasising the dialogical and creative nature of interviews, which can and must be picked over in retrospect to make sense of the interaction. Indeed, it is much in the 'afterthought' of the interview – in the analysis applied to the interview material – that 'moments of realisation' occur and ethnographic experience 'crystalises' and can finally turned into an account (Pile, 1991). This understanding of the interview material led to a long process of retrospective analysis that was executed through the process of thematic coding.

Thematic Coding

Thematic coding is a flexible approach that enabled me to identify, analyse and report patterns within my interview data in all its richness. Unlike more specific forms of analytical coding, such as Conversational Discourse Analysis (CDA) or Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) that are underpinned by specific theoretical and epistemological positions coupled with a prescriptive analytical methodology, thematic coding is relatively theory-free and can accommodate both essentialist and constructionist approaches to social phenomena and analysis thereof (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The process of thematic coding involved the following sequence.

First, I personally listened through all my interviews prior to sending them for transcription, and made jottings on initial themes that I could detect for each participant. Listening again was beneficial for discerning tone, temporality and nuances of the interview interaction that I wouldn't be able to identify in the forthcoming transcripts. It also helped me re-familiarise myself with the participants and the responses after being away from the field for a few months. This phase allowed me to identify some prevalent (recurring) and key (significant to my research question) themes in the data set at an early stage of analysis. I undertook this aural phase of analysis in preparation for a preliminary presentation of my fieldwork findings that I gave at St John's College, Cambridge, in September 2012 at the AHRC/ESRC Religion and Society Research Programme's annual conference. Following this phase of aural analysis I began the arduous process of transcription and analysis.

Second, I began to transcribe my interviews verbatim on my personal computer, with a column for the conversation and column for reflections on themes that were identified as I transcribed. This tandem process of transcription and initial analysis was frustratingly time-consuming, visually taxing and mentally draining; the process progressed at a rate of 2-3 hours of transcription and analysis per 1-hour real-time audio, with short breaks every 20 minutes. After transcribing ten interviews I decided to commission a private contractor to transcribe the rest of the data set, as this was the most efficient way of managing the vast volume of audio data. I had already listened to the interviews in full and made initial notes, so felt very familiar with my data.

Third, with transcripts to hand, I used two strategies for coding and thematic analysis: nVivo software to code the telephone-based centre manager transcripts, and manual coding for the Lifehouse-based interviews. I made the choice to switch from CAQDAS to manual coding for the majority of transcripts because I found it a more intuitive, active and, therefore, memorable process. I started my analysis in both cases by identifying in-vivo codes (‘nodes’ on nVivo) and made jottings on the transcripts of associated themes (or ‘notes’ on nVivo). This coding process was both inductive (bottom up, data-driven) and deductive (top down, theoretically-driven), where in-vivo codes were identified in tandem with codes guided by the theories/concepts I had identified in my literature review on emotion, neoliberalism and postsecularism as important (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Crabtree and Miller, 1999). This bifurcated approach to coding also maps neatly onto the semantic/latent approach to coding outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). For each set of transcripts (managers, staff and volunteers, residents) I identified approximately 20 codes (or sub-themes). I then manually compiled sub-thematic sheets and populated these with direct quotes from interviewees based on the text coded – a lengthy but effective process as I got to know the material intimately. I found that with nVivo this compilation process was so easily automated that it prevented me from ‘learning’ my material as closely as when doing it manually, in particular removing quotes from their surrounding narrative so succinctly that they became quickly decontextualised. After populating the sub-theme sheets by hand, I grouped these into major themes (or ‘parent nodes’ in nVivo), which required consideration of how the data related back to the research questions. These findings were enriched with thematic analysis of my field jottings and research journal, which were also

coded by hand. The main themes identified provided the structure for the narrative accounts presented in my empirical chapters.

Writing up accounts

The process of analytical coding involved in identifying main themes, that structure the empirical chapters of this thesis, has been outlined above. These themes were complemented by the personal way in which I have written up some of my fieldwork experiences in line with an 'enhanced ethnography' writing style that shares characteristics with novelistic writing, to convey what it was like to be in the field (Humphreys and Watson, 2009). I have also presented research diary entries to elucidate my voice in the account of 'the field' to emphasise the partial and situated nature of this writing.

Although informed consent, privacy and non-malfeasance were important deontological ethical principles underpinning the execution phase of my research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), ensuring these principles were upheld fully sometimes required more nuanced ethical decision-making and discretion during the actual writing-up phase of the thesis. This refers to decisions I had to make regarding what could be repeated and made public in the final version of the written account. Often very personal experiences and opinions were shared with me, which required carful consideration as to whether or not they should be included despite my routine statement of intent and obtaining of consent at the beginning of each interview. For example, in one instance what was disclosed by a staff member during an interview – despite the preliminary consent the participant had given at the start of the interview – was followed by a caveat "oh you're not going to repeat this, are

you?", which prompted an ethical decision to be made on my behalf. Although I felt frustrated because of the insightful nature of her original disclosure, I had to withhold this information from the final thesis out of respect for the respondent's implicit request for privacy. Thus, even when doing overt research, I found myself in a 'blurred' situation with regard to confidentiality and consent (Calvey, 2008). This extended especially to participant observations of more 'sensitive' interactions like prayer meetings, or moments of 'emotion talk' when staff vented to me regarding their frustrations with colleagues – it was not an explicitly stated research moment, however, by virtue of being in 'the field' these expressions became part of my enquiry. Moments of overtness and covertness, therefore, had to be negotiated in light of the relationships I had established with specific participants in the field, and with consideration for the actual and potential impact the research could have on the participants (Liamputtong, 2006). Admittedly, partial concealment was unavoidable in some instances – for example it was impossible to obtain full consent from all people in a room during a prayer meeting without changing the dynamics of the phenomenon under surveillance (Cook and Crang, 2007). This messy reality of doing ethics in the field is better described as a continuum rather than binary of overt/covert and can feel uncomfortable, as illustrated by Punch:

> '...the semi-conscious tactics of the field –eavesdropping, fudging over ones purpose, simulating friendship, surreptitiously reading documents, etc. – make for good data but bad consciences.' (Punch, 1986:73)

I aimed to alleviate the possibility of a bad conscience by deploying the tactic of empathy in my fieldwork decisions; coupled with critical reflection upon who was benefitting from my research, and how my written work would impact upon all involved (Gunn et al, 2013). This was quite a burden to bear, especially as the

more ‘grounded’ and exploratory approach to fieldwork that I took meant that I couldn’t have a definitive nor preliminary answer as to what the exact impacts of the findings would be for those involved. The general answer I gave when asked by participants ‘what’s this for then?’ usually involved a response like, ‘I’m looking at how faith shapes this Lifehouse’ or ‘I’m finding out what makes this place different because its run by the Sally”, were typical answers that failed to convey the richer theoretical framings that are presented in the actual thesis, which couldn’t be ascertained during the course of fieldwork.

Writing up my findings required an on-going ethical process that required nuanced consideration of evaluating what participants had disclosed to me during interviews in light of the overall aims of the research project. Often things of personal importance were freely shared that, although insightful and of some relevance to the research and occurring within ‘the field’, could also be framed as ‘juicy tidbits’ of information and perhaps too sensitive to be recounted. In such cases I considered the potential impact that such excerpts of conversation may have upon the interviewee and on their work relationships, and deftly selected my quotes for ones best fit for answering the research questions (Gunn et al, 2013). This required putting myself in the shoes of the respondent and operating from a place of empathy (Silverman, 2014).

Furthermore, in light of the challenge of representing the ‘Other’ - my participants - in my thesis, I have used direct quotes from interviewees to raise their voice within the text as best as possible (Cahill et al, 2007). However, this is with the caveat that even a ‘giving voice’ approach ‘involves carving out unacknowledged pieces of narrative evidence that we select, edit, and deploy to

border our arguments' (Fine, 2002:218), that serves to preclude the reader from knowing the wider contextualising narrative from which cherry-picked quotes were abstracted. Regarding the constructed nature of research knowledge, moreover, to prevent the interpretations presented in the thesis from appearing as universal and axiomatic, all reflections on my fieldwork have been written in the past tense. This retrospective narrative style helps to convey how 'the field' is constantly in flux and subject to inevitable change, and should not be treated as a priori. Related to this critical temporal dimension, it is vital to emphasis that seven years have passed since the commencement of this doctoral thesis, so any use of the knowledge it contains must be viewed as historical and tempered with reference to more contemporary sources of information on The Salvation Army's current homeless programmes. It is certain that residents, staff and volunteers interviewed for my research will have 'moved-on' from the Lifehouses they were involved with during the time of my research project. Moreover, the proposed structural changes for the Lifehouse network across the UK Territory, which provided the basis and content for much of my discussion with managers, will now be fully implemented and operational. The findings in this thesis must, therefore, be treated as a snapshot of the Lifehouses surveyed and participants involved, from a particular moment in historical time.

3.6 REFLEXIVE RESEARCH

This section discusses the provisional and situated nature of knowledge, placing this thesis firmly within the tradition of constructivist social science (Pile, 1991; Bryman, 2012). The epistemological partiality of methods and the

positionality of the researcher actively influence the construction of knowledge (Rose, 1993). It is recognised, therefore, that all field research and writing need to be characterised by 'openness, reflexivity and recursivity' as part of acknowledging this power-laden social construction of knowledge (Davies and Dwyer, 2007). All knowledge is provisional and politically–constituted by, and in turn constituting, researcher/researched subjectivities, which are brought together through relationships of power situated in space-time specificity, and interpreted through intersectional 'maps of meaning' informed by both the author's and participants' own biographies and worldviews (Jackson, 1989; Massey, 2005; Valentine 2007). This situated nature of geographical knowledge production can be exposed through the interrogation of the author's positionality.

The idea of positionality came to prominence in human geography following the 'Crisis of Representation' that has dominated anthropological and social science since the 1970s (Clifford & Fischer, 1986; Cosgrove & Domosh, 1993; Rose, 1993). This crisis was undergirded by the notion that it is impossible to produce objective 'value free' research due to the subjective nature of the research process (McDowell, 1994). This critical deconstruction of the text and attention directed towards the subjective sources of knowledge, with specific reference to anthropological accounts of place, undermined the credibility of the ability of ethnographic accounts to represent 'others' fully, as it had hitherto been afforded (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Sidaway, 1992; Crang, 1992). The 'view from nowhere', also known as a 'god-trick' (Haraway, 1991), was called into question by feminist, critical and postmodern scholars who posited that knowledge was 'situated' - marked by its origins – and that position statements

of the researcher are required in order to make visible the sources of the authorial voice and how this voice is actively complicit in the construction of knowledge (McDowell, 1992; England, 1994; Nast, 1994). The process of being reflexive challenges the traditionally patriarchal nature of academic scholarship, which has been perpetuated through the use of writing in the third person that presents situated knowledges as axiomatic. This critique exposes the power-saturated nature of knowledge production and imposes an ethical duty on scholars regarding the way they represent their subjects and present their findings (Ellis and Bochner, 2000; Pillow, 2003). Feminist deconstructions of texts reaveal the ways in which white, Western, heterosexual men, have traditionally dominated the academy, reproducing 'expert' knowledge, premised upon the existence of an exclusionary binary system where non-white, non-western, female knowledge is posited as 'irrational' and non-robust (Pratt, 1992). The feminist critique exposes and disrupts the binary and suggests that alternative situated knowledges arising from everyday lived experience and characterised by emotion, embodiment, sexuality and spirituality, constitute legitimate and powerful knowledges. Through their expression such knowledges can challenge the hegemonic powers of patriarchy (Rose, 1993). Also, the authorial voice of the research text is itself called in to question with Katz (1997) expounding the complexities of 'where' research knowledge originates from: 'I', 'We' or 'Them', as 'insiders' and/or 'outsiders'. Acknowledging the mutually constituted and intertextual nature of knowledge and understanding, some have sought to construct 'polyphonic' texts where multiple views were presented alongside each other to de-centre the singular authorial voice (Crang, 1992; McDowell, 1994). Essential to the feminist toolkit is reflexivity – the process by which authorial positionality is made visible to the

audience. Doing reflexivity is a vital part of qualitative research, described by Berger as follows:

> '...the turning of the researcher lens back onto oneself to recognise and take responsibility for one's own situatedness within the research and the effect that it may have on the setting and people being studied, questions being asked, data being collected and its interpretation.' (Berger, 2015:220)

Pertinent personal characteristics to consider include:

> '...gender, race, affiliation, age, sexual orientation, immigration status, personal experiences, linguistic tradition, beliefs, biases, preferences, theoretical, political and ideological stances, and emotional responses to participant.' (ibid).

These subjective positions - as well as other personal, contextual and circumstantial aspects – influence the process of scholarship including research design, access, relationships in the field, disclosure of information, and the interpretation of findings (Cloke et al, 2000). Take gender, for example, Herod (1993) notes that interviews do not take place in a 'gender vacuum' and it has been asserted that women may have an advantage in research as their 'femaleness' can be perceived as relative powerlessness, which in turn has a 'disarming' quality that assists women in being able to solicit more sensitive information (Smart, 1984; Schoenberger, 1992). Another significant factor is a researcher's worldview, which shapes how significance is assigned, questions are posed, relationships with others are approached, moreover, how material is constructed and interpreted during the research process, intimately shaping both the findings and conclusions of the project (Valentine, 2007). Therefore, identifying and elucidating the potential or actual impact of positionality on the research is imperative to produce ethical work that eschews the reproduction of knowledge that appears ontologically true – beyond the realms of construction -

as if a 'view from nowhere'. All research is a view from somewhere (Butler, 2001). Acknowledging how researcher identity is positioned in a web of power relations, and utterly intertwined with the research process and product, suggests that use of reflexivity is an ethical requisite in the production of texts. 'Doing' reflexivity leads to the production of more transparent and contexutalised research, which aides the audience's interpretation of the findings and enhances the credibility of the author's bespoke contribution.

The achievability of reflexivity has, however, been critiqued. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory Rose (1997) suggests the self cannot be fully known, hence the preclusion of attaining full reflexivity in the research process; as reflected in the comment that the world is 'so textured as to exceed our capacity to understand it' (Davis and Dwyer, 2007). Despite such assertions, it is imperative that authors attempt to make visible what can be known, in order that their produced knowledges be interpreted in context and with more coherence. Moreover, it is an essential step in keeping the research process ethical in relation to the dignity of participants. By acknowledging the influential role of the researcher's gaze and voice in the findings - therefore taking responsibility for the knowledge produced - participants are treated in a non-exploitative and compassionate manner allowing their dignity to be respected and maintained (Pillow, 2003). Reflexivity is not a lens applied post-hoc during the writing up of research findings, but an on-going process that infiltrates the design, execution and interpretation of findings. Three methods are suggested to achieve this – use of interview logs, reflective writing and peer review of transcripts (Berger, 2015). I tried to maintain critical distance by keeping a reflective journal, writing through my experiences at all stages, to make explicit

my personal engagements and interpretations with the subject matter, especially in relation to my religious subjectivity, to which I now turn.

Insider/Outsider and religious subjectivity

A debate central to doing reflexivity is the insider/outsider dilemma (Ferber, 2006). This refers to the way in which a researcher can be positioned as either belonging to the group which she is studying – an 'insider' producing 'emic' knowledge– or whether she is unacquainted with the group – an 'outsider' producing 'etic' knowledge (Pike,1967). This mutually exclusive rendering of one's position vis-à-vis the social group under observation is obviously oversimplified and misleading, as in 'the field' one's role is not static but continually shifting. A researcher's position is always relative to the others present, therefore, it is clear that in 'the field' a researcher occupies multiple positions simultaneously, dependent on the context and participants' subjectivities present. During my research, my position as an insider and outsider was in flux and, as is commonly acknowledged by scholars, this can create a source of tension within. This tension manifested itself as I deliberated over how best to present myself in 'the field', questioning my legitimacy as I often felt like an imposter:

> "I am an 'outsider' to The Salvation Army...to the "working class" culture it prides itself on...to Alpha Lifehouse and all the staff who probably think I'm some posh "know-it-all"...to the job of actually doing hostel work...to the mores of government's Supporting People contracts...to the masculinity of the residents here. Moreover, to actually being homeless and going through "the system". I have no idea what it is actually like to be homeless – I can't imagine it...... But I am also an 'insider'! I'm welcomed by TSA and commissioned by them to do this work. Moreover, I have been a Christian for most of my adult life, so I am familiar with the religion at Alpha and at TSA conferences....But I don't believe it like I used to and I wouldn't call myself Christian at all now. So I am in-between..a hybrid subject. I feel I am becoming part of the fabric here, yet I still feel alien." (Research diary, 11/7/12)

> ‘Today I was welcomed to Alpha Lifehouse and issued with a staff uniform - a colourful polo neck t-shirt with the Lifehouse logo on it – and a walkie-talkie and panic alarm. I was essentially presented in the context as a support-worker, which made me feel very included. However, it precipitated some odd power dynamics that left me feeling uneasy and out of place. Service users were soon asking me “when’s dinner?”, “when is my key worker next in?”, “how long have you been working here?” to which I responded tentatively: “… I’m not sure! I’m just a visiting student from Exeter University, trying to find out a bit about life in the Lifehouse and do some do some work experience”. I didn’t know what to say, it was awkward and embarrassing. What an uncomfortable position to occupy - a liminal space – researcher/volunteer. I feel lost at sea with no rudder to navigate this unchartered territory.’
>
> (Research diary, 7/7/12)

I found doing the fieldwork incredibly challenging, as I struggled with self-doubt and anxiety concerning whether I could deftly and ethically navigate the contours of my plastic positionality in the field. I had to accept that feeling out-of-place was going to be my default, as I negotiated the dis-ease of my role with its shifting boundaries of insider-outsider. Particularly challenging was the sense of privilege I felt as a researcher in a demanding workplace where colleagues were visibly stressed; moreover, I struggled with the question of what to disclose to my participants regarding the origins of the research project, especially regarding the Salvation Army’s role in funding a portion of my project when they were consulting on pay cuts across the organisation:

> “I feel terrible that I am being paid by TSA to do this research when my colleagues in the Lifehouse are under the salary review process and at risk of redundancy. I feel ashamed I have this privilege when their livelihood is at stake.”
> (Audio diary,15/7/12)

Beyond a concern that the research could be perceived as a superfluous ‘Ivory Tower’ piece by residents and staff on the ground - despite it being commissioned by and of high value to TSA - I also felt awkward due to my

ambivalent relationship with Christianity during the course of the fieldwork. I now pay specific attention to this aspect of my subjectivity, as it is an essential dimension related to the topic of this thesis.

Religious subjectivity of the researcher

The issue of researcher perspective and identity related to religiosity is well rehearsed within the anthropological tradition (McCutcheon, 1999). Historic debates concerning the extent to which a researcher of one religious persuasion can accurately interpret the religious experience of another who holds a different religious or existential position, are well rehearsed in the literature (see Geertz, 1966; MacIntyre, 1970). Within Human Geography, however, rather than qualms over the accuracy of researcher comprehension and representation, issues around researcher criticality/partiality are of prime concern (Ferber, 2006; Henkel, 2011). I now outline how Christianity has been woven into my life and they way it has impacted on my research journey through a transparent reflection on my fluid and transitioning religious subjectivity and self-understanding.

I began my research with a long-standing and deep-rooted Christian identify and set of beliefs, however, my religious experience of Christianity was hybrid and nuanced: I'd been baptised Catholic, christened an Anglican, and spent time during formative teenage and young adult years involved in both Charismatic evangelical circles and exploring semi-monastic Catholic contexts. Through this rich and diverse experience of the various manifestations of Christianity, coupled with critical questions that had arisen as a result of taking a Social & Cultural Theory module under Professor Jim Duncan at Cambridge,

who introduced me to post-structuralism, my naïve belief and participation in evangelical Christianity began to waver. This deconstruction of my Christian identity was further catalysed during my Master's degree, when I participated in a course called Workshop that was of Anabaptist heritage, which further challenged my evangelical Christian ontological and epistemological beliefs, and opened me up to more fluid, liberal and poststructural theological lines of thought. In the first year of my doctoral research, although more liberal in my philosophical outlook, I still attended a church regularly and openly identified as Christian in the workplace; my postgraduate colleagues would often quiz me as to how someone who was a Christian could study Christians in an unbiased manner, perhaps reflecting a wider 'theophobia' within the academy (Feber, 2006). However, in hindsight their concern was not unfounded: my worldview was so theologically saturated and 'enchanted' (Taylor, 2007) that it was difficult to see beyond my teleological perspective of humanity as narrated from a Christian soteriological perspective. This was a stumbling-block for me from the outset, as I believed the research question has a foregone conclusions: of course faith "added value" to care because - within a Christian teleology - humankind was positioned as most existentially fulfilled when in relationship with the Creator, God. However, although I began the research with a firmly 'enchanted' religious worldview, I was not blind to it: my religious subjectivity troubled me, as I readily acknowledged that it was inappropriate for the conduct of a critical study of religion. Moreover, I was unsure which methodological approach would be appropriate for researching my beliefs – which philosophical approach would fit best to explain the workings of the Spirit in the world, lest a thoroughly theological approach be applied? My ontological beliefs posed critical epistemological and methodological roadblocks in the first year of my

project, and I began to buckle under the emotional and intellectual pressure. Upon reflection, I was 'stuck', with limited conceptual and emotional resources to frame and understand the substance of the subject, unable to find some critical distance and an alternative perspective on the geographies of religion, belief and spirituality.

However, within a year, my positionality on the subject matter of religion had shifted dramatically and the emotional deadlock was broken. Inspired by my reading of post-structuralist and postmodern theology , and undergoing a 'de-conversion' as result of a protracted conversation with an atheistic PhD colleague, I shed my Christian identity and adherence and conversely adopted the position of 'atheist'. This was not 'lip service' to the concept, but an extensive and profound reordering of my lifestyle in relation to the shift in my ontological worldview, and not without significant personal cost. Renouncing all participation in and trappings of evangelical Christianity that had structured my life for the previous fifteen years, I began to see the world through very different eyes, moreover, with new sense of 'Being in the world' (Heidegger, 1962). This experience was emotionally complex and contradictory, with feelings of liberation and newfound joy mixed together with feelings of anger, resentment and sadness at losing close friendships that I'd established at church, and religious routines that had formerly structured my daily and weekly life. Despite the confusion of feelings associated with leaving a religious community I was once intimately and intrinsically part of, I was now free to approach my research with more ontological criticality and intellectual flexibility; moreover, with much less emotional freight as the unconscious psychological need to have my previous fundamentalist worldview reinforced had promptly dissolved. I could

approach the thesis afresh. My de-conversion germinated a new interest in and sensitivity to the psychological, embodied and affective nature of religious belief and practice, which I now viewed more critically at a healthy distance. As a result, when conducting my fieldwork, I could identify and empathise with a plurality of standpoints and sensibilities - evangelical, spiritual, and atheist - having personally identified with these labels at different times in my life. Moreover, being well versed in the lexicon, cultural mores and doctrines of charismatic, evangelical Christianity, I was able to understand more nuanced expressions of Christian faith that structured the daily lives of the religious staff within the Lifehouse – a benefit of being an 'outsider' who had formerly been 'inside' and privy to a variety of Christian and spiritual expressions (McCutcheon, 1999; Knott, 2005; Williams, 2016). Consequently, I was in an advantageous position during my fieldwork, in particular during interviews when respondents would ask if I was a Christian - to which there was no straightforward answer – which often led to a rich exploratory discussion about religious belief and identity. The extent to which I should reveal my personal religious identity to my participants did, however, feel like an ethical dilemma to me, as captured in my research diary extract:

> "Today I was asked if I was a Christian by an interviewee. I said that I used to be and that now I didn't call myself one. I said to her "how can we be completely sure if God exists or not?" I felt awkward saying it. I wasn't sure if she was asking me because she was worried that I'd judge her for her atheism if I said I was a Christian. On the other hand, what if the strong Christians here are deterred from disclosing their real religious thoughts and feelings because they didn't want to 'offend' my atheistic tendencies if I said I didn't believe – or worse, that they'd see me as devious, or an ideological threat, for consciously renouncing my former beliefs and identity. I don't want to come across as lofty, or judgemental, or for them to skew what they say as they might seek to please me as the researcher. Maybe I could just say 'I don't want to say, so you don't feel influenced by my opinions', but I'm worried that might create suspicion and damage the rapport by putting distance between us. Urg what a minefield!' (Research diary, 18/7/12)

As noted by Valentine, the collaborative nature of interviewing often precipitates an ethical sensibility of 'owing it to the person who just shared with me' (2007:171), so it was hard not to respond in kind when discussing personal matters of religious belief and identity. I chose to be honest and open about my transitioning religious subjectivity as a tactic for developing rapport with my participants, as part of a two-way exchange of information, rather than staying impervious to their questions. I began to reply with a noncommittal "sort of..." expounding my ambivalent, agnostic position on the subject. This confession was met with a variety of responses – some were actively interested in my existential positionality leading to rich discussion and others just said "okay", brushed it off, seemingly disinterested and unprovoked. For others however, this response became serendipitously instrumental in eliciting their politics of personal belief, as I became the target of evangelical pastoral concern within the interview encounter:

> 'For some evangelical Christians on the staff team, my religious change of heart – or 'backsliding' - has became of particular interest and concern. Today in conversation Rose assured me "He will never let you go! You're the LORD's child! Even if you walk away he will never walk away from you". I felt awkward, as I just don't believe that any more, and I didn't know how to respond. Max has also taken an interest in my waywardness by giving me a book entitled So You Don't Want To Go To Church Anymore? to help me navigate my "season of spiritual wilderness"!' I don't really want to read it but accepted it anyway as it was a gift and I don't want to break relationship with him.' (Research diary, 20/7/12)

These evangelistic and pastoral responses to my positionality revealed that these participants were sufficiently comfortable within the encounter to disclose their personal views quite openly; a reflection of how interviews can become arenas of empowerment for participants, where their voices are freely expressed (Ritchie et al, 2014). On the other hand, during my interviews with staff that identified as atheistic or agnostic, my personal story seemed to create

openness where they could share their concerns about religion in the Lifehouse in a way I doubt they'd disclose if they perceived me to be 'one of the fold'. Overall, I felt being candid about my personal journey through Christianity and out of it towards atheism, was most helpful to develop rapport with most respondents. Towards the end of the research project, however, I began to shift my religious subjectivity again towards a more agnostic, liberal Christian disposition. I felt that there must be something beyond and at times found myself praying, and, although it seems irrational, deep down I still had a existential sense of the Christian God as an every present, compassionate force, akin to the hardware upon which the software of life is running. I believe this absurd personal disposition is testimony to the way in which religiosity can be endemic and hard to shake-off – that it is something that can so deeply structure one's thoughts and subjectivity for such a long time, that it 'hangs around' one's emotional and mental closet despite evidence to the contrary.

I present this very personal engagement with faith as means of elucidating the false dichotomy of the insider/outsider position. I have found the work of Foucault to be a helpful framework for understanding the production of religious subjectivity and space, which focuses on the role of power as it operates through disciplinary strategies and tactics, shaping spaces and identities in a highly performative manner (Foucault, 1991). I also find Holloway's work on 'sacred topologies' and Dewsbury's 'spiritual landscapes' useful in interpreting the phenomena encountered in 'the field' (Holloway & Vallins, 2002; Holloway, 2003), as outlined in the 'theorising the field' section. Such critical renderings of spirituality undermine the credibility of more fundamentalist interpretations of

the Bible and its associated cultural forms. What is left then, is a critical review of the research project and a conclusion.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented and critically reviewed the methodological approach that was taken to frame and execute the research. I started with a discussion of the origins of the project in its organisational and personal contexts, and then recounted the aims and objectives chosen to meet the research question. I then discussed the intellectual journey taken to select an appropriate methodology and methods for the study of religious subjectivity and therapeutic landscapes. A step-by-step account was provided concerning the three stages of fieldwork, with ethical reflections on the processes and decisions made in the field embedded throughout the chapter. A specific focus was given to ethical dilemmas and considerations when working with 'vulnerable' participants, with a critical and practical consideration of how risk was managed in the field. The focus then shifted to the analysis and writing up on the data, respectively focusing on the process of thematic coding and ethics around representation of participants in the final text. A more personal account of this process was provided in the final portion of the chapter, focusing on the nature of researcher subjectivity and positionality. What is now left to attend to is an assessment of the objectives met through the research.

In summary, this research process enabled me to achieve the following outcomes:

i) A direct in-person understanding of the public messages that were being sent out from senior managers at THQ to the managerial tier of the organisation at annual conferences, regarding the position of TSA's social services in light of the current political and economic context.

ii) A broad overview of the managerial concerns across the UK territory in relation to the messages sent out and structural changes being implemented, by senior management; and relating to the challenges they faced as a leader of a hostel in a neoliberalising welfare state.

iii) A granular understanding of the way faith was structured into the operational side of half of the Salvation Army hostels in the UK territory, and an appreciation of the highly nuanced way in which faith was narrated by managers as a cultural value and practise to be upheld within hostels.

iv) A first-hand experience of what it is like to spend time in a large hostel context and appreciate the rhythms, rituals and atmospheres that structured this specific space.

v) A first and second-hand understanding of the relational dynamics underpinning the production of a 'postsecular' hostel space and its associated atmospheres.

vi) A deep understanding of the nature and purpose of the spiritual programme within one hostel, from the viewpoint of residents, staff and volunteers, as narrated within the context of an interview.

vii) A first-hand experience of the spiritual programme as it was practiced within the space of one hostel as a participant observer.

viii) An understanding of service user needs and experiences within one hostel in relation to the following: the elements of the hostel service that residents valued most; the extent to which residents related to the spiritual programme; the way the performances of staff and volunteers were received by residents; and a sense of the variety of needs residents presented with.

ix) A skim understanding of how other local competitor organisations viewed TSA in relation to the local geography of the hostel I was studying.

The scope of this research project meant that only one hostel was investigated in depth as a case study site. The nature of the research design and methods chosen were highly researcher-dependent and influenced by similar studies conducted by researchers involved in providing homeless services in the UK, which successfully deployed ethnographic approaches to their research design. In order to elicit rich data I deployed similar methods to gain a granular understanding of the lives, opinions and relationship of individuals within a specific Salvation Army hostel.

Due to the constraints on being able to access key working sessions when in the field, my research relied heavily on semi-structured interviews as a method for ethnographic research. This was a powerful tool that enabled me to elicit rich and insightful data for thematic analysis. It also enabled me to establish contact

and develop a relationship with each individual that lived and worked in the Lifehouse, thus facilitating relationships on the ground that made it easier to become a participant observer in the hostel following the interview. All of the ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in an intensive period of 6 weeks over the summer of 2012, providing a 'snap shot' of the hostel's landscape and must be taken as such.

When writing this chapter, I felt it was important to reflect upon the whole of my PhD journey in an organic manner, therefore, I did not aim to whitewash the process and 'neaten-up' the story. After all, it is this exact journey that has provided the context out of which the thesis derives its nature, shape and content. It is an honest account that conveys the challenges and questions I faced when selecting the methodology and executing the project, which were personal, ethical, intellectual and practical in nature. It also reveals how these difficulties were worked through, and how such events shaped the research process itself, including the final knowledge contribution of the thesis.

The next four chapters contain an in-depth analysis of and reflection on the findings of my fieldwork. A critical reflection on the main contributions of the thesis is then provided, and suggestions regarding the how this study can be developed to inform postdoctoral research is then explored in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 4: Managers' perspectives on the 'Value Added' by faith to their Lifehouse.

Introduction

This chapter recounts the key findings from the extensive phase of my research. It focuses on the discourses that were constructed through semi-structured telephone interviews that I conducted with a sample of 36 Salvation Army Lifehouse managers, between June and August 2011 (see Appendix 1 for a record of conversations). The questions I asked were designed to explore the participants' understanding and perceptions of the nature of Christian faith in their Lifehouse on several scales, including personal, interpersonal, programmatic and institutional. The questions were aimed at eliciting beliefs, stories and reflections about the nature and role that faith plays in the shaping of three elements: the material culture and practices of the organisation; staff-to-staff and staff–service user relationships; and the link between religion and the achievement of programme outcomes. In this chapter, the perspectives of managers are explored and analysed in relation to broader debates about the role of faith in the public realm, notions of postsecular rapprochement and spiritual landscapes, as outlined in the previous chapter's review of the literature. Five themes are addressed: personal worldview and motivation; imperatives to care (theo-ethics); challenges to the Salvationist ethos and faith-based 'value added'; person-centred approaches to support; and teleological views of service users. I raise questions throughout this chapter, which I took forward to inform my intensive phase of fieldwork (explored in Chapters 5,6,7).

Figure 2 Centre Manager respondents by biographical category

Biographical Category	Frequency	%
Gender		
Female	**16**	**43%**
Male	**21**	**57%**
Religious identity		
Salvationist	**20**	**53%**
Salvationist soldier	(15)	
Salvationist officer	(2)	
Salvation adherent	(2)	
Former Salvationist	(1)	
Church of England	**1**	**3%**
Church of Scotland	**1**	**3%**
Baptist	**2**	**5%**
Minister	(1)	
Lay person	(1)	
Pentecostal minister	**1**	**3%**
Indep. Evangelical	**1**	**3%**
Indep. Charismatic	**1**	**3%**
'Just Christian'	**4**	**11%**
Catholic	**2**	**5%**
Not disclosed	**4**	**11%**
TOTAL	**37**	**100%**

4.1 PERSONAL IDENTITY AND MOTIVATION

An intimate reality

'It's hard to put into words because it is such a part of me.'
(Kathryn)

'Golly, why'd I give up teaching and come back to this Lifehouse? You get sworn at, spat at, knives threatening you, plates thrown at you, food thrown at you. Why would you put up with that if you didn't have faith? You wouldn't do it for the money! If I didn't have faith, I wouldn't believe people can change, and that's why I am here. I could find an awful lot easier job than working in a homeless hostel!'
(Malcolm)

Many interviewees responded with answers that focused upon the personal importance of faith for them, as an individual, performing the role of a Centre Manager. To these individuals, faith was an expression of deeply held religious values and belief (such as 'Biblical hope', and a belief that change/transformation can happen), which they felt motivated them to work in the social care context.

Faith was also posited as an integral ingredient to their on-going performance at work, often conveyed as the only thing that enabled some managers to continue carrying out their role as Centre Manager in the face of challenges. Sarah, for example, said 'I don't know how I could do this job without my faith', as she recounted the times when she had faced aggressive clients and tough situations that were emotionally demanding, such as children being removed from parents by social services when living at her Lifehouse. Faith, in the case of Sarah, was framed as providing a strong emotional and psychological support mechanism for her in the workplace, one that she could not do without. Others, reflecting how religious faith can become deeply ingrained in one's psyche, echoed this sentiment:

> 'I feel I couldn't do the work without my faith. We meet some very difficult situations, challenging situations, and our faith is tested. But certainly without that faith in God, I'm not sure I could actually fulfil this job.' (Melanie)

> '…this can be a devastating job; successes are higher than expected, but at the same time failure is high and quite often before success you see many failures. Without faith to know change is possible, and will occur, I wouldn't be able to do it!' (Ned)

Religious belief and values, such as faith, hope and the assurance of support from a loving God, motivated these individuals into social action, enabling them to persist in their professional roles, despite the significant stressors they had

faced, which were discouraging. For these respondents, faith has been a buttress in times of trouble, and a strengthening force allowing them to persist in their roles as managers at the hardest of times. Faith was narrated as a motivator and sustainer. It was also an integral part of their workplace identity, and vital to the wellbeing of many managers, providing a direction and sense of satisfaction that enabled them to come to work each day and continue to invest energy in their role, without giving up in the face of challenges.

This therapeutic role of having faith is well documented in the extant literature on organisational psychology (Koning et al., 1998; Pargament, 1999), which relays how religious belief and behaviour can provide a 'coping mechanism' when facing challenges at work and in wider social life, helping to provide a framework through which life can be made sense of. These narratives of faith align with the concept of 'spiritual capital', which suggests that belief can galvanise individuals into action, and sustain them emotionally, under times of duress (Baker and Skinner, 2009). For these managers, their faith was their reason for being and, if it were removed, many have suggested that they could not continue in the role, due to the direct link between the values they felt their faith provided them with, which enabled them to do the work:

> 'Work without faith?! Oh goodness! It [the work] would change to a degree that I couldn't do my job as manager, or even as a staff member! If I didn't have the compassion that flows through because of my Christian background, I couldn't do the job.' (Malcolm)

This statement reveals, as was true for the majority of respondents, that personal Christian faith provided conceptual and emotional resources to prompt and sustain practical action in the field of social care. It also reveals how virtues

like compassion can become attached to a religious source - in this case, Christianity, or ‘Christian compassion’. A step deeper into the worldview of the religious manager, one respondent proclaimed:

> ‘God’s such an important part of my life, I couldn’t do this kind of work – or any kind of work – without his help.’ (Camilla)

This comment revealed a psychological co-dependence between this manager’s sense of capability and her religious subjectivity. As the ultimate source of meaning in her life, it was clearly impossible for her to separate faith identity from her work, her ontological beliefs carried over into shaping her daily actions. It was the source of ultimate meaning and identity for this individual (Sayer, 2011).

These managers had a sense of a spiritual ‘other’ being present in and ‘on the job’ alongside them. We can sense that, in this case, the spectre of God was present in the work place through the imaginations of the religious manager. Faith was bound up in the day-to-day of their work at the centre, as the foreground and the background to their very being. Some scholars interpret this as ‘enchanted’ thinking, where religious ideas become bound up in all actions, decisions and interpretations that an individual makes (Taylor, 2007). Religion is providing the conceptual and emotional resources that are vital for the daily reproduction of both the personal subjectivity and workplace identity of this particular manager, and many others whom I interviewed. The ‘value added’ by faith was unquestionable for many respondents - it was their very raison d’etre, and saturated their worldview, which has shaped the context of their professional lives.

A sense of calling

Similarly, Richard, who stated that it was his vocation to take on this role, revealed the emotional and visceral quality of religious belief:

> 'I could do this job for more money elsewhere, but I feel it is God's will for me to be here.'

His comment reflected a deep sense of congruence, or 'flow', between values and career, to the extent that he would forsake better pay for it. He has chosen the path of downward mobility due to his sense of religious calling, or 'vocation'. Several other managers have spoken of their work as vocational:

> 'My work is a direct response to my faith - a calling from God at a time when I couldn't see how it would be possible. I wouldn't have had peace of mind if I ignored His call.' (Jennifer)

> 'I had a strong conviction that I needed to serve people, and the Sally was where I should be.' (Neil)

From these expressions, it was clear that these managers' relationships with God were something that was primarily felt. In the case of Peter, it was a call deep within him that guided both his cognition and actions - God's prompting ultimately led him to forsake better pay elsewhere to work for TSA. This type of downwardly mobile decision-making was present in several narratives where the respondent acknowledged that, by taking on work in TSA, they suffered financial losses. Although these managers could do their job for more money elsewhere, they chose to work for TSA, as they valued being part of a religiously inspired organisation that they felt emotionally connected to and that reflected their vision, values and calling. For these individuals, it was apparent that achieving congruence between their religiously-derived values and their professional life, was a central organising logic. The workplace was a site for

the direct expression of their religious subjectivity, an arena within which their religious identity could be enacted and brought to life. Their answers were expressed in a lucid and intensely emotional register; my questions elicited a deeply personal reflection on the value of faith at work, revealing much about the nature of religious subjectivity in the workplace. Faith was important because it had brought them into this line of work, and enabled them to carry out their daily jobs, which were highly challenging. These are deeply subjective responses that reveal how individuals can be both cognitively and emotionally saturated with religious concepts that motivate action, and sustain it, through the provision of conceptual and emotional resources to be drawn upon, as aptly described by Helen:

> '…for the individual who works in a Lifehouse it [faith] is their reason for being. It's the reason that allows them to get up every morning and support other people in a way that's not just about coming to your job and picking up a pay packet. It demonstrates true faith in action.'
> (Hilary)

The job of running a Salvation Army homeless hostel was significant, distinctive and symbolic for these managers. It was conveyed as a way of testifying to their religious belief that God exists. For these managers, their faith could be framed as a triptych of motivation, vocation and support/therapy; their identities were so woven through with religious faith that they could not imagine themselves, or their work life, without it. These narratives revealed the interior 'spiritual landscape' of the self, with respondents' comments elucidating a deeper sense of knowing, a visceral quality to knowledge that was interpreted as 'spiritual'. In many cases, personal feelings were interpreted as God's voice or will, made knowable through an internal conscience, or soulish register deep within. This was a sense of knowing beyond the cognitive, an emotion or feeling registered

deep in the body. A spiritual landscape of the soul - worthy of attention for the geographies of religious belief – which locates belief and religious identity firmly in the psychic or embodied space of the person. The spiritual speaks deep inside on an emotional and embodied register. As these religious subjects went to work, they were performing their spiritual cartographies; God was with them in the workplace, and co-creating the space of the Lifehouse. This religious geography was produced by their being present in response to their faith and belief, and a deep affective sense that God was with them in this landscape of care.

To conclude this first theme, in light of the deeply religious nature of the managers' workplace identity and motivation, and in light of recent scholarship on postsecular rapprochement, I was left with the following questions to explore in the 'intensive' phase of my fieldwork: 1) How do these religious managerial narratives of dependency, therapy and vocation bisect, overlay or completely bypass the narratives of motivation and calling conveyed by the staff of alternative or NSRA (who co-create the hostel space)? 2) What are the points of convergence or divergence in these staff members' narratives regarding a sense of calling and motivation? 3) How do non-religious subjectivities play out in this 'religious' space of care? How do they 'keep on keeping on' in the face of adversity and stress in the social care context without the Christian's God? 4) Do staff of NSRA believe faith 'adds value' in the hostel? 5) Are there any shared narratives, rituals or behaviours that exceed the religious/non-religious identities of staff in this shared space? These questions are responded to in the following empirical chapters, which account for the voices of all members of

staff, in the case study of Alpha Lifehouse, feeding back into debates on postsecular rapprochement.

4.2 THEO-ETHICAL PROMPTS TO LOVE

A second theme emerged in response to the broad question, 'Why is faith important in your Lifehouse?' that focuses on a religiously derived sense of obligation to serve the poor. Several interviewees responded with a more traditional theological approach, focusing on the Christian imperative to care for one's neighbour. They perceived their daily work as a direct expression of their religious identity and commitment; an act of obedience to Christ's command to care for the poor:

> 'I have to look at Jesus' words and the parable of the sheep and the goats… Jesus makes it very clear that we are to assist those who need our help, and that's one of my primary arguments for being involved in social work in the Salvation Army.' (Graham)
>
> 'It's about love, isn't it? That's the main thing Jesus showed us—to be loving. Not lovey-dovey love, but showing compassion, giving people opportunities, saying we care, saying, "This is not it for you—there is another day!'' (Adam)

Closely linked to this sense of being a follower of Jesus was a deep sense of an ethic of care for the other, in this case for the statutory homeless person. There was a clear sense of 'othering' throughout the interviews, where the sense of compassion and care expressed towards the homeless was not primarily based on identification with the plight of the homeless, not a shared sense of struggle and solidarity, but a care that was rooted in feelings of sympathy, and an ethic of compassion for the homeless person as a distinct 'other'. In spite of a lack of resonance or identification with the homeless person's subjectivity, per se, the main theme that came across in the interviews was a belief that Jesus loved all

people (especially the marginalised and downtrodden) and that, as Christians, the managers needed to as well. Thus, having a compassionate disposition was highlighted as a distinctive element – a hallmark characteristic - of being a Christian. The managers' subjective identification was, however, more with the person of Christ, and his directive to care for the poor, than with an empathetic identification with the plight of the poor. These managers felt called to enact this Christ-inspired love and compassion through their life's work in the context of social care. This Christian ethic of care prompted practical action, and could be framed as a structural element enabling the Lifehouse to exist as an entity in space–time underpinned by the theo-ethic of 'caritas'—humanitarianism, or charity (Conradson, 2003; Cloke, 2010).

The ethic of care present in the narrative was one that was linked to the promise, or expectation, of personal transformation. It was suggested that the homeless person's subjectivity could be affectively transformed by encountering practical acts of Christian love and compassion, as demonstrated by staff in the Lifehouse, and as revealed by one manager:

> 'It is about, bit by bit, showing them God loves them, and changing their self-esteem.' (Angela)

This was not a disciplinary strategy to change the identity of the 'backward vagrant', to speak pejoratively, but a strategy aimed at bringing about positive affective change deep within the client, as someone who was of equal value and moral worth. This transformation would be based upon a renewed self-esteem, fortified by the experience of being loved and cared for—ultimately by God, but expressed through the manager and their staff, acting as conduits. These theo-ethical impulses to love and show care were said to become

manifest through a variety of ways, including tactically creating positive affective atmospheres via acts of hospitality. One manager described this as creating a sense of:

> 'Homecoming—making a place welcoming and loving is key.'(Cathy)

This hospitality was also created through cultivating a deliberate relationship of care, such as extending pastoral care to arenas beyond the immediate carescape of the Lifehouse, such as making visits to clients who were in hospital, even after they had 'moved-on' from the programme:

> 'The chaplain went to hospital to check on a client just before he died—we loved and cared for that man. Other places [hostels] wouldn't go out of their way like that.' (Melanie)

Another form of hospitality involved inviting local churches in to run coffee mornings where 'outsiders' could get to know the clients in a two-way transformation:

> 'Local church volunteers come in and do a games night, forming relationships and showing care for the men here. The choir sits with the residents after and has a cuppa, showing the men that they care and are loved.' (Terry)

From these examples, we can see that caring was often about conscious, tactical performance. Strategic acts of care and deliberate efforts were made to create an affective atmosphere of Christian care. Many managers conveyed that this sense of creating a welcome was most imperative at the induction of a new resident to their hostel:

> 'When a stranger arrives, it is very important they are made to feel welcome. I say "Hello, who are you?". I get them a cup of tea and talk with them. I remember their name so next time I see them I can say "Hi

> so-and-so". It is a conscious decision. You make these things happen. So clients think, 'Yes, these people are interested in me''.
> (Michael)

This highly conscious tactic is closely linked to the self-disciplinary strategy of managers, which one manager refered to as 'watching myself', so that the 'correct' Christian identity was being performed with clients:

> 'When I'm responding to a situation in the centre, I have to think about how Christ would respond, so you don't go in all guns blazing. You try and listen and be empathetic to what the person is saying, but then give an objective response to that… because everybody is God's child, and the only way that you can often demonstrate God's love is by your reactions and actions; therefore, I have to be very careful what people see in me.' (Will)

This extract conveyed a sense of self-restraint akin to Goffman's notion of front-region performance (Goffman, 1959). The manager here was 'stage managing' his presence to embody the character of Christ in an effort to witness God's love. In order to do this, the self has to be held back, pulled back and contained, in order to create an open, welcoming space for the client 'other', to listen as a sign of hospitality and an extension of God's love. A sense of the manager's self ebbed away as he tried to accommodate the client, whom he desired to encounter God's love through him. Often the work of love is demanding and mindfully enacted to create a place of welcome, hospitality and 'homecoming'.

This affective sense of 'Christian love' was created in Lifehouses through other conscious tactics of care and inclusion, which should not be decried as a strategy to convert (as some may fear), but instead seen as flowing from a theo-ethic of love, compassion and hope, with the aim of being distinctive, as described by one manager:

> ‘I don’t risk assess to exclude, but to include, and create chances to work with the men.’ (Max)

This reflects the way in which the dry professional rubric of ‘risk assessment’ can be strategically appropriated and reworked through Christian ethics of love and compassion. This example portrays how Christian motives were co-constituting the neoliberal context of the Lifehouse, implementing the requisite paperwork for both legal and effective key work, yet inflecting it with a countercultural ethic of care that was rooted in the managers’ personal faith. Indeed, it was clear that at the root of many a manager’s motive lay a desire to share the love of God that they had experienced themselves. Although many expressed that they would ultimately desire clients to experience or ‘find’ God for themelves (a spiritual revelation), the primary expression of their religious identity was to share the love of God through practical forms of care, which they hoped would be positively provocative, and spark a curiosity about faith, not pursue conversion by preaching:

> ‘It’s all about showing Christ through what you’re doing. I see it as being a seed planter—it might not come to fruition while they’re here, but it will blossom later. It is not my role or responsibility to convert. Only God can do that. I am about signposting and seed planting.’ (Sylvia)

> ‘It’s about living our lives and allowing people to see that we have something that they are missing, that they see a vital difference.’ (Melanie)

> ‘I don’t hammer Christianity at them! It is subtle: in how I treat them, talk to them, speak, support and live. It is in sitting and listening to their story.’ (Thomas)

> ‘As far as making conversions, if you like, that’s a very, very small aspect of what we are about here.’ (George)

These extracts reveal a gentler and quieter form of faith that expresses itself through love and good deeds, spurred on by Christian faith, but moving away

from the stereotypical idea of preaching to convert. It does, however, reveal the 'othering' of those who are not Christian; it reveals a normative impulse that conversation to the faith was ultimately the best thing that could occur in a person's life (a sense of evangelicalism, not postsecularism). This shift away from older forms of Christianity, such as hellfire and damnation, towards one of revealing God's love and grace, through acts of persistent kindness and care, reflects broader shifts in mainstream Christianity said to be occurring in the 21st century (Cloke, 2010). This cultural shift in conceptualising a life of faith was echoed in three interviews where managers made a distinction between being 'religious' and 'following Jesus'—two notions set in discursive opposition by the managers:

> 'We can show them that their lives can change, not in a religious way but in a Christian way of love and care for each of them.' (Ashley)

This comment revealed an interesting rhetorical device—putting 'religious' in opposition to 'Christian'. The former—being religious—was denoted by one respondent as 'all that I don't like', and was linked to the Crusades, extremism and Bible-bashing. The latter, 'following Jesus', was how these respondents preferred to story their religious identity. The language of following, journeying and making life-decisions based on the ethical teachings and person of Jesus, as narrated in the Gospels, were foundational to the managers' narrating of their own religious identities. The person of Jesus, and a personal relationship with him, was a central construct in the manager's faith identity. On the contrary, the church, or formal religion, was set in opposition, and positioned as inferior or tainted, not worth aligning oneself with. This was a curious rhetorical strategy that did significant political work; it reflects a distancing of the believer from a public perception of 'the church' as anachronistic. This is rooted in a

wider deinstitutionalisation of Christian identity, belief and practice, where the authority of the institutional church is being broken-down, and ‘tradition’ positioned as an insincere form of faith (Woodhead and Heelas, 2000). Individual Christian believers take on the mantle to ‘be Jesus’ in the world beyond the walls of the traditional church. This reflects the assertion of Cloke that a shift from ‘faith-as-dogma’, to ‘faith-as-praxis’ is occurring in some strands of the Western church (2011). That said, this discourse is very popular within formal church circles, and may reflect just a popular shift in how faith and faith identity are being spoken about; a popular discourse that escapes the trappings of ‘the church’, and allows the person to focus on Jesus alone as a person, and express their Christian identity in a way that appears very much deinstitutionalised (albeit a discourse popularly circulating within religious institutions).

To conclude this section of the theo-ethics of compassion and hospitality, I pose the following questions to be explored at Alpha Lifehouse regarding faith-praxis, which respond to the preceding discussion on theo-ethics: 1) To what extent is this Jesus-centred and praxis-oriented approach to faith, able to create a liminal space in which non-religious staff can find sufficient crossover narratives with the religious staff to work together? (Is there any ethical common ground here, which lies beyond the trappings of institutional religious identity?) 2) Has this ‘Jesus-centred’ approach, proffered by some centre managers, filtered down through the organisation at all and, if so, how is it manifested? 3) Do staff of alternative or NSRA talk of ‘love for the poor’ in the same way as the religious; or are their motives, ethics and praxis inherently different?

4.3 INFIDELITY TO THE SALVATIONIST MISSION

A third theme in the managers' discourses was that of infidelity and compromise to Salvationist identity, vision and values. Many managers felt their Lifehouse's distinctive Christian cultures were under threat:

> 'William Booth said 'Soup, Soap, Salvation!'…. We are able to put the spiritual element in that the statutory bodies fail to do. We give the homeless people a start in life, with a plus!' (Graham)

> 'For me, it's all about service—serving suffering humanity. And we are at the coalface - but it's getting harder to express that true Christian care.' (Neil)

A theme that emerged across several managers' transcripts — all Salvationists — revealed a more institutionally-rooted response, steeped in Salvationist discourse and often evoking their motif —'Soup, Soap, Salvation!' —these individuals gave a more positioned and politicised response, which can be contextualised in relation to the current policy situation, where TSA is tendering for SP contracts from the government. The fact TSA's homeless hostel work is now vitally interlinked with winning contracts from the government raised significant missiological reflection from several managers, regarding the purpose and identity of the organisation's ultimate goals. Several managers expressed concern regarding the nature and extent to which TSA were perceived to be making concessions and compromises on their organisational ethos, identity and practices, in light of having to enforce secularist modus operandi as part of their SP legal obligations:

> 'Faith and spirituality is the foundation of what the Salvation Army is built on. Our mission statement, strapline, is that we're all called to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to save souls, grow saints and serve suffering humanity, and that's what makes us different from any other service provider across the UK territory. We need to keep that as the foundation of what we build everything else on, and if not, *then we shouldn't continue to operate*, *because it is what can potentially make*

> *the difference in someone's life, the added value we bring to our service*.' (Michael, emphasis original)

This excerpt echoed the sentiments of several respondents who expressed strong concerns about the threat of 'mission drift' away from a traditional Salvationist approach, which has a clear theological mandate to 'save souls'. These comments reflected a perceived transgression of Salvationist ethos and moral boundaries, due to the role TSA was taking-on as a delivery agent of state welfare. They perceived this was watering down their ability to deliver the full Salvationist message, and be faithful to Booth's holistic vision.

There are three interesting reflections we can draw from the quote above, regarding the way in which TSA's organisational identity was 'storied' by some of its managers at the time of the interviews. First, many respondents framed TSA as a unique organisation, and attributed its distinctiveness to the faith element that they perceived to set it apart from other homeless service providers. Second, some respondents expressed deep ambivalence about working in partnership with the state to deliver SP contracts, some even suggesting that if the religious dimension was totally compromised through collaboration, then the partnership should be strategically abandoned. Third, it was clear that business language like 'value added' was now part-and-parcel of the Salvationist managerial discourse, despite the aversion many expressed regarding the restrictions they felt that operating in a secular business culture placed on them. These three points of reflection will now be unpacked in more detail.

Narrating a 'unique' organisation

A strong sense of othering 'non-Christian' service providers (direct competitors for SP contracts) was present in the narratives of the majority of respondents. This is explicit in the quote by Walter at the start of this section, and echoed by several other colleagues:

> 'We went to a conference in Cardiff once, and it was quite evident that those without a Christian element were just going through the motions: doing a good job but not the whole job!' (Will)
>
> 'Faith underlines everything we do… an extra dimension we have as TSA, which other organisations in town don't have. It makes the difference in our approach to clients.' (Lee)
>
> 'If we didn't have that spiritual side, I don't think we'd have that extra edge compared to other centres.' (Sue)
>
> 'It's an extra dimension we bring to our residents, and support them in a holistic way. We meet all their physical, mental health and substance abuse needs, but we also offer chance to explore spiritual needs and get extra support from that.' (Kim)
>
> 'It's our added extra… that's what keeps us separate from everyone else.' (Dexter)

These quotes portray the sense that some managers perceived TSA as an organisation that was very different from other providers in the sector, due to its faith basis being a unique source of 'value added'. This is surprising because of the significant presence of faith-based actors in the homelessness scene, as documented in recent publications that show how TSA are one among many Christian providers of care for homeless individuals (Cloke et al., 2010). Notwithstanding the fact that fewer FBOs are operating in the contractual arena delivering SP projects, there are significant players, such as the YMCA, Bournemouth Churches Housing Association, Christian Action Housing Association and Chapter 1; however, these competitors were overlooked, and did not appear in conversation at all as Christian contemporaries of TSA.

Regarding the narrating of TSA as a distinctive homeless agency, however, there were two specific sub-themes apparent, regarding the way the organisation was spoken about. The first focuses on the benefits that were said to flow directly from Christian motivation and ethics, and the second critically explores the way in which these benefits were being reframed and branded through the application of mainstream business discourse, which I unpack in the following section.

Christian ethos means ‘value added’

Many managers reported that their Lifehouses were distinctively caring organisational spaces, due to the Christian values underpinning the services on offer. One key theme that emerged was the idea that Salvation Army hostels were superiorly compassionate organisations, which was an ethic identified as being rooted in their Christian ethos. There were three ways this ‘Christian compassion’ was manifested in the workplace: accommodating complex characters, going the extra mile and, more controversially, the suggestion that Christians were superior employees, in terms of character and calibre.

Accommodating complex characters: It was suggested that TSA would welcome working with more challenging clients, the individuals that other hostels would refuse to work with because of their chaotic natures and more serious complex needs. In addition to this, it was stated that, when working with the 'hardest to reach groups' in society, the management would sometimes permit clients to stay in the hostels beyond the statutory turn-around time, as stipulated in their tenancy agreement. The purpose of this was to ensure that

the individual was resilient enough to maintain independent living. This approach to working with the homeless was cited by several managers as a way in which the organisation was 'uniquely caring':

> 'We believe people can change, so we go the extra mile to be able to take on more complex needs here...if we didn't take them in, no one would, and a lot of them are abused, suffer financial abuse in other hostels. It's about treating them with dignity and getting them involved in the life of the hostel.' (Clare)

Going the extra mile: A second theme that several managers reported was about a stubborn refusal to never give up on clients. One manager described this approach as giving 'second, third, twentieth, seventieth 'second chances', where other organisations would not bother:

> 'The Salvation Army don't give up on people, but persist through faith, hope and love for the individual, to ensure a better future for them.' (Sylvia)

It was mentioned that managers would 'take back' and forgive residents that were eligible to be evicted, if they showed sufficient commitment to change. There was a sense that managers were forgiving and looked for the potential in residents, not solely at their mistakes:

> 'This woman was on the path to self-destruction… she has been evicted 14 times! She was on a cocktail of meds, but we persisted with her. If we had given up on the 13th eviction we may never have seen the breakthrough. She is our greatest success story so far.' (Kevin)

Superior work ethic: The final theme that was mentioned concerned a potentially audacious reflection upon the link between religious identity and employee productivity. It was suggested, by several managers, that religious staff members are more effective support workers, compared to non-religious staff. It was said that religious staff provided more helpful skills and knowledge regarding religious topics (which was perceived as a key ingredient to recovery,

as elaborated on later in this chapter). It was mentioned by one respondent that Christian staff put in ‘more discretionary contributions’, such as working unpaid and over time, whereas non-religious staff were said to be ‘clocking off at 5pm’. Christian staff were described as being more resilient, and quicker to recover from setbacks, in the workplace, compared to non-religious staff:

> ‘It comes down to resilience, at the end of the day. Those of us who have faith are more resilient when failure comes. There is less of a blame culture, compared to non-Christians. They blame themselves, whereas Christians have a broader framework and safety net to make sense of failure.’ (Malcolm)

> ‘From experience, I can tell you that non-Christians have a higher sickness record, they suffer more in private lives… People of faith have extra energy and insight, compassion and empathy.’ (Robert)

These reflections are quite shocking, as they seem so essentialist in character. Such opinions were, however, nuanced and complicated by the fact that some managers, despite asserting that a Christian ethos ‘added value’ to their service, acknowledged that the roles of personality and virtue in caring were paramount, clearly stating that non-Christians were able to care just as well as Christians. There was often an interesting ambivalence and tension regarding the relationship the managers perceived to exist between faith identity and caring practice. Although some clear statements were made about the superiority of Christians enacting care in a way that added value, many managers were highly ambivalent about this, and felt that religion did not play a role in determining how caring one could be, although many felt it ought to, and they hoped that it did. Overall, there was a conflicted message about the nature of Christian care, when it came down to discussing the nitty-gritty of ethical actions and virtuous character.

On the contrary, one manager did express a nuanced opinion regarding the superiority of Christian employees, focusing on the inappropriate subjectivity of some types of Christian staff, due to their cultural background. In this case, Afro-Caribbean Christianity was not the 'right' religious subjectivity for providing appropriate care for the residents of the Lifehouse that he managed. According to this manager, the abrupt natures of the non-white, non-Salvationist, yet Christian, support workers were not perceived by clients, or the manager, to reflect the requisite theo-ethic of love and compassion that Salvationism represented. This racialisation of care reflects how notions of the caring subject are constructed, embodied and shot through with complex political-cultural inflections, and must be analysed critically for the discourses that are constructing who is perceived as caring. This is somewhat of a digression from an attempt to portray the positive and 'superior' care of TSA, due to its Christian ethos; however, it provides a necessary nuance to the construction of caring subjects, which helps us to acknowledge the very culturally situated nature of the act of giving and receiving care.

In summary, these three elements were provided as examples of how TSA was suggested to be providing a superior service for the homeless. The sense of 'going the extra mile' and working with the socially rejected can be considered strategic acts of care, which rub against the logics and subjectivities of neoliberalism, that are worked out through the technologies of SP contracts. These neoliberal impulses were, however, being challenged and overturned, despite the limited resources available, due to council funding cuts, tight statutory turnaround times imposed, and what was described as 'meaningless' success criteria placed upon them by SP. Through these acts of care and

compassion for service users, statutory frameworks were being re-worked in order to create spaces of nurturing and support, in the face of contractual restrictions. An ethic of care was being woven through this statutory space of care as what could be deemed a site of ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ (Peck and Tickell, 2002). As aptly declared by one manager:

> ‘We are a *Life*house, not a business!’ (Michael, emphasis original)

The neoliberal smokescreen?

The second observation I made concerning the ‘distinctive’ nature of Salvation Army hostels involved taking a more critical semantic approach. I analysed the ecology of language used to describe the work of TSA by its own members. Clear rhetorical features were present in the narratives, such as crossover concepts from the commercial sphere, such as ‘unique selling point’ or ‘value added’, which frequently appeared in the managerial lexicon. Such language is taken from mainstream business discourse, yet was being coined and applied in relation to faith, in the context of TSA’s homeless services. This is an interesting appropriation of a secularist discourse that enables TSA to enter into the business world, but retain their religious identity and present it as a value added element. This appropriation of business language may be a rhetorical strategy to help present the Salvationist mission as a 'fit for purpose' public service and, hence, to win funds; a possible tactic to make their strong evangelical roots seem more palatable for secular public consumption. On the other hand, this may reflect an insidious colonisation or encroachment, rather than strategic appropriation, of the language and culture of secular neoliberal capitalism onto Salvationist values and identity—a case of ‘institutional isomorphism’ (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Garland and Darcy, 2009), where

TSA has become co-opted by the state to function as a form of 'shadow state' (Fyfe and Miligan, 2003), mimicking its language, methodologies and desired outcomes.

In support of the latter interpretation, one manager conveyed the 'heavy monitoring' by TSA's Internal Quality Inspection department, which could be framed as a technology of self-government, to use Foucauldian terms, through which mainstream industry standards for homeless work is being deployed and monitored by an internal 'policeman' within TSA, like a panopticon on a national scale (Foucault, 1984; Rose, 1990). This interpretation suggests the possibility of a changing subjectivity for TSA in the 21st century, as it seeks to present itself as a 'professional' social work organisation, 'fit for purpose' and demonstrating 'value added' in the market place. This interpretation supports the idea of the co-creation of spaces of secular neoliberalism through the deliberate acts of FBOs in tandem with the state (William et al., 2012), revealing how post-secular subjectivities and spaces may co-emerge through third-sector activity (Beaumont, 2010). The 'unique selling proposition' is TSA's faith basis and Christian approach to caregiving, which at this time is prized by social policy-makers for having distinctive qualities (as reviewed in Chapter 2 of this thesis), a construction that is, to reiterate, contested and controversial in nature. In light of this, there were, of course, voices that decried the perceived 'neoliberalising' of Salvationist organisational culture. There was a clear awareness of the problems this cultural migration, or 'mission drift', is causing for some managers in TSA, which I now examine closely.

'Mission drift': The betrayal of Salvationist identity

A third sub-theme regarding organisational ‘distinctiveness’ was prevalent across the interview data. It revealed an anxiety about the ‘mission drift’ that many managers perceived to be occurring in Lifehouses—a move away from the true, distinctive Salvationist mission and ethos, that was cherished, towards a secular culture. One manager explained:

> ‘We are in a culture where you’re monitored more and more, asked to do more and more. The job is getting more and more difficult. Higher standards, less funding, less staff! And faith is the element that gets left out! If we had a full-time chaplain, we could develop the spiritual programme more, but it gets left to the side, which is such a shame.’ (Stuart)

This respondent lamented the loss of the faith element that was formerly present at his Lifehouse, and placed the blame for the ‘secularisation’ of TSA’s organisational culture on the external contracting they had undertaken to operate as a statutory public service. Another manager lamented the possibility that the cultural identity of TSA would soon ebb away, as fewer Salvationists were coming into the homelessness services line of work; this was a reality that had been compounded by a recent strategic change in personnel management policy at THQ, which removed the stipulation for all Lifehouse managers to be a uniformed Salvationist officer (as was historic practice). This represents a significant symbolic shift in organisational culture and practice, with a change in leadership and a minimisation of the visibility of Salvationism, as uniformed workers will be fewer:

> ‘There is a danger that TSA loses its identity in the Lifehouses because of a lack of Salvationists… we can also be pulled away from mission by Supporting People funders… I am concerned that the knowledge of the organisation and its heritage and scope will be missed.’ (Camilla)

Another connected issue relating to the positioning of Salvationist Officers in the role of Centre Manager regarded a 'double bind' that some respondents found themselves in:

> ‘I’ve got an awkward job—a minister and a manager. These are diametrically opposed roles. They are in conflict.’ (Lee)
>
> ‘There is real tension between showing God’s love and being a disciplinarian at the Centre. It’s a clash of callings. It’s really hard.’ (Dexter)

These managers felt their roles as Salvationist ministers were being compromised, when performing a tandem role as Centre Manager. This manifested when they had to make strategic decisions about clients’ lives, which they confessed they would not wish to make in the pastoral role of Officer. This cognitive and emotional dissonance was a source of great distress for some managers, who wished they did not have to wear the proverbial ‘two hats’. A key tension expressed was the conflicted role some Officer–Managers felt they had to play, as both a minister of Salvationist religion and as a Centre Manager. This emotional dissonance between wanting to support and minister to the needs of the homeless, yet having to enforce evictions due to statutory policy, was described as ‘painful’ and ‘frustrating’ for some managers. In a few cases, it was mentioned to me that the emotional toll of this double bind as ameliorated by finding alternative ways of resettling a resident who was facing eviction, going beyond the remit of the Centre Manager’s role. In this way, TSA added significant value, caring for clients in a way that exceeded their statutory duty as a service provider.

Another example of how statutory requirements were described to be in conflict with the essential mission of TSA can be seen in relation to providing access of all rough sleepers in need, which is restricted under SP protocol:

> ‘We’re not direct access anymore. Those days have long gone. We’ve negotiated with the City Council to let us take people out of hours because of who we are and our mission statement. Ideally, they don’t like us working outside normal office hours, which is a conflict with the way we show our faith, really, isn’t it?’ (Will)

Such quotes reveal a tension at the heart of the way TSA are currently operating—the tension between wanting to be faithful to William Booth’s original mission to support the ‘submerged tenth’, and the teleological Christian framework of salvation that this goal sits within (in which introducing people to Christ is a key element of rehabilitation), and the neoliberal governmental framework that comes with accepting the ‘King’s shilling’ when TSA wins a SP contract—in which there are limits about who is employed and how religion is expressed operationally.

There was patent fear, expressed by several respondents, that the religious identity could be lost completely, along with the distinctive caring, holistic, humane character of TSA services, which was described as flowing from their theo-ethics and a ‘theology of the whole person’ (Davis-Kildea, 2008). This was revealed when I asked the supplementary question, What would happen if faith was removed from your Lifehouse?', with several respondents exclaiming in a similar vein:

> ‘We’d just be like any other provider. We wouldn’t have hope. We would treat people differently. No second chances. No hope that clients would be cared for.’ (Suzie)

> ‘We’d run like most other hostels in town—as a business. You wouldn’t be interested in anything else, would you? It’d just be like other hostels—no locks, credit cards stolen, drugs freely available. It’d be a business. They’re [other providers] just in it to make profit.’ (Terry)

> ‘We’d just become a statutory body, we’d take out the element of dealing with the whole person—it’d be a stripped down service, something missing. The Devil will come in! The cycle of homelessness will repeat.’ (Gwen)

These comments confirm that many respondents felt that Salvation Army services were superior in performance—more honest, caring and committed to clients—due to the Christian culture of their hostel. It was often expressed in terms of cynicism regarding the ability of the other ‘secular’ hostels to provide genuine and effective care, and holistic support to service users.

In the following extracts, the frustration and dissatisfaction that some managers felt, in relation to TSA becoming a large, professional service contractor, is clearly expressed. The ensuing excerpt alludes to the way in which other contractors were now running hostel buildings owned by the Salvation Army Housing Association, as they had outbid TSA in the tendering process:

> ‘I am fed up of giving Salvation Army buildings away and letting them be run by other organisations that outbid us. Salvation Army hostels weren’t set up to provide homeless accommodation and food alone [but bring spiritual renewal too]…we should say ‘forget TSA’ and their public funds! Let’s run it ourselves.’ (Michael)

> ‘I think there is a bit of conflict with our heritage, what our mission was and should be. We are like a governing agent for government-based things now really. There are challenges of bringing faith into that environment—they’re quite hostile. It brings conflict! Smaller localised services can be a lot freer with a greater expression of faith.’ (Hilary)

These excerpts reveal a dissatisfaction with the current modus operandi of TSA as providers of welfare state services, to the extent one Salvationist wished

they could abandon the contracts altogether. The other enviously reflects upon the freedom of expression experienced by smaller, independent, non-statutory service providers.

This narrative around perceived infidelity to Booth's vision was a prevalent theme throughout the interviews; many managers, who were motivated by their faith, felt compromised in enacting a true expression of this faith, due to the limits and requirements placed upon them by the contractual frameworks of state welfare programmes. These limitations were occurring in the form of targets, outcomes and emphasis on achieving quick 'move-ons':

> 'I don't really like the term 'planned moves' and all that government stuff. I see a lot of lads who go off, get things together, but don't deal with their inner demons, so to speak. They go into a flat, close the door, with no community or network, and before we know it they're back on drugs.' (Adam)

This emotional tension was described to be worsening in the wake of funding cuts, which have led TSA to restructure its Homeless Services, resulting in pay scales being adjusted (for the worse), and staff being laid off, in order to make its tenders more competitive and efficient. These 'lean and mean' (Harrison, 1997) measures have struck at the heart of the Lifehouses, reshaping the religious cartographies of the Lifehouses in a bifurcated manner. According to the respondents, one of two things was occurring in response: either less time was put aside for prayers and religious reflection, or a significant regrouping was happening, with an acknowledgement that the spiritual needs of staff are important, and that more time needed to be set aside for spirituality to be nurtured, to help cope with these in the meantime (Cloke et al., 2016). A deliberate attempt to create time for daily prayer and reflection was occurring in

several hostels, as a response to the corporate pressure driven downwards on to staff from THQ's directive to restructure staff in light of the cuts. In one Lifehouse, the manager was adamant that staff should be allowed 'time out for re-creation', in order to cope with the increased pressure of workloads, following staff lay-offs and funding cuts. Overall, there was a sense that the faith identity and mission of TSA was being directly compromised by the current funding context, and sometimes forged in a new direction, in response to the concessions being made to win contracts.

4.4 APPROACHING THE PERSON HOLISTICALLY

> 'You see a lot of people who are stuck [in life]. You can do physical things for them, but there needs to be something that happens mentally and physically, and spiritually as well.' (Graham)

> 'With the recovery process… the healing process… there needs to be not just a physical healing; there needs to be a spiritual one. Then recovery occurs—when you're looking at the person holistically.' (Neil)

A fourth theme emerging was more philosophical in nature, focusing on the nature of being human. Many managers embedded notions of faith and spirituality within a wider discourse of holistic care for the service user. Their narratives suggested that the approach TSA takes to service users is more integrated, compared to that of other service providers. The transcripts suggested that TSA's approach goes beyond addressing the practical nuts and bolts of how homeless individuals can be moved on and rehoused (a solution-oriented, pragmatic service-delivery approach that could be seen as akin to life-coaching and goal-setting, in line with producing concrete statutory outcomes). Their approach takes a broader perspective to the client that is expressed by using the language of 'spirituality' (a spiritual/faith-based perspective), which

was used in multiple ways by managers (no agreed definition). Overall, this idea of spirituality, in essence, purports that the whole person needs addressing, as part of the 'move on' process. This holistic approach involves examining existential meaning, personal relationships, and the professed spirituality/faith of the client (in addition to the usual issues of finances, employment, education, etc). It was posited that looking at the worldview, lifeworld and beliefs of the individual client is an essential ingredient in the 'recovery' of the homeless person, and their progress out of homelessness. It was a person-centred approach that had notions of spirituality embedded in it.

Some respondents' notions of spirituality were rooted in Christian beliefs about the existence of an individual God-given spirit that is unique to each person. Other respondents took a broader, and more noncommittal, perspective, without specifically linking spirituality to a Christian worldview. Their answers tended to err on the existentialist line of thought 'we all need something to believe in', akin to Frankl's (2006) form of logotheraphy, which posits there is no essential true meaning in life except what meaning we construct ourselves. The former approach led to discourses around discovering the 'true self', and taking pleasure in living out of a God-given identity, the latter framing the human as a self-made man on a journey towards self-actualisation. Overall, there was no unified existential approach expressed by managers, and no single methodology stipulated about how best to help an individual service user. It was a person-centred approach embedded with notions of spirituality, which was prevalent where services users were treated on a case-by-case basis, as an individual with bespoke needs.

4.5 A TELEOLOGICAL APPROACH: THE GOD-FIX

On the other hand, much firmer ontological commitments were shared by many managers, shedding light on the profound nature of their Christian beliefs about the nature and purpose of being human. These managers regarded religious belief/faith as vital in bringing about a fulfilled human life for service users. This type of response can be gathered under the concept of 'the ultimate fix' or 'God-shaped hole', due to the fact that there was a repeated assertion that, without a relationship with Jesus or God, service users would be existentially, relationally and emotionally unfulfilled. Coming to faith was seen as the ultimate solution to the problems facing individuals experiencing homelessness, as the answer to their relational, financial, emotional and material poverty. This may sound like crude reductionism; however, the way it was discussed in the interviews was, on the contrary, expansive. The way the human subject was spoken about was placed in a cosmological and teleological framework, where wo/man is made for God's purposes, and where only God can fulfil wo/man's deepest existential needs. I do not wish to belittle these ultimate fix approaches, but present them as sound bites that reflect a much wider, cosmic worldview, in which being is made sense of in relation to a creator God who provides ultimate meaning and purpose to humanity—a belief that lies at the heart of the Salvationist mission, and inspires their work with the poor. The teleological view of humanity (that humans are created by, and meant for, a relationship with God) was often conveyed through employing the negative—a sense of absence or gap—as elaborated on by two respondents:

> 'There's always a gap in your life. If you don't have faith, your aims, goals, objectives are all very different, I think. Something has to be your focus in life. Is it 'I want lots of money'? Is it 'I want a job'? I want a fantastically gorgeous girlfriend, whatever—what is your aim?! And it's all on the wrong focus because I believe scripture says that our focus has to be on God, and everything else will fall into place as a result of that. So,

> without faith you've got a dirty great hole somewhere, basically, and it's our job, it's our task, as Christians, to introduce people to Christ, and I think you get a better-rounded life with Christ…. And there is less pressure if you follow Christian values. People do say, 'perhaps the Christian life is harder', but if you follow the rules that Christ sets down, that God sets down, then you don't get yourself into the sticky situations that you might do if you weren't a Christian.' (Ned)

> 'As a Christian, I believe that everything in life—the opportunities or challenges we face—can be blessed by Jesus Christ, and I think he is the answer to everybody's needs, but I think people turn to other things. It's almost like they've got a God-shaped hole and they end up filling it with drugs, alcohol, mental health, sex, gambling, all sorts. I think we're on the front line of Christianity, and we're offering something that can actually fix... it is the ultimate fix of their life really.' (Larry)

These extracts convey the deep passion and embedding of some managers in the Christian evangelical tradition. They are bold statements, which may leave some uneasy, and feeling wary that clients may be 'bible-bashed'. This concern was acknowledged by many managers, who showed sensitivity to the clients' needs and were, despite their fervent beliefs about the necessity of God, adamant that they would not share this religious viewpoint until relationships had been sufficiently established, and the appropriate moment to share had presented itself.

Sometimes, the claims that faith is the ultimate solution were inferred, rather than explicitly stated. For example, in the following passage, the manager suggests the power of God to heal, through enrolling testimony of a non-religious staff member, who decided to convert to Christianity following her experience:

> '... she wasn't a Christian herself, but when she began to do the study [into addictions management], she said that the only time she saw success stories was when there was a faith element... she was so impressed that she became a Christian herself.' (Sue)

This story of conversion did not stand alone, however. In reality, the managers only provided five real accounts of client outcomes being linked to an actual experience of religious conversion, which is a small evidence base to support a teleological view of humanity.

The following extract was intriguing because the respondent made a bold, yet contradictory, claim about Christian faith; it was positioned as essential, yet also an additional benefit to service users. Faith was able to help clients to progress, by giving purpose and external power to sustain change in their lives. Although one may possess faith in another non-Christian god or belief system, such as a higher power, the respondent stated that two members of the Trinity were the ultimate source of power, and able to intervene and make a difference in an individual's life:

> 'Faith is an essential aspect, but it's also, in a way, if you look at it from a programme perspective, an additional benefit, which goes into our service… faith has shown itself to help people develop. It gives them a purpose, and very often a purpose is what is missing from life. They [clients] have been knocked down so many times and got up again, so they just get fed up of it, and from my view the faith is the most effective means of resettling somebody, of rehabilitating somebody, because it gives a power that is outside themselves… faith can be in anything that you see as a higher power, but we see faith in Christ and in God as being the primary power because he governs the universe. There is evidence throughout the whole of history that God's intervention has done great things through them.' (Greg)

These sections of narrative were intriguing because they displayed an intermeshing of neoliberal discourses of 'add on' Christianity—a compartmentalised modern worldview, where faith can be 'bolted on' as an extra in the service programme. It is, within a breath, talked about as an 'essential' solution to humanity's existential crisis. These two ways of framing Christianity sit at odds, the former reflecting the contemporary social welfare

discourse around being ‘client led’, and having a pick-n-mix support package, which may or may not involve religious belief and activity, and the other, a narrative suggesting a wider religious picture that is all encompassing.

The following three questions arose in response to this theme: 1) How do these two narratives sit alongside each other / how do managers hold them in creative tension? 2) How do Salvationists provide a non-religious service, without compromising their very worldview and mission? 3) What toll does this tension produce in the managers, and what effects does it have on the staff team, who may or may not buy into the religious ideology of TSA? These questions burgeon from the interview material, and required further investigation on an ethnographic scale, which is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Conclusion

There were five clear themes detected in the managerial transcripts from my telephone survey. The first revolved around the religious subjectivity of the manager, and the vital importance that Christian faith played in relation to their personal and professional identity and, moreover, in their ability to cope with the stresses of the job. The second reflected more traditional theological responses about caring for one’s neighbour as an act of faith, in obedience to Jesus’ commands. It reflected a going beyond the self to welcome and care for the homeless other, despite presenting conditions that may deter many from getting involved. The theo-ethics of love, compassion, hope and a belief in personal transformation were the guiding motivations that helped managers to imagine and deliver a brighter future for their clients. Third, the importance of fidelity to TSA's mission was raised, and concerns were expressed about the

compromises TSA was perceived to be making, by taking on state contracts. It was felt that the original mission and Christian ethos of their services were in jeopardy, as a consequence of working as a statutory partner. The claims of unique care were discussed, revealing how care is situated along racial and religious lines of fragmentation. Fourth, an ontological approach to the human was provided, which focused on the human being as a ‘spiritual’ being that required a holistic approach, if complete care and support were to be achieved. Fifth, a teleological approach to the human was explored, focusing on the theme of the ultimate ‘God fix’ for clients that many managers attested to. There was only one significant anomaly in the managerial group—one individual that strongly opposed the evangelical nature of TSA, and who classified themselves as a ‘subversive, liberal and leftfield Christian’. This showed that the Lifehouses were a diverse set of entities, with distinctive leadership, staff teams, facilities, clients and geographies, that, despite sharing a common brand and funding structure, were inflected with difference at many levels. There was a differing level of adherence to the expression of Christianity in their centres, and a desire to express it that depended upon the unique make-up of staff and resident religious identities in each hostel.

Overall, there were cross-cutting themes of organisational distinctiveness and 'value added' that reflected the general opinion that the faith element and approach set TSA apart from other service providers, and for the better. In essence, faith matters for the following reasons: it provides identity, motivation, support and a worldview that enables religious managers to take action and persist in the workplace. The ‘specialness’ of the Salvationist ethos was perceived as being under threat, due to the policy context of tendering for

contracts. As a way of coping with the stresses of this context and daily life, faith was posited as the solution for individual and collective human problems. There was also, in some cases, an increase in religious expression and activity amongst staff members, such as prayer and reflection time structured into the day, as a method for coping with the increased uncertainty and stresses of living through challenging organisational and financial circumstances. The themes emerging through this extensive phase of research, and the questions prompted by my initial findings, were used to direct the initial focus of my intensive ethnographic fieldwork. The next chapter looks at how these themes were played out in on the ground, in the context of Alpha Lifehouse, and from the broader perspective of staff, volunteers and service users.

CHAPTER 5: Alpha Lifehouse - a place of distinctively Christian care?

Introduction

This chapter explores how a specifically Christian character and ethos was re/produced and woven into the landscape of homeless care at Alpha Lifehouse. Through presenting at the *material, regulatory* and *performative* dimensions of Alpha Lifehouse, the ways in which belief, religion and spirituality were woven into in this landscape of statutory care, are examined. This was achieved by focusing on the ethos, objects, characters, rituals, atmospheres, affects and rationalities, which performatively brought the Lifehouse into being during a period of ethnographic research. Ethnographic accounts are used to convey the hostel environment for the reader, including excerpts from the many interviews I conducted with staff and volunteers (see Appendix 2 for a record of interview). The regulatory dimension of the hostel is then attended do, focussing on the constraints placed on the service user and service provider by both the national frameworks evoked due to TSA's statutory obligations, and also by TSA imposed rules. This chapter unpacks the nuanced ways that the evangelical aims of the Alpha Lifehouse were expressed in relation to the wider, and increasingly neoliberalised, professional context, and the impact these organisational changes were having on 'value added'. Attention is paid to the strength of emotion evoked in these accounts, and how it was keenly linked to the strength of religious belief and theo-ethics held dear by staff.

5.1 A CHRISTIAN ETHOS

This section discusses the ways in which a Christian ethos was created in the hostel. I begin by examining the mission statement printed on the front of the *Residents' Handbook*, a document that was given to me upon my arrival at Alpha Lifehouse, and which also given to every new resident of the hostel. On the front page of this document, the following mission statement was emblazoned:

> ' The Salvation Army is an *International movement*, and an *Evangelical part of the universal Christian Church*. As an expression of *Christian compassion* Alpha Lifehouse will provide accommodation for homeless people within a *caring Christian environment*. We express our concern for people in need, regardless of race, colour, creed, sex or age. Our objective is the *physical, morale and spiritual regeneration* of the people it serves through provision of *basic human necessities, counselling, living and preaching the Christian Gospel*.' (Residents Handbook, p.1, emphasis original)

The statement clearly suggested that a form of Christian religious belief and ethics underpinned the programme of resettlement ay Alpha Lifehouse. Moreover, it revealed that there was a level of personal change expected on the part of residents - physical, moral and spiritual 'regeneration' – that would be effected through the provision of shelter, food and hygiene services ('necessities'), emotional support ('counselling'), although it is not clear what form this would take according to the mission statement - psychotherapy, support work, or chaplaincy. Lastly, it was suggested that the aim of 'spiritual regeneration' would be achieved through Christian evangelism/proselytising ('living and preaching the Christian gospel'). Again, the nature of this proselytism was ambiguous considering the fact that preaching would be patently unwelcome in a statutory arena of care for vulnerable adults. Nevertheless, it was clear that the aim of Alpha Lifehouse had a conversion

agenda woven through it. At best, this conversion imperative could indicate a conversion in the sense of a change of heart or attitude (cf. 'convertere' or 'transformatio' in Latin, or, in Greek, 'metanoia'), signifying a movement away from an old way of life towards a new and better one. At worst, it could refer to the adoption of a specific religious subjectivity through more coercive means (e.g. compulsory chapel attendance). Despite the ambiguous semantic meaning of the statement, residents would inevitably face some form of Christian evangelisation during their period of residency, and that the methodology of care deployed in Alpha Lifehouse, would have religious trappings.

I present the mission statement here, at the start of this chapter, as it reflects the way in which the management of Alpha Lifehouse wanted to portray the hostel publically. It also conveys the wider holistic aims of the Salvation Army church, which historically linked the moral reform of man with the experience of spiritual salvation and renewal. The following statement by the movement's founder, William Booth, conveys this interlinked mandate aptly:

> 'No one gets a blessing if they have cold feet and nobody ever got saved while they had toothache!' (W. Booth, 1912)
>
> 'Soup! Soap! Salvation!' (Salvationist motto)

This excerpt emphasises TSA's historic approach of undertaking social action in order to facilitate conversion to Christianity (not as a purely instrumental act, but part of a more holistic package of humankind's renewal). Although it is nowadays known for being a church 'with its sleeves rolled up' and working at the coalface of social need, it is important to note that TSA is still primarily an evangelical mission to the poor, and that its homeless work is an iconic expression of this (Walker 2001). Historically, this evangelical orientation was a

prominent feature of homeless shelters run by TSA, and a dimension that has earned them a draconian reputation: historically, residents would have to attend chapel in order to receive supper (ibid). These ‘strings attached’ practices are thankfully bygones from a former era and are remembered with embarrassment not seen as permissible or desirable by TSA today (personal communication from the Territorial Headquarters). However, it was clear from both the mission statement and my field research, that some of the original evangelical attitude linking character change with spiritual awakening was still alive in the minds of some members of staff at Alpha Lifehouse. This is pertinent to this discussion of service methodology, and the extent to which the organisation expected its service users to change as a condition for receiving care – revealing links between the spiritual and therapeutic landscapes, from the Salvationist perspective.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, it is important to acknowledge that an organisation’s mission statement does not necessarily map on to the ethics, values and performative behaviours of all staff members and volunteers present (Cloke et al 2005). One must be wary, therefore, of such mission statements. They do, however, reveal the ‘outer face’ of the organisation - the impression that Alpha Lifehouse wanted to give to those for whom it cares. From the mission statement above, this refers to an explicitly religious form of care available, and a distinctive service environment, characterised by ‘Christian compassion’ and ‘physical, moral and spiritual regeneration’, intimating that an interventionist ethos would underpin Alpha Lifehouse’s programme of care (Johnsen, 2014). The ways and extent to which this interventionism manifested in the material and performative dimensions of the Lifehouse, are explored in the following

sections, focused on the material, regulatory and performative dynamics of care.

5.2 THE MATERIAL SPACES OF ALPHA LIFEHOUSE

In this section I convey what the material space of Alpha Lifehouse was like, and to what extent it was particularly 'Christian'. I do this using extracts of reflective writing that I produced in my research journal during my fieldwork. Overall, besides a few physical items of religious significance in the space of the Lifehouse, such as the Salvation Army flag in the reception, Christian literature made available within the social areas of the hostel, and plaques on the wall that dedicated the centre to God's purposes, the main structural element that pertained to religion, was the availability of a Chapel room. However, despite these Christian items and spaces, the hostel was not distinguishable in it basic materiality from the other local hostels that I'd visited in Glympton. Rather, it was in the service methodology, and, in particular, the performance of care by religious staff members, that the distinctively Christian qualities of the hostel come to life.

In order to re-presence the hostel in an immediate and vivid way, I now present a selection of autoethnograhic writings on the material spaces of Alpha Lifehouse. These help to set the scene within in which the more performative dimensions of care that are analysed in this chapter, took place. Following these reflections, I draw specific attention to the Chapel Room, as an important site of Christian expression in the hostel.

Figure 3 Ethnographic account 7/7/12

First impressions of Alpha Lifehouse...

Alpha Lifehouse is situated on the corner of a noisy B-road in the poorest neighbourhood of Glympton. It is a large multicoloured, oblong-shaped building that has an austere and old-fashioned look. A concrete ramp leads up to the entrance of Alpha - double-breadth sliding glass doors controlled by the receptionist, who sits inside, unseen, vetting entrants using a video-intercom system. Everyone is monitored, in and out. Once through the doors of Alpha Lifehouse you enter Reception, where the mood feels unpredictable and foreboding. Reception is a large empty area with no chairs, only a reception desk that is caged-off from the public by a thick Perspex screen with a grill on it, much like a traditional Post Office cashier's desk, or something you'd find in prison. The receptionist is a gatekeeper to the internal works of the hostel, and after asking my purpose then contacted, via walkie-talkie, the staff member I was visiting. In the absence of chairs, I had to stand around until the person I was visiting greeted me. I couldn't sit down and relax, but could only hover in a liminal space before being permitted access to the main areas of the hostel. The physical presence of the receptionist's segregating screen gave off a sense of hostility, of separation, and the need for protection – this hinted at the potential presence of danger from which staff needed shielding. This atmosphere was compounded by the presence of a laminated warning poster, Blu-tacked next to the Perspex reception screen, which read:

> **'Violence and aggression both verbal and physical are totally unacceptable on these premises. We will deal with these appropriately which is likely to include either being asked to leave or given 28 days notice. NO APOLOGIES THAT STAFF AND SERVICE USER SAFETY IS OUR PRIORITY.'**

Typed in large red font, the poster suggested a sense of imminent and indiscriminate threat, instilling a heightened sense of vigilance and edginess to the space. The intercom and fetching system was redolent of a prison – a total institution – with all bodies accounted for and carefully managed in the space. A humanising touch to Reception, however, was the warm greeting of the smiley receptionist (figure 5), and a smattering of colourful posters on the walls containing information about local services, and a 'Residents Board' with items pinned to it, including handwritten communiqués from staff to service users, and notices about weekly activities, such as football or craft days (figure 3).

Next to the Residents' Board was a large brass plaque with an embossed proclamation on it that read:

> **'The Salvation Army Glympton House…Dedicated to the Glory of God…for the continuance and extension of the caring ministry.',**

I asked the receptionist why the name 'Glympton' (not Alpha) House was included, and she explained, that it was from a time when the building ran as a 'Salvation Army Hotel' – a care home for the elderly – an independent charity ran untainted by state regulation and edicts. Ominously, a Securi-Guard sign hovered above this dedication plaque, giving a contrasting sense of militarised surveillance and monitoring from 'on high', redolent of

Bentham's panopticon, used for imposing the self-government of prisoners' docile bodies (fig. 2). This stark mix of the sentiments of care and control, felt confusing to me upon first encounter. However, these contrasting plaques soon became a synechdoche for the tensions of care and control, which was woven into the 'landscape of care' of the Lifehouse, as it's management attempted to balance the contrasting faith-based and statutory needs and values of THQ and SP, respectively. Finally, in the corner of Reception I noted the burgundy and gold Salvation Army flagpole with the standard drooping down, dusty, unused and seemingly forgotten - a relic of a bygone era – just a nod to the religious roots of Alpha Lifehouse, and definitely not given pride of place at this time in the Lifehouse.

In this account, religious signifiers were peppered throughout the Reception area, pointing to the Salvationist origins of the hostel. However, these were akin to objects in a museum – to be admired and intellectually grasped, abstracted from context. They were not 'living' artefacts. The overall atmosphere of the Reception area was formal, controlled and somewhat depersonalised.

Figure 4 a view of the reception kiosk

Figure 6 Dedication plaque vs CCTV sign in reception – contrasting sentiments of care and control.

Figure 5 Messages on the residents' notice board in reception

Figure 7 ethnographic account 8/7/12

From bedrooms to basement...
The residents' bedrooms are on the upper four floors of the building. There are sixty rooms in total, each approximately 3x4 meters sq. and furnished with a single bed, television, bedside cabinet and washbasin – basic provision. Each corridor has a communal shower room and toilets, a facility that is somewhat outmoded when compared to one of the newer hostel environments I visited in Glympton, which felt palatial with its en-suite bedrooms, fresh carpets, sea views! By contrast, the room provision for residents in Alpha Lifehouse is old-fashioned, like an old university hall of residence, anonymous and devoid of character between academic terms, waiting to be personalised by its residents. The long corridors on the bedroom levels are also claustrophobic, and, intimidating for newcomers who have to ingratiate themselves with other residents. It is functional up on the residents' floors – there is nothing Christian present (no religious signs or adverts, no Bibles in bedrooms).

On the ground floor there are public toilets, four offices for staff to do 1:1 'key working' sessions with clients, a Chapel, games room and a canteen. Outside there is a garden containing a vegetable patch and an old picnic table that has been done-up by residents as a restoration project (run by one of the two volunteers who visit weekly). On the subterranean level of Alpha Lifehouse there is a conference room, computer suite, a laundry room, and a workshop containing machines for learning joinery. There is also a large stock room known as the 'charity shop' crammed full of second-hand items of clothes, which the residents can come and buy from for a nominal contribution (I've noticed that staff will provide basic clothes free of charge if a client is in desperate need upon arrival and has no money).

Overall, during the day the hostel often is quite empty, with the occasional resident loitering in the corridors or communal areas, waiting to see their support worker. Whereas, at mealtimes the hostel is busiest, and feels rather edgy with sixty men – some friends, some enemies – dining together. It's how I imagine a prison to be.

Figure 8 ethnographic account 10/7/12

Literature in the Lifehouse...
Regarding material items that helped to create a Christian space of care, the Fishtank Room provides a good example. On the wall in the fish tank room hangs a display stand containing dozens of tiny, brightly coloured leaflets on Christian approaches to topics such as 'sex', 'money', 'why Jesus?', 'other faiths', 'heaven and hell'. It is clear this is a Christian-run hostel promoting a Christian worldview through what is brought into the space and made available to residents. No other faith's literature is freely visible or available for reading in communal spaces. Although most of the residents are 'white British' and by default 'Christian', this privileging of Christianity in the hostel does reduce the scope of religious guidance available to service users.

Figure 9 ethnographic account 17/7/12

The Canteen

Connected by a small corridor from Reception is the Canteen. This is a restaurant area where residents eat breakfast and dinner (tenancy is on a half-board basis during the week with a sandwich packed lunch available upon request, and full board at weekends). It is a bright warm space with floor to ceiling doors that open onto the back garden. It is like any other canteen with a server and trolleys for finished trays and plates, and an urn for tea and coffee. All men are 'clocked-in' for breakfast at 8am and dinner from 5pm by a duty support worker who sits in the corner, watching carefully, discretely taking a register of attendees. This is the only occasion where all residents of Alpha Lifehouse are physically present in one space at the same time. It is a space-time constellation that assembles the bodies, emotions and social relations of staff and service users, with items of hot food, dinner plates and cutlery, tables and chairs, strip lighting and a flat screen television on low volume adding a background murmur. In this space service users group together to eat based on friendship groups, or avoid each other based on rivalry or enmity. Micro-geographies of inclusion and exclusion are manifested: the room's materiality enables social fissures to open up, with fights breaking out and food being thrown, rendering meal times potentially volatile events.

Figure 10 ethnographic account 21/7/12

The Chapel space

The Chapel is a large space filled with rows of old, worn leather sofas and cushioned conference chairs. Residents are often found lying across the chairs asleep, until they are caught, woken up and moved off by a duty manager. There is a small flat screen television mounted on the distant end wall, constantly emitting light and sound, and it feels like the waiting room of a doctor's surgery, quiet and comfortable, but somewhat impersonal, with background noise too quiet to make out words, but loud enough to be a distraction. In keeping with Salvationist culture – which is non-sacramental hence no altars or icons – the only religious items present in the Chapel are a lectern (that sits subordinate to the wall-mounted flat screen TV!), an upright piano (I presume used for singing hymns during worship), and a bookshelf full of out-dated and undisturbed Christian literature, and several Good News Bibles. Blu-tacked onto the wall are religiously inspired drawings, which I was told, were produced by a few residents who had recently attended one of the Chaplain-led 'Stop2Pray' sessions. There are also laminated posters presenting Bible verses for contemplation and inspiration. To paraphrase the words of one member of staff, a support worker – he hoped this Chapel space could be a 'sanctuary-like area' where residents 'could take inspiration from the religious items present and find some peace, maybe find God for themselves, or just have a quiet moment.' (Edward)

The presence of the Chapel room was a fairly unique feature when compared to the facilities in more modern hostels, which tend to have 'multi-use' rooms, and

definitely no religiously dedicated space. Because of this, the Chapel felt like a significant marker of the Christian identity of the Lifehouse, and it was a source of pride for the manager and other Christian staff when highlighted that it was a rather unique feature for a hostel (most newer build residencies have dedicated 'multifaith' rooms rather than chapels). It felt as if the presence of the Chapel signified one of the last remaining bastions of Salvationist - or more generally, Christian - identify for the hostel. It was a space that could be dedicated exclusively to religious expression, in a secularising culture. One manager expressed disgust at the fact that residents he sometimes found residents 'abusing' the space, using it as a living room rather than a chapel. He felt that it should be kept as a quiet space for reflection:

> 'It's disgusting! People run around in there and have no idea it's a chapel whatsoever. There is no respect for the space. It should be kept quiet.' (Edward)

The staff used this room episodically for the weekly prayer and worship meetings, or the monthly Resident Meetings where all were invited, however, the majority of time it was left empty for use as a lounge. Reflecting its minimal use for religious purposes, the Chapel Room more commonly referred to by residents as the 'TV Room' (reflecting its predominant use) as conveyed to me by a young resident, Jack:

> 'It's a chapel when the staff say it's a chapel – when they're busy in there doing prayers. Otherwise it's just a TV room – a place for people to lounge about.'

This comment reveals the performative and malleable nature of space. This comment also suggests, and was corroborated by my observations, that the religiosity of Alpha Lifehouse is predominantly catering to the religious needs of

staff, not residents; it also helped to maintain the religious branding of the Lifehouse as a distinctively Christian hostel.

At best it was a Chapel, but most of the time it was simply a lounge or communal space to hang out. The staff, however, tried to police it and keep it as a quiet, distinctive space for Christian reflection. I felt it was more a space for 'pop-up' Christianity, where Christian events were permitted because of the name 'Chapel', which served the staff and any residents who were sufficiently inquisitive and intrepid to join in. I use the word intrepid because I noticed some residents hovering outsider the chapel peering in through the door's small window during prayers, but when invited in by a staff member, they quickly hurried off. And the rest of the time it was an empty space that was underused by residents and staff. It would be an ideal space for workshops or discussion groups, however, I soon realised that this underutilisation was due to a lack of available staff or volunteers to lead such activities. The only activity I witnessed occurring in the Chapel outside of the Spiritual Programme, and discounting it being a lounge area, was when local churches came in to host mission-focused events aimed at sharing their faith with residents, and when there was a monthly formal Residents' Meeting, as it was large enough to accommodate everyone. This arena provided a space for the expression of Christianity in the Lifehouse, referred to as the Spiritual Programme, which I now unpack in detail.

5.3 THE SPIRITUAL PROGRAMME

I now unpack the nature of the religious events that went on in the Chapel room, officially termed the 'Spiritual Programme' by staff.

Ritual: how religion breaks into daily rhythm of Alpha Lifehouse

There were rituals and performances that explicitly brought Christianity to life in Alpha Lifehouse, which are presented according to their temporal nature: daily, weekly, and monthly. These Christian events were known as the Spiritual Programme, and provide the context for staff and service users to engage in Christianity during their time in the Lifehouse. Due to this Programme, the Christian dimension of the Lifehouse came to life at specific times over the course of the week: the space was used twice weekly for religious services: 'Staff Prayers' (Tuesdays), 'Stop2Pray' (Thursdays), and a monthly church service on a Sunday evening aimed at residents called 'ALIVE!'

Daily rituals: in the morning at 7.50am, before the support workers' official shifts started, 'morning prayers' would take place in the staff office. This typically involved everyone standing up in a small circle, where a quick prayer was said by Rose, a senior support worker, who would pray for blessings over the residents, often by naming specific individuals and their personal circumstances. Staff members present were also asked if they have any personal prayer requests before starting their day, and these too were incorporated into the prayers. Morning prayers would last 5-10 minutes. It was an optional event, but most staff members in the support worker team joined in, regardless of their religious beliefs (whereas staff from other teams in the Lifehouse didn't participate in this ritual, despite some of them being Christians). It was a team-focussed ritual, where key workers would 'place the day ahead into the hands of the Lord' (Rose).

Weekly rituals: at 10am on Tuesdays and Thursdays formal Christian events took place in the Chapel room. On Tuesdays 'staff prayers' were open to any

support staff that are available and willing (residents were welcome to join if they showed an interest). On Thursdays a meeting called 'Stop2Pray' occurred, which consisted of 30-45 minutes of reflection on a religious topic led by the Lifehouse's Chaplain or an external Christian speaker (usually an Officer from a local Salvation Army corps). Both residents and staff were invited to attend Stop2Pray, and were encouraged to attend by a message sent out across the radio network from the Chaplain. This commandeering of the airwave channels, to notify all staff of the prayer meeting via walkie-talkie, was a significant way the corporate Christian identity of the organisation was maintained, and radiated out across all spaces of the hostel.

Monthly rituals: once a month, on a Sunday evening, there was an event called 'ALIVE!', located in the Chapel. This was a charismatic worship event where a visiting church's worship band performed contemporary religious hymns, with the lyrics put up on a big projector so all could sing along. The audience was made up of a few residents, but the majority were visitors from a local church who would come in to run the event, and a few staff. Together they would stand and sing along, then remain seated for short Biblical message presented from the front. For all intensive purposes, it was a church service for the staff and residents of the Lifehouse. Afterwards, those who had attended were invited to share a meal in the canteen, where residents could socialise with the volunteers helping to run the service, extending their social network by building a sense of community around the worship event.

From speaking with the Centre Manager, it was this Spiritual Programme that made the Alpha Lifehouse distinctively Christian, and set it apart from the other

secular hostels in the local area. It was the chance to explore the Christian faith that was described as being the 'value added' dimension to Alpha Lifehouse's service – an added extra that other hostels couldn't provide. The reception of the Spiritual Programme by staff, volunteers and residents is discussed in detail in the next chapter, and worked back into debates on 'value added' and postsecularism. Before that closer analysis is conducted, it is important to introduce another major aspect promoting a Christian dynamic in the hostel environment – the performance of care by religious staff members.

5.4 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGIOUS STAFF MEMBERS

This section describes the importance of individual staff members in creating a Christian environment.

Two types of Christian subjectivity

Beyond the ritualistic expression of Christianity that was structured into the daily, weekly and monthly routines of Alpha Lifehouse, there were Christian performances made throughout the day that comprised of expressions, utterances and dialogue of an overtly proselytising style from the more devout staff members. These performances were unique and prompted wildly different responses in both Christian staff and their colleagues, and in service users, who identified as 'spiritual, but not religious' (SBNR), or who did not identify with any religious or spiritual identity – 'no specific religious adherence' (NSRA), as explained by a support worker:

> 'There are two people who speak quite openly about their belief in God – Rose and Rick, and they do it in very different ways. Rose is more maternal, "we are all God's children" and "God will make the right decisions for you", and then Rick just talks like he's just swallowed a Bible and regurgitates words that have been written and I'm like – do they really mean anything? I just ignore it…I think it's wasted words on

some people, they don't want to hear it and I think it winds people up more than anything because they don't want to be preached to. But Rose, it's not annoying when Rose says things, she is just expressing herself, it's not regurgitation.' (Chloe)

From this quote we can see two distinctive evangelical subjectivities being performed in the Lifehouse – one was considered acceptable, and the other, problematic. The former, Rose, was a small, mother-hen type, who was firm but fair in her interactions with service users, always smiling and spritely, full of positive affective energy. Her conversation was peppered with religious expressions such as 'Heavens above!' or 'God bless you!'' and 'Remember, Jesus loves you!' Such proclamations were not perceived by her colleagues or service users, as overbearing. They were not seen as an inappropriate encroachment on the working environment, but accepted as part of her self-expression. Moreover, Rose was spoken of in the highest regard, by both staff and residents, as the most effective and popular key worker at Alpha Lifehouse. Three colleagues describe her religious proclivities as 'a beautiful thing':

> 'She is just showing who she is, she is not telling them to convert' (Laura)
>
> 'Her personality helps her get through in the sense that some people would find it offensive if you said "do you want me to pray with you?", but she can do it because she is very open about her faith and the fact Jesus lover her.'(Juliette)

In her own words, Rose describes her purpose in Alpha Lifehouse as:

> 'To enable people to take stock of where they are; get back into independent living, but spiritually offer gospel of Jesus. It's a holistic approach: bring them in because they're homeless, empower them as they've dipped in life, and tell them Jesus is everything'.

She had a deep religious conviction that Jesus was the solution to all of life's problems, but she was also an empathetic and a highly experienced support worker, and duly recognised the boundaries she needed to keep in place

regarding sharing her faith. Rose explained to me that she did not want to put people off faith, but attract them to it by living a different lifestyle that provoked the curiosity of others. In her own words, she is motivated by 'Christian love', desiring to 'just love the guys', revealing a deep compassion for the men and wanting them to feel respected and valued through the way she interacted with them. In her worldview, this is all framed within a religious mentality of 'sharing God's love and drawing people towards Jesus', motivated by a belief in 'the transformative power of Christ', which she claimed she personally experienced as an adolescent and that changed her life forever. Her vocal religious interjections ('heaven above!' or 'Jesus loves you!') gave a distinctive religious tone to the spaces where she was present, yet it was not seen as coercive or grating by staff, just a quirky 'personality thing' that was tolerated due to the Christian context of the hostel. When I asked many of the staff what was religious about Alpha Lifehouse, they would often mention Rose first, and then the religious rituals of prayer and worship that were structured into the life of the hostel. Rose was a key instigator of these rituals, rushing around the offices one minute before their start, chivvying staff and residents to attend. Her presence was instrumental in creating a religious texture to the landscape of care of the Lifehouse, and was seen as a positive team member with her Christianity accepted by her colleagues.

In addition to Rose, two younger male support workers, both evangelical Christian, also brought a Christian flavour to the hostel landscape. Their religious subjectivities, however, were seen as highly contentious and inappropriate for the context of Alpha Lifehouse. Their manners were perceived as 'preachy' and religious affirmations in need of 'reigning in' by colleagues and

service users. Their religious subjectivity was seen as a liability for creating a positive working atmosphere, and served to close down positive communication between team members of varying religious beliefs or none, placing a strain on working relationships. The following quote conveys the fallout of this fractious approach to evangelism displayed by one of the men: 'He told me I'd burn in hell...I felt picked on', conveyed one member of the Reception team who promptly left a celebratory team meal early, avowing to never attend another staff social in the future. Regarding the same 'problematic' staff member, one staff member of NSRA recalled the following incident:

> 'I was asked a straightforward question when I came to work here: "Are you a believer?" and I said that I had general beliefs. But that person wasn't interest in knowing those beliefs, it was very much a case of '"well here's my beliefs, stick with me and I'll show you the truth.' (Louise)

This extract demonstrates how the Christian staff member's approach prompted a silencing of any other beliefs from being expressed or given credence, apart from his own. This character, from my observation, rarely smiled, seemed dejected and 'huffy', had a flat tone in his voice, as if he was exasperated, and did not portray warmth. He told me that his aim in the hostel was 'leading people to Christ' and that he perceived other Christian staff members as 'jaded' as if they'd lost their evangelical zeal (with the exception of Rose, whom he condoned). His attitude served to foreclose any space for 'mutual translation' or crossover narrative required to create a space of postsecular rapprochement in the hostel, which could have been characterised by conviviality and joy. This member of staff brought a dour Christian tone to the Lifehouse, which was not well received. His whole comportment was very different to that of the small, feisty, motherly character described above, who was well received by her colleagues and clients. This physical, embodied difference – personality and

literal size and affective energy of the person – seem to be key components of the overall performance of the character, and affected how these Christians were perceived and received by others in the hostel, indeed how their performance provided different Christian atmospheres to the locale, as reflected in the following quote from a manager:

> 'Physically, people warm much more to small people. It's a fact. She [Rose] is small and feisty; everyone calls her the Rottweiler. She is quite down to earth as well, she doesn't take some of the shit that goes on here, she's more practical about it… she may say some very inappropriate things.... you know, old fashioned racist comments like "did he come down on the banana boat or something?" referring to a client of African descent who had newly arrived at the hostel! But because she is little, and has personality, you just go 'oh Rose!' [sighs with resignation, rolls eyes]. But if someone bigger said that, it'd probably be very offensive.' (Juliette)

In this case Rose's religious zeal and any audacious remarks were overlooked – grace was extended - due to the fact her manner and physique tempered the way they came across. Furthermore, her skills and experience as a key worker acted to ameliorate any potential negativity shown towards her due to her more outspoken religious performances, because she was so highly regarded in the profession. Her younger male counterparts were not afforded such grace.

I noted that gender, embodiment and age were significant elements structuring the performance of faith-based care, discursively shaping to how one is perceived and received by others, bisecting with one's religious subjectivity. These three dimensions are constructs through which a person's religious identity is enacted, or filtered through, in an intersectional manner (Valentine, 2007). The dimension of gender was made explicit during my observations and interviews with staff, volunteers and residents. In the case of male support workers, it was suggested that men are already at a disadvantage in developing

rapport with residents due to their gender. It was clear from observation and from responses in several interviews that being female had advantages in doing residential support work with a male client population:

> ‘There are things that women can say that men can’t say without it being offensive. For example, a woman can say, “Oi! Get your feet off that table!”, and the men will reply, “Oh go on then, fine”. If a bloke goes in and say that it’s suddenly a much more aggressive situation.’ (Belinda)

This observation complements Smart’s assertion that women are afforded more grace due to the ‘disarming’ nature of their ‘femaleness’ (1984). This insight reflects the way that everyone had ‘scripts’ that they work with to make sense of and participate in social interaction (Tomkins, 1978). In the case described above we can see the normalised gender role of a woman’s place as traditionally being in the domestic sphere, coming into play, structuring both the emotional tone and affective atmosphere of the interaction in the hostel. According to this script, it is permissible for a female support worker to police and chastise residents for disrupting her protocol in that residential space premised on norms regarding her gender. This fits the stereotype of a domestic housewife taking pride and maintaining order within her domain; within her scripted role it is her right to exercise this responsibility. However, if a male support worker were to chastise residents in such a manner it would seem an affront to their masculinity and lead to male confrontation as they battle for status within the domestic setting. This gendered dynamic was exacerbated by fervent religious subjectivities enacted by two male support workers – whose demeanour was perceived to be ‘rubbing people up the wrong way’, and Bible-bashing, being told to ‘reign it in’ by management.

5.5 THE CARESCAPE OF THE LIFEHOUSE

This section analyses how the Lifehouse space was formally and informally regulated as a state service provider, and the significance this had for the Christian ethos of the hostel. It also unpacks the way in which some staff felt that TSA's Christian ethos was subject to constraints and compromised as a consequence of this statutory context. The ways in which the 'carescape' of Alpha Lifehouse was regulated by the state pertains to criteria about eligibility for assistance and policy for staffing. There were also other management-imposed regulations (not state mandated) around daily routines for residents, and wider 'house rules' that residents were expected to abide by as part of their tenancy agreement. I unpack these dimensions of the carescape of the hostel in detail.

Regulating access: the (in)eligibility to receive care

It was clear that because Alpha Lifehouse was running as a state contractor, using state money through SP to provide housing support, it was forced to operate within a secular framework. This contractual partnership inevitably placed constraints upon the wider evangelical and universal mission and ethos of the Salvation Army (cf. Alpha Lifehouse's mission statement in figure 1), with regards to universal provision of care, regardless of age, sex, religion, etc. Examining the rules and regulations regarding who could legitimately receive support from Alpha Lifehouse, and the condition of that care for residents, revealed a direct contradiction with the hostel's inclusive mission statement. Who and what (e.g. dogs, alcohol and drugs) could go in and out of Alpha Lifehouse was regulated at different levels: local (local government policy), territorial (national policy of TSA given by THQ), and national (government

legislation). At the highest level, central government policy on social housing dictated who was eligible to receive assistance and be welcomed into this space of care. Men were sent from the council's housing programme to Alpha Lifehouse if they met eligibility criteria and were deemed 'fit' to enter the housing system; this meant being non-intentionally homeless, single (not part of a homeless couple or family), aged between 18-65, and with a 'local connection' to Glympton. Therefore, in the case of Alpha Lifehouse, there were no females or children on site, no asylum seekers, no direct access clients, and no one who didn't have a local connection in that area of the county . All service users were referred to Alpha from Glympton Local Authority Access to Housing team, which co-ordinated emergency accommodation across the city. Clients could not just turn up unexpectedly and directly access the hostel; everything needed to be processed through the official channels. This held true except for the case of two emergency beds that the hostel ran independently of funding, which provided an alternative space of care for those beyond the SP remit. At the time of my research a seventeen-year-old young man was living in one of Alpha Lifehouse's 'emergency' bedrooms – he had severe mental health problems and was not a good socio-demographic fit for the hostel, however, he was beyond the capacity of local mental health services and needed shelter, so Alpha was helping him. In this way Alpha Lifehouse was able to offer niche care to individuals who were in true need – a way of expressing their Salvationist ethos of accepting and serving all (despite the constraints of the SP framework that circumscribed their client group, and therefore directly contravened their ethic of universal access.

On this theme of undermining Christian values, one support worker felt strongly that TSA had compromised on its ethos of universality by becoming dependent upon SP funding, and accordingly, the narrowed scope of provision it permitted:

> 'I've been reading about William Booth and the origins of the Salvation Army – we've abandoned the vision! "Where there is no vision people perish!" That's in Isaiah. We should be helping those with No Recourse to Public Funds, those with NO HELP AT ALL. We have to turn people away here if they're not referred or risk assessed, it makes me sick. They've lost their way, the Salvation Army. This is a watered down version of the Booth's dream, this is not the gospel!' (Max)

One way of getting round this portioning of care to those deemed eligible was through the use of emergency beds, mentioned previously. However, the compromise TSA was perceived to be making extended beyond a criticism of eligibility criteria. It was expressed to me that SP contracts from local government stipulated that client turn-around time (TAT) – the time taken between entering the hostel to moving out and into independent living - should ideally be 9 months. This short TAT was deemed' totally unrealistic' and 'highly uncaring' when considering that service users with more complex needs required much longer-term support. Some Project staff showed concern that the shorter TAT imposed by SP would lead to a inferior quality of service and therefore, poorer client outcomes, because it would lead to a foreshortened support period that could compromise the work required to address longer-term systemic issues that had led the client into homelessness in the first place.

Despite this recommended 9-momth TAT, at Alpha Lifehouse, I learned that some clients has been permitted to reside there for up to 24 months, through the creative use of the emergency bed facility. This involved taking some residents 'off the books' for a short period of up to one week and reintroducing them to the hostel under a new tenancy agreement – so that they could

continue to receive necessary support. This is a pertinent example of ‘value added’ from the perspective of service users, who felt valued and supported as a result of this adroit solution. Similarly, others had repeated periods of residency, as they moved in and out of supported housing in an episodic manner (referred to by support workers as the proverbial ‘revolving door’ scenario), allowing the 9-month support period to be extended in a less ‘fudged’ manner. These efforts to support clients are a pertinent example of what Williams (2012) describes as ‘reworking’ the landscape of neoliberalism with a theo-ethic of compassion. This delicate dance between religion and neoliberalism is now unpacked with regards to the Lifehouse’s attempt to create a ‘responsible’ subjectivity in its residents. This reveals how a Christian ethos can be woven into a neoliberal landscape of care, and work to subtly undermine it, or to progress it.

Daily routines: encouraging ‘responsible’ citizenship

In the work of Hackworth (2010), which is reviewed in Chapter 2, it is argued that FBOs can act as a vanguard for neoliberalisation of space and subjectivity. By this, he refers to the way in which the values of more conservative and liberally attuned religious groups, can neatly align with the values of the neoliberal state, for example, an emphasis on taking personal responsibility, and a denial of the structural causes of poverty (Williams, 2012). Due to this overlap in values, it is suggested that FBOs can become natural allies for the implementation of neoliberal social policy, and, in the case of Alpha Lifehouse, I believe this to be true. The closely woven strands of Christianity and neoliberalism, in the hostel were clear to see, and in some ways, symbiotic.

The ebb and flow of residents in the hostel space was tied into a formal policy of Alpha Lifehouse that encouraged residents to go out during the daytime in order to help residents form a '9-5' routine. This aspiration was enforced by formal 'House Rules' that forbade residents from staying in their bedrooms between 9-11am, forcing them out of bed and to breakfast in the canteen. From there onwards they were encouraged to go out of the hostel to attend day centres, work placements and support programmes, which had been identified as goals in their Personal Development Plan. These attempts can be interpreted as a direct effort to 'responsibilise' service users into performing the habitus of a 'normal' citizen, and is a patent example of 'moralising the poor' (Williams, 2012). This is a long-standing culture within TSA that dates back to its inception, when it played a role in the British Empire as a manager of penal colonies in British India, charged with the duty of settling and educating 'wandering tribesmen' into Western civilisation (Walker, 2001). These House Policies reflect an expectation of service users to change their behaviour as part of the terms and conditions of their residency at Alpha Lifehouse (Johnsen, 2014). This involved the imposition of social 'norms' through House Rules, which felt quite aggressive and created an atmosphere that was somewhat redolent of a boarding school. This imposition of rules contradicts the assertion made by William (2015) that some Salvation Army services have become characterised by 'no-strings-attached' services, compared to earlier forms of Salvation Army support for the homeless where chapel-attendance was compulsory in order to receive alms. Although no religious activity was compulsory at Alpha Lifehouse, it was clear that other forms of obligatory behavioural control and expectation were in operation. For example, during the 9-11am window, staff would do 'room checks', which involved unlocking and

entering the room to search for alcohol and drug paraphernalia. If any illicit substances were discovered then the resident was issued a 28-day warning (similar to remand) during which they could reform their behaviour and redeem themselves (a theo-ethic of repentance and restoration). This daily routine of entering and searching residents' bedrooms resembled a police search and was hotly contested by some residents as a 'breach of my human rights!' (fieldnotes, 22/7/13). Indeed, this policing of service users' bedrooms and of their possessions was perceived as highly intrusive. The disciplinarian role played by project staff was compounded by the wearing of formal uniform, and the carrying of walkie-talkies and panic alarms, like prison officers. One staff member told me that he felt performing this duty distanced him from the service users; it imposed a false divide and sense of hierarchy that he didn't feel reflected the Christian ethos of love and compassion that motivated him to work at the Lifehouse:

> 'I hate this uniform – why do we need one? Other hostels just have a name badge for staff and you can wear what you like. There isn't such a divide between staff and service user in other places. We're not allowed to wear jeans here – it's too formal and I feel like a policeman! That's not the kind of vibe you want to be giving to the men here. We are meant to show them love, not be their parole officer.' (Max)

Although this person felt the uniform created an unnecessary division between staff and residents, other staff members expressed that they preferred wearing a uniform for ease (mostly female staff) or so that they could be visibly distinguished from residents (male staff). I feel that it was not the uniform per se that was a problem, but that together with panic alarms, walkie-talkies and an awareness of the CCTV surveillance of the hostel space at all times, an assemblage was created that alienated this worker from his core values of love, trust and care, which he wanted to convey to the residents. This assemblage,

coupled with daily room checks and street walks where project staff would patrol the local neighbourhood looking to move-on any residents who were street drinking, did not reflect the caring nature, nurture or rapport he desired to develop with residents. These diverging opinions, about the necessity of uniform and function of formal routines for policing residents, revealed a wider spectrum of values within the staff team of the hostel. Whereas some staff preferred an interventionist approach to managing the space of care, others preferred a more empowering or 'caring with' (Tronto, 2013) approach to the service. This speaks back to the account by Johnsen et al (2005) that delineates types of FBOs by the level of intervention they implement, highlighting the nuances and resistances that exist within a FBO.

House Rules for residents

On an organisational scale, in addition to the state's criteria for eligibility, Alpha Lifehouse implemented its own policy to regulate who may live there and how residents were to behave. This was presented as the House Rules in the Tenancy Agreement that all residents signed upon moving in. The House rules operated on two levels – regulating *access* and *behaviour*. The former prohibited Schedule 1 offenders (formerly convicted pedophiles who had a spent sentence) from living there - they were not welcomed as they were deemed too high risk to accommodate (personally at risk from the violence of other residents towards them). Arsonists were also prohibited due to the risk they potentially posed to the centre. The behavioural rules included policies that prohibited the possession of alcohol or drugs on the premises, and more intimately, no guests were permitted to stay overnight. Should a resident break these behavioural rules a 21-day period of grace was issued during which they

had the chance to reform their behaviour; if the perpetrator was caught in possession again within that period they were evicted but if a genuine change in attitude and/or behaviour was witnessed then they were, more often than not, permitted to continue their tenancy. This situation was mentioned repeatedly by staff, as a context where the Christian theo-ethics of grace, forgiveness and second chances, were able to manifest and 'add value' to the quality of care. However, these house-level policies were, again, open to interpretation and subject to the micro-level discretionary politics of managers that some residents felt was an inconsistent and unfair practice. I heard complaints from both staff and residents that they felt house rules weren't applied consistently, and– according to some respondents' interpretations - that managers employed discretionary tactics as an expression of favouritism (again, undermining the Salvationist ethic of universal access and care proffered in the mission statement). In the defence of the staff I spent time with in the hostel, I believe that what was perceived as favouritism, was more likely the execution of partial professional judgement, based upon information that is not always made available to residents.

I noticed this partial behaviour happening at a cross-agency Managerial meeting where the trajectories of service users between hostels was discussed. The local centre managers of Glympton's accommodation services met regularly to discuss the progression of their clients through the housing system, from Stage 1 to Stage 3 . Although regulations in the form of Council policy dictated the demographic cohort who could enter into residency at Alpha Lifehouse, it became obvious through attending management meetings that micro-political decisions were made by managers that directly influenced who

ended up residing where in Glympton. An extract from my research diary from a muti-agency meeting of managers from Glympton's supported housing system on 25th May 2012 captures this dynamic:

> 'Today, four managers sat round the table and discussed residents in each person's hostel as if they were bargaining chips! ''I'll take your [name] if you take my [name] who has been giving me real jip" and comments like, "Oh he is a nightmare – I've been wanting to get rid of him for ages!" I was shocked by the power of these managers in determining the life course of vulnerable adults. It felt transactional.'

During this meeting intelligence was exchanged between managers pertaining to the networks of service users across the hostels (who knows whom, friendship circles, rivalries), which residents were suspected to be taking and dealing drugs, court orders and relationship status of and between residents. It felt like a corporate alliance strategically controlling the flow of vulnerable adults across the city. Personal likes and dislikes of the managers towards clients had huge influence upon the process of who was directed where – micro level thoughts, feelings and hunches playing a significant role in shaping the 'housing trajectories' of these service users. It was clear that individual residents were known to and by staff – their personalities, habits and needs – and that the proclivities of managers led to wider judgment calls about residents, which fundamentally shaped the way service users were moved through (and sometimes out of) the supported housing system. The highly emotional and relational nature of this work became clear when attending this meeting, and the Salvationist imperative to provide help to all, non-discriminately, was clearly seasoned by managers' knowledge of clients personalities and needs, which informed personalised decisions that were particular and not, as a matter or principle, universal. I wonder, however, if such tactics were also employed to help navigate the regulatory environment of SP and evade a low score in

outcomes monitoring, which could impact negatively on future tendering processes. Here, the ethics of Christian compassion was waived in order to secure funding, revealing how the wider context of neoliberal social policy was reworking the landscapes of care and religion in the hostel environment.

Staff recruitment strategy – regulating brand identity

A device for maintaining a Christian ethos in the centre pertained to Alpha Lifehouse's staff recruitment policy. This can be framed as a national level tier of control handed down from Territorial Head Quarters to Lifehouses across the United Kingdom. TSA's recruitment policy stipulates that employees must work within the mission and values of The Salvation Army; however, the exact meaning of this was not unpacked on the application forms that I perused. In conversation with staff it was made clear to me that employees didn't need to profess a Christian faith, but that they must be in sympathy with the wider aims of the organisation. When speaking to staff at Alpha, the overall shared aim recounted was to help homeless people to rebuild their self-confidence and find a way back into independent living. Some evangelical Christian staff, however, mentioned faith sharing as an addendum, referring to explicit evangelisation (not a case of 'faith-as-praxis'). This was the main discourse that diverged from the overall aim shared by all staff, and even so, it was often seen as a secondary, almost a bonus, aspect for evangelical Christian staff – something they were lucky to get to with services users at the right time, if and when they felt it was appropriate.

At managerial level, at the time of research, the Army strongly tried to place an Army Officer in the managerial post as a way of embedding Salvationist values

and vision in the organisation. From my conversations with centre managers (see previous chapter), this dual role of Officer and Manager was often experienced as creating conflicting emotions regarding best practice to do with evictions and client care. Several managers felt that their duty as an Officer was to show forgiveness and compassion to residents who had broken house rules; they felt their consciences were compromised when having to show a 'tough love' attitude and evict service users.

So, how does this regulatory context intersect with Christian values and aims of TSA as narrated by staff at Alpha Lifehouse? It was evident that the universal aims of delivering Christian compassion – according the Alpha's mission statement – was compromised by their taking on of state contracts. These proscribed who could be helped and for how long, providing an excluding criteria that contradicted the universal aim of TSA. On the other hand, TSA implemented a suit of strict house rules and regimes, to govern the conduct of their residents, which were complementary to the responsibilisation agenda of the Coalition government. In this way, the culture of the government and of TSA were in alignment. However, it was clear that there was a diversity of Christian opinion regarding the extent to which the imposition of neoliberal operational standards and values was appropriate. For some staff, exclusive criteria for eligibility of help were seen to be at odds with their more compassionate, and often radical, theo-ethics. In light of these themes, I shall now analyse how Christianity was woven into the neoliberal space of care of the Lifehouse, through an unpacking of the verbal and practical discourses and performances that I perceived to be co-creating this hostel space. It is also important to situate these dynamics within the wider political and organisational context that TSA

was embedded in during the time of research. One significant element included the major process of organisational change and restructuring that TSA was implementing within its Social Services. This was in response to contextual pressures in the policy realm, where tendering for service contracts was becoming fiercer and the Army needed to streamline to become more competitive in order to win SP funding. This period of reform was launched under the title ‘Embrace4Change’ (E4) which involved, from what I understand, an imposition of a new organisational staffing and pay structure, in consultation with staff, that was to take effect from 2013. This provides the context for the next section of tis chapter, which hones in on the conflict generated by the neoliberalisation of care which was seen to be usurping the faith-based values of many staff within Alpha Lifehouse.

5.6 NEOLIBERALISATION OF CARE: *KILLING THE CHRISTIAN ETHOS AND VALUE ADDED?*

It was evident from my conversations with religious members of staff, that many felt a keen frustration and anger towards TSA because of the compromises they perceived it to be making in order to attract and maintain statutory funding. Many felt the constraints of working to meet government performance goals and indicators were detrimental to the original approach and mission of the Army: to help people unconditionally and make disciples of Jesus (proselytise). Some felt the neoliberal reforms were in essence anti-human and uncaring, and did not match up with the practical needs of service users, whose problems were more deeply systemic and requiring of longer-term intervention and support (more

than the 9 month turn around suggested by SP). Support workers, Rose and Max, conveyed this in the following comments:

> 'I am troubled by it [new SP criteria for outcomes]. We're not in a race to tick boxes. That's not what I am about and I do struggle with that… why would we be wanting to rush the process of trying to bring the whole person to a place, where they can be physically made better? They're not giving us time to do that. Get them in, get them out, and I have a real problem because 'tick boxes' don't give you the whole picture of a guy that needs a lot of love and support.' (Rose)

> 'The mission of the Lifehouse from Supporting People's perspective? It is to spend as little money as possible and get all the results you want. Quick move on, quick turnarounds, tick boxes, no mistakes, just get the job done! From the Salvation Army's perspective? Well, because of that pressure of losing funding, it means they have to streamline. They have to cut lots of things that are important, like social interactions with the clients, doing anything that is meaningful, in my view. And that is detrimental to the mission of the Salvation Army, which is to firstly make disciples, to share Christ with unbelievers.' (Max)

These Support workers are deeply religious people and were desperately frustrated with the changes being made at national level by TSA. They felt that by participating in this broader statutory field TSA were watering down TSA's character on two accounts: to provide adequate support and care that was effective in producing lasting change in an individual's life:

> 'A [Christian] faith motivation means we die to ourselves - and go the extra mile, put ourselves out, love them, care, listen, time and again - and not have an end target! You imagine coming in to help people but you spend most of time on a fucking computer!' (Daniel)

In the case of Daniel, not only did the burden of bureaucracy mean less time doing meaningful activities with clients, which would help build self-esteem and enable deeper personal change. It also meant a compromise on the opportunity to share the Gospel, which he saw as arising from building relationships with the men through meaningful social activities. In his opinion, by losing the former aspect, you also lose the latter, which attacked right at the roots of his motivation to work for the Salvation Army. Furthermore, the target deadlines for

move-ons were a direct clash with his values of never giving up on clients and working with them on an individual basis, regardless of how long the process took, with no end date or expiry point. I noted a great anger and despondency in Daniel, who described THQ as a ‘severed head’ governing the wider activities of Lifehouses without knowledge of what working in a hostel was like on the ground. This sentiment was echoed by staff members from other teams including Bobby in Reception and Edward in the Domestic team: Bobby felt that the arduous nature of his job was not fully appreciated by THQ, who were planning to reduce the number of reception staff in the E4C proposal as part of their streamlining for a more competitive service. On the other hand, Edward, who was also chosen as a representative of Alpha Lifehouse for the E4C national consultations between THQ and Lifehouses, provided a graphic depiction of the way he felt the ‘streamlining’ had been put into effect in a brash manner:

> ‘The Salvation Army are hypocritical – making staff poorer when their objective is to fight poverty! They are shooting themselves in the foot and shooting everyone under their umbrella…. It’s like they’re chopping off two arms, a bit of a kidney, the big toe… and in the future we’ll have problems oozing out of the walls because with fewer, less experienced staff, the care and attention to detail will go. It’s all about money and survival now and the whole religious thing gets pushed aside. The staff outrage is all about the morals of it…it’s just not right.’

> ‘It feels like the decisions about structural change are done and dusted and we have to like it or lump it! It seems like people are making decisions that have never actually worked here and they don’t realise how much work goes on. They’re civilians coming in and acting like businessmen and looking at it like more a business than a Christian charity. If they go ahead with the proposed changes, they’re going to lose excellent staff – people you cannot replace – the most experienced ones are going to lose 20% of their pay packet. One guy has already left; he has seen the light and move on to pastures new.’

A palpable landscape of pain and sadness was evident when I spoke to many staff members about the proposed structural changes to Lifehouse staffing in

wake of pursuing SP contracts. These concerns regarded the impact structural changes would have on staff morale, and more practically, their financial remuneration; it also concerned a clear scepticism that the culture of TSA was shifting from one that was client-centred, towards one that was too business-like. Furthermore, the greatest concern was for the impacts these changes would have on the quality of care available to service users. For example, a deep sadness was expressed by Daniel, a support worker, who felt that the new timelines imposed on services user meant he would 'let men down', due to his belief that the process of being able to resettling individuals in a sustainable manner, was being undermined:

> 'They will feel like we've failed them – it's a revolving door. They will feel like they've failed if they end up back here too, it's a disaster.' (Daniel)

It was evident that this new 'market driven culture' in his words was 'totally inappropriate' for the context of working with individuals who are homeless. His anxiety was also rooted in the dual factors of the fact that clients with complex needs aren't quick or simple to solve, and that the wider local housing system did not have homes available for the men to move on to – which would lead to an inevitable 'log jam' of clients in the hostel. This scenario, which would ultimately be perceived as an 'underperformance' in his role and a failure to meet TAT, would mean a consequent doc in his pay according to the newly suggested performance-related pay scheme; a punitive measure for a staff member who was suffering at the hands of things beyond his control – complex clients and a housing stock crisis compounding the problem. Other members of the Project Team echoed his frustrations and sense of disillusionment:

> 'It makes me question whether the Salvation Army are truly person-centred or whether they just actually care about their outputs – with restricted hours the nurture of clients will be compromised. You're setting people up to fail and they'll be back to square one feeling marginalised.

> The Sally are just going to contradict themselves through all of this restructuring [renege on their ethos and values]' (Louise)

These reactions reflected the increasing neoliberalisation of the social support sector, and a move towards 'Risk Society' (Beck 1992). In this example, risk was being shifted downward, not only from state to employer, but now from employer to employee. This trend can be interpreted as a case of TSA undergoing both normative and coercive forms of 'institutional isomorphism' (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983): normative referring to the need to become professional in order to meet the industry-wide standards of support services for the homeless; 'coercive' referring to broader cultural pressures which shape the way organisations are expected to perform their role which could be legally, financially or contractually based. For example, the Equalities Act (2010) forbids TSA from recruiting solely Christian employees, should they wish to; or shift towards outcomes monitoring and achieving 'move-ons' at the expense of care quality (e.g. decreased contact hours with residents, and quicker TATs). These contexts acted like shackles on the expression of Christian care that many support workers wanted to express in the workplace.

Similarly, emotional pressures were also expressed by a support worker, Christina, who found her values of 'not telling lies' compromised under the pressure of the new stringent outcomes and timelines. It was suggested to me that on the odd occasion the 'fudging' of documents had occurred in order to satisfy SP outcomes, to prove that that Alpha was achieving positive move-ons, which in reality was true, however, due to the narrow criteria for 'move on' provided by SP, some outcome could not be classified as positive, and therefore should be omitted or reported as negative or failure under the current

system. For example, in the case of one resident, Jimmy, who went back to living with family, which was not classified as moving on to independent living according to SP criteria. This ‘fudging’ of documents was putting strain on one senior support worker who felt it utterly immoral to lie, and would not have her name put on the form, so passed it on to a more senior colleague. These contextual changes are leading to imposition of new rubrics that are driving down pressure to the teams, and creating ethical tensions, which were previously not manifested because the context did not impose frameworks that required such lines to be drawn hitherto. It seemed to many that the humanity and Christianity at the centre was ebbing away.

Similarly, it was mentioned that the narrow request to document outcomes-related activity only, as evidence of progress for SP audits, meant that all the other ‘high touch’ or ‘soft skills’ people work (e.g. conversations in corridors, taking an interest in hobbies, or watching TV with services users in the Chapel), were not deemed legitimate activities to help achieve a move on. It was recounted to me that, for a period of 8 weeks, the staff were asked by SP to keep an activity log that accounted for their every moment of the working day, revealing how their time was spent – a futile and frustrating process, which caused stress and anxiety amongst the staff team. Actions, like relationship building through having a ‘corridor chat’ with a resident would not be looked upon as ‘productive’ use of time contributing to outcomes. This level of accountability and monitoring led to sense of anger and demoralisation amongst some staff who really wanted to spend more time with the men, building a sense of community through playing sports, music or other recreational activities – occupational therapy, in essence – yet it was felt that

these tasks were not acknowledged as valuable by SP. This was doubly frustrating to some Christian project staff that perceived building friendship, rapport and creating an atmosphere of 'homeliness' and family, as a key part of their Christian vocation in loving the stranger, making the outsider welcome. The space for expressing their motivation for ethical action was shrinking, and with that, their happiness, job satisfaction and overall motivation at work. The possibility for faith to be a fully-fledged source of 'affective and moral energy' (Habermas, 2010) that staff and residents could tap into – that was conveyed as being the source of 'value added' - was collapsing. This anger was directed back to THQ, who were seen as driving these 'unchristian' changes, at the expense of their most skilled and committed staff, through the introduction of performance related pay and significant pay cuts. This suite of neoliberal changes, albeit recognised as inevitable by most staff (again, a sign of institutional isomorphism, and according to one person, a failure of 'prophetic imagination' on part of the Christians in the workplace), was perceived as a direct abandoning of Salvationist ethos:

> 'It's like they're saying William Booth is DEAD! Move on! Get with the new programme' (Sandy).

Socialising in the Fishtank Space

Adjacent to the Canteen is the Fishtank Room. This is a small area with three big, beaten, leather sofas and a large tropical fish tank. Residents tend to congregate here during the day as their location of choice. The Staff Room opens on to this area and I wonder if it is because of proximity to this room that the residents assemble here – a sense of being visible and acknowledged that reflects the strong value that some residents place on interpersonal contact with staff within the centre. In contrast, it was expressed to me by members of staff that they perceived the clients waiting in this area as 'loitering' and 'being a

nuisance', often knocking on the office door with seemingly random questions like 'oh, have the fish been fed today Jim?' or 'oh, I just saw so-and-so, said he was looking for you.' This 'loitering' reflects, in my opinion, a lack of daytime occupation for some residents, who don't have anywhere else to be. It also reflects, a dearth of meaningful daytime activities available within Alpha Lifehouse for residents to participate in. It seems that Alpha provides a skeleton service, with the additional parts – the muscles, skin, respiratory system – all being provided elsewhere. The things that could bring residents to life are in part missing here. The social dynamics and sense of community that can provide a sense of self.

Figure 11 Ethnographic reflection 1/8/12

This paucity of activities (be it workshops, sports or music) mentioned in the journal reflection above, was mentioned to me by several Project Team staff, who explained that this was due to the lack of time available for staff to arrange this kind of activity. This 'time-poverty' was attributed to the new 'culture of targets and bureaucracy' that had been introduced in recent years as part of SP's monitoring and evaluation of their service contractors. It was clear that with increasing professionalisation came greater focus on documenting the Project Team's tasks, which took up time that could have been spent with service users. Professionalisation had also led to tightened procedures for social activities such as day trips, which now required thorough risk assessment and planning, compared to a more informal protocol that existed hitherto, which was seen as more humane and spontaneous:

> 'I really miss the times we could say: "Right! Sea side trip this afternoon, meet at the reception at 2pm, if you're interested!" And we'd all go and have an ice cream and a lovely day out with the guys. We can't do that now, and I know I need to know who needs an inhaler, who is on which meds, who has what risks in public…. but it's just such a shame! The guys really loved it back then and we had so much fun!' (Rose)

The loitering of the men in the ‘fish tank room’ was a sad indicator of the cost of professionalisation to the social quality of service – a weakened sense of community and care that previously came with the freedom to execute impromptu activities, which staff had previously instigated. A sense of loss, or harkening for a bygone era, when the hostel was more informal and community orientated, was expressed by several of the longer-standing members of staff. This formalisation of activities was evident during a training session that I attended during my fieldwork in the hostel, where having ‘professional boundaries’ and assessing risks was the focus. In this training session, I noted the theo-ethics of compassion being compromised and effectively traded-off, in order to develop a more ‘professional’ ethic as a ‘fit for purpose’ social service provider, which I examine in the following section.

The cost of professionalisation

The shift in atmosphere, from informal to formal, and the way this impinged on the Christian expression of care was made clear during a training session on ‘Professional Boundaries’ that I attended during my fieldwork. It was run by a training manager from THQ and invited project staff to discuss what they perceived as ethical behaviour in the workplace. The most beloved support worker (by service users and staff) admitted that she had continued to visit several former-residents in their new homes after they had ‘moved-on’ from the Lifehouse. She felt they needed to be shown continued support and care, more than just formal ‘floating support’, but genuine friendship. She was expressing true care for these former residents. This confession was greeted with some awkward looks from other staff and a suggestion from the training manager that she refrain from continuing the practice. The implicated staff member looked

taken-aback and dismayed, which suggested to me that this act of compassion was also an integral expression of her Christian identity and faith praxis – showing genuine care – and that the new ethical boundaries being suggested were not reflecting her Christian values at all. She vocalised this to the group of trainees, who gave sympathetic looks, yet did not speak up in her defence. This signalled a silent acceptance of the new value of boundaried professional care, at the expense of the theo-ethic of Christian compassion that goes beyond institutional confines. This experience was very telling of the way in which the professionalisation of TSA was coming at a high personal cost to some staff, jarring with their fundamental impulses to care, show compassion, and create community, which were rooted in religious beliefs of loving without limits as a form of Christian praxis. This example also reveals that, although FBOs are purported to catalyse the growth of bridging and bonding capital - that contains the potential for lives to be socially and materially enriched - this process of growth was being stunted in its tracks, due of the need to implement 'professional boundaries' that delineated staff from resident and prohibited socialisation beyond those roles.

In a similar vein, on a second occasion during my visit, I witnessed the value of 'boundaried care' truncate the opportunity for showing Christian caritas. This second example revealed the way in which the values of reciprocity and friendship were being undermined due to the professionalisation of the Lifehouse. In the extract below, a resident is prevented from sharing a gift with a staff member, denying a most fundamental part of human nature: gift-giving.

Figure 12 Ethnographic account, 20/7/12

Chapter conclusion

'I was really saddened today. Mark [a service user], who cherishes going fishing in the countryside, came into the office and said he had a present for Max [support worker].*"What is it?"* Max asked, surprised. Mark stretched out his arm and presented something wrapped in a shopping bag – it was a fish he'd caught that day. *"Errrr, sorry buddy, I can't take that",* said Max, a bit embarrassed, handing it back to him. Mark persisted: *"No, go on, it's okay, it's for you, have it!"* Max replied, *"Sorry bud, I really can't, Mark...I'm not allowed to, you see, it's against the rules." "Huh? Against the rules? What rules?"* Mark replied in confusion. *"What do you mean you can't take it? Go on, I caught it today, it's fresh. I ain't got a fridge I can keep it in, in my bedroom. It will start to smell. Go on, you take it!"* Max, with a poker face, replied blankly, *"Look, I'm sorry Mark, but it's against the rules. I'm not meant to accept anything from a resident."* In an attempt to brighten the tone, he suggested, *"Why don't you see if the chef can keep it in his fridge?"* and with a snarl of frustration, Mark retorted: *"I already asked him, and he said he can't cause it's not 'official' or something...awww!"* Dejected, Mark turned and left he office. Max turned to me and explained the situation: "*Yeah, it sucks, I know. It's just that we're not allowed to take anything off the residents, it's house policy - we're not supposed to accept personal gifts",* he continued, *"a box of chocolates to share between the staff in office would be fine, but nothing personal. It's in case we're accused of taking a bribe, or accused of theft.... It stupid, I know, I mean, it's a wet fish!"* I felt sad witnessing all this – I'd got to know Mark quite well, and I knew how much fishing meant to him. He didn't have much else going on in his life and had been looking forward to this fishing day out for ages – he'd been telling me about it for the week beforehand. He seemed really proud of this catch, and to have it rejected outright was plain hurtful. In this case, I feel like the humanity in the situation had been missed, and the chance to bond with a resident, lost.'

This chapter has presented the way in which Alpha Lifehouse is performed as a Christian space of care, and the nuances of this ethos. Key to this has been the explicit performances by Christian staff members, and the religious periodic events that comprise the Spiritual Programme. These aspects inflected the organisational landscape with a temporal Christian flavour, which mainly catered for the staff that were believers. Residents tolerated some personal expressions of faith, where the more positively received age and gender dimensions ameliorated more evangelical forms of religious subjectivity. On the

other hand, religious subjectivities were deemed inappropriate when imposed or brash in nature. This latter expression usually pertained to the performance of faith by younger, male support workers, who were contemporaries with the residents of the hostel, which invoked interpersonal dynamics that were more competitive and confrontational.

In light of the political funding context, which sets clear parameters for the faith-based nature of performing statutory care (regarding recruitment, expression of faith, and increased outcomes monitoring), many staff felt that the extent to which their distinctively Christian compassion was able to be expressed in hostel, was under pressure. This was prompting a blanket sense of demoralisation amongst the staff (especially the Christians), who felt their theo-ethical values of grace, second-chances and not giving up on residents, were no longer able to be given full expression in this secularising hostel context. The descriptive nature of this chapter has sought to convey the ways in which Alpha Lifehouse has become truly entangled in the statutory homeless scene, to the extent that it has become largely secularised from a programmatic perspective, except for the ‘bolt on’ or ‘pop-up’ nature of the Spiritual Programme, which strategically ensured that some essence of the original Salvationist heritage on Alpha Lifehouse, was maintained. The value added by the religious dimension of the hostel, was primarily for the religious staff, who, as a result, felt able to express their whole self at work, providing a sense of fulfilment that was motivating. However, as the scope to express their theo-ethics in the workplace shrank, due to increasing professionalisation of the service that stripped out the activities they felt were meaningful, so did their morale.

Chapter 6: Postsecular rapprochement

Introduction

This chapter responds to the questions around postsecular rapprochement that were raised in Chapters 2 and 4. Alpha Lifehouse was an environment where religiously charged discussion could erupt at any corner, and where I witnessed strategies and tactics being employed by staff and residents to navigate around and negotiate this terrain. Some welcomed it, embraced it, and were open to participating in religious discussion and activity despite the lack of belief, whereas others were impervious, shunned it, and refrained from engaging in the religious aspects of the Lifehouse. Overall, it was notable that both religious and non-religious members of staff had a heightened awareness of the religious context of Alpha Lifehouse, and that the Christian ethos of the Lifehouse was, in some ways, contentious – almost a reified thing in and of itself - and an element of the landscape of care that was very present in the everyday psyche of staff and volunteers, which I unpack in detail in this chapter.

6.1 THE SUBJECTS OF ALPHA LIFEHOUSE

The staff members identifying as Christians in Alpha Lifehouse numbered eleven in total. This included the centre Manager (a uniformed Salvationist officer), a centre Chaplain (who visited twice a week to lead prayers), three middle-aged female support workers, two young male support workers, three older male staff members, and one young man in his early 20s, who worked in reception, and one volunteer. The remaining sixteen members of staff and three volunteers did not identify as Christian (cf. Appendix). This latter group consisted of individuals who identified as 'formerly Christian', 'spiritual but not

religious' (SBNR), or as having 'no specific religion adherence' (NSRA). A minority of the religious cohort were provocative in the true sense of the word – they provoked a reaction from both the remaining religious and non-religious staff members, and from service users. Three members of this group were notable for their overt displays of religious language, discourse and expression, as outlined in the previous section of this chapter, which added a streak of evangelical Christianity to the landscape of care of the Lifehouse. In contrast to the high visibility of Christianity in the hostel, alternative spiritualties had no public visibility or voice; instead, people who identified as SBNR or of NSRA, tended to remain silent about their worldviews in the corporate setting. Only during interviews was I able to unearth the rich composite beliefs and spiritualties - alternatives to Christianity - held by staff and volunteers. The hegemony of Christianity in the Lifehouse is now unpacked, and reflections upon the extent to which Alpha Lifehouse can be considered a space for postsecular rapprochement presented.

Hierarchical staff relations

Regarding the interaction between staff members of different faiths or none, the potential for conflict rooted in the religious differences was evident from both my observations and interviews. This tension was also suggested by a Christian senior staff member who was worried that members of staff that did not share her religion 'may feel like they don't fit in' (Denise), which suggested that a 'thick' (Geertz, 1973) religious culture was being practised within the space that could leave some staff feeling like outsiders because of their alternative beliefs. This was expressed with a sense of compassion and concern for staff who were not professing Christians, not to exclude them. On the other hand, there was

also an awareness that this difference may cause Christian members of staff to feel 'pressure to perform' and to 'make sure they are practicing what they preach' (ibid). This quote relays a sense that emotional and mental energy must be expended in order to maintain a religious identity that is publically perceived as distinctive and noteworthy. This pressure points to the normative expectations about what a Christian should act like, which refers to demonstrating the qualities of kindness, love and consideration; qualities which were described as 'adding value' to the service by the Christian members of staff that I interviewed.

Despite her desire to create a sense of inclusiveness in Alpha Lifehouse, it was clear that the religious mind-set of Denise placed people into two camps, to use her own words: the 'God Squad' and 'non-Christians', or simply 'the others'. I noticed that this discursive boundary, between the God Squad and the others, had the potential to generate a palpable anxiety, self-judgment and self-regulation - in order to fit in with the daily performance of the Lifehouse - on the part of the staff who did not have a Christian identity or belief. A befitting example of this was presented in the case of Charlotte, a new employee in Alpha Lifehouse, who expressed familiarity with the Anglo-Catholic tradition but did not call herself a Christian per se. Charlotte felt a mix of emotions in response to the more fervent Christian identities performed by some staff in the centre. In response to her expectations of what Salvationist work culture entailed, she recounted to me how she consciously adapted her behaviour in order to fit in, which I now explore in depth.

Charlotte's Story – Apprehension, Negotiation, Belonging

Charlotte was a new staff member identifying as having NSRA. She felt apprehensive when applying for her role as she didn't feel she was 'the right type of person' to work for TSA; she was acutely aware of her lifestyle, which she perceived as not in-keeping with Christian ethics, proclaiming: 'I'm an unmarried woman but living with a partner who is still going through a divorce, I'm a gossip, I swear a lot and enjoy a good drink!' (Charlotte), She was also worried that her Catholic and Anglican parents would disapprove of her working for TSA, showing a prejudice towards the Army's protestant expression of faith, and indicating the 'cultural baggage' she brought to the job. It was evident, however, that part of Charlotte's journey to acclimatise to the evangelical environment of Alpha Lifehouse, involved the modification of some of her behaviour to fit in with the ethos of the centre, in this case this pertained to her language and expressions:

> **Charlotte:** In the Lifehouse I do apologise for my blaspheming – instead of swearing, my natural reaction is usually to say, "Oh my God!"
>
> **Katie:** Have you changed your language then?
>
> **Charlotte:** Yeah, I try. I was just having a conversation with Rose yesterday [a Christian project worker] whilst we were doing the dishes and I said "Jesus!" as there was about an inch of sugar in someone's cuppa tea and again, I repeated, "Oh Jesus – look at that!" My mum is Catholic Irish so if you say "oh Jesus" its not blaspheming…I would normally say "f***ing hell" or something like that – but I try to curb that as its even more offensive here!
>
> **Katie:** Have anyone ever said anything to you?
>
> **Charlotte:** Erm…only a non-Christian staff, she just said, "Oh, try not to say "oh my God!"...
>
> **Katie:** Do you feel there is an 'us and them' feel on the staff team?
>
> **Charlotte:** I don't necessarily feel that, I'm more *aware* of it!'

This dialogue suggests that the staff members of alternative worldviews to Christianity in the centre were very aware of their subjectivity as ‘non-believers’ and gave tips to each other about how to fit in to this particular evangelical culture. This revealed that a modification of their ‘presentation of self’ in the ‘front regions’ of the workplace was occurring (Crang, 1994; Goffman, 1959); functioning to smooth over any potential for cultural conflict with Christian staff members, due to their religious sensibilities being offended. Such an example revealed the ‘emotional labour’ undertaken by Charlotte and her contemporaries to fit into the evangelical culture of the hostel, in order to maintain an amicable working atmosphere and sense of belonging to the corporate culture (Hochschild, 1983). Another example of this self-restraint came from Louise, a young support worker who was not religious, as she expressed that there was a heightened awareness members amongst members of staff who were not evangelical Christians, about what was appropriate or inappropriate to say:

> ‘We are careful not to knock religion around those who do have religion. I suppose they don’t do it to us, don’t throw it in our faces that we don’t go to church on Sunday, so its about respect. But, I am careful not to speak badly of Christianity when I’m here.’ (Louise)

The control of language and withholding of opinions, were a dimension that came up in several interviews as a key marker of how staff – both religious and non - enacted a distinctively Christian ethos in this space of care. It was clear that a hegemonic Christian culture was existent in Alpha Lifehouse and that non-religious staff members maintained this by self-censoring their lexicon in order to blend in with the broader organisational culture and identity. As

introduced earlier in the case of Charlotte, this modification occurred most prominently in relation to the use of swear words and blasphemous expressions. The perpetuation of practices to avoid using curse words was perpetuated by the presence of a well-respected Christian support worker, Rose, whose authority in the hostel seemed to be a lynchpin for maintaining Christian 'distinctiveness' in the space. Rose conveyed the importance of language for maintaining a Christian culture in the hostel:

> 'What makes it Christian here? Well, I think it's important we keep conversation on a par – that we all speak respectfully to each other… I just swap the letters of poo around so it's 'tish' instead of sh- well, you know!'

Linking such acts of self-regulation to the notion of the 'burden of translation' mentioned by Habermas in his treatise on postsecularism (cf. Chapter 2), in the case of Charlotte we can see that she is having to adapt her natural personality and expressions to operate within the more conservative religious culture of the hostel. In this case, the burden of cultural translation rested heavier on her, and on others who used coarser language, to modify their behaviour to enact a Christian persona. Whilst those with 'clean' language did not have to change or bear the burden of accommodating their colleagues' more 'colourful' vocabulary. This revealed a hegemonic form of conservative Christian culture pervading the space. It was also clear that some topics were judiciously kept off limits, such as questioning the role of church, or being critical about Christianity (cf. Louise's comments earlier), which revealed that self-expression was tactfully limited in this context by those who were not part of the 'religious flock'.

A/MORAL HIERARCHY

Two interviewees perceived a moral hierarchy, rooted in religious difference, to be operating amongst the staff team:

> 'I sometimes think that within a Christian organisation those who aren't Christian are looked upon as being not quite as good, slightly inferior because they're not Christians' (Kelly, a non-religious administrator)
>
> 'One member of staff was saying being a Salvationist was the only way – and he was told off [by management]' (Denise, an Anglican manager referring to a Salvationist colleague).

After asking these interviewees for more details it became clear that the judgementalism they had experienced was only coming from one or two members of staff; men who were particularly zealous about their own beliefs (and on the latter, denomination) and who felt the need to make this known in a strident manner. In the case of the Denise, she assured me that the culprit was taken aside and told to 'pipe down' by senior management. This suggested that religious intolerance, although it had manifested in the work context due to the employment of a more evangelical staff member, was being policed and dealt by management with in order to maintain a more respectful and harmonious working culture, thus, giving the impression that intolerance was not permitted on site. There were, however, divisions evident in the spatial and temporal patterns of the Lifehouse, which, although appearing to reflect departmental divides, were also inflected with religious undertones about whose subjectivity was deemed 'acceptable' within the hostel's Christian environment. Social division between staff team was best seen through analysing their utilisation of the canteen space. This sense of division or hierarchy manifested in relation to splits between functional teams: the project team versus the reception and maintenance teams (the later including contracted cleaners and handymen),

which was apparent in the clear spatial division of labour and socialisation occurring within the Lifehouse. These were based around these different occupational groupings, which created resentments keenly felt by those who were excluded (Receptionists and Maintenance).

> 'I hated it when I first started here – it was us versus them, the project team, reception, cleaners and handymen. The domestic team – there was no gelling at all and they were all separate. They are still quite separate... that's what made me want to leave when I first came here' (Kelly)

I noticed that divisions were mostly visibly during coffee breaks and the lunch hour, when, due to rota and duty changes, the different teams took their breaks at different times. Although this was pragmatic, it served to calcify a sense of social separation between the teams. The reception staff, who often ate lunch on the job, were never included in tea rounds by support workers. In a small space, which purports to be a home, this separation and exclusion felt somewhat contradictory. The cleaning staff also commented that they felt like the organisational culture had changed in recent years and that there was no let up for them to have a tea break, nor to socialise with residents, compared to the past when they had much more freedom. They expressed a sense of being 'taken for granted', and felt that other members of staff in the Lifehouse undervalued their work, especially members of the project team (Lauren and Debbie). This division, when the topic was explored in interviews, also mapped onto the differing religious identities of staff members. The domestic teams were mostly comprised of individuals of NSRA, compared to the majority of the support workers who were motivated by Christian faith and values.

One evangelical support worker, Max, expressed a resentful attitude towards those members of staff who he considered to lacking in a sufficiently Christian habitus (and I believe his belligerent attitude was key to reproducing this social divide). He felt that the cleaning staff undermined the Christian mission of the Lifehouse due to their comportment, which he perceived to be not caring and polite enough, and that, in his opinion, did not sufficiently reflect the character of Jesus, which the Christian hostel of Alpha Lifehouse was purported to be based upon. This is clearly revealed in the following except from our interview transcript:

> **Max:** 'It may sound horrible. I don't want this to sounds terrible, but if you are trying to create a Christian environment and half the staff aren't Christian, and actually don't even like Christians, and actually have an attitude towards Christians, erm, that's not gonna make for a good environment… You [Alpha Lifehouse] employ people who agree with the ethos of TSA, but I don't see that. I see people who are actually antagonistic to its ethos - especially maintenance, cooks, and the cleaners. It's not so much the project staff team [that were not antagonistic], but that difference causes an unnecessary, unhelpful divide, and the service users see it and hear it. There's gossip and it just undermines the kind of atmosphere that we're trying to create - a nice, Christian environment.
>
> **Katie:** How do you create that environment?
>
> **Max:** I guess it's about respecting other people, it's about listening, letting people know you don't need to swear to get your point across. It's about role modelling certain behaviours, certain attitudes, and that can't happen if people don't share it [the faith].'

This respondent alludes to what could be considered surface or cosmetic behaviours (gossiping and swearing), however, for him these were markers that differentiated religious from non-religious subjectivity, and what made Alpha Lifehouse distinctively Christian. He went on to explain the logic that underpinned his assertion: in his opinion – from his theology - aspects of

someone's character should be changed and transformed upon a genuine spiritual encounter with Jesus and the Holy Spirit:

> 'If Christ doesn't have an impact upon your attitude and behaviour, then He's not working, is He? He isn't doing his job – if the Spirit hasn't changed you, He hasn't changed you. If that's not evident to others then there is a problem.' (Max)

This quote reveals, in his opinion, that there are clear behavioural markers delineating who may be considered 'in' or 'out' of the Christian fold – clear comportments that indicate whether someone can be called a 'genuine Christian' or not. He alluded to the Spirit acting upon believers in a way that could transform their words, as an outward sign of a renovated character. Therefore, due to the bad language and lifestyle choices (such as smoking), that the cleaning and maintenance staff partook of, Max perceived them to be undermining the hostel's Christian ethos – diluting the distinctive nature of Alpha Lifehouse and undermining its 'value added'.

I made two critical observations regarding Max's behaviour and attitude that complicated and somewhat undermined his moralistic assertions. First, the respondent himself swore during his interview with me, and he did not show remorse or guilt about this. Second, he did not acknowledge that many staff members that were not Christian, did not necessarily gossip, swear or smoke. Yet he did not consider these subjectivities as problematic. In my opinion, perhaps their presence should be *more* troubling, because it undermines Max's assertion that virtuous behaviour (not swearing or gossiping, etc.) are derived from the work of the Holy Spirit exclusively. Whereas, in his eyes, the unbecoming comportment of the cleaning staff made their subjectivities ripe for character assassination, the virtuous nature of support staff of NSRA/SBNR

was conveniently overlooked and was not deemed worthy of being scrutinised. Concerning this latter group – the virtuous non-Christians - the issue of their alternative religiosity, or of being of no religious commitment, and any related concerns about their ability to contribute to the creation of a Christian corporate environment, was waived. This flawed form of logic could be seen as a classic case of confirmation or cognitive bias (where information that does not support an existing worldview is overlooked or ignored; or conversely, when information corroborates an existing worldview it is taken note of and upheld). All this was made manifest through the 'doing' of organisational space (Conradson, 2003), in this case, the canteen, which revealed tensions underneath the surface of the Alpha staff team as a whole; a team characterised by segregation and difference, not conviviality or a sense of unity. At the heart of this division lay practical elements of the socio-spatial demands of running a hostel, accentuated by specific prejudices rooted in Christian evangelical discourse about who was seen to belong and able to reproduce a Christian habitus. This analysis suggests that Alpha Lifehouse was not operating as a space of postsecular rapprochement, as it was undergirded by a disunity that had its roots in a moral hierarchy, where Christianity was privileged and seen as superior and desirable, with those failing to conform to the mores of a Christian subjectivity, demonised.

6.2 OPTING OUT OF THE FAITH IN THE FBO

In this section I examine the ways in which staff and volunteers identifying as SBNR/NSRA deftly navigated their employment for a Christian organisation, by 'opting out' of religious aspects. Another example from Charlotte involved her attendance at 'Stop2Pray' one morning, where I witnessed her sitting

awkwardly, touching her neck nervously, and staring at the floor throughout the event. After the event, I asked her what was going on for her and she replied:

> 'This is all a bit 'New Agey' for me - I didn't like it at all. I am not going to go along again. It's not my scene at all.' (Charlotte)

Despite her initial willingness to participate in the religious side of the Lifehouse, the Pentecostal-style faith that was being expressed during this prayer meeting did not sit well with her and generated anxiety and a sense that she was truly 'out of place'. Consequently, Charlotte decided she would not attend prayers again. In a similar vein, I witnessed less assenting non-religious staff members employ tactics of 'cherry-picking', 'avoidance' and 'humour' regarding religious phenomena in order to navigate working in a religious environment. For example, when shown the mission statement in the Alpha Lifehouse handbook, one non-Christian responded revealing the use of 'cherry-picking', and another, respectively, simply made light of the whole statement revealing that she had little identification with the statement's contents:

> 'I gloss over the churchy bits… its very Jesusy. I don't like the word 'preach', no one likes to be preached to. I take out the religious words really, so I believe in everything that is on there, but condense it to take out the evangelical and Christian bits.' (Louise)

> 'Oh, it's a load of waffle isn't it to be completely honest!' (Chloe)

These women did not share the Christian faith of their colleagues and did not identify with the stated religious mission of the Lifehouse. However, they still felt able to participate in the social mission of the Lifehouse: to engage, nurture and empower the residents. This crossover narrative is examined in detail in the next section when I examine what, overall, brings the staff team together in

Alpha Lifehouse. From the excerpts above, it was clear that Alpha Lifehouse was not operating a space of postsecular rapprochement, due to the fact that some staff members just ignored the religious aspects on offer at the hostel. They did not show a tolerance for the 'enchanted' aims of the hostel, or consider the Spiritual Programme as something of merit.

This navigation of the religious elements of the Lifehouse by members of staff who didn't identify as Christian, was sometimes approached more duplicitously. Support worker, Dillon, s self-professed 'earth-man' (i.e. pagan beliefs), revealed a similar disposition to Louise and Chloe in relation to the more overtly religious activities in the Lifehouse. He, however, was willing to participate in the musical worship event, ALIVE!, that occurred once a month in the hostel. He stated frankly that he had no care for the religious content of the musical performance - he just wanted to play the drums:

> 'I've got to be honest with you, I love it because of playing the drums and not because it's got anything to do with faith or religion or whatever!'

This was an interesting comment in light of my personal dilemma as to whether or not I should participate in this musical performance (I was asked to help out and play guitar). For me, it was a struggle of integrity as to whether I should be leading worship at this event when I was not a professing Christian at the time. I decided I would participate as they needed musicians, however, I was highly conscious of the duplicitous nature of not practising what I was preaching/singing. For Dillon, however, this context did not provoke any internal searching; seemingly, he could isolate himself from the context of the Christian event and enter into it purely as a musician, in essence, sponging off the worship performance for his own enjoyment. For Dillon, his rationale for

participation was totally divorced from the aims and approach to the event's leader, Rick, a 'Born Again' Christian, who saw it as an act of worship that could bring residents closer to Jesus. In essence, Dillon and Rick were subjectively experiencing two completely separate events: the former staff member interpreted it as a 'therapeutic landscape experience' due to the positive affect generated through playing music, whereas, for the latter, it was a 'spiritual landscape experience'. This collaboration exemplifies what is identified by Williams et al (2012) as the 'co-constitution' of secular and religious spatialities and subjectivities, which I witnessed emerging within the Lifehouse as a space of 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner & Theodore, 2002), to an extent, embodying a weak form of postsecular rapprochement.

6.3 SERVICE METHODOLOGY ON THE FRONT LINE

Another way that Christianity was deftly navigated to by staff members who were not Christian, involved the use of deflection. In the following example faith was treated like a proverbial hot potato that got bandied around between two secular support workers, Sandy and Chloe, who shared an office and were interviewed together; neither of whom were prepared to hold a conversation with service users about religion:

> **Katie:** Does faith come into your work on a daily basis?
>
> **Sandy:** No.
>
> **Katie:** Do you feel like it should do because it's the Sally Army?
>
> **Chloe:** I don't know…possibly…but me and Sandy have this laugh thing going on where she is like "Anything religion, go to Chloe!" and I say "No, don't come see me!" or "It's your side, Sandy" [chuckles] and we laugh and joke about it. Then we send them to the Centre Manager [a Salvation Army Officer] 'cause that's his area!'

This use of humour is a classic way of coping with an underlying discomfort regarding a subject matter, which was expressed by both women in their individual interviews with me, and highlighted in the extract above. Both women employed strategies to navigate around any religious questions from residents, by deflecting them to one another, then ultimately to the Chaplain or the Centre Manager. They explained that they avoided engaging in 'Christian conversation' because they did not feel confident about handling religious discussion, despite one of them being raised a Salvationist and rejecting it in her teens, and the other being a 'spiritual seeker' who had read widely across religions. These women expressed that they did not feel they had the requisite theological resources, or desire, to engage in conversation about religion with the residents they wanted to help. It was regarded as a superfluity considering the job at hand:

> 'It [religion] is on their support plan but I tend not to explore it with them really...it's a difficult subject to explore with someone when you don't know what's happening yourself …when it comes down to something you only know bits about it's a hard one…I'm okay attending 'Stop2Pray' but that's as far as it goes.' (Chloe)

This comment revealed that flexibility was built into the culture of the Lifehouse, and that staff had autonomy to choose whether to engage in the Spiritual Programme or not. Moreover, there was no pressure to engage service users in religious conversations as part of their key working sessions, which were secular. Should a service user want to discuss Christianity, however, the opportunity was available to them through the Spiritual Programme, and they could also be signposted to Christian members of staff should they desire. One concern raised by Sandy and Chloe's responses, however, relates to the likelihood that opportunities for service users to explore the spiritual side of life

with their key worker, may be missed out, due to their lack of confidence in discussing matters of an existential nature. Moreover, that if issues of spirituality should arise for a service users, that the only religion visible in the hostel was Christianity. This diminished the chance for exploring other religions, beliefs and worldviews, which could potentially be a source of affective moral energy, helping to progress their journey towards independent living. In order to better understand the Christian 'spiritual landscape' underpinning the organisational landscape of the Lifehouse, I now draw upon my ethnographic reflections to unpack my experience of the Spiritual Programme in detail.

6.4 THE SPIRITUAL PROGRAMME

First of all, the content of the Christian events I attended such as Prayers, 'Stop2Pray' and ALIVE! were not open to contest or discussion – they were a closed shop where the leader of the event often shared their interpretation of the Bible and encouraged attendants to respond within that framework of interpretation. There was no room for discussion about the content presented, but the promulgation of a conservative evangelical interpretation of scripture that favoured binary thinking and an 'in/out' mentality, underpinned by a hope for conversion of those not yet professing as Christian in the hostel. I witnessed this on three occasions, once when the chaplain led a 'Stop2Pray' session, expounding the theme of 'spiritual forces', as noted in my diary;

> 'He declared that "the Devil prowls like a lion looking for something to devour" and commanded the staff present pay attention to "unseen spiritual forces" continuing "...if someone gets angry or gives you that look, a spiritual thing could be affecting them". He said, "It is not the person, but something affecting them, bringing them down and discouraging them." He then showed us a YouTube clip of a wildebeest being hunted down by lions to illustrate the point. "We need to pray for ourselves and our families, for protection and peace." At that exact

moment a raucous fight broke out between two residents in the reception area, disrupting the meeting, leaving everyone startled. “The Devil’s got in!” cried one of the support workers present, who stood up and ran out of the meeting to calm the commotion. Bewildered by the interruption, the rest of us glanced around at each other, seeking to make sense of what was happening. Soon our eyes returned to focus the chaplain, who had remained silent, poised, and holding a space for intercessional prayer. We all turned our eyes to the floor, bowed our heads, and prayed without questioning it. I was reeling from the bizarre series of events.’ (Ethnographic reflections, 31/7/12)

At this meeting there was no room for debate or discussion, and no explicit unpacking of the message the chaplain delivered – it was just based on lifting a Bible verse (1 Peter 5 v 8) and taking it as literal and without contextual reference or exegesis. This is not uncommon for a tradition that reveres the Biblical text as the literal word of God, and perceives it as useful for instructing life, culture and praxis today. Following his command everyone prayed as if they agreed with the sentiment of the message, including staff who were not even Christian. This event was a prime example of the cultural dominance of one form of evangelical Christianity in the Lifehouse. It felt heavily Pentecostal in nature, and a couple of non-religious staff who attended this meeting mentioned to me in private at a later date, that they felt very uncomfortable with this expression of Christian faith in the hostel. This included the newest member of staff, Charlotte, who I noticed touching her neck and looking around, distracted, or uncomfortable, during the meeting.

A similar expression of Christian evangelism occurred twice the following week, first, when two visiting Salvationist Officers led a meeting focusing on heaven, and second, when a visiting youth group from Poland performed a drama based on the crucifixion of Christ, which included a call to repentance and conversion. All of these events were directive – a message delivered from the front with

clear messaging about salvation and an invitation to respond. There was no space for alternative views to be manifested and no discussion encouraged.

Evangelism in the hostel.

The youth group's performance was highly affective and, on a personal note, evoked strong memories and emotions in me about my family from Poland - in particular the recent death of an uncle to whom I was very close – and I began to cry. I felt touched by the performance and ushered into a place of reflection and prayer, which was confusing – I didn't know if the feelings I was experiencing were spiritual or just linked to the affective quality of the event. Only one service user was present at this event, and he was also in floods of tears by the end, moved by the emotive performance of the children, and lamenting his sin and need for forgiveness. The strong affective quality of the performance was interpreted by one Christian member of staff as 'a move of the Holy Spirit' impacting on the souls of those present. To the sceptic, however, it could be interpreted as a form of emotional manipulation and hysteria.

Figure 13 Ethnographic reflection 6/8/12

Such emotionally provocative events were typical of the evangelical proselytism present in Alpha Lifehouse, and it is important to note that, although these were optional events, they were the only religion permitted corporate expression in the hostel. This exclusive culture was important to making the space a Christian Lifehouse, as one staff member expressed to me:

> 'If they [the council] started to insist we made space for other religious activities and communal acts of worship, I'd be out of here. This is a Christian service.' (Daniel)

It was clear that, although Alpha Lifehouse had a staff team that contained a variety of religious beliefs, there was little respect given to the beliefs of those who were not Christian. Furthermore, although all members of staff were invited to participate in the Spiritual Programme, and many chose to opt out, there was no opportunity for alternative worldviews to be expressed corporately. This space, therefore, although it might at first appear as a space of postsecular

rapprochement, with people of differing religious beliefs or none working together to help the homeless – a shared value of compassion uniting them all - there were patent imbalances in what existential views were permitted expression. This does not meet the criteria laid out by Habermas (cf. Chapter 2) for establishing a truly inclusive and progressive postsecular culture, as the playing field of the Lifehouse was not a level one. Building this argument, the next section brings into view the concerns about the hegemonic religiosity of Alpha Lifehouse, expressed by staff and volunteers who simply could not support the expressions of Christianity they witnessed.

6.5 UNSETTLING IDENTITIES

It was clear that for some staff members, encountering the Pentecostal-style Christianity that was exhibited by more vocal members of staff in the hostel, had led to a sense of ambivalence about and undermining of their own religious identity. Moreover, there was a sense of being undermined or belittled for having the 'wrong' type of religious subjectivity:

> 'Sometimes it is like you need to have a badge saying "I'm not a Christian" and I don't like that! [Residents assumed all staff were Christian] I dunno whether I've got it wrong or whether I've interpreted what a Christian is wrong, but I thought if you were baptised then you were a Christian and if you just tried to do the right thing…but I don't know whether I'm accurate…when I was taking to chaplain…I suppose I'm like a small child and I'm trying to make an effort for something that I don't know a huge amount about, limited knowledge, yet I don't think I'm regarded for the nuggets that I do offer. I feel that I'm a little bit frowned upon.' (Charlotte)

This choice of simile - 'like a small child' - conveyed a sense of the diminutive, and that her precious opinions framed as golden 'nuggets' were rejected by those in a position of religious authority. She followed up by saying she doesn't participate in any of the religious activities such as prayers or ALIVE! She is not

au fait with the Salvationist culture and found it ‘uncomfortable’ because it is not what she has been socialised into:

> ‘I like the old school nature of a Catholic Church and a Church of England and a vicar in a gown – I’m not saying it is any ‘better’ but the modern Christianity or evangelicalism makes me slightly nervous, slightly uncomfortable – so you’re right when you noticed I look uncomfortable! Put me in a church and give me a hundred hymns and I’m absolutely fine, I know when to kneel down, how to pray, how to cross myself and how to say my prayers – I’m comfortable with that. But this modern side, it’s weird, I don’t know why I feel like that, but it’s a bit New Agey for me!’ (ibid).

The nature of the event to which Charlotte is reacting is best conveyed in the following quote from one of the Born Again project workers who described to me what was happening for him during the very same meeting:

> **Katie:** Where is the ‘faith’ in the spiritual programme events?
>
> **Rick:** I’ve been in there [prayers] and the atmosphere has been so thick with the presence of God that I’ve been sitting there crying my eyes out and it’s just been like revival. So God’s there with us and the Holy Spirit’s there all the time.
>
> **Katie:** How do you know?
>
> **Rick:** The other day and when I prayed the sun was coming through the window and it was burning my neck, and this morning when we played that worship song, there was no sun coming through that window but my neck was on fire! It was like God was touching me, it was so intense and I was sort of shaking. You can’t describe it really it’s an amazing feeling really.
>
> **Katie:** Wow. Are there any other signs that God is present?
>
> **Rick:** This guitar, it’s not a material object, that is a weapon. This morning it was a spiritual weapon and do you know what, I was sitting there and I knew as the Officer was winding up his talk my stomach was going in knots. I felt sick. I was sweating because for me it’s a spiritual battle because of whatever comes out of my mouth is from the Spirit.
>
> **Katie:** Or is it just nerves?
>
> **Rick:** No, the Bible speaks about it. It’s spiritual attack. I’ve seen demonic figures - but I haven’t seen the enemy, I’m not that special! He [the devil] can only be in one place at one time; only God is present everywhere! I don’t believe that he [the Devil] would come visit me but I

> do believe that he would send someone to try and put me off what I'm doing. I'm a born again believer and we are in a spiritual battle to win souls for Christ here.

These diverging accounts can be explained through the framework of the 'therapeutic landscape experience', where Conradson conveys how one place can be interpreted very differently, with different affective qualities present, dependent upon the subjectivity of the person imbricated within that landscape encounter. For Charlotte this event was disconcerting, whereas for Rick it was 'enchanted' (Taylor, 2007). This type of Christian expression had a polarising effect for those on the staff team, with one female support worker dissociating from the label 'Christian' and repositioning herself as a result. In this case the respondent had abandoned her Christian identity as a response to the judgmental attitude she perceived in the co-workers who called themselves 'Christian':

> 'I came into this building with quite a strong belief in God and Christianity and being a Christian. I am now not because of working here. Mainly because I don't want to be like the people I work with that call themselves Christians...they were two faced, back stabbing and very judgmental people. To me that goes against everything I believe, what it means to be a true Christian. The ones I jar with the most are the 'born again' newer evangelical sort of Christians – they do the complete reverse of the job of a Christian because they're Bible bashing happy clappers that are very opinionated and believe everybody should have the same opinion.' (Juliette)

This type of Christian performativity was closed to alterity and prompted an almost phobic reaction to this colleague. The type of religious subjectivity that was causing disquiet in the team was the 'born again' variety that has a tendency to preach, which engendered a sense of inferiority and thus dejection in their colleagues. This colonial attitude foreclosed any space for productive dialogue amongst staff or between staff and service users around belief and morality – preventing postsecular rapprochement and driving division and

antipathy between some team members. Furthermore, it prevented any opportunity for broader personal growth (spiritual, emotional or intellectual journeying or ‘maturation’), which develops through being open-minded and non-judgemental concerning the views of others, which may be unfamiliar, dissimilar or counterintuitive. I didn’t witness this disposition in the fundamentalist staff, who were not open to having their opinions and beliefs challenged and willing to reconsider them in light of new information. Having such rigid identities and beliefs meant lines were drawn and dialogue was precluded to an extent. I witnessed one-sided interjection, or two sides speak at each other but neither listening nor hearing one another. This ‘boundary making’ also encroached upon non-work areas of life, where members of the God Squad would go off to fitness classes together after work, to the exclusion of those who weren’t ‘in the club’ (Louise). Although it is natural for friendships to be formed around common interest and identity, there was a sense of exclusion amongst some non-religious staff members, who felt they were being rejected because of their differing religious identity. Whether these exclusions were deliberate or accidental, the reason for the exclusion was mapped onto religion, hardening lines drawn to demarcate who was ‘in’ and made to feel valued, and who was ‘out’ and prevented from participating.

6.6 THE SPIRITUAL PROGRAMME – FORECLOSING RAPPROCHEMENT.

Attempts at proselytising, like the event discussed above, were scorned by some members of staff. One lady, Lucy, was not afraid to vocalise her scepticism about the nature of the Christian activity in the Lifehouse, deeming it ‘sinister’ in nature. She spoke candidly about her concern with the religious comments made by some more vocal Christian members of staff, such as

'Jesus wont be happy with that!' (chirped by a support worker in a sing-song manner to a resident who was asking for a cigarette). Underlying this innocuous retort from the support worker, seemingly said in jest, Lucy perceived that a more sinister element was at play, she reflects:

> 'Is it said in jest? Yes, it is not said seriously, however, you are dealing with vulnerable people, mixed up minds, impressionable souls. I'm not sure it's right to try and draw them into religion, in some way it makes them victims, preying on them saying "God can save you". If God fails, then what? Only you can save you!' (Lucy)

The comment above was part of a longer dialogue where we discussed her negative reaction to the 'Stop2Pray' and 'ALIVE! events, where she stated she found the events creepy. It also reflects a difference in opinion regarding service methodology, by which I mean the logic or philosophy that underpinned the support work programme provided at Alpha Lifehouse. For this receptionist, evangelical religion played no positive role in getting a resident back into independent living, and she saw no place for it in the Lifehouse. Moreover, she felt it could actively work against any progress that could be made by residents, provide them with a temporary 'crutch' that was, in the long term, inadequate. To this ends, Lucy perceived the Spiritual Programme to be highly unethical and somewhat abusive, lulling vulnerable resident into a false sense of security. In contrast to this opinion, some evangelical keyworkers viewed finding faith as a vital component to effecting change in a person's life, therefore, offering the opportunity for religious exploration and commitment was seen as a crucial element in the support package and recovery process on offer at Alpha Lifehouse – its 'added value'. This was never explicitly stated amongst support staff, however, it was a discourse present in the optional Spiritual Programme that both staff and residents were invited to attend, which promoted a 'God fix'

philosophy. This examination of the response from Lucy (a view that was shared by two atheist volunteers), suggests that although on the surface the entire staff team of Alpha Lifehouse were united in wanting to help the residents – which could be perceived as a prerequisite for postsecular rapprochement – the methodology underpinning how best to help was diverse, contrasting and contradictory. The critical opinions held by Lucy and her contemporaries, and similarly, the disparaging views on the non-Christian staff members by Max, reveal a workplace that is riddled with a secular versus religious division. There was, however, one cross over narrative that emerged within the hostel, which raised the aspirations of all employees and volunteers, acting like a gel, drawing together the fractured team, towards one common vision.

6.7 COMMON VISION, A CROSSOVER NARRATIVE

In spite of the religious fracture lines that divided staff, when asked what the overall aim of the Lifehouse was, everyone was in general agreement. The gist of their response was that Alpha Lifehouse existed, to paraphrase, 'to serve the men in its care and support them to move on in life.' It was explained that the chaplain and senior staff team came up with a motto for Alpha Lifehouse: 'Engage. Nurture. Empower.' It was apparent that this motto functioned as a 'crossover narrative' that all staff could support and subscribe to, despite being of different religious identities and beliefs, or none. As one volunteer, who was not religious, conveyed to me:

> 'I'm proud to work for this organisation and don't feel ashamed – because there is an element of embarrassment – as soon as people hear the name Salvation Army they think you're going to be a God-botherer, a Bible basher, but I don't have any of that in me. I'm proud to work here and tell people I work here. I speak very highly of the organisation and what we're trying to do: engage, nurture and empower the men'. (Sonia)

Religious members of staff, who prioritised this common goal of the Lifehouse above any desire to share their faith with evangelical zeal, shared this crossover narrative. The main fracture line within the staff team that went against the common goal was manifested when one's religious desire to convert colleagues or residents – or witness to them - was not put to one side but made a primary goal. This was the crux of the reason why some staff members fell out, and why strain was placed on what should have been collegial working relationships. There were workplace tensions evident between religious and nonreligious staff, and also between zealous and less fervent religious staff. The excerpts below from two Christian managers portray the way in which these support workers would put their religious affiliations and aspirations to one side, and prioritise the practical work of helping the residents in a person-centred way:

> **KO.** Do you think residents need to find God?
>
> **Christina:** 'I think it [faith] can be a wonderful thing to help, to give strength to move through life, but I don't think it is the be-all-and-end-all of things. I think with the guys we work with it is much more about helping them to build up self-esteem and helping them let go of the past and enabling them to realise they can move forward, that tomorrow is a new day.' (Christina)
>
> 'Becoming a Christian doesn't mean all the bad stuff goes away. The spiritual and practical are distinct areas of support. Our work here is to help the men practically and, if it is appropriate, tell them about Jesus. But most of them aren't in a place to hear that. I'll only have that discussion if they bring it up – it has to be client-led.' (Denise)

Embodying the skill and quality of empathy, identified by Rogers (1957) as a core component of developing therapeutic relationships, these two women created ethical encounters with their caseload, and remained professional in their treatment of other staff. For Christians such as Christina and Denise, their

aim was to support the men in practical and emotional ways to facilitate change; and only if and when a discussion about religious ideas arose, would they be willing to share their Christian point of view. These women exemplified the postsecular subjectivity that is require to facilitate spaces of postsecular rapprochement, putting the common goal of rehabilitation and resettlement first, underpinned by a theo-ethic of Christian caritas.

On the other hand, support workers Rick and Max, who were seen as less agreeable by staff and service users, didn't take this postsecular approach. Their primary personal aims was to share faith, and their approach to support work was based on the logic that in order to see lasting change, a person must come to faith in Christ. This difference in belief about the nature of human growth and development is where the divergence in key worker praxis originates. Their teleological approach prevented them from disentangling their evangelical desires from their religiously inspired humanitarian ones. Such a worldview led to tensions within the staff team regarding the programme methodology – whether or not a Spiritual Programme was appropriate – which foreclosed the possibility of achieving postsecular rapprochement that is premised upon mutual tolerance and respecting alternatively rationalities. Building upon this initial analysis of the characters Rick and Max, the next section of this chapter will look at what makes some Christian performances more palatable than others. From my observation it seemed that personality, comportment and embodied performance (vocal tone, gestures, body size, gender, personality) were essential ingredients that steered whether a Christian was liked and accepted, or disparaged. Moreover, whether they were able to participate in the creation of postsecular rapprochement or not. In my analysis,

it is revealed that religious identities, being performative, iterative and utterly person-specific, were dependent upon the intersection of many discourses that converged on the body. In light of this, the achievement of postsecular rapprochement is revealed to be dependent upon so much more than an individual's belief system and their willingness to respectfully tolerate alternatives.

6.8 POSTSECULAR SUBJECTIVITIES

It was clear that amongst the support worker team (consisting of twelve individuals, five professing Christians and seven with alternative beliefs), there were many positive reactions from the latter cohort to the faith aspects of Alpha Lifehouse such as Prayers or 'Stop2Pray', and to the Christian subjectivities of some staff. These narratives from non-Christian support workers revealed how they are accommodating of religious behaviour and worldviews, with attitudes amenable to forming the basis of postsecular rapprochement. For example, one receptionist is very open-minded and welcomed a religious approach as positive and life affirming:

> 'If a guy comes to me and says: "I'm going to church," I say, "Okay, great! Well done!" Just the fact that you say it is good– not the fact I have to believe in it, but it is good *you* believe in it…. For some, religion is a good thing, it gives them something to cling on to, something positive to go forward with.' (Richard)

This interpretation revealed that Richard held a functionalist view of religion and church going, with his use of the words 'cling to' suggesting that he saw church as providing an existential hope and meaning for individuals. A more pessimistic interpretation could be that he perceives church as a 'crutch' for those who have had negative life experiences and need extra support.

However, this wasn't the tone of his comment; his tone of voice was encouraging and positive, and the impression I got was that he had an accepting view of faith and church, although it wasn't something of interest to him personally and he, therefore, did not participate in the religious activities at Alpha Lifehouse. This sentiment was shared by support worker, Sandy, who expressed that she felt religion can sometimes help the men and that she would support them in following their chosen religion. However, it was not something of personal interest to her and she found more solace and relevance in esoteric spiritual practices:

> 'I'm more into my star signs and the tarot … I'm the 'religious diversity' here! ha!' (Sandy)

Another female support worker, who described herself as 'not a Christian', explained that she took comfort from the knowledge that prayers were happening on a daily basis, and was happy to participate even though she didn't believe:

> 'I participate out of respect more than anything. I knew I was coming into an organisation who followed these beliefs. So in a way, who am I to go against it? I respect what goes on here. I find it [prayers] comforting when I'm sitting in there, and I find it really interesting. I feel safe that it happens. Even though I don't follow it, I quite like the idea of it being around.' (Louise)

This comment was made with reference to staff prayers on a Tuesday, where all who are available in the hostel were invited to join. Staff were always invited to participate by the Chaplain and/or Rose, who would dart around popping into offices to notify people with five minutes lead-time, or sometimes a message was sent out across the walkie-talkie system to all staff across the Lifehouse. I noted that the staff members were given independence to manage their own

schedules, and allocate time for prayers and participation in the Spiritual Programme, if they wanted to; they were not made to attend, but always invited openly. Louise's comment suggested she did feel an onus to participate in prayers, yet it was not derived from a sense of coercion, nor was it a heavy burden to bear, but more an act of participation in organisational culture. Her motive was to participate out of respect for her employer and to align herself to their cultural values and practice of TSA, as a dutiful employee; to an extent, this was an act of 'moral selving' (Allahyari, 2000). Moreover, despite her lack of adherence to Christianity per se, she enjoyed the prayers and drew emotional comfort when participating saying it gave her a sense of 'safety' or security. This sense of assurance could be interpreted as a sense of existential security linked to her sense of place in the world, or perhaps a sense of social security in the workplace, which was developed by becoming 'part of the fold' through her participation in the religious activities of the centre. From my interaction with Louise, I would posit that the former is truer from her semantic; however, I believe the latter to be true also from a social psychological perspective. Needless to say, for Louise, the prayers had a deeply affective quality, which brought about feelings of assurance, comfort and hope, which she enjoyed. This positive affective atmosphere merits further analysis.

Affective Atmosphere –Warmth

The phrase 'I quite like it being around' is noteworthy as it suggests that the Christian ethos of Alpha Lifehouse almost permeates the atmosphere and lingers or 'hangs around'; there is something tangible going on in the background even when she is not directly participating in it. The deeply affective nature of the social act of praying, and the affective impact of the knowledge

that prayers were occurring in the space, resonated with other members of staff too. The sense of lingering, and an appreciation or fondness for it is echoed by Juliette, a support worker who identified as ‘formerly Christian’:

> ‘I think the prayer gives heart to the place. I rarely go, *but I like it being there*. I like the *warmth* that is given knowing that it’s going on and the day is very different when there haven’t been prayers - the day doesn’t seem to go as well.

In this case the comment was made in regard to morning prayers that happened in the staff office when Rose is present to initiate them. Although Juliette rarely attended these (again corroborating the non-coercive nature of prayer events in the Lifehouse: that if one is available to join in, it is welcomed but not expected), she conveyed that it gave her a sense of assurance and comfort. Her language was very fond and to an extent nostalgic, ‘I rarely go, but I like it being there’, as if prayers were something that persisted in the background, with a life of their own and having a therapeutic impact in the crentre. Upon further conversation, I learned that Juliette had previously been a practising Christian, but that her faith journey had taken a turn and she no longer identified as Christian. She was still very comfortable with Christian activities such as prayer, and despite her distancing from the faith, still derived comfort from the prayers. She felt that when she participated in morning prayers, the course of her day improved; she felt that the ritual of corporate prayers had a positive and tangible therapeutic outworking in the workplace.

Dillon, a support worker, corroborated this notion that the event of prayers brought ‘heart’ or ‘warmth’ to the Lifehouse. Dillon described himself as ‘an earth man’ practicing spirituality akin to paganism. He comments upon a

distinctive ‘warm’ atmosphere in the hostel and directly attributed this to the hostel’s Christian values and ethos:

> ‘One thing I think residents really enjoy about this hostel compared to other hostels in town is a very warm, inviting, supportive environment, through the right values – a lot of those are Christian-based. A direct comparison is Peter House, a new £4 million building but cold and sterile. There’s no *warmth* inside that building at all.’ (Dillon)

I can testify to this interpretation as when I visited the Peter House site it had an austere, cold feel to it, with staff who seemed disinterested and aloof. Dillon’s comment was intriguing because it invoked a sense of the physicality of the two hostels, ‘warm and inviting’ versus ‘cold and sterile’. Yet what he was actually referring to was an affective landscape that evoked an emotional response in him, in response to the materiality of the ‘carescape’ of Alpha Lifehouse and the performance of care – ‘caringscape’ - given by the individuals who worked there. I asked him to elaborate on this ‘warmth’ for me:

> ‘I can feel it, a warmth. It’s like you’re walking into a home opposed to a house. You can feel the warmth, the welcome, the empathy. You know you’ll be listened to. It is a really lovely atmosphere’ (ibid)

A therapeutic ‘sense of place’ was evident in Alpha Lifehouse according to Dillon, who felt a tangible sense of homecoming and acceptance when entering this space. This was attributed, in part, to what he identified as ‘Christian values’ such as ‘being made to feel welcome’, ‘demonstration of empathy’, and ‘being listened to’ (ibid). This was an ethic of hospitality that he was describing, which assumes a human counterpart in the equation of creating this landscape of care and sense of being hospitable, premised upon theo-ethics of inclusions. When discussing Peter House with another member of staff, she provided an analogy to convey the difference in approach to care she found at Alpha Lifehouse (‘Dirty Dot’s’):

> 'You can go to some incredibly fabulous five star hotel in London and you can walk in and the receptionist will smile at you and you can go up to your room, which will be amazing, and you can look out over some fabulous river, or whatever, and sip champagne on this wonderful balcony or you can stay at Dirty Dot's.
>
> But actually, Dirty Dot's B&B, which is an eighth of the price, could be a really, really lovely place to stay. It gives you lots of things that you'd expect in the five star hotel, like she puts a few chocolates in the room, and throws a banana and an apple in a little bowl every morning for you, so that you've got something to come back to every morning if you want some fruit. And actually all the décor and everything is really pretty. Obviously the room's a bit smaller and you haven't got the fabulous view but actually, I prefer Dirty Dot's because of what Dirty Dot's is giving me: she comes in asking how I am, and when she does breakfast she asks if I want an extra egg, and it makes me feel really special. Whereas, when I go into the five star hotel, I'm just another rich person - I'm just a head on a bed - and that's the difference.
>
> Peter House is the five star hotel overlooking the river, but Dirty Dot's is Alpha Lifehouse. And, actually, I think that the majority of the men that leave here, leave here as much more whole people, and are more likely not to come back - or if they do come back it's going to be because they really tried and something's gone wrong. Whereas, at Peter House, I think they just plaster over the cracks and that's a problem. The real problem is that Peter House is running because they won the contract, because of Supporting People... they're offering, they're saying, that they're going to deliver a massive amount for a much smaller amount of money.' (Juliette)

This narrative conveyed an ethic of care and personalisation behind Dirty Dot's, which, despite the slightly shabby physical environment, was furnished with love and care, and offered superior service. Moreover, although individual people were not directly mentioned in either comment from Dillon or Juliette, it was obvious that certain individuals were a crucial element that this sense of warmth and welcome was mediated though. It is very interesting that no specific individuals were mentioned in Dillon's analysis of atmosphere, which suggests one of two things: either a broader organisational ethic of care and compassion has been established in the broader organisational 'carespace' that the majority of staff adhered to in a way that created an overall compassionate atmosphere, or, that the origin of this 'warmth' is being misattributed, or dependent upon the

performances of one or two key influential figures within the staff. If the former explanation is true, then considering the majority of staff aren't Christian, is it right to speak of this space as predominantly shaped by Christian values? What values and virtues are shaping this place and how does it intersect with Christian or non-Christian identity of the staff? Moreover, is it more the materiality of the space that is cosy and inviting rather than the performance of the staff who embody it? The complexity and ambiguity of discerning the essential aspects that created this 'caringscape', are captured in the following comment by Belinda, a support worker:

> 'I was taken around all the local hostels in this city and once I came here I *knew* it was a place I wanted to work. There was just something really special; it gave you a completely different feeling when you walked through the doors. So whenever I drove past I always thought 'that's where I want to work' but it took me years to get through the doors. I was in the throes of a deep religious conviction at the time so maybe that was part of it. But there's also a *very definite warmth* as you walk through the doors, whether it's the building or the people, *I don't know'* (Belinda)

The fact that Belinda was in the 'throes of a religious conviction' adds another layer of complication to this dissection of 'warmth'. Could it be that spirituality (spiritual beliefs, worldviews) is playing a role in the creation of the atmosphere of this hostel space – or playing a role in the bodies of Belinda and Dillon who occupy that space? That the spiritual dimensions is another layer of reality affecting the emotional landscape of the hostel, helping to create a 'therapeutic landscape experience' for some individuals, as they engaged in the centre? Like Belinda, who was intuitive and has religious feelings and emotions, Dillon too described himself as 'spiritual' and able to discern 'energies' as a Reiki Master practitioner by training. It was these two who particularly mentioned the intense emotional 'warmth' of the Lifehouse. This suggests that warmth is a highly personal, embodied, affective experience, dependent upon one's

orientation in the world and capacity to receive love and empathy from others. This is a capacity to go-beyond oneself, and to connect with others in a fully present and available way, opening up a thirdspace, or a spiritual interiority, where growth occurs. When asking other staff members about what makes Alpha distinctively 'Christian' I got a response that directed me to the subjectivities of individuals as the locus of warmth and care. And it is there that I feel the nub of the 'warm' phenomenon exists – it is in the caring capacity of individuals and their specific performances of care; 'caringscapes' are a situated, relational and co-created accomplishment, that were key to creating a distinctive, loving atmosphere that added value, which I unpack in more detail in the next chapter, from a service user perspective.

The Performative, Embodied, Affective Roots Of 'Value Added'

One individual member of staff was instrumental in creating this atmosphere of Christian 'warmth' according to my interviews and observations. Rose was mentioned time and again by both staff and service users in response to my question, '*What makes this place Christian?'* She was unashamedly evangelical in her nature and had a desire to share her faith with all people. However, this was tempered by her emotional awareness and her practical skills as a support worker. This blending of religious desire and emotional intelligence enabled Rose to perform her role as a support worker adeptly, with public recognition from her colleagues, as both an example of Christianity par excellence, but also as a highly successful support worker. She was not frowned upon for being somewhat overbearing in the way she expressed her faith at work, for example:

> 'Rose is the 'Christian bit'. It's certain people [that make the Lifehouse Christian]. You can just tell, can't you? She'll go around without a problem saying 'Jesus loves you!', but she does it in a loving motherly

> way, not being judgmental. You can just tell there is something about what she says and how she says it' (Sonia)
>
> 'What makes our care distinctively Christian? It's the way people do their job – Rose is deeply religious and this is her calling. It's the way she does it. She coaxes the guys and puts her arm around them. I think it is lovely' [Approval of how religion is brought into relationship with client in a nonthreatening manner] (Belinda).

This woman, Rose, was deeply religious and vocal about her beliefs – her performance of care was inflected with religious words and expressions. She was also very loving and warm, and took on a motherly role with the residents. It was near impossible to disentangle her religious identity from her role as a caring support worker. In light of watching Rose carry out her daily work, I wondered if the 'warmth' that was present in Alpha Lifehouse was predicated upon the presence of Rose in this space; that her boldness about making Christian comments mingled in with her performance of care, to the extent that other staff members' and residents' interpretations of this warmth was that it is linked to Christianity. Rose, the longest-serving support worker in Alpha Lifehouse, was consistently pointing towards Christianity in her words and actions (e.g. making religious exclamations) as she carryout mundane tasks. Her religious expressions were enacted with care and love in a way that was received by people as non-threatening and non-coercive. If Rose was removed from the scene I wonder if the perception of the link between warmth, care and Christianity would be significantly weakened. The vociferousness of Rose around her beliefs was conveyed in this comment from her colleague, Belinda, who believed in a Higher Power and prayed daily, but would not call herself Christian:

> 'God's very much in her life and dominates her work. I think it is fantastic! I think it's lovely. If you've got that then it's a beautiful thing. Why should I go into a place of Christian worship or work and protest that? What gives me the right?

The choice of the word ‘dominates’ suggests the fervour with which Rose expressed her religion. Belinda did not find it off-putting and took a rights-based approach to navigating the performance of strong Christian identities in the space of work. This attitude of respecting freedom of expression and right to belief is not dissimilar to that conveyed by Louise in the earlier passage. Furthermore, Belinda went beyond just tolerating difference of belief, to showing a nuanced understanding of her colleagues’ religious rationality:

> ‘Rose and Christina, that’s how they live their lives – it’s how they arrived at this work! It’s a calling for them. They’re here because that’s what God told them to do. It’s a beautiful thing!’

Belinda’s attitude is demonstrative of the translation work that is requisite for creating spaces of postsecular rapprochement, as according to Habermas. In this case, she has listened and understood the worldview of Rose and understood her sense of calling and vocation, despite not believing in the same Christian God. It was clear that Rose was able to temper her expression of faith and belief in a way that created spaces of conviviality, where staff of no Christian belief are made to feel welcome and equal. Unlike the performance of faith given by the two younger males whose religious performativity appeared intolerant and phobic of difference, thus alienating those with whom they worked. Belinda was a truly postsecular subject, characterised by respect for alternative worldviews and demonstrating a capacity to learn from them.

These excerpts from non-Christian members of staff suggest that, from their point of view, faith was something to be welcomed and received as positive in the working lives and environment of the staff and service users, providing them with strength and support. This is not surprising considering the recruitment

policy of TSA. It is likely, therefore, that the non-Christian employees in Alpha Lifehouse will be comfortable and supportive of Christian values and practice, despite their own potentially differing or absent religious backgrounds. This recruitment procedure was, therefore, strategic in creating a mix of employees that can hopefully come together, in spite of existential differences, to work towards a common goal – serving the residents. This openness to the rationality and practice of the religious 'other' was a key element required, according to Habermas, to create a context of postsecularity. We can see from these excerpts that the dispositions and relationships between some staff in the Lifehouse were conducive to stirrings of postsecular rapprochement: coming together to achieve a common goal but putting one's religious differences aside for the greater good. In this case, it is clear that many key workers were of this persuasion and prepared to do so.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has focused on the different subjectivities within the Lifehouse and the different tolerances they have for each other's religious identity and praxis. The main theme has been the visibility of religion and the way in which people of NSRA feel about working in a religious culture, and the strategies they adopted in order to manage the emotional conflict this context generated. On the other hand, some people of NSRA were much more able to put up with the more strident evangelical members of staff, and did not let a clash of worldviews and values affect them. Where confrontation occurred most was when there was a personality clash, which could be exacerbated by a lack of emotional intelligence, and in some cases, belligerence, which foreclosed the opportunity for postsecular rapprochement to occur. It was clear that one's embodiment also had much to do with the way that religious subjectivities come across to

others. If more feminine and motherly qualities can be deployed, then criticism for displaying an inappropriate level of religious fervour can, to an extent, be waived. One important dimension to the hostel landscape was the sense of ‘warmth’ that was noticed by members of staff of Christian, NSRA or who were SBNR. This distinctive warmth was a significant value added quality in the landscape of care of Alpha Lifehouse, denoting its high quality caring service. The themes examined in this chapter will now be approached from a service user perspective – the missing voice in many of the extant accounts of spaces of postsecular rapprochement, providing a novel perspective.

Chapter 7: Service user perspectives

Introduction

This chapter presents the main themes that arose from interviews with residents at Alpha Lifehouse (see Appendix 3 for a record of interviews), and links them to broader contemporary geographical debates about the possibility of a 'distinctive' provision of care by FBOs. It begins by focusing on service user responses to the Spiritual Programme of the Lifehouse, revealing the myriad and thoughtful philosophical positions taken by resident. The chapter then focuses on the way the Christian subjectivity of some staff members was experienced by residents, exploring the interrelated nature of proselytism and embodiment in performing 'Christian' care that was either loved or loathed. Finally, the residents' perceptions of living at Alpha Lifehouse are explored, revealing that, despite its purported Christian ethos, the hostel space was experienced as a space of fear and frustration, as well as a space of care and compassion. Here the extent of the hostel to become a site of therapeutic landscape experience is explored, revealing that a highly gendered aspect governed the way in which faith-based care was received by residents and rendered highly effective.

7.1 RESIDENTS AND THE SPIRITUAL PROGRAMME

Lack of engagement in the Spiritual Programme

Overall, there was a lack of interest in the religious events on offer in the Lifehouse; only very few residents showed enthusiasm for the Tuesday prayers Stop2Pray or ALIVE!. Most had attended once or twice to see what it was about, but did not convey any intention of returning to actively engage with this

kind of religious activity in the future. It was clear that for the majority, they did not want to engage with the Spiritual Programme of the Lifehouse because they did not identify as Christian, and therefore did not see it as relevant to them:

> 'It's just not me; I have no interest in religion whatsoever. Everyone is free to choose their own path, but that's not mine.' (Jared)

> 'It's there for people who need it. It doesn't bother me. I've never been into what it stands for – reading the Bible, praying and that. It's irrelevant to me.' (Darren)

Others had stronger emotional reactions to the Spiritual Programme, which were rooted in a sense of anger at life's injustices, and their personal experiences of suffering and loss, which were incommensurable with belief in a benevolent God. The first comment was relayed in anger, with a sense of cynicism and of being impervious to considering any theological ideas. The second comment felt as if it originated from a place of despondency and a state of disbelief:

> 'Church and all that, I don't want to know about! Don't preach at me because I'll just laugh at you! If He was so good, why'd He let me sleep on the streets for 10 years?' (Peter)

> 'I've never had faith. How can I? There has been so much shit in life I've had to sort out. I don't think I'll ever believe in God.' (Ali)

Others expressed a sense of being excluded from partaking in the Spiritual Programme because they felt a sense of stigma relating to their criminal past, viewing religion as the preserve of the holy – a group they did not identify with – and therefore feeling that they could not participate in it:

> 'I tend to keep away from the religious bits. I'd feel like a hypocrite 'cause of things I've done in my life. I'm not really a righteous person, never kept by the law. That's what Christians are, good people who are righteous and never steal, don't kill, don't commit crime. I'll never be part of it [Christianity].' (Douglas)

This was a clear form of self-exclusion, premised on the perception that Christianity was about 'being good' and enacting pro-social behaviours; precepts he felt he had transgressed. These kinds of sentiments – of disinterest, disengagement and discounting of one's subjectivity as appropriate to attend religious events – were common themes running through many service user narratives. Furthermore, it became quickly apparent that, for many residents, there was little evidence of any pre-existing knowledge of traditional Biblical stories, or the message of Christianity, from which a theological conversation could begin. I often felt that, for many residents, the word 'Christian' was an empty signifier that did not fit into any established schema of religious ideas. Therefore, when asked about the difference religion or Christianity made to Alpha Lighthouse, many replied, 'it doesn't'. As one service user aptly commented:

> 'I'm not religious, so I don't see the religious bits.' (Elliott)

For most residents, the only thing about Alpha Lifehouse considered to be religious was the Chapel Room at the specific times when religious events were occurring. These residents saw the support service they received at the hostel as divorced from religious faith, and wholly secular. A few stated that the only way religion came into their key working sessions was during their initial interview, when their key worker specifically asked about the resident's religious identity, as part of the Equal Opportunities and Diversity form. Although this question is mandated in social care settings as standard good practice, it often becomes a 'tick box' exercise for staff and residents (personal communication from staff and a resident); moreover, I noted that the religious part of the form

was sometimes delegated to the Chaplin to complete with the resident, further compartmentalising the religious dimensions of the care package. Overall, the hostel's core support programme was secular in nature, and this seemed to suit many of the residents who did not affiliate with, or seem interested in, religion. Some residents did have a more considered approach to the Spiritual Programme on offer at Alpha Lifehouse, however. Our conversations about the religious aspects of the hostel involved evidence of significant philosophical and metaphysical reflection – not always endorsing it – to which I now turn.

Philosophical musings

Several service users outright rejected the religious expressions of the Lifehouse because of their own metaphysical positionality, which they saw as diametrically opposed to Christianity, namely, atheism. Several residents described themselves as atheist to me, and placed emphasis on their need for 'facts', and an opportunity for logical debate, in order to argue for or against, and to prove or disprove, the existence of God or any ultimate Truth. Some referred to themselves as scientists, often citing the debate regarding creationism versus evolution (favouring the latter) as a key marker of their philosophical positionality:

> 'I'm not religious – not into creationism and all that. I believe in the science, the Big Bang. Not God creating this world. That's ridiculous!' (Darren)

> 'To believe in something, you need to be objective to it, because there are always two sides to every coin. Christianity exists, but if you've got no objection to it, how do you know it is what it says it is? Unless you've explored both sides, you can't make an honest opinion, if it is real or not. You need confrontation to find out if something is genuine or not. Don't you think this is why the church is in decline? Because people are getting more curious and willing to argue the facts?' (Tristan)

> 'I'm just not willing to conclude anything without the facts, which makes me atheist. There is a niggly bit in the back of my mind that says there is something there 'out there'. Not a being as such, maybe a force, maybe a type of energy we haven't discovered yet. So part of me is willing to concede that I don't know the answer, which makes me about 90% atheist and 10% agnostic.' (Micky)

For these residents, the Spiritual Programme was a quirky anachronism, not relevant to their lives. The frequency with which comments about evolution and scientific reasoning came up in conversation was surprising to me. I believe this was, in part, precipitated by the fact that the weeks I was attending Alpha Lifehouse coincided with media coverage of the Higgs boson – the so-called 'God particle' – and CERN's work in the national press, which had prompted discussions in the hostel. I noted that, in the context of a small hostel, it was easy for conversation 'bubbles' to form, where particular ideas or discourses could become viral within the local culture. At this time, it was evolution and the so-called 'intelligent design' polemics that were à la mode. I witnessed this on my first day in the hostel, when I saw a heated discussion between the Centre Manager and two younger residents on this topic, which the residents had instigated. Further to that, several residents cited popular secularist publications in their interviews, such as Dawkins' *The God Delusion* (2006) and Derren Brown's *Tricks of the Mind* (2006), which they said had informed their thinking and standpoints on religion, by strengthening their atheism. Amongst this atheistic cohort, there was an expressed desire for critical thinking around issues to do with religion and belief; many espoused theological and existential reflections during our conversations. When it came to the Spiritual Programme on offer, however, many conveyed to me that, at Alpha Lifehouse, they felt there was no outlet for honest debate and discussion around philosophical or

religious questions that could satisfy them, as suggested in the following comments from Jack, relating to theodicy:

> **Jack:** 'I think Jesus was a real person, but a very good con man. I honestly believe that. And I can't justify how he lets kids be born with cancer – that's the Devil to me. But God is in control of the Devil because God didn't put the Devil in Hell. So, if He has control over the Devil, it's God giving kids cancer, ultimately, isn't it?!'
>
> **Katie:** 'Have you ever talked to anyone about these questions?'
>
> **Jack:** 'Yeah, but they keep going 'Well, I used to think like that', and it winds me up!'
>
> **Katie:** 'Your conversations have been closed down?'
>
> **Jack:** 'Yeah, it's basically a case of, 'You don't know what you're talking about. We believe in God, and know what we're talking about'. No you don't! You've been brain washed.'

It is important to note that this sense of conversation being 'closed down' was due to the attitude of one or two staff members in particular, who were particularly steadfast in their religious views. It was not an approach held, nor welcomed, by the majority of the staff. Therefore, what it is highlighting is the power of the few to prematurely influence a service user's perception of the Spiritual Programme, and provoke him to develop a prejudice against it before he had experienced it first-hand, which would have allowed him to make an informed decision. Another resident informed me that the culture in the hostel had not always been so narrow-minded; whilst reflecting, nostalgically, upon a time in the past at Alpha Lifehouse (he had been a resident twice previously), he shared how he had participated in an 'argumentative group' run by an atheist key worker. This group fostered difference of opinion in the hostel, and had opened up a space for alternative viewpoints to be heard:

> 'We have none of that in here now [arguing the facts and deliberating]; you cannot argue your point here. We used to have an 'argumentative group' here a few years ago, run by one of the non-religious support

> workers. It was amazing! You'd pick any topic, and there was no 'Oh, you can't say that' in case you'd upset someone. We'd talk about anything and everything. Church – put it down, pick it apart; sex, gambling, and I'd play devil's advocate. It wasn't nasty, but it was heated, and it went on for hours – we always overran. It was the only thing in here that was based on outside [i.e., not Christianity], and it was great. I wish we could have something like it again.' (Tristan)

This comment conveys how some of the expressions of Christianity that were performed in Alpha Lifehouse during my research were fundamentalist in nature, and did not allow a space for contestation, debate and exploration. A more open-minded approach would have satisfied the more philosophically - informed and scientifically-oriented residents' penchant for honest intellectual deliberation. This was corroborated when I attended various religious events at the hostel, and witnessed the fundamentalist way in which the content was delivered. Due to the anti-intellectual nature of the comments made by some staff members, some residents became incredulous, scornful and avoidant of the Spiritual Programme altogether:

> 'I can't go to ALIVE! because I'd laugh, because I don't believe in it. I just think it's hilarious because they're all sitting there going "blah, blah", and I'm just thinking, 'You've been brainwashed!'.' (Simon)

Furthermore, this incredulity was compounded by the hypocritical behaviour of one member of staff who professed Christianity, yet made hurtful remarks to residents, which led to a questioning of his religious integrity by some residents, and a dent in the appeal of the religious activities on offer that he was associated with:

> 'I don't bother going to ALIVE! I'm just not interested in that. I mean, I don't really like some of the staff, especially you-know-who. I'm not going if he is in there 'cause he's a prick and thinks he is better than us. He keeps telling us that God saved him from his addiction – that's shit! Only you can save yourself. I don't agree with him, and I'm not going to any religious things here if he is there.' (Elliott)

This comment reveals the power of one person to influence the socio-spatial, and potentially metaphysical, trajectory of another. The affective qualities of religious performance and fundamentalist subjectivity are unpacked later in this chapter, regarding this particular staff member's somewhat care-less performance; an example of how religion was not adding value to the service user experience, but, on the contrary, generating animosity.

To conclude this section, there were several reasons expressed by residents, regarding their lack of participation in the Spiritual Programme on offer at the hostel. First, there was a general lack of interest in Christian religion, premised on it being perceived as irrelevant (personal). Second, there was evidence of active avoidance of, and aversion to, discussions, events and ideas of a Christian nature, which were rooted in a personal resentment towards the notion of a God, due to unresolved problems and difficult life circumstances (existential). Third, intellectual rejection, based on atheistic standpoints (philosophical). Fourth, rejection based on the perceived and experienced narrow-minded approach performed by some staff members that foreclosed debate (dialogical). Fifth, self-exclusion, based on a personal sense of unworthiness and abjection, rooted in psychological beliefs that Christianity is for 'good' people only (intrapersonal). Sixth, rejection due to a personality clash between residents and staff members who had consequently lost the residents' respect (interpersonal). This rejection, or avoidance, of the Spiritual Programme, however, was not true for all residents. It is important, in order to have a balanced account, to present the experiences of those who welcomed and enjoyed the Spiritual Programme, albeit a minority group of three residents.

Positive responses to the Spiritual Programme

Three out of the 31 residents interviewed showed a less sceptical approach to the Spiritual Programme, and had actively participated in, and indeed enjoyed, the ALIVE! events. These were the minority, however, and I saw very few attending on a regular basis out of choice. This pattern was commented upon by some of the staff members who were not Christians, reflecting a broader scepticism in some staff member's attitudes towards the Spiritual Programme on offer. Moreover, this highlighted the ideological and ethical fault lines in the staff team. Other Christian members of staff did acknowledge low attendance at these events, but felt it was important to keep the events running in order to provide an opportunity for residents to experience Christianity, should they so wish. They also felt it was important to keep the Spiritual Programme running as a distinguishing feature of the Salvation Army's Lifehouse brand, setting them apart from non-religious housing providers, and maintaining a link to the Salvationist heritage of the hostel.

Three residents conveyed a sense of having enjoyed ALIVE!, and expressed an interest in going again. They were, however, not forthcoming about what it was that specifically pleased them about the service. Their reluctance to elaborate was perhaps due to one of two things: either because their experience was very personal in nature, and they were not willing to disclose the content in interview with me, a relative stranger; alternatively, there may not have been a strong mind–body connection available that would enable them to readily translate their somatic, emotional experience into their cognitive vocabulary with ease. It is not uncommon for those experiencing depression and anxiety – conditions that these residents told me they were experiencing – to dissociate from

viscerally-experienced emotions and, consequently, to have difficulty in cognitively registering and verbally articulating deeper feelings (Rothschild, 2000). Despite this lack of verbal articulation, the tone of their voices did convey a sense that their experience had been a positive and edifying one, which had connected with them on a psychological level, eliciting the principal emotion of hope and an affective sense of wellbeing in response to the sermon and worship performed that they got 'caught up' in. One of the three respondents did, however, manage to connect with the somatic nature of his experience, yet admitted it was hard to tell what the significance of these emotions meant:

> **Katie:** 'What did you think of ALIVE!?'
>
> **Grant:** 'Pretty good. They give an up-to-date view on Bible verses and psalms, and try to keep it relatively fresh.'
>
> **Katie:** 'So, it was a valuable use of an hour?'
>
> Grant: 'Yeah!'
>
> **Katie:** 'What did you get from it?'
>
> **Grant**: 'Oooh….a kind of calming feeling. A sense that I can express myself more. Yeah, that's it.'
>
> **Katie:** 'What part of you are you expressing?'
>
> **Grant**: 'An inner self.'
>
> **Katie:** 'Can you describe the process you were experiencing?'
>
> **Grant**: 'Oooh, that's hard. I can't really explain it (long pause). It was a feeling more or less in my body – in my heart, my chest – and a feeling in my brain. A light feeling to it. I'm not sure how to put it into words really.'

This very visceral recollection could be considered to be a 'therapeutic landscape experience' (Conradson, 2003), where the coming together of person and place can induce a transformation in a subject's sense of self and their interior emotional landscape. I witnessed a similar affective response at

one of the Stop2Pray meetings, when a youth group from Poland visited, and put on a drama of the crucifixion, which created such a moving effect that one of the two residents in attendance was moved to tears and begged forgiveness from God. I, too, was moved to tears by the performance's use of sad reflective music to create pathos, feeling overwhelmed by the emotion of sadness that was elicited, as I began to reconnect with memories of a deceased Polish-speaking family member whom I loved dearly, and whose loss I was still grieving. This assemblage of music, memory and theologically-inspired drama, performed by earnest young people in the homeless hostel context, created an affect of feeling loved, and for me, the loss of that love – grief. I feel my experience was similar to that of the resident who was present that became grief-stricken. The pathos of the event created an opportunity for catharsis, and it became a therapeutic landscape experience for both me and those present who felt connected with the drama, and open to being moved, emotionally, as a response. In my audio diary, I reflected upon this encounter as a religious event, opening up a 'thirdspace' where healing could begin to take place in a cathartic form, for both service users and staff members. For the few residents who were open to trying the Spiritual Programme, it was perceived as a quirk of the Salvation Army hostel to be experienced, rather than something they were specifically seeking.

In summary, there were several positive reflections on the Spiritual Programme from the few residents who attended. For the majority who attended, their engagement began as a benign curiosity that was prompted by an invitation from a key worker to attend the Spiritual Programme. Their responses ranged from intellectual stimulation that provided new ideas about personal change, to

emotional arousal associated with feelings of peace and hope, to more embodied and psychical experiences that were recounted as therapeutic and having a positive, affective impact on the resident's sense of self and wellbeing. For the three men who had particularly positive experiences, it is important to acknowledge that they all had some familiarity with traditional Christianity at a young age – attending church youth groups and summer camps, to which they attached positive memories. This background will have laid the foundation for some religious schema in their cognitive structuring and sense of historical identity, which may explain why they were open to attending, and being impacted affectively, through participation in these religious events at this time in their adult life. These residents were more open to experiencing Christian spirituality, and being affected by it, compared to others who had no pre-existing emotional connection with the church rooted in their childhood experience.

Subtle proselytisation

It was evident that, occasionally, a low level of pressure was coming from particular key workers to get residents to consider attending the monthly ALIVE! worship event. A long-term resident, who had a PhD in physics and classified himself as an atheist, conveyed one form of this subtle evangelism to me:

> 'Don't get me wrong; the staff don't push faith on anyone. They don't say, "You should believe in Jesus Christ if you want to stay here" – that's the most extreme example I can think of. I've never heard anything like that in here. But they do sort of encourage you to try it, saying, "Look, you've ended up here, you're probably one of those people who, somewhere along the line, has made a mistake and lost most things, if not everything. What is there left?". That's how people are encouraged to get back on their feet [through exploring Christianity]. So, perhaps that is their line of attack? I know that sounds aggressive – their unique selling point!' (Patrick)

This observation chimes well with the motivations elicited in some managers' narratives that conveyed ideas of a 'God-fix' as requisite for residents' empowerment (Chapter 4). This attitude was also expressed by some of the staff at the Lifehouse who had a clear conviction that Christianity was the one true faith, and sought to share this view where possible. Other staff felt that exploring Christianity might be beneficial to their residents' recovery journeys, and shared this judiciously when they felt it was appropriate. A closer analysis of two divergent ways in which the verbal proclamation of Christian faith was occurring in the Lifehouse, through the cases of Rose and Rick, is unpacked later in this chapter. The former providing an expression that was more welcomed than rejected, and the latter being perceived as wholly inappropriate. From their examples, it is evident that the way in which faith is introduced and presented is key to the way in which residents perceive it – that the preacher's personality and tone is vital in creating a sense of invitation or, conversely, imposition.

One resident, Les, admitted to attending ALIVE! out of 'politeness', as he had been invited a couple of times by a staff member and did not want to disappoint him – a sense of personal obligation to assuage any guilt for letting him down. This reveals that, despite the performance of evangelism, whether an invitation to a religious event is open or imposed, it is the resident's personal intellectual and emotional resources that determine whether they have a sense of onus placed upon them or not. Richard's reaction to the event was positive overall, and he felt emotionally uplifted by the music and hearing conversion-inspired recovery testimonies. Although he did not feel religion was a path suited to him,

his tone when speaking about the event carried a sense of being pleasantly surprised, and experiencing a sense of hope:

> 'It didn't do anything for me, as far as my [atheistic] belief is concerned. But it did do something emotionally. They profile people who have an addictions background and say 'suddenly I found God', or whatever, and its worked for them, helped them get over their problems. You gotta hold your hand up and say 'well done' 'cause they've found something that worked. If that's what it takes to get better, it can't be a bad thing!' (Les)

He was willing to attend the event out of respect for the staff, and as a form of cultural participation, not in order to be spiritually transformed. He enjoyed the music, and was open to hearing the testimony, despite his staunch atheism, which remained unflinching. Three examples of more ethically dubious methods of getting residents to attend ALIVE! were also relayed to me. One was through using a form of emotional coercion, one through plain deception, and the last through incentivisation. Regarding the first, it was evident that a service user had decided to attend the event at the request of their key worker:

> 'She asked us to do it for her – that we couldn't get our dinner if we didn't! Ha ha!' (Ronnie)

This is an example of low-level emotional manipulation through the use of jest. This 'soft' type of coercion, however, occurred in the context of a close key working relationship that had been built-up between the resident and staff member in question, of whom he was very fond, and who he respected. The resident who said this to me revealed that his affection for the key worker led him to obey her request:

> 'I think Rose is amazing! We went there because she had asked us to go there for her.' (Buddy)

Nonetheless, the fact that this key worker put an emotional request to the service user does convey a subtle emotional pressure occurring on the delivery line. This could be interpreted, at worst, as an abuse of trust, enacted by someone in a position of responsibility – a display of taking advantage of the goodwill that they had built up with their client for proselytising ends. From speaking with the key worker, I discerned that her request was done with the sincerest motive. From her evangelical Christian worldview, the most important dimension of a person's life is their spiritual life – in particular, that they come to know the love of God through the person of Jesus. Her worldview was so saturated with Christianity that it was central to her identity at work. Despite the means, the outcome for the client was that he had a positive experience of the ALIVE! event, and found it uplifting:

> 'I went there, and [it] was quite inspiring. They had a video about a Christian, and what they do, and I thought it was quite inspiring. I really did! I'm not going to start Bible-bashing, but I thought it was pretty good!' (Ronnie)

This comment reveals that, despite the subtly coercive means of getting him to attend ALIVE!, the outcome was that he enjoyed it; however, does the end justify the means? What was more concerning to me was the second form of subtle proselytism, which involved the use of mis-marketing part of the Spiritual Programme to get residents to attend. A service user, who was a practicing pagan, recounted this occurrence to me. He decided to attend ALIVE! with an open mind, curious to find out what it was about. His story soon revealed to me that he felt that he had been misled about the nature of the event, which I corroborated from my field notes. What was advertised as a 'night of music in the house' on billboards in the reception area, and that had been spoken about as a 'jam night by the staff member arranging it, had led some staff and service

users to believe it was ‘just a good old jam, nothing religious about it’ (Dillon, a new project worker who had not attended ALIVE! before). This was a patent misrepresentation. What was expected to be a social event with music for residents to enjoy was in fact a night comprised exclusively of Christian worship music and performance. This misadvertisement had sorely disappointed the aforementioned service user, who, despite expressing a tolerance to singing Christian songs, protested the exclusive choice of religious songs for which he did not know the lyrics nor the melodies. The experience led him to feel alienated by, and distrustful of, the hostel context:

> ‘We were misled. Led to believe it was a music afternoon, not ALIVE!. I wouldn’t have stepped foot in there otherwise, as I don’t get on with Christian songs ad infinitum. I stayed for 30 minutes, until I couldn’t bear it any longer… The droning songs went on and on. I felt out of sorts. I didn’t feel comfortable, because I’d been misled.’ (Lewis)

For this resident, the performance had a negative impact because of the music’s nature, the messages, and because of who was performing them. In keeping with charismatic Hillsong-style worship music, which resembles mainstream indie-pop music, the songs were simple in lyric and melody, and very repetitive. The music was described by the service user as ‘droning on and on’, and his whole interpretation of the event was cast further into a negative light because of his ill-feeling towards the staff member leading it:

> ‘I’m sick of listening to him bang on about God this, Jesus that. I’ve learned to zone out when he sings and speaks.’ (ibid)

This comment reflects the explicitly ‘preachy’ nature of one project worker, which I also witnessed. I refer to this type of subjectivity as 'overtly religious', which reflects the way in which their religious beliefs were made explicit through use of testimony, directly quoting the Bible in conversations where the topic of

discussion is not explicitly religious, and faith-derived idiolect. This is explored in the next section of this chapter.

The third way I encountered a subtle form of proselytism was through the use of incentivisation. Many residents expressed to me that they had only attended ALIVE! to take advantage of the opportunity to get free supper at the end of the service, which was laid on exclusively for attendees:

> 'I feel the religion is pointless here – a silly singsong that is only attended by those who are bored, or who want food at the end.' (Jeremy)
>
> 'Rick had invited me, and out of politeness I went down, and there was the added incentive of free food afterwards, so I thought 'I've got nothing better to do, so I'll have a look'.' (Patrick)

The promise of free food is a sweetener commonly used by evangelical Christians to attract disinterested parties to their events. In the case of ALIVE!, the free meal usually comprised a proper hot dinner, followed by coffee and cake. I found it to be a rather hypocritical strategy for the Salvation Army, who prides itself on providing universal care and support to those in need. This tactic seemed especially tactless, considering it was a free meal provided on a Sunday, when residents were lodging on a bed-and-breakfast basis at weekends. The exclusionary nature of this practice was clear when the Catering Manager discussed his approach to the event:

> 'I don't give the residents who just turn up at the end the same food as those who have attended the meeting. The meal was designed to promote a social element between the residents who come and the volunteers who do the service. So, if a resident turns up at the end, without coming to the meeting beforehand, and tries to get some food, I wont give them the same food as the guys who have come along. I'll give them a reheated pasty, or something not as nice, because it's not meant for them, it's meant to be for the ones who have come to church'. (Edward)

Although I understand why the manager said this – that if there were no boundaries, then he might end up catering for the entire hostel, who he perceived to be freeloading – I feel it served to create a sense of ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ amongst the residents. This was creating a divisive moral landscape in the hostel, where it was perceived by some residents that those who attended the Spiritual Programme were given treats or rewards for their complicit behaviour. On the contrary, those who did not attend felt positioned as outsiders to the religious fold. Despite the manager’s declaration that he decided to run a dinner after the service to promote socialisation between staff and residents, the decision to give better-quality food to those who attended, and provide lower-quality food for those who turned up without attending the service beforehand, was punitive. It did not promote an atmosphere of true inclusivity or conviviality, which I feel could have been created if a ‘no strings attached’ approach was taken. Instead, this potential opportunity for demonstrating Christian caritas was overlooked in this instance.

Evangelism by 'overtly religious' subjectivity

More overt evangelism was occurring on a daily basis through the interjections of the most popular and effective key worker, Rose. Despite her popularity, not all residents welcomed her effusive religious outbursts. One resident expressed that the only reason he knew Alpha Lifehouse was religious was because of Rose’s comments made to him:

> ***Katie:*** *‘What gave you the impression Alpha Lifehouse was religious?’*
>
> **Micky**: ‘The fact people have verbally said, “This is a religious charity”.’
>
> ***Katie:****. ‘Who said that?’*

> **Micky**: ‘A few people... You’re bound to pick it up once you’ve been here a week. Rose specifically asked me what my religious beliefs were, and then she said – and I almost don’t want to say this now – but she said something along the lines of, “I’ve seen more people stuck in their ways than you, and have still found the Lord by the time they’ve left”, which I don’t like, to be honest. I just don’t like that. The moment I feel I’m being sold religion, I’ll turn off. I like the facts, and to make my own decisions based on those.’
>
> ***Katie:** ‘Did it make you angry?’*
>
> **Micky**: ‘I didn’t like it. I laughed, and said the proper things, and just thought to myself 'ha ha, bugger off, whatever', and got on with my day. I don’t hold it against her… but I think there are a lot of people who enforce religion in their own way, and I feel there is manipulation behind it. So, when I feel it’s happening, I am put in a position to either bark or, because I don’t want to make a scene because it’s inappropriate, I just smile and wave. So I just smiled and waved.’ (Micky)

This excerpt from the discussion portrays the hierarchical power dynamic between the staff member and service user involved. Micky felt unable to contest this form of unsolicited proselytism because he perceived, due to his nature as a client, that it was not his right to do so, that in speaking up, he would be perceived as antagonistic. This is a response to his fear of reprisal, thus compounding his sense of stigma and vulnerability through the means of religious discourse operating in this context of care.

Another example of how unsolicited religious proclamations by staff to service users caused a hostile mood in the hostel became apparent when one long-term resident, Peter, offered this unprompted comment during our interview:

> **Peter:** ‘Two staff do preach at you here: “The Lord God does love you, you know? He’s trying to help you!” [mimicking]. I tell them to piss off.’
>
> **Katie:** ‘Is it in jest?’
>
> **Peter:** ‘No! He is dead serious… and I just say, 'PISS OFF!'.’

This kind of spontaneous religious declaration served to cement hostility between the service user and staff member in question, reinforcing the service user's dismay and disinterest in the Spiritual Programme on offer. Another way in which I witnessed service users being dissuaded from participating in the Spiritual Programme was through the nature of the testimony given by one key worker, who proclaimed that the only way he overcame his alcoholism was through finding Jesus. Yet, despite professing Christianity, he was perceived as rude and arrogant. This specific personality is discussed in detail below, as he came up in nearly every conversation I had with the residents.

Overall, this section has demonstrated how Alpha Lifehouse can be presented as a distinctively 'Christian' space, due to the explicit subjectivities of its staff members. When I asked residents what made it Christian, they often said 'the staff', and that if these religious staff were removed from the hostel, then the Christian aspect would be lost, too. This gives a specific temporality to the Christian nature of the hostel, as, whenever these overtly religious staff members are not present, the Christian dimension was absent. This equating of faith with performed identity alone overlooks the way in which faith can be found in ethical motivation and praxis, which is sometimes imperceptible to the onlooker. Rarely was Christianity linked to the way residents felt treated by the members of staff, regarding ethical decisions around residents’ tenancy, or the daily routine, or house rules. Although some residents did say that Alpha Lifehouse was more caring than other hostels they had lived in, they did not link this explicitly to the religious ethos of the Lifehouse. In fact, the majority of residents did not know the Salvation Army was a religious organisation at all. Only a few had encountered the religious side of the Salvation Army as

youngsters, which had informed them of the religious roots of Alpha Lifehouse, and one had deliberately researched the Salvation Army when he learned he was to be rehoused there. Overall, the support programme and daily routine were perceived as secular by the residents. I refer to this lack of visibility of a religious dimension to the project work (from a resident's perspective) as creating a somewhat indistinguishable service environment, which I now go on to specifically examine.

7.2 A DISTINCTIVE SERVICE ENVIRONMENT

An indistinguishable service environment?

Despite the obvious presence of religious staff members and religious events in the Lifehouse, which provided a temporal Christian tone to the space, there was a general lack of distinctive service environment perceived, in relation to any religious grounds for service methodology. Regarding religious events, specifically, due to their optional nature, there was little direct impact on the residents from these unless they made the choice to attend and participate. The only material and social impact this had upon residents who did not attend was the fact that they had to evacuate the Chapel, which became the sole preserve of the faithful and religiously-curious few during times of worship activities.

Besides these moments of 'pop-up' religious activity, the daily routine of the Lifehouse was not perceived as particularly different from other hostels that the residents had lived in. The main practical differences were to do with the material environment and daily routine: religious posters and leaflets, available in communal spaces, and what was described as a more 'hands-on' approach by key workers in the management of the hostel residents. This hands-on

approach referred to the structured daily rhythm of meal times, and being asked to stay out of bedrooms from 9 am to 11 am. Residents tended to respond in two ways to this approach. A minority welcomed it, as it engendered feelings of security, which helped to construct a landscape of care:

> 'I like the fact they check up on you at 9 am in your room. I feel safer because of it.' (Rodney)

On the other hand, the majority felt very frustrated about the daily routine enforced upon them. Many felt that their independence had been lost at Alpha Lifehouse. This was mainly expressed in relation to being forced to exit their own bedrooms in the morning, the lack of the possibility to cook their own food, due to the canteen facility, and the fact that the cleaners did all the laundry for them:

> 'Sometimes, I just want to go back to my room after brekkie and have a lie down and watch TV, but we're not allowed to, and they don't tell you why! It's annoying.' (Daniel)

This refrain was very common, and it was clear that no rationale had been given to residents about why they had to evacuate their rooms in the morning. There was speculation by many residents, which suggested a lack of clear communication or management in the hostel around the house rules. Although I knew, from my discussion with staff, that the policy was implemented in order to do room checks, and control and remove illegal substances, this had not been made clear to the residents. Many found this opacity from staff very frustrating. In addition to the services provided by Alpha Lifehouse that could be perceived as supportive (bed and breakfast, laundry services), some residents found the close-knit manner of some key workers claustrophobic, when compared to other hostels they had lived in. Some found their treatment by staff at Alpha

Lifehouse infantilising, and a hindrance to developing their sense of self-esteem and independence:

> 'It's more laid back at the other hostel in town. They're not in your face there; don't want to know all of your business. You get more respect, full-stop. They treat you as a person, not as a client. At the Sally, they treat you as if you're a kid; you get your food cooked for you, your rent comes out of your giro, you have no independence, and they want to know your business all the time.' (Stuart)

> 'The staff are always on my back, every day, asking where I've been and what I'm doing. And my key worker wants to see my bank statements. It's so intrusive; that's my business. I feel like a kid being monitored. They don't trust me. It's better at the other hostel in town, as they don't ask so many questions.' (Simon)

> 'It's like a youth club in here – 'Let's go and play table tennis!'. They need to do more to help people move on. Nothing happens here during the day to help us.' (Tristan)

> 'They treat us with kid gloves in here, cooking for us, doing our laundry. I am going backwards here!' (Jack)

It was evident that many found living at Alpha Lifehouse very frustrating because of the compromises it placed on their independence. Others, however, felt very grateful for the high level of service and care they received, conveying a sense of being given a chance to start again, with all the support in place necessary to make life a bit easier – a bed, hot food and clean bedding.

Performing faithful care – Rose

Many residents conveyed a strong affection and respect for one particular key worker, Rose, who was an example of performing 'faithful care'. By this, I refer to the way in which the religious aspect of her subjectivity suffused the acts of care she performed in the workplace. This intimate fusing of her religious and

professional subjectivity was keenly apparent in the way she spoke about her work, which was saturated with religious emotion, as per this extract:

> ‘I always remember being told, “It’s better felt than tell't”, so I want to show God’s love to residents in what I do and how I am… I love the Lord, and it's as if I've fallen in love with him every day. I have to live and walk so closely within that [God’s love], that I don't want to be separated in any way [from God]. So, I don't want those things of the world [referring to the neoliberal contract culture pervading the hostel] to sort of crowd and crush my thinking. So, for me, wherever I go in this place, it's really for me to take this experience that I have with me [her Christian love]. So, I could be in this room, I could be in that room, but actually it's not going to leave me. If I've experienced the love of God, then wherever I am, whatever the geography is, it's going to follow me everywhere because it's why I'm here.’ (Rose)

This personal reflection illuminated how distinctively Christian care is an event that is performatively enacted through the Christian minds and bodies of those who see the world theologically, imbuing their spaces and actions with Christian meaning. Her actions are expressions of the love she has received from God, which she is desperate to pass on to those in her care:

> ‘I've never been ashamed of what I believe, and I want to share it. Somebody was saying, 'There she goes again. She's all about that God thing!', but actually, He is the most precious thing in my life.’

This desire to evangelise was tempered by Rose’s self-awareness regarding the fact that speaking about her faith may come across as 'pushy'. She acknowledged that she did not want to 'put the men off', but instead sought to provoke the residents into asking about her faith, due to her distinctive performance of care:

> ‘It doesn't mean that I need to then start talking about God the only way that will put them off, but I want them to be able to say, “So what is it, Rose, that makes you the way you are?” I want to tell them that it's because God has transformed my life.’

And indeed, although Rose did make verbal comments, such as 'God bless you!' and 'God loves you, you know?', which were received with rejection at worst, or seen as endearing at best, she was spoken about frequently as the best key worker on site. There were three themes that came across when residents were reflecting on the performance of care they had experienced from Rose: her straight-talking nature, her efficiency and dependability, and her maternal approach. According to both residents and colleagues, the combination of these made her the most effective key worker:

> 'Rose bends over backwards for you, and does genuinely care about you and wants the best for you. She is someone you can trust, sincere and genuine in what she does.' (Phillip)
>
> 'Down at the other hostels, it's just their job... for a lot of staff here, it's just a job. You're just there as a number, a face. They clock you in and out, and your key worker appointments are regimental, "Have you done this? Have you done that?", but at the Sally, it is different. They spend more time finding out about you, where you're at and why. It's more caring. I feel like Rose really knows me, and cares about what's going on with me.' (Riddion)

Another resident asked me to ask Rose about him, in relation to a particular episode when he'd disobeyed the house rules and brought in a barrel of beer in his backpack whilst drunk: 'Ask Rose! She'll tell you a story about me! [chortling]', he instructed, laughing, which conveyed a sense of familiarity and shared history he held dear with her – a sense that he was known and cared for by her, and that this was, to an extent, mutual. His request showed he trusted her to tell a reliable account of his nature and life, which revealed a closeness in the way he felt about Rose – not romantic, but akin to a fondness experienced between old friends.

There was a sense of intimacy that came across when he was recalling this anecdote, which reflected the way in which Rose was demonstrating two of the core conditions for therapeutic encounter, according to psychotherapist Carl Rogers (Rogers, 1957) – unconditional positive regard and empathy. Despite her religious performance of care, which could be seen as inappropriate at worst, or endearing at best, it was her personal ability to empathise and connect with the residents on their level that mattered most. When two such conditions are breeched, the chance of a synergistic relationship breaks down, and the client and caregiver cannot do productive personal work. An example of when this therapeutic relationship failed to be established is outlined in the next section, where residents recall stories of a key worker they did not find helpful at all, despite the Christian motivation he shared with Rose.

One ex-resident I interviewed even reported that he returned to Alpha Lifehouse every month for a coffee morning to see Rose, notwithstanding the fact she was not his key worker during the time of his residency. She had made an impression, and was now the key personality with whom he wanted to maintain a connection. I noted the frequency with which Rose appeared in the recovery narratives of several residents; for example:

> 'To be honest, and I will be honest with you. It's Rose that has kept me going. I can't praise her enough.' (Les)

Many perceived Rose to be more of a friend than a formal support worker:

> 'She is like a friend that you can have a full-on laugh with! She gives as good as she gets, but she is never rude, doesn't judge, and doesn't look down on you.' (Jared)

This comment again reinforces the mutuality Rose was able to achieve with the residents, helping them feel on a par with her by overcoming any hierarchical dynamic where the key worker could be perceived by the resident as more powerful. In addition to Rose's ability to employ empathy and mutuality to foster conditions conducive to a therapeutic working relationship, she also demonstrated the effective management of other people's expectations. In the eyes of both staff and service users, Rose was seen as consistent with her words and actions, which engendered trustworthiness and a lot of respect. She had strong time management skills, and was adept at managing people's expectations, so they perceived her to be fair, and trusted her to deliver on her word. This is a quality that counted for so much to residents, who often said that they felt let down by the system, and burdened with a sense of stigma attached to their homeless identity:

> 'She'll go that extra bit for you, whereas a lot of them won't deliver, but say, "Oh, I'll see you in a bit...", then it's, "I'm too busy now", and then they forget you!' (Peter)
>
> 'The only decent staff member who has been able to understand me is Rose… I've found that a lot of staff say, 'We'll do this, we'll get this sorted for you", but it never happens, and you're there twiddling your thumbs, thinking 'Oh, its getting sorted now', but it never does. But with Rose… it's DONE! She puts the goods on the table… I trust Rose more than any of the others in here.' (Seth)

Her consistency conferred dignity and respect upon the residents, which she identified as a vital ingredient in creating a complementary, productive and therapeutic working relationship. When I was interviewing Rose, her expert approach to managing expectations was a clear priority:

> 'I think people are pushing the boundaries continually, so it's about tough love. If someone wants to just come and get a book out, and it's not life threatening, then I say, "Can you just wait 10 minutes because I got to do a phone call?". That's a good boundary. So it's time management, isn't it? It's about saying, "Okay, let's prioritise. Okay, is it desperate? Do you

need it now?". If someone needed their medication, it would be, "Okay, I'm doing that now", but if somebody wanted to just get their book or their phone charger out of the office, I'd say, "Can you just hang on a minute?", but you got to be careful when you say that, so that you do come back and follow that through, otherwise you've lost them, and they're not going to ask you again because you didn't do it last time. It's about [them] understanding that, whatever their needs are, and as long as we prioritise them, that we will respond in a way that it's good for them.' (Rose)

This comment reflected her self-awareness that failure to act on her word may lead to a breakdown in the bonds of trust that she had developed with the residents. Her ability to perceive how others might view her, and to anticipate their emotional reactions to her words and deeds, prompted her to act judiciously, and structure her work tasks in a way that successfully managed residents' expectations, which enhanced her relationship with the residents. Failure to achieve this level of awareness of both self and others leads to adverse impacts upon the therapeutic relationship, as outlined in the case of Rick, below. In addition to being an accomplished key worker, it was clear that Rose's female gender had a synergistic role to play in developing communication with her caseload. Most residents described Rose as performing a nurturing and maternal role, characterised by her use of active listening, empathy and affectionate salutations:

> 'Rose is a good woman, she listens, helps you out. If you do good things, she rewards you. She is a mum [to me], and talks to you like she cares about you, and uses nice language like, 'Hi, my love!'.' (Adam)

Simultaneously, she was known for being a disciplinarian, a quality that garnered respect from many of the residents, as revealed in this interview dialogue:

> Phillip: 'I totally respect Rose. She is a great woman!'

Katie: 'What is it about her?'

Phillip: 'We call her the Rottweiler! Because, when she jumps on you, she jumps and you know it! She's cornered me many times when coming through that front door: "Where you been? What you got in that bag?".'

Katie: 'But you like that, don't you? You like that approach?'

Phillip: [hesitantly] 'Not necessarily…but it works! Ha-ha! She's what I need!' (Phillip)

And corroborated by other residents:

'I couldn't have gotten through this without her. She is like a mum to me. Gives me a kick up the arse when I need it!' (Daniel)

'Rose is a big sister or mother type figure – someone I can talk to.' (Les)

'She is known as the pit-bull – small and vicious! Get on the wrong side of her and she'll have you! But you keep in line because you know nothing gets past her; she rules the roost here!' (Stuart)

It was mentioned by nine residents that gender and age played significant roles in the development of a synergistic key working relationship. These comments reflected the gendered psychodynamics of caregiving and receiving, where past relationships and early infant experiences have significantly influenced attachment patterns evident in adult life (Bowlby, 1980). Several residents openly declared that they got on better with women in general, which was transferable to female key workers. They provided several reasons, including: lack of male role models as an infant; abuse by a male relative, leading to negative responses to male authority figures in adult life; desire to have a maternal figure in their life, following absence of the genetic mother; and a sense that women were less threatening than men, more communicative, and easier to get on with. For these residents, the presence of women in their lives was something they were highly aware of as providing a positive, supportive role. Additionally, they mentioned that working with men would be emotionally challenging to them, especially for the younger male residents, in the 20–30s

age bracket. One resident went as far as only having female dogs as pets because he felt he could trust them more than males. Most obviously, it was 'female' coupled with 'middle-aged' that came up as the most appropriate subjectivity for a key worker, embodying the mother archetype that provides security, care and, ultimately, survival (Jung, 1982).

In conclusion, it was the fact that Rose was a maternal figure, who was deemed trustworthy, fair and kind, which enabled her to connect successfully with so many residents. This psychodynamic element was commented upon by one volunteer, Linda, who openly admitted that she was in part attracted to working as a volunteer at Alpha Lifehouse because, in her words:

> 'I am a frustrated mother… I particularly like working with the young ones who need a mum. It is a great feeling when they grow in confidence and self-esteem, and you know you've played a part in enabling that change to happen.' (Laura)

Reflecting upon the case of Rose, it is clear that her Christian beliefs played a seminal role in her motivation to work with homeless men in the hostel. These religious values and motives were made explicit through her interjections; however, they were not, on the whole, experienced as irritating, despite being occasionally inappropriate. It was the blending of her interpersonal skills and trustworthy character with her specific embodiment that made her subjectivity appropriate as an effective key worker, not her religious adherence, per se. Where her religious interjections could be (and sometimes were) perceived as inappropriate, the effects tended to be ameliorated, due to her pleasant and empathetic comportment and effectiveness as a keyworker. It was evident that, when personality did not serve to ameliorate the potential downstream

consequences of a strident religious subjectivity, residents would perceive one's subjectivity as objectionable. This is explored in the following section, through the case of one young support worker called Rick.

7.3 PERFORMING FAITHFUL CARELESSNESS

Most residents expressed a strong dislike for the behaviour of one key worker, Rick. His notoriety was associated with the way in which he often upset residents by making snide remarks and talking down, as described by Lee:

> 'When you've fucked up in life, it's personal. And then Rick will just come out and say it in front of everyone in the canteen! In front of staff and residents, and you're stood there thinking, 'You twat! It's got nothing to do with anyone else'. There's no reason to share my story with anyone else besides to mock me. He made me feel tiny.' (Lewis)

> 'He has got to learn he's here to help people, to show some compassion, understanding, and get on everyone's level – not be above everyone else.' (Ronnie)

A clear sense of being belittled was evident, revealing that an asymmetrical power relationship was reproduced through his performance. Unfortunately, this was not a one-off comment. Several residents took issue with the way this staff member put across his religious beliefs, which pivoted around sharing his personal testimony spontaneously, in public spaces, when he was walking around, which I actually witnessed. He seemed obsessed with repeating that the only thing that saved his life was coming to faith in Jesus:

> '[I was] once a filthy sinner, no good, and worthy of death. But now, I'm born again through the blood of Christ. A sinner washed clean, and saved by grace, to share God's love and bring glory to Jesus.' (Rick)

One resident found this 'preachy' attitude very frustrating:

> 'Why preach to someone that doesn't want to be preached to? I don't believe in God, right? And there is one member of staff who says its God who saved him… "NO! You helped yourself!" I tell him. "No, I've seen the

> light!", he says and, well, I think you must have been wrecked then mate, really pissed to see someone in white robes – no one wears clothes like that anymore! Then he says, "I've seen Jesus, I've seen the light!". Yeah, so did I, when I took three acid tabs!' (Jack)

This resident then went on to share with me his recovery story, of how he turned his life around through his own willpower and strength. I began to feel that the animosity this resident felt towards the preaching staff member was rooted in a sense that his incredible personal effort to overcome addiction was being overlooked. This lack of recognition made him feel that he was insignificant. A similar sentiment was echoed by another resident who had overcome addiction and, despite sharing a Christian faith, disagreed with this blatant proselytism, regarding a religious solution to addiction:

> 'I don't want to keep going back to Rick, but I think you have to have faith in yourself before you can have faith in anything else. He keeps going on about religion, and how it saved him. That's where his strength comes from to stop drinking. But if you took religion away from him, he'd probably be back on the bottle. You need to be strong in yourself first.' (Robert)

This comment also shows that Rick had revealed much of his own personal testimony to the clients, which could be seen as a breach of professional boundaries in the way in which it was recounted. The testimony was not done in a person-centred way, sharing his personal struggle and journey when he felt it was appropriate, in a one-to-one session with a resident. Instead, he regularly made interjections and unsolicited proclamations as he walked through the hostel's corridors doing his daily work, or in tea-breaks with members of staff. Over the time I spent at Alpha Lifehouse, I noted him isolating himself by avoiding tea-breaks, and staying in his office. He perceived himself to be a character out of place in the Lifehouse, with a calling to be an evangelist and leader of the church, to use his own words. With hindsight, it was clear to me

that he did not feel integrated into the main staff team, and that he never intended to stay working at Alpha Lifehouse, declaring, 'As soon as I can, I am out of here'. In his defence, Rick did have sincerity, just a lack of self-awareness about how he came across.

7.4 THE PROBLEM OF 'TIME POVERTY'

In contrast to the exemplary key worker, Rose, discussed above, there were a few comments made about other members of staff, who came across as terse and uncaring in manner. One resident described his interaction with one manager as:

> 'A bit detached… More down to business… She is economical with her words and doesn't show much humanity!' (Buddy)

This comportment was said to be due to the heavy caseload of the manager in question, which she felt left her little time for pleasantries. According to several residents' accounts, the way the burden of bureaucracy on staff manifested the most was related to the initial welcome they received at Alpha Lifehouse. This welcome was often experienced as too brief and superficial, as conveyed by Les (6/8/12):

> **Les:** 'When I first arrived here, I went to Judy's office and she said, "This is how it works: we take money for food, get up at 9 am, out your room 9 to 11 am", and that was it basically! She asked what my interests were, but not much else, showed me to my room, and that was it! My induction was complete [laughing in disbelief].'
>
> **Katie:** 'Could they have done more?'
>
> **Les:** 'Yes! More time to think about it – it's daunting coming here. You're worrying about settling in, and what gonna happen to you. You can't cram that into 10 minutes. Better to do it over one or two hours, when they can set out the hostel processes, step by step, explaining how timings will affect you. They should say, "Your brekkie is at 8 to 8.45 am,

> how do you feel about that? You have to be out your room at 9 to 11 am, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS?", not just say, "You gotta be out your room by 9am", as I'll start to go "Why? WHY?".'
>
> **Katie:** 'Did she give you a reason?'
>
> **Les:** 'None whatsoever.'

This resident felt very frustrated at the lack of emotional support available upon his move in to Alpha Lifehouse. From his comment, it is evident that he was seeking a much more 'high touch' encounter with the manager that would put his fears and anxieties to rest, and see his questions answered fully. This comment was echoed by other residents, particularly ones who had never lived in a hostel environment before, and felt particularly vulnerable. This revealed how Alpha Lifehouse, despite being perceived as a space of care by some, was also experienced as a space of potential threat by others.

7.5 A SPACE OF FEAR – PERCEIVED AND ACTUAL

> 'What for some homeless people may constitute a therapeutic 'space of care', can, for others, be perceived as a 'space of fear'.' (Johnsen et al., 2005).

A pervasive sense of fear, and the associated strategies for coping with the stress of an unpredictable, and potentially violent, hostel environment, occurred frequently in conversations:

> 'This is a lad's game in here. I've changed how I act to survive in here – you'll notice my 'please' and 'thank yous' are less frequent, I mumble more and swear more. It's all bumming fags and keeping your head down here, lest you want to be singled out.' (Micky)
>
> 'There is a lot of bravado in here – people giving it the big 'I am' to make their mark. I put my bitch head on – my gay bitch head – so everyone knows not to mess with me.' (Riddion)

> ‘I’m not the sort of person to let people punch me because in this sort of environment you can’t be seen to look like that. I know it’s stupid, but if someone sees a weak spot in you, they’ll take the piss out of you all the time. I know not to be pushed over. You’ve got to fight back and stand your ground in here.’ (Jack)

> ‘We spend most of our time in our rooms if we can. We only come down for meals or meetings, and we always go out through the back door. We don’t speak to anyone apart from a select few, and we keep ourselves to ourselves.’ (Jared)

A lot of the fear was based on rumours that were prevalent about the nature of Alpha Lifehouse being a place where 'druggies', alcoholics and criminals lived. Many residents mentioned their reluctance to accept a place at the hostel for fear of whom they might find living there, admitting to feeling ‘petrified’, ‘wary’, and seeing it as a 'last resort destination'. This disposition was of course mediated by each resident’s personal circumstances, vulnerabilities and emotional resources for coping. The prejudice was soon debunked after the residents got to know the hostel and its staff; however, it was clear that rules for survival in this 'lad’s game' came into play for many, and it was generally a very difficult environment to exist in – one which required specific efforts to maintain a ‘front region’ performance of being in control, calm and collected, on a daily basis, to avoid potential conflict (Goffman, 1959). This provided a perspective on the level of emotional work undertaken by residents, in order to survive in what was described as more of a 'holding pen' than a home, by one volunteer. In this holding pen, displaying a heteronormative masculinity was paramount for survival, which was counterpoised to displaying more stereotypically ‘feminine’ emotions, such as kindness, care and cooperation, which were associated with being weak or vulnerable. Sexuality was also a significant dimension to consider in structuring the emotional geographies of residents. Two gay men were living in the hostel during my research, and both expressed feeling highly

anxious and afraid about their sexual identity being revealed to other residents in the hostel. One said he'd been bullied in the canteen, and was coping in the 'front region' by tactically 'putting my 'bitch' head on and giving them what-for!' (Jason). Sexuality was never mentioned in relation to religion, but in relation to feeling 'othered' and unwelcome in relation to the residents.

Chapter conclusions

This chapter has brought to the fore the way in which religious performances by staff, underpinned by an explicit desire to share faith, have added a particular Christian flavour to Alpha Lifehouse, which has made it distinctive from other hostels in Glympton. That being said, most residents did not perceive anything particularly religious about the hostel in the way it is run. The only things that were perceived as Christian were the events associated with the Spiritual Programme, and the overtly religious proclamations made by some members of staff. If these were to be removed, the service and care provided at Alpha Lifehouse would be indistinguishable from those of other hostels that do not have a religious mandate. It was often difficult for residents to distinguish between members of staff who had specific religious beliefs or none. Moreover, it was revealed that having a Christian belief did not necessarily look like one thing – the most and least popular members of staff shared the same religious beliefs; however, personality and performance made significant qualitative differences in how they were perceived and experienced by residents. Many residents showed a propensity to think existentially and philosophically, and would benefit from honest, open debate about controversial topics, but this was precluded in the more fundamentalist religious culture prevalent in the hostel at the time. This more closed atmosphere was precipitated due to the character of

the most vocal Christians in the hostel at the time being more evangelical than not. Although initial feelings of fear were common to most residents upon arrival, these were soon placated as they settled in and felt welcomed by the female members of staff, revealing the significance of gender and age in structuring a successful performance of care.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This final chapter provides a conclusion my thesis on the 'value added' by a faith-based approach to statutory care and support for people experiencing homelessness in the United Kingdom, through a case study of The Salvation Army's Lifehouse programme.

First, I start by outlining the key research findings of this project, highlighting the original contribution to knowledge that this research makes. Following this summary of key contributions, I provide broad policy recommendations regarding the provision of care for the homeless by faith-based organisations; this section focuses on strategies for meeting human resource needs, and on ways to improve statutory programmes to support individuals who are homeless. For specific recommendation for TSA, based upon this case study, please see my project report (Appendix 8) at the end of this thesis. I then go on to reflect critically upon the research practice with regards to my positionality and methods, outlining the limits of the research I've conducted. Finally, I conclude by offering some ways in which the findings of this thesis may be taken forward to inform post-doctoral research.

Key research contributions

My thesis makes an original contribution to geographical knowledge by extending the literatures on the geographies of faith-based organisations, emotional geographies of care and caring, and geographies of postsecular rapprochement in several ways:

First, the initial extensive phase of my research involved interviewing a large sample of Salvation Army managers about the challenges they face in their role (Chapter 4). This generated novel empirical material that allowed me to critically investigate the broad sets of issues faced by Lifehouse managers in the UK, which included:

i) A nuanced understanding of the changing organisational environment of Salvation Army Lifehouses in response to the neoliberalising statutory welfare context they are embedded within; my findings highlighted the ways in which widespread professionalisation was occurring throughout the organisational landscape, due to decision made higher up to become ‘fit for purpose’, and the tensions this generated on the ground in Lifehouses.

ii) A nuanced understanding impacts of these statutory-driven corporate changes on the emotional and spiritual ‘landscapes of care’ in Lifehouses across the United Kingdom (especially the way in which spiritual sensibilities were affected by decision from senior staff in response to the shifting spiritual interior of the organisation as a result of professionalisation).

iii) A detailed understanding of the role that Christian faith plays in ‘adding value’ to the care available for homeless individuals through Lifehouses; this included a rich insight into the motivational, operational, material and symbolic aspects of faith present in Salvation Army hostels; a variety of discourses were identified regarding the distinctively spiritual nature of care the Salvation Army purported to deliver.

iv) An overview of practical challenges faced by managers in the UK with regards to living out their Christian mission within a neoliberal statutory context, including a variety of discourses around the challenges to the distinctiveness of TSA, and reflections upon the financial sustainability of its hostels.

v) A general sense of the degree to which statutory homeless services in the UK were, or were not, set up and connected up to provide effective support, in their current form.

These empirical findings allowed me to speak back to broader theoretical debates on the interrelationships between FBOs and neoliberalism, and between spiritual landscapes and landscape of care, through a lens of the 'value added' by faith in the context of the changing landscape of homeless care in the UK. This provided unique insights into the ways in which value was added in a Salvation Army organisational context.

Second, the subsequent intensive phase of my research, comprising an ethnographic placement at Alpha Lifehouse, enabled me to nuance my findings from the extensive phase of research against a practical reality (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). This fieldwork provided original insights on the empirical nature of faith within a Lifehouse context, and generated in-depth and nuanced understandings of the 'valued added' by faith vis-à-vis the material, regulatory and performative dimensions of care in the hostel. By examining how a Christian care environment was assembled and performed (Chapter 5), I was able to develop a fine-grained analytical understanding of the importance that

individual performances play in creating a faith-based service, and whether or not this faith-motivated care actually 'added value' from the perspective of staff, volunteers and service users. This empirical material allowed me to speak back to the wider debates within human geography on the value added by FBOs in a neoliberalised welfare landscape (Chapter 5), and on the conceptual links between the role of FBOs and their role in developing spaces of postsecular rapprochement (Chapter 6). It also afforded me the chance to examine the purported and actual links between spiritual landscapes and 'therapeutic landscape experiences' in an FBO, from the perspective of staff and service users (Chapters 7), which has not been explicitly addressed in the existing geographical scholarship. A final original contribution this intensive phase of research produced relates to the voice of service users: Chapter 7 is dedicated to conveying their perspective on faith and care, in a way that has not been made explicit in existing literatures. This thesis, therefore, is somewhat of a redress for the absence of service user opinion to date, their opinions highlighting aspects of faith-based care that have been hitherto omitted.

A third way in which this thesis makes an original contribution is through the provision of a critically reflexive account of the emotional and spiritual landscapes of an FBO, derived from autoethnographic narratives arising from my intensive participation in Alpha Lifehouse.

To summarise, this thesis makes an original contribution through attempting a qualitative assessment of the difference that faith makes to the service provision for individuals who are homeless, from the perspective of managers, staff, volunteers and service users. There are few such accounts in the canon

of social science research, and even fewer that use feminist perspectives, to analyse the relationship between care, faith and postsecularism. I now go on to conclude the key arguments that are developed in the thesis by returning to the two research questions set out in the introduction chapter.

1. How does a faith-basis "add value" to the Lifehouse as a 'landscape of care'?

Faith 'adding value' ?

From the perspective of residents, the Spiritual Programme was of little interest or value to most of them. The vast majority were not religious people and didn't see it as relevant, more of an anachronistic quirk of the Salvation Army. There was also a gendered element structuring their responsiveness to the programme – with emotional, charismatic expressions of faith and belief (which were prevalent in the hostel) positioned as diametrically opposed to the culture of masculinity that was hegemonic within the residents of the hostel. Being in touch with one's 'spiritual side' was seen as effeminate, which would place residents in a space of vulnerability and open to the ridicule of others if they attended religious events. This obstacle to engaging with religion and spirituality extended beyond the Spiritual Programme, with one resident, who identified as pagan, keeping his religious identity hidden from others – both staff and residents, for fear of their prejudice. This fear was compounded by his sexuality, which was another axis of inequality that engendered a sense of fear and vulnerability whilst he was in the normatively heterosexual hostel space. For some residents, presenting themselves at a religious public meeting, would involve stepping outside their comfort zone and being made publically visible and identifiable, putting them at risk from ridicule and undermining their social

status and wellbeing. The potential for discrimination was exacerbated if other structural dimensions of a resident's social identity (i.e. gender identity and sexual orientation) were already perceived as marginalised within the heteronormative 'alpha male' culture of the hostel. Overall, the majority of residents did not perceive the Spiritual Programme as adding significant value to their Lifehouse experience; it was poorly attended and regarded as irrelevant to their needs or interests.

On the other hand, where the Spiritual Programme 'added value' most was to members of staff. As evident in my conversation with managers across the Territory, and with the Christian members of staff within Alpha Lifehouse, their faith was so central to their identity that being able to express it within the context of the workplace was heartening. Furthermore, being able to participate in religious rituals, such as prayers and sung worship, was a true source of inspiration and strength for staff, which enabled them to cope with the pressures of the job. From a psychological perspective, the religious working culture provided a sense of congruence between their personal and professional values, which is well acknowledged as a vital ingredient for sustaining wellbeing and productivity in the workplace (Boxx et al, 1991). The fact that the workplace had explicitly Christian events structured into the weekly rhythm was a spiritual fix for those religious staff, providing them with both emotional and affective resources to sustain their daily work. An implication of this is that the Salvation Army brand of hostel will continue to attract a stream of committed Christian workers who perceive their religious identity as central to their workplace identity.

Time set aside for prayers - for guidance, supplication and thanks – clearly enabled moments of 'therapeutic landscape experience' to be accomplished by staff members present. This experience was not the preserve of Christians alone, but was also experienced by the more 'spiritually predisposed' members of staff. For example, colleagues who believed in a Higher Power, or who identified as SBNR, freely joined in with acts of Christian worship and described experiencing of a sense of calm and solace during these ritual moments. The Spiritual Programme then, for the staff team, became a place where resilience was fashioned and 'supernatural' strength could be drawn upon, which became particularly pertinent in light of the wider context of organisational restructuring when the threat of redundancies loomed large and anxieties about potential compromises to the quality of service and care available for residents, were a palpable source of distress for staff. The Spiritual Programme, at this particular moment in the organisation's history, truly acted as an anchor, not only for religious members of staff but also for those with postsecular dispositions, who freely participated in the Christian rituals available, albeit sometimes due to a staff members' desire to uphold, support and participate in the wider organisation's culture and values.

Moving from the specifics of the Spiritual Programme, to the wider 'added value' perceived to be inherent in the faith-based provision of care; I would like to draw attention to the more affective dimensions of the hostel's caringscape that set it apart. There was a general perception amongst the residents, that Alpha Lifehouse was a more inviting and caring place when compared to other hostels in the local area, due to its 'warmth'. This characteristic, principally described as 'warmth' by staff and volunteers, can be traced back to an ethos of care rooted

in a non-hierarchical empathy that came across in genuine affection that staff and volunteers felt for residents. The emotional tone of the interactions between the majority of staff, volunteers and residents could be described as reverberating with affection - an expression of vibrant empathy, frequently imbued with traces of maternal or brotherly love (opposed to paternalistic forms of care, or care as an expression of 'moral selving', which are typically devoid of true identification with the needs of the recipient of care). In my opinion, this tone was set, in part, by the Christian leadership of the organisation who promoted an ethic of universal care, rooted in the belief that God loves all, equally, without judgement, and that Christians are called to embody and express this ethic.

Specific to the Salvationist and more 'born again' strands of Christianity present in the hostel, it was clear that the protestant doctrines of the *total depravity of humankind* and of *penal substitution* – the beliefs that humans are morally wretched and beyond redemption through means of their own (total depravity), and that the only way to achieve spiritual salvation is through putting faith in Christ as redeemer, who by his death on the cross, acted as a substitute and took the punishment for humanity's sins (penal substitution) as the ultimate expression of selfless love - provided a starting point for empathy. This worldview, when personally accepted, engendered a deep sense of being cherished and loved by God, which was a huge motivating force in the lives of 'born again' believers. It was clear that for some members of staff, their profound belief that God truly loved the residents of Alpha Lifehouse, and a desire to extend this love, was a prime factor influencing the tone of interactions in the hostel. Underpinning this expression of 'love for the least' is a theological

perspective that, proverbially speaking, residents and staff were in the same existential boat – in need of redemption, and spiritually poor without Christ in their lives. This identification with depravity and existential poverty of the individual provided a point of identification and empathetic connection between staff and service user. Such a motive, however, did sometimes result in the overzealous expression of Christian subjectivity (for example, comments were sometimes made that were too preachy or 'theologically loaded'), as the emotion rooted in this belief is so total that it is hard to parcel-away when in a corporate environment. The religious undertone to the care that was on offer, set Lifehouses apart as distinctive in ethos and approach; however, it also provided a source of corporate tension in light of managerial decisions to deliver a more 'professional' service.

There was a strong sense, from my interviews with managers across the United Kingdom and with Staff in Alpha Lifehouse, that The Salvation Army had compromised on its Founder's vision and was reneging on its primary calling to preach the gospel (conversion to Christianity), by assisting people with a more humanitarian 'ethic of care', at the expense of the latter more 'strings attached' approach. This 'mission drift' was perceived as a direct consequence of the wider organisation's complicity in secular structures of public funding, and its corollary pressures and culture. It was perceived that the opportunity to embody 'faith values' within the workplace – showing love, grace, forgiveness and communicating hope to the residents, helping them to transform their lives permanently - was being squeezed out of the hostel environment due to the time pressures imposed on their schedule by an encroaching secular culture of targets, deadlines and audits. This new business culture was perceived as

being in direct opposition to the holistic, person-centred and convivial ethic of care that many Christian keyworkers expressed that they wanted to share with the residents. Because of this stark reality, I noted the 'value added' by people of faith was under duress, and their enthusiasm for the work subsiding, as they struggled to find congruence between their personal values in a secularising work culture that was perceived to value profit not people. The emotional labour required by staff to hold back their desire to extend Christian hospitality, friendship and love to residents in a more meaningful way than just performing key working meetings was mentally and emotionally exhausting for these workers and a source of discomfort. This situation is redolent of Gross' findings on the role of empathy in the 'burnout' of Salvation Army officers (1994), yet turns it on its head as the challenge of not being able to express sufficient empathy was a source of emotional distress and anxiety to religious staff who felt they were not able to give proper care to the residents. Within this context of workplace stress, the only way faith was 'adding value' was by providing an emotional buttress and an affective source of hope, as staff gathered to pray for discernment of how to respond to changes in the wider organisational culture. Faith was sustaining these workers as they weathered an incredibly challenging period of organisational turbulence in the history of the Salvation Army's social work.

Another discourse regarding the way in which faith 'added value' to the Lifehouse service pertained to the quality of care received. This, however, must be tempered by recognising that staff of other or no religion still participated in and helped co-produce this calibre of care. Notions of 'going above and beyond', giving many 'second chances', extending care beyond the formal

boundaries of the 'carescape' contract - such as taking residents to church, or visiting them in their homes after they had 'moved on' - were linked back to the Christian values of the hostel (according to staff). This culture of empathy and hope was one that could be participated in by those of no specific faith, and became the 'crossover narrative' around which an ethical alliance of care could be established. This empathetic expression of care created a 'warm' atmosphere in the hostel, which was not found in other similar institutions locally. This affective 'warmth' was the value added according to many, and it was assembled through the combination of the 'rough and ready' carescape, which had a slightly dilapidated feel to it, and the feisty caringscape performed by key workers who were determined to make a difference.

To link the empirical study back to policy debates on the perceived endogenous 'value added' qualities of FBOs, I made the following observations. Despite its location near a Salvation Army corps there were no visitors or volunteers –at the time of my visit - from this corps to the Lifehouse. The telephone interviews also revealed a lack of joined-up mission between the Salvation Army's corps and Lifehouses across the Territory. This provides evidence against the government's policy positioning of FBOs as networked into local areas with an 'army of volunteers' from the corps at their disposal. I was aware of a lack of voluntary activity in the hostels, which could be enhanced in the future by brokering relationships with local church leaders to access volunteers.

2. To what extent can a FBO, as illustrated by alpha Lifehouse, operate as a space for postsecular rapprochement?

Faith and 'postsecular rapprochement'?

In Habermas' thesis on postsecularism he identifies the requirement of 'crossover narratives' and 'translation mechanisms' to be present in order to facilitate rapprochement between subjects of differing existential/religious worldviews within the public sphere. This suggests subjects that are willing to be open and find a common language around which action can be built.

From my research in Alpha Lifehouse it was evident that a shared ethic of care characterised by Christian compassion was a common 'bridging concept' underpinning the working practice of all staff – to the extent that residents didn't know which members of staff were religious or not. This could suggest that a space of postsecular rapprochement had been accomplished within the 'caringscape' of the hostel. However, it was evidently a fragmented workplace with factions in existence between different groups within the staff team based upon religious identity, so the extent to which postsecular rapprochement was achieved is troubled.

A key research finding I observed was that postsecular subjectivity was not solely predicated upon the religious/existential aspect of one's personality, but structured in relation to other social categories of identity. The extent to which these existential positions and religious subjectivities were accommodated and seen as tolerable were intersected by age, gender and race. It was not just a matter of overcoming religious / existential difference of opinion and embodying a shared ethic of compassion, but an accomplishment shot through with the

politics of other subjective categories that had micro-political impacts on the 'caringscape', which cannot be seen as discrete elements but indivisibly composite (Valentine, 2007). The concept of 'intersectionality' is a helpful analytical lens through which to interpret the potential for stirrings of postsecular rapprochement in particular spaces. I propose it must be seen as a 'relational achievement 'or a 'positional accomplishment' where religious, secular and postsecular subjectivity are worked through, in light of other social categories: race, gender, sexuality and age, which are transcended in the aim of working together for the common good.

Proselytism, of a strident variety, was present in the hostel due to the expressions of one female and two male key workers. However, the reception of their religious expressions were interpreted and treated differently by both staff and residents - as acceptable and objectionable, respectively. The overtly Christian subjectivity of the female member of staff was accepted and tolerated far better than that of her male counterparts. Her religious expressions were received through the prism of her mothering nature and role in the hostel, whereas, religious expressions by the male key workers were perceived as jarring. The performance of evangelicalism, therefore, must be approached and analysed as a highly situated and socially constructed phenomenon, where the identity category of 'religious' is crosscut by other identity categories such as gender and age, which structure one's religious sense of self and public identity. The 'mother' figure was permitted to express her faith and was looked upon with endearment, whereas the young males were perceived as being 'troublemakers' who were imposing a one-way conversation, despite very similar content in their expressions.

The achievement of postsecular rapprochement must, therefore, take broader social categories into account, and how religious subjectivity is structured through these in a way that is difficult to disentangle. It is not purely a phenomenon pivoted around existential and ethical subjectivity of those involved, but parcelled up in a broader subjective positioning requiring collaborators to make adjustments based on localised cultural norms and expectations regarding gender, age and class. The social construction of what is considered to be 'acceptable' religious subjectivity in the workplace, in the case of Alpha Lifehouse, was, in particular, a highly gendered experience. It was also suggested, from my conversation with a manager of a hostel where members of staff were of African descent, that this social construction of acceptable religious subjectivity was also inherently constructed through the category of race. This manager referred to his Afro-Caribbean colleagues as embodying the 'wrong type' of evangelicalism suited to the expression of care he was trying to establish in the Lifehouse. In this case, despite their Christian subjectivity, these Pentecostal Christians were seen as out of place due to their more vociferous and abrupt manner. This example reveals how spaces of postsecular rapprochement should be treated as fragile, provisional accomplishments, which are highly contingent to the local, cultural and historically-situated values of those involved, and the wider contexts in which they operate.

Policy recommendations

The recent rise of voluntary sector organisations in the welfare landscape of the UK, due to the 'rolling back' of state care and, in particular, the renewed visibility of FBOs in the public sphere, has led to several concerns being raised

regarding issues of capacity and professionalism (Chapter 1). In particular, the issues of lack of training, ulterior religious motives (proselytisation), and low budget material conditions (‘serving on a shoe string’) have been flagged up (Farnell et al, 2003). From my research findings, it is clear that some of these concerns are not without cause, and I recommend the following solutions.

At Alpha Lifehouse I noted – despite running on a state budget – a lack of resources, which, if provided, could enable residents to truly flourish. Running on skeleton service at night-time, where security guards were the only staff present and no support worker available for crises, the quality of service available to residents was reduced. Residents were often stressed that their support workers were unavailable, due to caseloads that were too high. Reliance on volunteers to provide extra-curricular events, workshops and 1:1 sessions with residents (English lessons, IT classes, C.V. and job application support, and cookery classes), confirmed that insufficient budget for personnel was provided through the hostel’s Supporting People contract. These volunteers were committed, effective and provided significant added value to the landscape of care in the hostel. However, without their help, the range of activities and support available to residents, and overall quality of care available to residents, would plummet. The current budget available in Alpha Lifehouse, to provide accommodation and support services to the vulnerably housed in England, through Supporting People, was patently insufficient. A corollary of this was that reliance on volunteers to ‘plug the gaps’ in service, left the hostel vulnerable; it could only rely on the local supply of volunteers, who may be of any calibre and competency. In light of this situation, I recommend that a statutory clause be included in the tender requirements for organisations, like

Alpha Lifehouse, that are competing for contracts; this would stipulate the provision of a part-time volunteer and activities coordinator for each service, who could develop a volunteer training programme for each hostel. In this way, sufficient resources could be allocated to attract, develop and retain volunteers, ensuring a quality of service and care that has the potential to truly enhance the life experience of service users. This measure would also reduce the risk and vulnerability of organisations to taking on inappropriate or ineffective volunteers, as had been the case at Alpha Lifehouse previously.

Second, a 'Housing First' approach to tackling homelessness is now the preferred model for providing support for individuals (McKeown, 2008;). Underpinned by the principles of 'housing, choice, recovery, support and community', this model has at its heart, the individual's right to immediately access housing with intensive, open-ended and unconditionally-provided support (Chartered Institute of Housing). This model is in stark contrast to the system of support that was available at Alpha Lifehouse during my research. From my findings, I believe that this model would be a highly appropriate solution for the majority of residents at Alpha Lifehouse, and that TSA should, if possible, consider aligning their future offerings in light of this methodology. The overall refrain from the service users I spent time with at Alpha Lifehouse, was that they were desperate to escape the hostel and become independent as soon as possible (the provision of food and laundry services, and shared bathrooms, undermined one's autonomy). A model where housing is provided first, in an unconditional manner, confers a sense of dignity, freedom and self-responsibility – dimensions that were lost when living at the tightly regulated Lifehouse. One way this model could be trialled for TSA could be through

implementing a ‘blended’ model, where residents could rapidly ‘graduate’ from shared accommodation into independent supported accommodation, after a period of discernment by support workers. This would reduce the risk of a resident’s failure to manage a Housing First tenancy due to premature allocation to independent living. The issue for Alpha Lifehouse, here, is material – the lack of availability of flats, or access to private rented accommodation. I recommend that SAHA consider a plan to redevelop their older housing stock, such as Alpha Lifehouse, and turn what are corridor-based halls of residence, it into spaces for private rented accommodation to be managed using a Housing First approach. This would reduce the number of residents TSA are able to assist, but may lead to higher resettlement success rates due to its truly person-centred philosophy. This would enable TSA to develop a community of care around these sites, that truly reflects their theo-ethical values of compassion, second chances, and never giving up on clients; ethics that were being crushed-out of the existing system due to the neoliberalisation of care and support occurring through the criteria of winning Supporting People contracts. This could be facilitated by the central government stipulating that a Housing First model of support is integrated into all contract specifications put out to tender in the public domain. This policy move would drive through changes in organisations like TSA to modernise their accommodation services to better meet the needs of service users.

In addition to this, it is imperative that the national government does more to increase the provision of more affordable housing across the United Kingdom in general. In order to solve the problem of homelessness, the government *must* prioritise the delivery of new models of truly affordable social housing and

supported accommodation. Despite requirements in the National Planning Policy Framework for developers to deliver a percentage of affordable homes in every new build, which goes some way to addressing this need, it is not sufficient. Furthermore, there is recent evidence to show that some developers are exploiting a legal loophole to get out of this mandate, leading to a shortfall in the delivery of affordable housing stock, and compounding housing injustice in the United Kingdom (Fraser, 2017). The government needs to respond to this situation promptly, and develop new legislation to close the loophole.

Limitations of the research

Not wanting to repeat the discussion on my positionality and research design that are covered in depth in the Methodology, I will now move on to outline the most pertinent limitations of this thesis. First, the most obvious caveat is that this research was executed between 2010-2013, therefore, the findings must be considered historical. Any use of this thesis must be treated in relation to its situated manner, tempered by more up-to-date information on Lifehouses in the UK Territory. There have been significant structural changes effected across the territory regarding management, staffing structure and resident population, so all data in this thesis must be seen as a 'snapshot' in time. Second, this ethnographic research was a relatively brief period of immersive fieldwork, which precludes a more longitudinal insight to the topics and subjectivities researched. For future studies on hostels, staff and residents I would recommend a more part-time ethnographic approach where visits are made over a longer time frame at regular intervals (twice per week for 12 months, for example). It would be recommended to follow the journey of a few residents from when they first enter to when they 'move on' from the hostel in order to

track changes over time adding a sense of temporality to the ethnography. This would be a more sustainable method as immersive fieldwork placements are emotionally exhausting and don't allow for rumination time away from the field where new ideas can emerge and more reflective, collaborative dialogue can happen, which can modify and refine the research process as it unfolds more steadily. Third, this thesis involved only one ethnographic placement, and therefore the findings cannot be seen as directly transferable to help make sense of other contexts. It would be advisable to conduct a multi-site ethnography that follows residents across various sites in order to understand subtle differences in ethos across a local homeless support network. Or, it would involve a multisite ethnography through the study of a few Lifehouses to ascertain differences in the 'landscapes of care' across the Territory in their situated local contexts. The latter would be beneficial for constructing more insightful comparative data as part of a critical organisational ethnography of The Salvation Army more generally, which was beyond the scope of my resources at the time of my study.

Avenues for future research

There are several ways this research can be taken forward and extended:

First, this thesis has revealed that a more nuanced approach is required to understand the formation of postsecular rapprochement and to identify its underpinning mechanics. There is potential here for a more detailed geography of postsecular subjectivity formation through the concept of 'theography' proposed by Sutherland (2017), which examines the biographical and spatial dimensions of religious subjectivity formation in the context of Alt Left Christian movements in the West. This analytical framework could be applied to the

individuals involved in creating spaces of postsecular rapprochement within Lifehouses, to trace biographical, spatial and historical interdependencies and their affective outworking on site, in a key working team. This lens could be reinterpreted and applied to non-religious actors and trace the moral development of secular and spiritual subjectivities who go into partnership with the Salvation Army, providing a salient contrasting perspective. This would enrich the geographies of postsecular rapprochement, but also contribute to the nascent interdisciplinary subfield of Secular Studies.

A second strand of research to be developed would be a more in-depth and interdisciplinary approach to the investigation of the existential positionalities of residents to inform service methodology. Deploying methods such as the Meaning in Life Questionnaire and motivational interviewing technique coupled with specific approaches to key working such as Lakoff's 'framing' technique, may help improve the efficiency of key working relationships (2004). Similarly, developing lines of enquiry into geographies of wellbeing and 'therapeutic landscape experiences' in relation to religious, spirituality or therapeutic interventions such as the extant Spiritual Programme or a Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction programme (Kabat-Zinn, 2013), would take forward understandings of the nexus between space, place and health in the hostel context. Due to the low attendance of residents at the Spiritual Programme, it was difficult to accomplish this level of analysis. This could then feed into emergent debates about wellbeing, vulnerability and resilience within the 'landscapes of care' literatures, and perform a functional purpose for practitioners in hostels.

Third, in light of the organisational restructuring that has occurred within the Salvation Army since this research began, it is urgent that a contemporary account is made of the way faith and spirituality are currently imbricated in the reconfigured spaces of the Lifehouse. Sufficient time has elapsed to reflect critically with managers and staff upon the emotional accounts they shared with me in anticipation of the organisation's restructuring – filled with fear and anger – that I witnessed during my telephone survey and fieldwork encounters. Examining the impact of the restructuring on the organisation's mission, values and practise is now essential and will provide a timely modified perspective. By revisiting these themes it will illuminate how TSA is manoeuvring to survive in a neoliberal contract arena. It will be important to ascertain to what extent the concerns of managers and staff came true, and if not, why not; moreover, how the transition to the new structure has been negotiated. A revisiting of this 'landscape of care' is now long overdue and it is time for a fresh perspective. A close reading of the value added by faith and spirituality, in this new empirical context, could be achieved by drawing upon Dewsbury and Cloke's notion of spiritual landscapes. This approach attends to the interconnections between faith, place and power and draw out the 'spiritual interior' of the organisation. By focusing on spiritual landscapes, comprised of the 'co-constituting sets of relations between bodily existence, felt practice and faith in things that are immanent, but not yet manifest' (2009: 696), an alternative interpretation of the 'inner spiritual nature of the political, economic and cultural institutions' that structure the Salvation Army's organisational landscape, across the Territory, could be analysed in relation to its neoliberal reworking (Cloke, 2010). Another important aspect of this spiritual landscape, would be to examine atheistic

viewpoints expressed within the organisation, as a result of its continued professionalisation and potential for fostering postsecular practice.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1

1. A record of telephone interviews with Lifehouse Managers in the UK (2011)

Code	Date of interview	Pseudonym	Religion	Duration (minutes)
CM 1	07/7/11	Sarah	Salvationist	31
CM 2	08/7/11	Lee	Salvationist Officer	59
CM 3	11/7/11	Angela	Salvationist	51
CM 4	11/7/11	Greg	Church Leader (charismatic)	39
CM 5	11/7/11	Holly	Church of Scotland	46
CM 6	12/7/11	Jennifer	Salvationist	47
CM 7	12/7/11	Camilla	Salvationist	41
CM 8	13/7/11	Hilary	Salvationist	44
CM 9	14/7/11	Richard	Baptist Minister	44
CM 10	14/7/11	Malcolm	Baptist to TSA.	36
CM 11	18/7/11	Melanie	Ex-Salvationist	35
CM 12	21/7/11	Dexter	Salvationist Officer	48
CM 13	21/7/11	Sue	Salvationist	31
CM 14	22/7/11	Robert	Salvationist	53
CM 15	22/7/11	Cathy	Salvationist	35
CM 16	25/7/11	Will	Salvationist	37
CM 17	25/7/11	Michael	Salvationist	61
CM 18	25/7/11	Suzie	Just Christian	32
CM 19	26/7/11	Adam	Salvationist	24
CM 20	26/7/11	Terry	Baptist	37
CM 21	27/7/11	Annabelle	Just Christian	44
CM 22	27/7/11	Hayley	Catholic	43
CM 23	27/7/11	Kim	Just Christian	41
CM 24	28/7/11	Kathryn	Salvationist	50
CM 25	28/7/11	Ned	Salvationist	38
CM 26	02/8/11	Gwen	Christian	42
CM 27	03/8/11	Larry	Salvationist	21
CM 28	04/8/11	Neil	Salvationist	42
CM 29	05/8/11	Clare	Salvationist	29
CM 30	09/8/11	Graham	Salvationist	37
CM 31	13/8/11	George	Catholic	42
CM 32	13/8/11	Stuart	Independent Evangelical	55
CM 33	15/8/11	Sylvia	Just Christian	42
CM 34	21/8/11	Kevin	Pentecostal Minister	56
CM 35	22/8/11	Thomas	Salvationist	31
CM 36	22/8/11	Ashley	Church of England	55
36 interviews, 36 managers			**Total = 25 hours**	**Av = 42mins**

2. A record of interviews with the staff and volunteers of Alpha Lifehouse (2012)

Date of interview	Pseudonym	Role at Alpha Lifehouse	Religious identity	Location of interview	Duration (minutes)
13/7/12	Laura	Volunteer	Atheist	Games room	41
13/7/12	Dillon	Support worker	Spiritual – New Age	Interview room	51
18/7/12	Max	Support worker	Independent Evangelical	Interview room	65
18/7/12	Belinda	Support worker	Higher Power	Computer room	62
20/7/12	Alvin	Administrator	Agnostic	Admin office	53
20/7/12	Aaron	Chaplain	Salvationist Officer	Restaurant	80
20/7/12	Rose	Senior Support worker	Christian	Interview room	82
26/7/12	Sandy	Senior support worker	Spiritual – New Age	Back office	57
27/7/12	Louise	Support worker	SBNR	Fish tank room	49
29/7/12	Richard	Receptionist	Agnostic	Reception	72
30/7/12	Juliette	Senior support worker	Former Christian	Key worker office	63
30/7/12	Edward	Kitchen manager	Christian	Domestic office	33
30/7/12	Denise	Manager	Anglican	Admin office	65
31/7/12	Lucy	Receptionist	Spiritual – New Age	Computer room	49
31/7/12	Charlotte	Administrator	NSRA	Admin office	82
02/8/12	Sonia	Volunteer	NSRA	Main office	70
06/8/12	Elizabeth	Volunteer	Agnostic	Computer room	64
06/8/12	Chloe	Support worker	Former Salvationist	Outside office	44
07/8/12	Kelly	Administrator	NSRA	Admin office	26
08/8/12	Lauren & Debbie	Cleaner, cleaner	NSRA, Spiritualist	Cleaners quarters	18
08/8/12	Dillon	Support worker	Spiritual – New Age	Interview room	25
10/8/12	Rick	Support worker	Born Again Christian	At his house	50
10/8/12	Lizzy & Jen	Cleaner & cleaner	NSRA, NSRA	Cleaners quarters	41
10/8/12	Wes & Rod	Maintenance	NSRA, Christian	Cleaners quarters	36
11/8/12	Christina	Senior support worker	Salvationist	Reception	25
11/8/12	Daniel	Support worker	Salvationist	Interview room	36
13/8/13	Bobby	Receptionist	Salvationist	Reception	10
13/8/12	Sam	Volunteer church	Independent Evangelical	Games room	34
NSRA = 'No specific religious adherence' SBNR = 'Spiritual but not religious'			**28 ints, 31 staff**	**Total = 23 hours**	**Avg= 49m39s**

APPENDIX 3

3. A record of interviews with residents of Alpha Lifehouse (2012)

Date of interview	Code	Pseudonym	Age bracket	Location of interview	Duration of interv. (mins)
10/7/12	SU1	Jared	21-25	Chapel room	20 min
10/7/12	SU2	Grant	26-30	Interview room	58 min + 55 min
13/7/12	SU3	Lewis	21-25	Interview room	42 min
13/7/12	SU4	Adam	36-40	Computer room	76 min
13/7/12	SU5	Elliot	21-25	Chapel room	23 min
17/7/12	SU6	Jack	21-25	Admin office	43 min
17/7/12	SU7	Mike	41-45	Admin office	27 min
17/7/12	SU8	Simon	21-25	Admin office	43 min
18/7/12	SU9	Seth	51-55	Computer room	29 min
20/7/12	SU10	Rodney	26-30	Canteen	42 min
20/7/12	SUG11/12/13	Sid/Matt/Mark	31-51	Games room	67 min
26/7/12	SU14	Matthew	26-30	Games room	78 min
26/7/12	SU15	Ali	21-25	Park cafe	42 min
27/7/12	SU16	Jeremy	31-35	Games room	37 min
27/7/12	SU17	Les	36-40	Games room	84 min
29/7/12	SU18/1	Rich & Jared	21-30	Main office	43 min
29/7/12	SU19	Robert	51-55	Games room	55 min
29/7/12	SU20	Darren	21-25	Chapel room	35 min
30/7/12	SU21	Micky	31-35	Park cafe	38 min
01/8/12	SU22	Peter	51-55	Computer room	32 min
02/8/12	SU23	Del	51-55	Coffee morning	12 min
02/8/12	SU24	Phillip	51-55	Coffee morning	13 min
02/8/12	SU25	Stuart	21-25	Coffee morning	22 min
06/8/12	SU26 / 27	Ronnie and Les	41-45	Computer room	39 min
06/8/12	SU28	Douglas	31-35	Games room	41 min
08/8/12	SU29	Buddy	51-55	Admin office	22 min
08/8/12	SU30	Tristan	51-55	Canteen	73 min
10/8/12	SU3*	Lewis	21-25	Park cafe	41 min
10/8/12	SU31	Patrick	36-40	Computer room	54 min
29 interviews with 31 SUs			Range 21-55yr	21 hours total	TOT = 1286 mins = 44min average

APPENDIX 4

4. Research Project proposal for TSA

PhD Project Proposal
Katie Orchel, University of Exeter
2011-19-05

PROJECT TITLE:

'Value Added'? Faith-based organisation and the delivery of social services to the marginalised in the UK.

A case study of The Salvation Army

AIM:

To describe what value the 'faith' element adds to the operation and effectiveness of the Salvation Army's homelessness programs in the UK.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To describe what faith/spiritual elements come in to these homeless service programs re: their operationalisation on the ground (spiritual ethos/content of programs and services offered) i.e. a profile of the spiritual aspects structured in to services or performed onsite.

2. To understand how the faith/spiritual content is perceived and experienced to 'add value' by a) Salvation Army staff and volunteers b) Lifehouse service users c) funding partners.

3. To explore issues around faith and contracting (i.e. how do contracts impact on / affect the possibility for and expression of spiritual components in the Lifehouse e.g. restrict, prohibit, permit or encourage).

RATIONALE:

The Salvation Army are operating in an increasingly competitive economic environment when tendering for public contracts offered by local and central government.

They have to demonstrate 'value for money' / 'value-added' in the delivery of their services, whilst being asked provide high quality services on a diminishing budget (homelessness budgets reduced up to 50% by some local authorities in this financial year).

A strong evangelical Christian conviction underpins the work of The Salvation Army, as indicated in their three fold mission statement: "*Save Souls and Grow Saint and Serve Suffering Humanity*". Although these three strands have in some times and places been separated on a functional basis (i.e. social centres 'serve suffering humanity', corps 'save souls' and 'grow saints'), there has been a mandate from senior management to integrate all three aims within the two arms of the Salvation Army – the church arm and the social service arm – which suggest that the 'faith element' will potentially become more fluid, permeable and visible in both spheres.

In an increasingly secularised public realm, where people holding religious convictions are often held in suspicion, and with the introduction of the Equal Opportunities Act, it

has become increasingly difficult for evangelical groups working in social services and explicitly express their faith. The central importance of faith/spirituality in their work can be welcomed and opposed, treated with curiosity and wariness; faith can become polemical if it is seen as integral to or placed at the core of how faith-based service providers organise, deliver and evaluate the success of their programmes.

The evangelical nature of the Salvation Army means that it is impossible for them to distinguish their social works from their faith – they are co-constituted and intertwined, the means and the ends, as works are both a response to and a lived demonstration of faith. This makes it challenging to separate-out and understand how the particular 'faith' element makes a distinctive contribution or 'adds value' to their social programmes (apart from the obvious retort that the Salvation Army would not exist without its faith, which inspired William Booth to found the mission !). It is, therefore, valuable that in-depth work is undertaken to explore what the nature of 'faith' in the Salvation Army's social work and distinguish what it contributes to those participating in the work of the Salvation Army.

This piece of work seeks to tease-out in what way the Salvation Army's Christian faith plays a role in and shapes their provision and experience of social services to homeless people, and what value is afforded to faith by those who work there, use their services and provide funding.

It is hoped that a collection of views will be captured which describe the personal importance of faith in the provision of services to the homeless – focusing on how faith is expressed, experienced and valued by those coming in to contact with the Salvation Army's social services.

EVIDENCE OF NEED:

The Salvation Army UK have lost contract funding in X counties – (why? Is it because they have stipulated they want Christian centre managers and this requirement was shunned? Or is it because they have not met the standards required?) TBC by THQ.

It is important to explore recent trends of successes / disappointments in local government decisions to award contracts to The Salvation Army and probe in what ways faith-related issues influence these successes / failures (the data generated by this study may be used to inform future bids for contracts put out by local and central government).

Faith can be treated with suspicion in the public sphere and the SA would like empirical data from the field which reflects why 'faith' is significant, beneficial and vital to their work, and why and in what way it sets their homelessness programmes apart from secular ones.

There is need within the academic geography community to probe issues around faith - based organisation operating in a neoliberal context, therapeutic landscapes, ethics of care and charity, voluntarism and spiritual landscapes. This work will contribute to these literatures.

OUTPUTS:

1. A doctoral thesis. This project is part of a PhD project – a 3 year programme where the student will be based at Exeter University and contributing to the academic life of the Geography Department (teaching, participating in

postgraduate seminars and conferences). The project will use a human geography approach and provide an original piece of research that will contribute to advancement of academic knowledge and insight within the discipline.

2. A document examining how faith 'adds value' in the homelessness services provided by the Salvation Army. This will be based on extensive research with Lifehouse staff, service users and local government contracting teams. It may also be informed by an intensive research informed by participation in two social centres and closer working with service users.

PROJECT DESCRITPION:

The project will be broken in to three phases:

1. Preparatory - map out similarities and differences between the 'Lifehouse' service offered by the Salvation Army UK (an overview of types, location, programs and services, how they operate, who they engage with) i.e. create a profile of their homelessness work. Make contact with key stakeholders in TSA (homelessness services, contracts dept). Visit a couple of Lifehouses to see them on the ground and probe how I could conduce intensive research.

2. Extensive – gaining a broad overview of the role faith is described and perceived to play in the running of Lifehouses across the UK and what value it adds. This will involve semi-structured interviews with 50 (out of 80) centre managers over the telephone and face-to-face interviews with contracting staff in TSA and Local Government.

3. Intensive – gaining insight in to two social centres in-depth using ethnographic methods including participatory observation, semi-structured interviews and autoethnography.

ACCESS:
The Salvation Army are supporting this work and are providing all the necessary contacts for the research. I will have to approach centre managers via Divisional Social Service heads (until June 2011) and then through the Regional Social Service head in the new centralised system (from July 2011). I will have to negotiate access to two particular Lifehouses where I hope to carry out ethnographies later in the year.

ETHICS:
The project proposal is to go through THEAC and the Exeter University Ethics Committee for approval.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS:

Paul Cloke (Supervisor, Exeter University)
Nick Gill (Supervisor, Exeter University)

Maj. Ivor Telfer (former Assistant Secretary if Programs, Salvation Army)
Dr Adrian Bonner (Kent University)??

KEY CONTACTS:

Richard ? (head of Research and Development, THQ) ??

Mitch Menagh (Director of Homelessness Services, THQ)??
Nicola Butler (CMU, THQ)
Elaine Cobb (Director of Older Peoples Services, THQ)
Maj. Ivor Telfer (Director of Employment Plus)

CONTACTS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT -WHO CAN DOES CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS??

BUDGET:

£750 travel and accommodation expenses per annum

TIMEFRAME/SCHEDULE 2011/12:

April-May: Reading, question development, gather contact information; develop proposal and put through THEAC and Exeter Ethics Committee. Pilot questions and sign-off final interview schedule. Contact prospective interviewees with a quick outline of project and get date in diary for interviews.

June-August: Carry out telephone interviews; visit prospective Lifehouses for intensive research.

Aug-December: Carry out analysis of interviews; conduct intensive phase of field work.

January-December: analysis, follow-up investigation, writing up thesis.

5. Email request sent from THQ to all centre managers

From: Orchel, Katharine
Sent: Tuesday, July 5, 2011 4:13 PM
To: UNDISCLOSED
Subject: Faith within Lifehouses - a phone call?

Hi [CONFIDENTIAL],

How are you?

I trust you've seen Julian's email below to Centre Managers.

When would be a good time for me to call you this week or next to do the telephone questionnaire? I am flexible so let me know what time of day is better for you - morning, afternoon, evening, etc. I have about 15 questions to ask and it will take about 20-30mins depending on how much you want to say!

I will record our conversation on tape recorder for my own research purposes (so I can listen again, identify themes, etc) and everything you say will be regarded as confidential and anonymous (unless you are happy to be identified and named and explicitly state so).

You'll be my first interview so hopefully you can give me some feedback on the whole process so I can improve it going forward!

Looking forward to hearing from you to sort out a date.

Many thanks!

Katie

Katie Orchel M.A. Cantab
PhD candidate

Geography Department, College of Life and Environmental Science University of Exeter, Amory Building, Rennes Drive Exeter, EX4 4RJ

http://geography.exeter.ac.uk/staff/pgrstudents/index.php?web_id=Katharine_Orchel&tab=profile

APPENDIX 6

6. Draft Interview Schedule: Faith and 'Value Added'

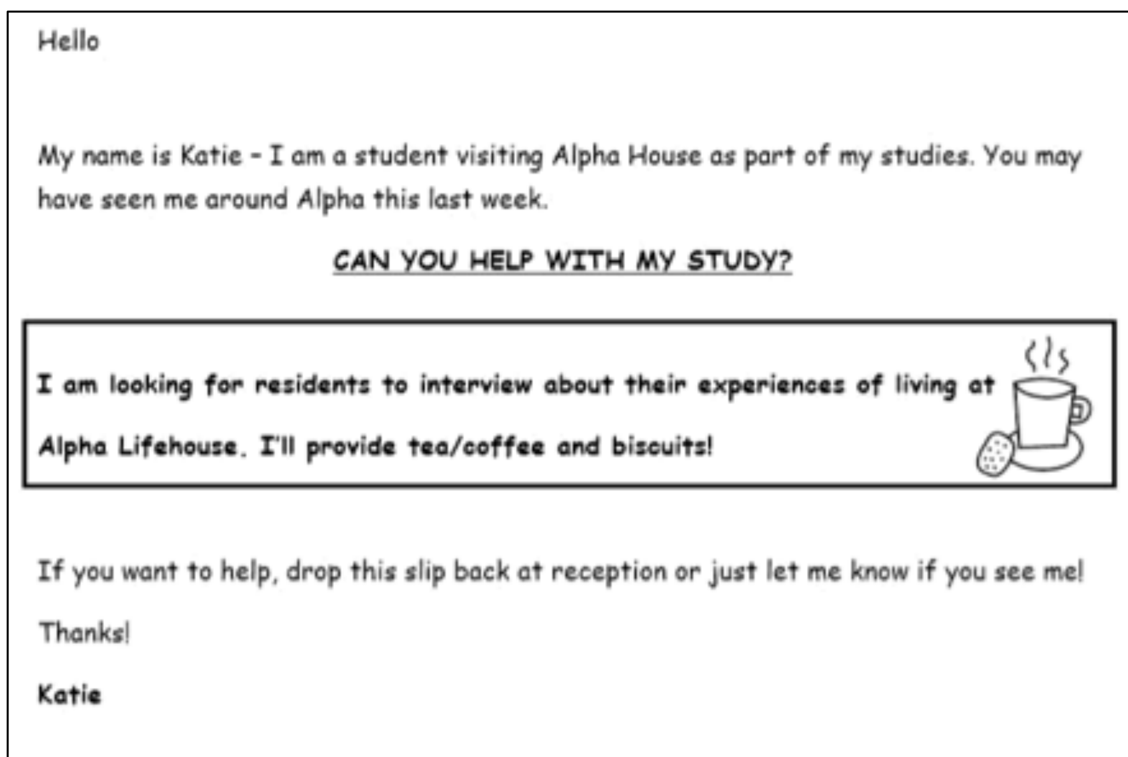
OBJECTIVES/ BROAD AREAS OF ENQUIRY (19/5/11) Find out *why* and *how* faith is important in:

1. **organisation** (running/structure/culture (internal dynamics))
2. **to staff team** (Performance/personal ethics and caring (interaction of staff and clients))
3. **to service users** (Program content (for clients)
4. **funders** (Business relationship (funding partnerships and contracts))

ORGANISATIONAL	PROGRAM	STAFF RELATIONS	SERVICE USERS
Why faith is important to [xxx]?	Are any faith-focussed programs or activities run in your Lifehouse?	What role does faith play / have in your staff team?	In your opinion, why is it important that service users take advantage/ use these faith services /activities?
how does faith impact on the day to day conduct of the organisation? Example?	How does faith influence the programs run?	How does faith *formally/informally* influence staff relationships? (role of faith in staff rels) WHY IS THIS IMPORTANT?	How do you encourage service users to participate in the faith programs/activities?
If you removed the faith element, how would organisational culture change?	If you removed the faith element, how would programs change?	How does faith *formally/informally* influence how staff relate to service users? (role of faith in staff-su rels) WHY IS THIS IMPORTANT?	Do you have any feedback from service users on the faith-based services?
In what ways does faith have a POSITIVE / NEGATIVE influences on your work?		Why is faith important to staff?	Why is faith important to clients/service users?
if you were not motivated by faith, how would your organisational performance be different?			How/in what way does faith element link to successful outcomes for clients?
How does faith impact on the way you do daily business?			

ORGANISATIONAL	PROGRAM	STAFF RELATIONS	SERVICE USERS
In what way is faith a criterion of recruitment in the Lifehouse concerned?	how does faith impact on the day to day work of the manager? Example?	What would help faith flourish in your centre?	Does faith aspect feature in funding discussions with contracts/sponsors? If so, how?
	if you were not motivated by faith, how would your job performance be different?	What obstacles exist to faith flourishing? / What prevents it from being expressed?	How does 'faith' feature when you apply for government funding? *How is this different from when applying for TSA funding? Is there any overlap in the way you mention 'faith'?*
	Can you give an example of an activity and how you encouraged them?	How/in what way does the faith element link to successful outcomes for staff?	How is faith received, either as a positive or negative thing, by contractors?
SPACE How does faith influence / impact on/shape Lifehouse space/premises?	Are any activities mandatory or optional? Are most SUs willing to attend / how enthusiastic are they in trying spiritual activities? On average, how well attended?	If you removed the faith in the workplace, what would be missing or change? (how would it impact on quality, services, outcomes?).	Do you use any tactics regarding the 'faith' element – i.e. speaking it up, or down-playing it, when speaking with funders or the public, where necessary? Can you give an example?
		Is there a relationship between faith and economic /financial aspects of the program re: value for money? Success criteria/ how and why? What is the Social Return on Investment of these programs?	Why do you think faith adds value / strengthens your program?

7. Slips to recruit residents for interview at Alpha Lifehouse



Hello

My name is Katie - I am a student visiting Alpha House as part of my studies. You may have seen me around Alpha this last week.

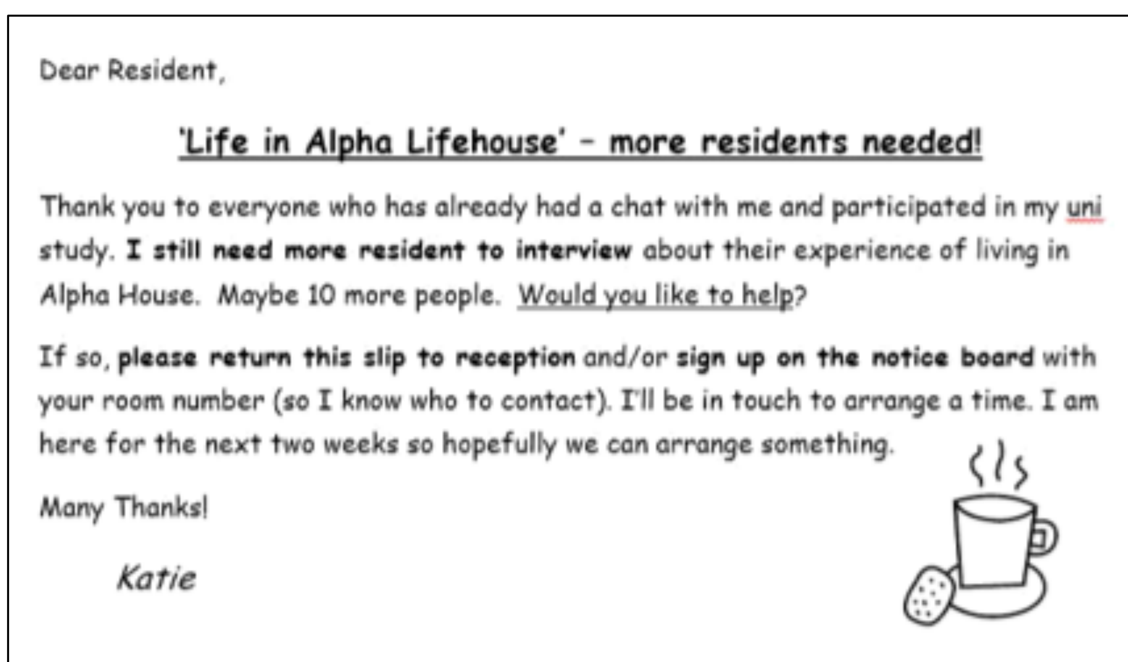
CAN YOU HELP WITH MY STUDY?

I am looking for residents to interview about their experiences of living at Alpha Lifehouse. I'll provide tea/coffee and biscuits!

If you want to help, drop this slip back at reception or just let me know if you see me!

Thanks!

Katie



Dear Resident,

'Life in Alpha Lifehouse' – more residents needed!

Thank you to everyone who has already had a chat with me and participated in my uni study. **I still need more resident to interview** about their experience of living in Alpha House. Maybe 10 more people. Would you like to help?

If so, **please return this slip to reception** and/or **sign up on the notice board** with your room number (so I know who to contact). I'll be in touch to arrange a time. I am here for the next two weeks so hopefully we can arrange something.

Many Thanks!

Katie

8. Recommendations for The Salvation Army

In light of the findings of my doctoral research, I make the following recommendations for The Salvation Army regarding the running of their Lifehouses for homeless individuals:

1. Organisational identity

From my observations at Alpha Lifehouse, I felt there was an incoherent perception of organisational identity and values amongst the staff. Some strongly identified with and endorsed the history and religious mission of the Salvation Army, whilst others shunned this and felt very uncomfortable about the expression of evangelical Christianity they witnessed on offer to what were perceived to be vulnerable and impressionable men. This divergence of loyalties to the religious underpinnings of TSA created divisions on the ground between teams, and tensions between colleagues. I feel it would be important to make a clear and up-to-date statement of intent about the ethos of the Lifehouses, as the one in Alpha Lifehouse was treated as superfluous by many staff. Several of these member of staff identified as Christian but felt it was anachronistic, thus undermining the purpose for which it was intended. The place of Christianity within the Lifehouse needs to be articulated more clearly by leadership across the Territory, to consolidate brand identity and values of Lifehouses both internally to staff and volunteers, and externally for the public. One way of instilling organisation values in the workforce could be to develop an induction course on the history of the Salvation Army's social work for new staff and volunteers. This course could foster more historical, cultural and missiological understanding of the organisation, and could be complemented by a series of workshops or discussion for staff teams about the aims of the Salvation Army today. It is vital for a non-Salvationist member of staff to make sense of how they fit into the wider aims and values of the organisation, especially if those aspects are theologically informed and may be a dimension unfamiliar to them. These hermeneutical questions need to be addressed for the sake of clarity amongst the workforce, for the groups who fund the

contracts, and for residents – especially as the majority of the latter group were ignorant of who and what TSA stood for.

2. Service methodology.

Linked to the point above, at Alpha Lifehouse there was no single underpinning service methodology regarding client transformation, but a plurality of pathways evident. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, GOALS and the NMES Wheel were three tools I came across during my time in Alpha Lifehouse. This diversity is a strength as it provides key workers with flexibility and choice in their approach with residents. I was left, however, wondering how the Salvationist theology informed the service methodology. With a clear soteriology present in the historic social work of the Salvation Army – "soup, soap, and salvation" - that reflected Booth's vision from In Darkest England, it was not clear what theological or teleological underpinnings were informing the contemporary key working practices of today. If these theological underpinnings are irrelevant to contemporary practice, why does religion still have a place in the Lifehouse in the form of the Spiritual Programme?

Diversity and inclusion - There needs to be consideration for how other faiths are welcomed and expressed within the Lifehouses – would it be appropriate to have a prayer room for Muslims, or a Muslim evangelist run a workshop, for example, or is this an exclusively Christian space? Boundaries about what religious expression is permitted in the hostel need more clearly articulating, or at least a protocol for how these issues can be thought and worked through on a corporate level, should they arise.

NMES forms - I found out that most of the key workers in Alpha Lifehouse didn't find these a useful tool for working with the service user to identify their needs. The administrative burden of paperwork it created was a disincentive to use the form at all. Many preferred to speak with their caseload individuals in a more informal manner and complete the form later, and it became more of a cumbersome 'tick box' exercise than a meaningful tool for eliciting change. Could there be another way of obtaining this information from service users – a survey completed on an iPad that inputted the data automatically onto a

database, for example? This digitisation of information would streamline working practices and enable better integration with external services (such as other hostels or the local council), with whom TSA needs to share information. Suitably encrypted data services would be required, and implications of ERDP considered, in order for such a recommendation to be implemented.

3. Practical aspects of the hostel:

i) Welcome/ Induction phase – some residents expressed to me that upon arrival their introduction to the Lifehouse was lacking. When presenting at the Lifehouse for the first time, several residents suggested that they felt bewildered and afraid. This could be overcome by setting up a formal induction procedure for new residents including a 'welcome leaflet' with meal times, contact details, a step-by-step process to key working, and emergency numbers on it. Some information on key staff members and on the Salvation Army could be included to introduce them to their new home. In addition to this, a peer-mentoring or 'buddy' system could be set up, where a current or ex-resident could be tasked with welcoming new service users upon arrival and assisting with the induction process. Every week they could meet up for a 1-to-1 with the new resident, helping to build a network of peer support within the hostel beyond the official key working team, thus facilitating connections and community that could endure beyond the hostel when 'moving on' – a crucial aspect for successful re-settlement.

ii) There was frustration about the lack of kitchen spaces and a concomitant sense that independence had been lost for some residents – a move towards more cluster-based corridors may be preferable when hostel buildings are renovated in the future. This would enable the development of life skills such as food preparation and cooking, and promote independence, self-respect and dignity.

iii) An 'argumentative' group for residents. Rather than having an explicitly Christian Spiritual Programme, perhaps a more exploratory one would better suit the hostel's clientele and gather more interest from the residents. Several residents held strong atheistic views, which were well reasoned, and others

weren't sure about what they believed in. Creating a 'debating group' or club, where philosophical issues could be explored in a guided or structured manner may prove intellectually interesting, and a fruitful way to develop rapport within the resident community. Furthermore, it could complement or feed-in to the Spiritual Programme in a more natural and productive way, if a space for open dialogue and critical thinking is already established.

iv) The Spiritual Programme - The "add-on" option of the Spiritual Programme was an appropriate way of including a more Christian flavour to the hostel without it being mandatory or heavily coercive. However, from my observations, it was not evident how it played a very meaningful role for the majority of residents. In terms of mission, the Salvation Army will have to decide how best to respond to the existential and spiritual dispositions of its residents, in a respectful way; a way that is not imposing, but sensitive and intelligent. From my observations, the Spiritual Programme served as more of a cultural practice for Christian staff members, and a vehicle for maintaining the Christian identity of the hostel, rather than as something catering to the self-identified needs of residents (it was not client-led). Although, upon first impression, having religious meetings that were open to all staff, volunteers and residents, appeared inclusive - as if adding-value to the service provided – in practice it did not foster a democratic space where wider perspectives on faith and spirituality could be explored. The Spiritual Programme could benefit from clearer articulation regarding its purpose and role within the centre, so residents can make a fully informed choice about whether or not to attend. Perhaps the name could be changed to Christian Programme, to better reflect its content.